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# Civilian-Based Defense

EXPLORING A NONVIOLENT STRATEGY FOR DETERRENCE AND DEFENSE

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## REFINING OUR LANGUAGE

George Lakey

*[This article was excerpted from a longer article written for a recent conference on mainstreaming peace teams. It was titled "The Lightbulb Theory" because, as Lakey explained in his introduction: "I believe one reason why we're not further along...is the conceptual muddiness of the idea. It is as if Thomas A. Edison tried to invent the light bulb while being equally fascinated with candles and oil lamps. The clarity of his vision, of what he wanted to invent, was much sharper than simply 'illuminating a room' and ours must be sharper than 'nonviolent action.'" Lakey's distinctions between the terms he introduces,*



*and the examples he gives of each, should interest readers of Civilian-Based Defense.]*

Nonviolent action is a broad term that includes 3 very different applications<sup>1</sup>. A typical list of "peace services" mixes them up, and includes examples of **social change** (World Peace Brigade's planned Freedom March into Northern Rhodesia for independence), **social defense** (Puerto Ricans defending the island of Culebra from target practice by the U.S. Navy), and **third-party nonviolent intervention** (Shanti Sena stopping Indian riots between Hindus and Muslims).<sup>2</sup>

### **Social Change**

Social change is the most popular application of nonviolent action, and  
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## ***Nonviolence Training: Its Relevance to Civilian-Based Defense — 4 Views***

### **CBD Requires Patience, History, Experience**

Virginia G. Flagg

For a population to be willing to accept nonviolent means of defense, it is necessary that people change their attitudes and learn to resolve conflicts with patience. In order to achieve this change in attitude, two parts in training are necessary: first, some knowledge of the history of past successes in nonviolent conflict; second, some exposure to an experiential workshop giving practical experience.

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### **Before Training: Educate the Public**

Carol Paulson

The training that would be necessary to prepare civilian populations to defend themselves nonviolently is an important issue  
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### **Sample CBD Training Session**

David Hartsough

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### **NVT: Educational Opportunity and Testing Ground for CBD**

Peter Bergel

Nonviolence training is, to my way of thinking, an ideal way to help prepare the general public to accept CBD as at least a portion of our national defense. As others point out, a major credibility problem for CBD is that virtually no one understands that a nonviolent alternative to military defense exists. Even those

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From the Editor ✨ Peter Bergel

## Epidemic Violence, JROTC Offer Education Opportunities for CBD in U.S.

Nonviolence training and training in conflict resolution and mediation are proliferating as many communities wrestle with the challenge of epidemic violence that threatens their quality of life. Can we mobilize to inject information about CBD into these programs? If not, can we follow them up with add-ons about CBD, pointing out how CBD extends the principles upon which they are built? This issue of *Civilian-Based Defense* presents some opinions as to what the relationship between nonviolence training and CBD might be.

Assisting us in defining exactly what we are talking about in the area of nonviolent action, George Lakey presents a glossary of terms, offers examples of each and places civilian-based defense on the family tree.

Lakey's "lightbulb" point is well-taken, *i.e.* that we cannot effectively develop what we need in the way of nonviolent means and strategy unless we are clear on what we are looking for. However, it is likewise important to keep in mind that CBD is part of the family of nonviolent action, almost all of which is practically unknown to most people.

CBDA and the readers of this publication, who are among the few who do understand the significance of CBD, have the duty of acquainting others with it. Piggy-backing on the alternatives to violence movement mentioned above is one way. Another is to wade into the growing controversy accompanying the spread of Junior Reserve Officer Training

Corps (JROTC) into more than 300 new high schools. CBD could be presented to high school students as part of an alternative course to JROTC, allowed into schools to balance the JROTC programs.

Another audience that desperately needs to hear about CBD is made up of conscientious objectors to the military, both the ones currently in the U.S. military and the ones refusing to serve in other militaries. I know this need very personally because acquaintance with Gene Sharp's writing about CBD completed my conversion to pacifism as a young C.O. in the early 60s.

Also in this issue we pose a number of provocative questions about CBD to our readers, seeking your opinions and news of your research. ■

## Letters to the Editor

### White Supremacy Nature of Militia

I was reading your Spring 1995 issue. The article on page 1, "The Militia Movement and Civilian-Based Defense" was interesting. I'm concerned though that there's no mention of the white supremacist nature of much of the militia movement and that it's just as possible for these militias to be part of a right-wing takeover of the U.S. as it would be for some 'faction' to do so.

We already have a government that's unrepresentative (for example, check the percentage of millionaires in the U.S. Senate vs. in the U.S. population at large) and we should be talking about how we can change that.

—Jesse Heiwa  
YouthPeace Coordinator  
War Resisters League  
New York, NY.

### Questions for CBD Strategists

Thanks for your kind invitation to write for *Civilian-Based Defense's* June issue.

I have little to say at present that is directly about the three topics you outlined. Each of them, however, raised interesting questions for me, ultimately stimulating me to begin updating my assessment of CBD's significance in the current historical situation.

Some of the questions occurring to me:

- ◆ Which societies face what kinds of threats, military and non-military, at present?
- ◆ How is the mix likely to change in the next one to three decades?
- ◆ Which threats are most important?

◆ Is promoting CBD a good way to increase participation in nonviolence training?

◆ Is a "national" (sovereign state) focus for research and strategy more conducive to advancing CBD than a regional (e.g., European Community or OAU) or global (UN or INGO) focus?

◆ Do the issues involved in promoting CBD in the U.S., with its unique level of military spending (bigger military budget than the next ten leading countries combined), have **anything** in common with the issues of promoting it in other countries?

—Bob Irwin

Watertown, MA.

(Other questions readers may wish to address appear on page 10. —Ed.)

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See page 12 for details.

## Refining Our Language

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best known. Usually the campaigners have **reform** goals: they are seeking change in policies or conditions but not a change in the power structure. Every year there are thousands of nonviolent social change campaigns around the world, led by farmers, women, unions, students and others. Sometimes, however, nonviolent action is used for **revolution**. In South Africa the African National Congress acted to replace the white monopoly of political power with a new system. The Solidarity movement in Poland used nonviolent action to throw out the Communist dictatorship, and the Philippines dictator Marcos also fell to "people power." In 1970 a movement in East Pakistan acted to secede from West Pakistan. When West Pakistan tried to suppress the movement, tens of thousands of East Bengali refugees fled to India. The Indian Shanti Sena organized a march of 50,000 refugees to return to East Pakistan as "a nonviolent liberation force," and tried to recruit international volunteers to join the march.<sup>3</sup>

### Social Defense

Social defense may not be as widespread, but it seems to be growing in recent years. In this application, nonviolent action is not used to change, but instead used to defend the status quo. In India, villagers have been fighting to save the forests by using nonviolent action. In Thailand, farmers fight dams which threaten to flood their rice paddies. Greenpeace defends the life of the seas through international nonviolent action. The Sahara Protest Action (1959-60) sent three teams of Africans, Europeans and Americans across the desert into French West Africa to interrupt French nuclear tests. This is **environmental** defense.

There are also many cases of **community** defense. In southern France the Community of the Ark led an extended campaign in the 1970s against the extension of a military

base at Larzac. In the 1980s major campaigns were waged by Japanese at Zushi and Miyakejima against building U.S. military bases.<sup>4</sup> At Oka near Montreal, Canada, Mohawks successfully defended their ancestral land in 1991 against the planned expansion of a golf course by the town.

Another version of social defense is using it on a **national** level, either against invasion from outsiders or against a coup d'état from insiders. In Russia in 1990, for example, much of the KGB, army, and Communist Party leadership decided to seize the state. They arrested top leader

**"Even though civilian-based defense is among the least-known uses of nonviolent action, it has probably received the most funding for research, because of governmental interest."**

Gorbachev, took over the media and mobilized tanks. They also ran into such major noncooperation from the people that the waverers in the middle turned against them and they lost their coup. Similar events happened in Argentina in the mid-1980s: a million people demonstrated in Buenos Aires, the fence-sitters turned against the military plotters, and civilian government remained.

National-level social defense—called by proponents **civilian-based defense** (CBD)—is now being incorporated into the defense planning of some governments (Sweden and Austria, for example). These governmental defense planners mainly are interested in resisting invasions, and have put research and development funds into creating nonviolent strategies that will prevent military occupation from succeeding in their countries. Even though this application (civilian-based defense) is among the least-known uses of nonviolent action, it has probably received the most funding for research, because of governmental

interest.

**International action for national defense** happened after Czechoslovakia was invaded by the Warsaw Pact in 1968. The War Resisters International coordinated four international teams to leaflet simultaneously against the invasion in Warsaw, East Berlin, Prague and Moscow. In this decade there have been discussions of a mutual security pact along nonviolent lines between the Baltic countries as part of their interest in civilian-based defense.

### Third Party Nonviolent Intervention

Third Party Nonviolent Intervention (TPNI) is the intervention of a third party into the arena of the conflict with the intention of reducing the level of violence, but using methods of nonviolent struggle. Mediation and arbitration are also done by third parties, but they are **not** Third Party Nonviolent Intervention. There are some key differences between TPNI and mediation. Third party nonviolent intervention:

- ◆ is unilateral (does not require both parties to participate in structured interaction),
- ◆ expresses the value of process, rather than determination or judgment,
- ◆ enables the struggle to continue (rather than suppressing the struggle),<sup>5</sup>
- ◆ uses the technique of nonviolent action to affect directly the field of physical conflict.<sup>6</sup>

Four forms of TPNI (pronounced "tip-nee") can be identified so far:

- ◆ accompaniment,
- ◆ interposition,
- ◆ observation/monitoring, and
- ◆ modeling.

**Protective accompaniment** has recently become sufficiently developed as a technology so that a specialized agency offers this service in several countries. Peace Brigades International (PBI) has, since the early 1980s, sent to El Salvador and Guatemala volunteers who accompany

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## Refining Our Language

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human rights activists threatened with assassination. The international volunteers put the local activists in the glare of publicity which reduces the chance of assassination, and not one of the activist leaders has been killed while accompanied by PBI. In 1989, during a wave of killings of lawyers in Sri Lanka, the national bar association invited PBI to send a team there to do the same, and, while death threats continued against the lawyers, none of those accompanied by PBI were killed. The author was a member of the first team. Other organizations with experience in accompaniment include Christian Peacemaker Teams, Witness for Peace, and Project Accompaniment (Canada).

**Interposition** is used when two forces are moving into battle (or preparing to) and a third force intervenes—usually physically—to prevent or reduce the violence. In 1986 Philippines dictator Marcos was shaken by the pro-democracy campaign and General Ramos decided to rebel with the troops under his personal command. The Ramos troops took cover in an army base, and Marcos sent the main force of the army to Ramos to destroy the rebels. The Catholic radio station broadcast urgent messages to the people to go to Ramos' base as well. Tens of thousands converged between the two armies and stopped Marcos' forces in their tracks through nonviolently and forcefully confronting the soldiers.

In the spring of 1994 the South African elections were expected to involve a high degree of violence. The author traveled to Johannesburg as part of a training team to teach interposition skills to South African "citizen peacekeepers."

Maude Royden's vision of a Peace Army (1932-39) apparently included interposition: intervening, for example, in the fighting between Japanese and Chinese in Shanghai.<sup>7</sup>

**Observation/monitoring** is increasingly used in election situa-

tions where violence is expected. Rather than impose themselves on violent individuals or groups, observers/monitors are expected to carry cameras, notebooks, and in other ways provide a physical reminder that "the whole world is watching," thereby restraining the violence. Northern Irish used observing in the Catholic/Protestant conflict in Portadown, 1990-91.<sup>8</sup> The author participated in the international observation/monitoring force in the Nicaraguan election of 1990.

**Speaking precisely when we discuss civilian-based defense can help us clarify our own thinking and will help avoid confusion on the part of those to whom we speak.**



**Modeling** consists of individuals and teams entering a situation of open conflict and, through body language, acts of service and words, assisting people to choose other-than-violent behaviors. This form differs from interposition in that the third party teammates do not physically place themselves directly between the fighters, but use other behaviors, like active listening, to embody values of decency and respect. The Russian group Memorial reportedly has substantial experience in this form of intervention in inter-ethnic battles, entering the "conflict field" and, in largely subtle ways, refusing to cooperate with the prevailing atmosphere in the field of hostility and violence. What brings this form of intervention within the framework of "nonviolent action," and distinguishes it from the host of other activities which serve people, is that the interveners are clearly and directly noncooperating with the "game" being played by the combatants—a game of mutual terror or intimidation. In Cambodia, for example, the Committee for Peace and Reconciliation organizes marches through

territory contested by the government's military and the Khmer Rouge; while refusing to take sides, the marchers also refuse to cooperate with the strategies of intimidation employed by both sides and model that behavior for the peasants and clergy. ■

[George Lakey is an internationally-known consultant, activist and nonviolence trainer who has led over 1,000 workshops on five continents. He has participated in all three of the applications of nonviolent action he describes. He has also taught at universities, authored six books on nonviolent social change and trains peace teams for service in conflict situations. You can reach him via e-mail at [peacelearn@igc.apc.org](mailto:peacelearn@igc.apc.org) or by writing Training Center Workshops, 4719 Springfield Ave, Philadelphia, PA 19143. Phone: 215-729-7458; fax: 215-729-1910.]

## References

1. By "nonviolent action" I follow researcher Gene Sharp in referring to many dozens of specific methods of protest, noncooperation and intervention, in all of which the actionists conduct the conflict by doing—or refusing to do—certain things without using physical violence. See his book *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1973). The concept of three different applications will be developed in my next book.
2. These examples are drawn from Yeshua Moser's list in his article "A Short History of Peace Services" in *Reconciliation International*, December 1994, p.3. Other histories also mix up different applications.
3. Here I am following the account of Yeshua Moser in "A Short History of Peace Services," work cited.
4. Joseph Gerson and Bruce Birchard, eds., *The Sun Never Sets* (Boston: South End Press, 1991) pp. 190-91.
5. Roger Powers of the Einstein Institution suggested these three distinctions.
6. Notice the consistency in this definition in using the methods of **nonviolent action** as defined by Gene Sharp: "A technique of action in conflicts in which participants conduct the struggle by doing—or refusing to do—certain acts without using physical violence," *A Journalist's Brief Glossary of Nonviolent Struggle*, brochure available from the Albert Einstein Institution, 50 Church Street, Cambridge, MA 02138.
7. Yeshua Moser, "A Short History of Peace Services," work cited.
8. Reported in *Observing: A Third Party Nonviolent Response* (pamphlet) published by Irish Network for Nonviolent Action Training and Education (INNATE), 16 Ravensdene Park, Belfast, BT6 0DA.

## Flagg on Nonviolence Training

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### Knowledge of History

An important aspect of changing people's attitudes toward violence is some knowledge of successful nonviolent conflict resolution from the past. Many people are vaguely aware of the role of nonviolence in attaining India's independence under Gandhi's guidance, and in achieving some gains in reducing racial discrimination under Martin Luther King's leadership. Few, however, realize that successful nonviolent campaigns in Nazi-occupied Denmark resulted in few or no Jews being deported. The unraveling of the Soviet Union deserves similar study, along with many other examples.

Taking a much longer historical view, John P. Powelson has shown that over the centuries in Western Europe and Japan, land tenure has been gradually transferred from the rulers to the people. The resulting dispersion of land ownership has led to greater degrees of democracy. This process began in about the eleventh century in Western Europe and the sixteenth century in Japan. The seizing of land ownership by the people was a very slow process with many reverses. It was possible because of confrontations and negotiations with competing centers of power, as the people played off landowners against nobles or even the clergy. Once gains had been made, in the long run they seemed irreversible. A feudal system in Western Europe now seems inconceivable. Powelson calls it land reform by leverage. In general this transformation occurred peacefully.

In contrast, land reform by grace is the phrase Powelson uses to describe the process by which the peasant gains ownership of the land through grants from an emperor or a benevolent dictator, or by violent revolution by disgruntled masses, most recently by violent revolution led by the communist party. Unfortunately these shifts in land tenure do not persist, due to changes in power at the top or differing priorities among

the ruling elite. This has been the prevailing pattern in Eastern Europe, China, and other parts of the world. A study of history reveals that much patience is necessary to achieve lasting reforms. Those achieved in nonpeaceful ways are often reversed.

### Practical Workshops

Before a population can be expected to accept the concept of civilian-based defense, the people must have had some exposure to alternate ways of resolving disputes on a personal level, other than the get-even approach.

One very powerful program designed to bring about attitude changes with respect to conflict is the Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP). As part of the leadership team presenting AVP workshops in California prisons, I have seen miracles occur in changes of attitude among former hardened gang members and murderers. For the first time they become aware that a gun, knife or fist is not the best way to resolve a conflict. There are many other effective programs being offered to replace violence in society with more productive choices. Any similar workshops or classes already being offered will contribute to the goal of preparing a society for civilian-based defense.

### Specific Preparation for a Perceived Threat to National Security

As a greater portion of the population becomes exposed to the possibilities of a nonviolent response to any kind of conflict, training can be instituted to prepare for a threat to national security. Gene Sharp has undertaken a thorough study of the options in case of actual invasion, ranging from political demonstrations to economic slowdowns or shutdowns.

### Conclusion

The important concept for people to learn about disputes is that conflict is inevitable, but how we respond to conflict can be productive or destructive. Patience is the primary attribute that is needed to avoid prolonged violence. Violence breeds more violence, and the cycle must be broken with patience. Any conflict resolution program now being offered

in the country will contribute to the end of helping people realize the need for patience in any conflict. Some knowledge of past suc-

cesses in nonviolence will be helpful in changing attitudes. ■

[Virginia Flagg is a retired economics professor in San Diego.]

**An important aspect of changing people's attitudes toward violence is some knowledge of successful nonviolent conflict resolution from the past.**

### References

Gene Sharp 1973 *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers.

Gene Sharp 1985 *Making Europe Unconquerable: The Potential of Civilian-based Deterrence and Defense*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Ballinger Publishing Co.

Peter Ackerman and Christopher Kruegler 1994 *Strategic Nonviolent Conflict: The Dynamics of People Power in the Twentieth Century*, Westport, Connecticut: Praeger Publishers.

Jack Powelson 1987 *Facing Social Revolution*, Boulder, Colorado: Horizon Society Publications.

John P. Powelson and Richard Stock 1987 *The Peasant Betrayed: Agriculture and Land Reform in the Third World*, Boston: Oelgeschlager, Gunn and Hain.

John P. Powelson 1988 *The Story of Land: A World History of Land Tenure and Agrarian Reform*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy.

Alternatives to Violence Project-USA, Box 2974, Liverpool, NY 13089.

**"The first human being who hurled an insult instead of a stone was the founder of civilization."**

— Attributed to Sigmund Freud

## Paulson on Nonviolence Training

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and a critical step in the process of transarmament from a military to a civilian-based defense system. However, for training to be effective, people must **believe** that nonviolent defense is both possible and practical; without such a conviction, they will not be able to maintain the discipline necessary for a civilian-based defense to succeed.

### No Frame of Reference for Nonviolent Struggle

Most people today are unable to seriously consider a defense without weapons. This is neither surprising nor unreasonable because we have been taught since we were small children that successful defense depends on having bigger/better/more weapons than the enemy. Schools have contributed to the acceptance of this notion by using a "war to war" model to teach history, with little mention of (and no emphasis on) the historical examples of nonviolent struggle.

The commonly accepted paradigm that defense must be military can only be overcome through an intensive campaign of public education, which must **precede** any program of general citizen training in nonviolent methods and strategies. Education should occur in many settings: public schools and universi-

**Most people today are unable to seriously consider a defense without weapons.**

ties, churches, community groups, scouts and other youth groups, union and professional organizations, mass media, and the military. It should utilize a variety of presentation formats, including movies and plays, television, videos, newspaper and magazine articles, lectures, discussion groups, workshops and school curricula. The two major foci should be on

- 1) **critical thinking** (what does any regime need from the citizenry in order to function? What do we mean by "defense?" What do we want to defend? What defense options—violent and nonviolent—are available?); and
- 2) **historical reality** (successes and failures of both violent and nonviolent struggles) and comparative analysis.

### Educational Opportunities

The CBD Association has several members exploring creative methods of presenting the concept of CBD to the general public (e.g. drama and video), as well as members who currently facilitate workshops, lectures, "war games," and discussion groups. However, public school and university curricula comprise a largely neglected area that deserves special attention because schools provide a forum in which nearly all young people can be reached. These youth will carry the concepts into adulthood.

Although many schools now teach critical thinking skills and

nonviolent conflict resolution (on an individual and small group level), this is not enough to open students' minds to the possibility of defense without weapons. Children need to be shown historical examples in which individuals, groups, and whole societies have used various forms of nonviolent struggle to achieve their aims (both as independent campaigns and as part of a larger war effort). Students can begin to understand the power of nonviolence when they learn that it has produced impressive results many times, in many places, and under many different conditions. Comparing violent and nonviolent campaigns that have been waged for similar objectives would allow students to see civilian-based defense not as a naive dream but as **another defense option.**

### CBDA's Role

What can the Civilian-Based Defense Association do to promote such an educational effort? The Association should consider applying for grants to develop supplemental curricula to be used in social studies and history classes in the public schools. The rise in violence by children, and the resulting belief that we must teach young people other ways to resolve conflicts, provide us with a "window of opportunity" to secure funding for curricula which would promote critical thinking and help students realize there are alternatives to violence on **all** levels, even international. By concentrating on education now, we can lay the foundation for successful CBD training. ■

[Carol Paulson is completing her second term on the Board of the Civilian-Based Defense Association.]

## Self-Reliant Defense Debuts in Macedonia

A Macedonian edition of *Self-Reliant Defense* by Gene Sharp was recently introduced by former minister of defense Trajan Gocevski at the University of Skopje. Gocevski, a professor at the Institute for Civil Defense, called *Self-Reliant Defense* a "very important book" during a 40-minute address to an audience which included a number of academics with military connections.

The edition was produced by the Balkans Peace Study Center—Faculty of Philosophy at Skopje, and financially supported by Macedonia's Open Society Institute. It has been distributed to libraries, scholars, journalists and public figures. It has also been publicly reviewed on radio and in the press.

— from *Nonviolent Sanctions*, Spring, 1995;

The Albert Einstein Institution, 50 Church St., Cambridge, MA 02138.

## Bergel on Nonviolence Training

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trained in conflict resolution and mediation are, for the most part, strangers to CBD and are inclined to view it as hopelessly visionary at best.

### Basic Principles

It cannot be doubted that the nonviolence training (NVT) being used today to prepare civilians for civil resistance actions, self-defense or peace team work is in some ways different than that which would be necessary to prepare the public for CBD. Nevertheless, NVT usually emphasizes the basic principles of Gandhian nonviolence. These principles, though they may be intellectually respected, are not reflected in the behavior of most people raised in a "western" culture. They include:

- ◆ Seeking truth and justice rather than victory
- ◆ Refusing to injure others in the struggle
- ◆ Developing a willingness to take sacrifice upon oneself rather than forcing it upon others.

Developing an understanding of the power of these principles is a radical departure for most westerners, even those who have grown up in religious traditions that accord them lip service. Thus, NVT offers an opportunity to attack CBD's fundamental credibility problem: ignorance of the power of nonviolence. Another way it does this is by introducing participants to examples of instances in which nonviolence has been effectively used and analyzing how it worked.

### Skills of Nonviolence

However, NVT offers CBD more than that. Many trainers use some variation of the idea of "writing your own script." This means developing the habit of entering a potential conflict situation prepared to actively communicate the expectation that violence will not develop, and to take action aimed at preventing it. CBD

training would need to develop this skill as well.

Indeed, many of the skills taught in NVT, such as active/reflective listening, awareness of body language, cultural sensitivity, democratic group process, team building and placing oneself in others' shoes would also be part of the training for CBD.

### "Take a Page From the Soldier's Book"

CBD will, however, require some training not routinely found in NVT programs. Richard Gregg suggested in *The Power of Nonviolence* that we "take a page from the soldier's book."

**The importance of both group and self-discipline cannot be overestimated. Organized nonviolent defense will require no less discipline than organized violent defense—probably more.**

This would include drilling in discipline similar to that undergone by recruits in boot camp. It is to be hoped that the methods employed could be less sadistic than those often used by the military, but the importance of both group and self-discipline cannot be overestimated. Organized nonviolent defense will require no less discipline than organized violent defense—probably more. Another aspect of CBD training would be the development of self-confidence and internal toughness that characterizes Outward Bound programs.

Thus, even though CBD's training requirements go beyond what is offered by most NVT today, today's NVT programs afford us both a way to evaluate what works and what doesn't and a way to introduce both CBD and the principles that underlie CBD to a wider audience. ■

*[Peter Bergel is a nonviolence trainer and Chairperson of the Peace Training Institute in Salem, Oregon.]*

## Sample CBD Training Session

**David Hartsough**

Training for CBD has much in common with training for nonviolent action. Following are some of the things I have included in trainings for CBD:

1. People introduce themselves sharing a time they have nonviolently resisted violence, injustice or oppression.

2. Participants brainstorm examples of nonviolent resistance to dictatorship or foreign invaders. These could include:

- ◆ the nonviolent resistance in Norway and Denmark in World War II,
- ◆ the nonviolent resistance to the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968,
- ◆ the nonviolent resistance to Marcos and the troops loyal to him in the Philippines in 1986,
- ◆ the nonviolent overthrow of the communist governments in all eastern European countries in 1989 with the exception of Rumania,
- ◆ the nonviolent resistance to the Soviet troops in the Baltic states in 1990-91, and
- ◆ the nonviolent resistance to the coup d'etat in Moscow in August 1991.

The group is then asked to look for the common elements and key ingredients of these acts of nonviolent resistance.

3. Participants experiment with quick decisions using a scenario such as teachers being ordered to teach a foreign doctrine—what do they do? Other scenarios can include situations such as:

- ◆ religious leaders being ordered to preach subservience to a foreign or dictator's ideology,
- ◆ political leaders being ordered to give civilian political leadership to the foreigners' takeover of the country or face death or imprisonment, etc.

4. "Hassle lines" are another useful exercise in which participants

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# Nonviolent Action in Fiction

## Brian Martin

Have you read any good books or short stories lately that deal sensitively and perceptively with nonviolent action? Over the years people have given me a number of recommendations. Nonviolence is a key theme in some of these books and stories, whereas in others it is less central. (Erik Frank Russell's novella is the only item dealing with civilian-based defense.) No doubt there's much more; this list only touches the surface of English-language fiction. It would be good if someone could put together a reader of top quality fiction dealing with nonviolence. Fiction is often more convincing than reality.

- ◆ Malcolm J. Bosse, *Ganesh* (Harmondsworth: Puffin Books, 1984). Recommended by Alexandra Perry.
- ◆ Robert Cormier, *The Chocolate*

*War* (London: Fontana Lions, 1978). Recommended by Alexandra Perry.

◆ Ursula K. Le Guin, *The Word for World is Forest* (New York: Berkley, 1976).

◆ Marilyn Kaye, *Lydia* (London: Lions Teen Tracks, 1988; New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1987).

Recommended by Alexandra Perry.

◆ Munro Leaf, *The Story of Ferdinand* (London: Reprint Society, 1955). [A story for little children.] Recommended by a friend of Robert Burrowes.

◆ Jean Merrill, *The Pushcart War* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1973). Recommended by a friend of Robert Burrowes.

◆ R. K. Narayan, *Waiting for the Mahatma* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981 [Michigan State University Press, 1955]). Recommended by Mary Cawte.

◆ Katherine Paterson, *Lyddie* (New York: Puffin Books, 1992). Recom-

mended by Alexandra Perry.

◆ Christopher Pike, *See You Later* (New York: Pocket Books, 1990).

Recommended by Alexandra Perry.

◆ Mack Reynolds, "Survivor," *Analog Science Fiction / Science Fact*, July 1966, pp. 127-139.

Recommended by John Zube.

◆ Erik Frank Russell, "...and then there were none," in Ben Bova (ed.), *Exiles: 3 Novellas* (New York: St. Martin's Pres, 1978), pp. 28-101.

Recommended by E. G. Vikingur.

◆ Dr. Seuss, *Yertle the Turtle and Gertrude McFuzz* (Great Britain: Cubs, 1979 [1950]). [A story for little children.] Recommended by Alexandra Perry.

◆ Joan Slonczewski, *A Door into Ocean* (London: The Women's Press, 1987) Recommended by a member of the Australian Nonviolence Network.

◆ Brian M. Stableford, *The Florians* (London: Hamlyn Paperbacks, 1978 [1976]). Recommended by John Zube.

# Defense Needed Against Current Occupation

## Joe Maizlish

The best preparation for future nonviolent civilian-based defense against coups and attacks is to strengthen our skills, ourselves and our society by dislodging the occupation we already suffer. And there is one: an occupation by a mindset which justifies extremes or inequality and centralized decision-making, an approach to social problems which mistakes suppression for problem-solving, and a system which prefers military responses to facing the need for change. In a sense, a coup has already occurred and is advancing every day. Even the newly-famous militias sense that something is wrong with violent centralized power, (and they would do well to examine the nonviolent way of struggle).

### Economic Occupation

Consider: funds are taken from us (by payment or seizure)—foreclosing

the possibility of our applying them to constructive personal or community uses—and are used for military spending, corporate welfare and

**The U.S. spends almost 40% of the world's total arms budget and accounts for 30% of the world's consumption. This is military-based offense. Civilian nonviolent action to change it is civilian-based defense of this land and indeed of this planet.**

policing the increasing inequality. Military spending not only furthers the ideology and machinery of violence, it distorts employment and economic patterns, subsidizes high-tech development, concentrates profits and power and protects foreign

governments which repress their own people.

One result of this system is that the U.S. spends almost 40% of the world's total arms budget and accounts for 30% of the world's consumption. This is **military-based offense**. Civilian nonviolent action to change it is civilian-based defense of this land and indeed of this planet. What Henry Thoreau wrote 150 years ago about domestic slavery and foreign military action applies today:

...when a sixth of the population of a nation which has undertaken to be the refuge of liberty are slaves, and a whole country is unjustly overrun and conquered by a foreign army, and subjected to military law, I think that it is not too soon for honest men to rebel and revolutionize. What makes this duty the more urgent is the fact, that the country so overrun is not our own, but ours is the invading army.

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## Defense Needed

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We can make use of civilian-based defense in this cause; in fact, only nonviolent organized popular struggle can pose an alternative to violence as well as a means of struggle for equality. Social equality is important not only as a goal for civilian-based defense, but as a precondition for its effective use.

### Status Quo Must Be Worth Defending

Indeed, effective defense requires a social order which has the support, even the devotion of all residents. A citizenry that knew the benefits of equality would make it hard going for occupiers, domestic or foreign. We would have the experience of rebuilding society daily through nonviolent struggle. Thus we would be well practiced in the means of nonviolent resistance for we would have been using them in that struggle.

Nonviolent training and action will require expansion for mass use in the cause of equality. They will have to be adapted for use in campaigns promoting equality of resource distribution and participatory decision-making at all levels. These adaptations, which will have to transcend borders and social divisions, are a great challenge to proponents of nonviolent action, social change and civilian-based defense. They require our daily experimentation and practice.

A task for CBD proponents is to win the confidence of the public in the efficacy of nonviolent civilian action. To this end, what could be more powerful than a series of campaigns showing that there is a form of struggle which does not destroy the resources needed by all? We must demonstrate a form of confrontation which also models a new relationship and an alternative to violence; a form which, as it reduces violence, also helps build a sharing social order worthy of defense by civilians. ■

[Joe Maizlish is a mediator, conflict skills trainer, psychotherapist and activist in peace/social/environmental concerns from Los Angeles.]

## Hartsough on Nonviolence Training

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encounter each other in pairs, playing out brief one-on-one interactions such as, on one side, the invading soldiers and on the other:

- ◆ citizens who are present when the invading troops enter the country,
- ◆ transportation workers ordered to transport troops,
- ◆ agricultural workers ordered to grow and provide food, or
- ◆ media workers ordered to promote the invaders' propaganda line.

In each of these hassle lines, the workers and citizens try to resist the invaders' orders nonviolently.

4. Strategy games are longer, more detailed exercises in which teams of participants represent various stakeholders. The teams interact through referees. CBD strategy games utilize a scenario in which a foreign army invades, say, San Francisco with plans to take over the whole country. Key population groups which would be important in resisting an invasion include:

- ◆ the invading force,
- ◆ civilian-based defense-trained forces,
- ◆ transportation workers,
- ◆ communication workers,
- ◆ religious leaders,

- ◆ political leaders,
- ◆ students, and
- ◆ agricultural and food workers.

Each of these groups meets separately to develop its strategy for how to deal with the situation. The invading force makes the first move and then all the other players make their "plays." A strategy game can go on for hours and one can get a good sense for what works and does not work and the power of the people, if they are prepared to resist nonviolently and courageously. (See the *Resource Manual for a Living Revolution* available from New Society Publishers, 1-800-333-9093, for directions on how to organize strategy games, hassle lines, quick decision-making exercises, etc.)

I also highly recommend Richard Taylor's *Training Manual for Nonviolent Defense Against the Coup D'Etat* available from Nonviolence International, PO Box 39127, Washington, DC NW 20016 for \$14.50. This was the basis for a training we did in Moscow in 1991 with The Living Ring whose members were interested in strengthening their skills for resisting a coup d'etat nonviolently. ■

[David Hartsough is Executive Director of Peaceworkers, a former Board Member of the Civilian-Based Defense Association and a long-time nonviolent trainer and organizer.]

## Lin Headed to Taiwan Post

(Continued from page 12)

Lin told the CBDA Board that he intends to push for Taiwan's adoption of civilian-based defense as at least a portion of its defense strategy by 1998. He traveled to Taiwan recently with Dr. Gene Sharp to lecture on CBD to audiences which included members of the military. This tour helps explain Lin's success at the polls, despite his out-of-country residence.

Lin has asked CBDA to assist his educational work on CBD in Taiwan by helping provide materials which he can use to introduce Taiwanese citizens—from the least to the most sophisticated—to CBD.

Lin's election was seen by CBDA Board Members as a tremen-

dous boost for the work of creating a worldwide constituency for CBD because it offers the possibility of introducing CBD into the defense policy of an existing government. Taiwan considers China the main threat to its security. The U.S. government continues to be willing to supply military aid to Taiwan's government. Despite this, Taiwan—with 400,000 troops as opposed to China's 2.5 million—can never hope to arm itself to the point at which it could hold off a determined Chinese attack using military means.

Thus, CBD is a realistic solution to Taiwan's defense problem, and Taiwan is an ideal place for CBD to be tried. The Board believes it is very important to CBD's future that CBD be adopted and demonstrated by some government as its defense choice. ■

## In Brief...In Brief...In Brief...

### If You're Thinking About Civilian-Based Defense, We Want Your Thoughts

In future issues of *Civilian-Based Defense*, we plan to continue exploring what kind of training will be needed by civilian populations when they prepare to nonviolently defend themselves. Also part of this inquiry are two related issues:

◆ To what extent is the training for nonviolent struggle currently being offered to people preparing for civil disobedience, civil resistance or peace team efforts a natural lead-in to the training needed for civilian-based defense and to what extent it is irrelevant?

◆ Is promoting training in nonviolence, as it is currently practiced, a strategy likely to result in the eventual popularization—and acceptance—of civilian-based defense?

We invite readers to submit short articles to us on these topics. We would like approximately 500 words on any of the above three topics, or on any nexus between them, by either September 1 or December 1.

We would also like to explore two other topics in upcoming issues:

1. Can CBD be deployed against long-range attacks (such as those from planes, ICBMs or off-shore bombardments)? If so, how?
2. Can CBD be effective against genocidal policies where the objective of the invader is to claim territory into which to expand a bloated population?

Discussions of these topics in the 500-1,500 word range are invited. Our preference is to have them e-mailed to [pbergel@igc.apc.org](mailto:pbergel@igc.apc.org), but we will also be pleased to receive them by snail-mail (333 State Street, Salem, OR 97301) or by fax (503-371-8002—please call first to arrange reception).

This is your chance to get your name on a by-line in *Civilian-Based Defense*! How can you refuse?

### Défense par Actions Civiles Means CBD In France

A French publication disseminated by Action Civile et Défense in France lists the preconditions and characteristics of the French version of civilian-based defense, known as Défense par Actions Civiles, or DAC—literally “defense by civil action.” Preconditions include:

- ◆ The order to mobilize without arms must be given by legitimate authority according to clear set of directives.
- ◆ A majority of citizens must decide to act.
- ◆ The threat must be national in scope.
- ◆ The cause must be clear.
- ◆ The situation must be critical.

In addition, negotiations must have broken down, some individuals must be willing to sacrifice their lives and active force must be seen to be necessary. DAC is distinguished from “civil action”—such as strikes, demonstrations and noncooperation—and from “civil resistance” which does not meet the 5 preconditions. The article characterizes DAC as “a nonviolent war against oppressive or invasive power.”

“In order to understand the nonviolent character which is the basis of DAC,” the article says, “we use the terms nonviolent combat, nonviolent war, nonviolent guerrilla action and nonviolent struggle which avoid misunderstanding and allow everyone to understand

- ◆ that DAC is a means of force, certainly nonviolent, but which impels the adversary to act against its will in the same way that a strike can;
- ◆ that it is to be used only as a last resort;
- ◆ that it is an extremely powerful means of action with very heavy consequences for the opponent.
- ◆ that it is an operation of great difficulty which requires the strong participation of every individual and all organizations, enterprises, administrations and the state;

◆ that it demands precautions.”

Contact: Action Civile et Défense, La Tour, Chemin de la Pérouse, 73 800 Arbin, France; voice/fax: 79 65 22 82. ■

[Thanks to Linda Putman for her assistance in translation.]

### COPRED Conference Offers Networking Opportunity for CBDA

The theme for this year's Consortium on Peace Research, Education and Development Annual Conference is “50 Years Since the Bomb: What Have We Learned About Peace and Social Change?” This wide-open topic cries for input from CBDA. Readers may want to consider attending to make sure civilian-based defense is among the topics discussed and/or to distribute literature to the hundreds of peace educators expected to attend.

The conference will be held in Salem, Oregon, August 10-13. Registration is \$165 for non-members of COPRED. Contact COPRED for details: 4103 Chain Bridge Rd., Suite 315, Fairfax, VA 22030; Ph: 703-273-4485; FAX: 703-934-5142; e-mail: [bwien@gmu.edu](mailto:bwien@gmu.edu). ■

### Leadership Change at Einstein Institution

Christopher Kruegler has resigned after four years as President of the Einstein Institution to become administrator of the Harvard Forest in Petersham, Massachusetts. Gene Sharp is now the President of the Institution. Contact: 50 Church Street (3rd Fl), Cambridge, MA 02138; (617) 876-0311; FAX: (617) 876-7954. ■

**“There is no greater fallacy than the belief that aims and purposes are one thing, while methods and tactics are another.”**

— Emma Goldman

# CBDA Board Charts Ambitious Course

**Peter Bergel**

[This report is based on unedited minutes taken by Philip Helms at the Board Meeting plus the author's notes.]

Two main objectives emerged from an intense two days of Civilian-Based Defense Association (CBDA) Board meetings in Toronto, Ontario, June 9-11. They will guide the Association's activities over the next five years. They are:

- ◆ Foster the adoption of CBD by some national government as part of its defense policy.
- ◆ Publicize CBD in North America to the point where at least ten percent of the population recognizes the concept (not necessarily the term "civilian-based defense") when asked about it on a public interest poll.

The Board also adopted an extensive education program which will be activated in aid of both these objectives. It includes producing printed and video materials, developing a publishing operation beyond this newsletter, setting up the ability to readily translate materials, creating an Internet presence for CBDA and recruiting celebrities who can help us publicize CBD. In order to facilitate all these operations, a more ambitious budget than CBDA has considered before was sketched out. It is to be finalized soon.

The Board also heard presentations on the CBD implications of:

- ◆ The "economic aggression" to which major corporations are subjecting Canadian citizens.
- ◆ The current situation in Asia, and
- ◆ The history of—and current situation in—Haiti.

During these presentations, the Board was joined by a number of Toronto citizens, many of them from the Taiwanese community, whom Albert Lin had invited. It was exciting to have so many of these folks turn out to spend their Saturday learning about CBD.

Mel Beckman, who helped found



CBDA and has played an important role in its subsequent development, was reelected Board Chair by popular acclaim. Suzanne Pearce was reelected Treasurer, also by acclaim; and Al Rhodes-Wickett, who is heading up CBDA's video project, was selected to round out the Executive Committee and lend it a bit of regional balance (since he hails from the West Coast).

CBDA plans a major conference on CBD. With luck, it will be held in 1996, but if arrangements regarding the location do not come together quickly enough to permit booking first-class speakers in 1996, the conference will be held in 1997.

Volunteers with experience planning such conferences are needed. Contact Mel Beckman, PO Box 92, Omaha,

NE 68101; 402-558-2085; e-mail: [melb@creighton.edu](mailto:melb@creighton.edu).

If the organization can afford it, the Board would like to increase the newsletter's circulation substantially

over the next year. A goal of expanding tenfold was proposed. This will depend upon fund-raising and the organization's ability to acquire relevant lists of subscription prospects. If you know of anyone who would be interested in receiving *Civilian-Based Defence*, please inform us. Alternatively, a donation earmarked for newsletter expansion would also help.

There is a great need to increase the number of people actively working on CBD education and development. Even if you are busy and have only a little time to give, CBDA has volunteer opportunities in the areas of curriculum development, translating, writing, video, fund-raising, conference planning, Internetworking, and a great deal more. Tell us what you can/want to help with. ■

## New Program Requires New Financial Resources

The objectives outlined by CBDA's Board at its meeting in Toronto (see article above) will require considerably more funding than previous CBDA programs have. The Board is considering a number of plans for generating the necessary income, but while these plans are taking shape, if you are excited and challenged by the Board's new course, please consider donating generously to support it. Such early donations will serve several purposes:

- ◆ They will, of course, advance the program.
- ◆ They will encourage the Board and justify its faith that these new

objectives are in line with the desires of CBDA's membership.

- ◆ They will assist Development Director David Gallahan in leveraging more support for the new direction.

So, while you are thinking about the tremendous potential CBD holds for changing our world, the work outlined by CBDA to realize that potential, and the marvelous opportunity for CBD offered by Albert Lin's election victory, won't you write as large a check as you can afford and send it to: Civilian-Based Defense Association, P.O. Box 92, Omaha, NE 68101? It's something your children will thank you for!

*Civilian-Based Defense* (ISSN 0886-6015) is published quarterly by the Civilian-Based Defense Association (CBDA) to provide information about civilian-based defense (CBD) as an alternative policy for national defense and to make available international news, opinion and research about CBD. The Association is a nonprofit membership organization founded in 1982 to promote widespread consideration of CBD and to engage in educational activities to bring CBD to public attention. CBD means protecting a nation against invasions or coups d'etat by preparing its citizens to resist aggression or usurpation by withholding cooperation and by active noncooperation rather than military force. Tactics include strikes, encouraging invading forces to desert, encouraging other countries to use sanctions against the invader, etc. Citizens would learn how to use CBD before aggression starts, which distinguishes it from spontaneous resistance. Prior preparation and publicity would enhance its effectiveness and also make it a deterrent to attack.

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Readers are invited to send news, articles and other material for publication. ■

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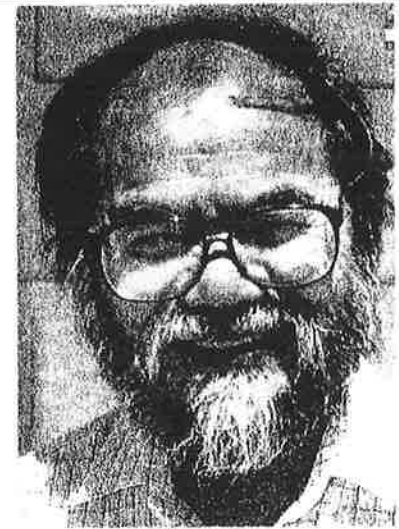
**Lin Headed For Seat In Taiwan Government**

**Peter Bergel**

CBDA Board Member Albert Lin, exiled from Taiwan in 1960 for unpopular political beliefs, is on his way to becoming a member of the current Taiwanese government.

As Lin hosted CBDA's Board Meeting in Toronto June 9-11, he received word that he had polled the second highest number of votes in his party's primary election. This virtually assures that he will gain a seat in Taiwan's 162-member Parliament in the general election later this year, Lin said.

(Continued on page 9)



*Albert Lin*

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