

Civilian-Based Defense

EXPLORING A NONVIOLENT STRATEGY FOR DETERRENCE AND DEFENSE

Volume 10

Number 4

Winter 1995

\$4.00
Single
Issue

This issue:

How You Can Help Popularize CBD



Outline of a Successful Presentation on CBD

Peter Bergel

Last month I made a presentation on CBD to the Western Washington Fellowship of Reconciliation's annual retreat in Olympia, WA. Since it was well-received and generated some interesting ideas, I offer the outline I used as a springboard for others' thoughts. Feel free to make use of any

or all of the following as it serves your needs.

Introduction

Having met much of the audience at the potluck dinner before my presentation, and since the attendees all knew each other, I did not take time for general introductions.

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Organizing Your Own Talk on Civilian- Based Defense

W. Henry Tucker

Here are some suggestions for planning and delivering a talk on civilian-based defense. Mix and match the sub-topics to suit your audience. Possible audiences include: community groups, service clubs, campus groups, movement groups and classes at the high school or college level.

1. Present a definition. (Point out that CBD is an immediate way for small countries, e.g. those in Europe, to regain control over their own foreign policy and not be tied to insecure deterrence policies of the superpowers.)

2. Put CBD in context with other

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From the Editor ✂ Peter Bergel

The World Needs CBD and CBD Needs You

by Peter Bergel

Longshot. That's a lot of people's response when I explain CBD to them. For the present, in North America, I am inclined to agree with them (although history's current sometimes sweeps events in very unexpected directions). However, just as North America is not the whole world, the present is not all time. Tomorrow's status quo must be built today.

The collapse of the Soviet Union may have made some North Americans feel somewhat more secure, but it has not brought security to the rest of the world. Dozens of wars rage around the globe — most of them exacerbated by arms trading in which the U.S. is the clear leader. Armed conflicts which approach the intensity of guerrilla war invade the streets of many cities not engaged in actual war. Economic aggression threatens local communities and whole nations. We do not lack for laboratories in which to perfect the techniques of CBD.

Join In the "Hands-On" Work

Important as the academic research work of scholars is in preparing the way for CBD into the future, a great deal more of that has been done than the "hands-on"

organizing work which could move governments to give CBD a try. Today's priority needs seem to be overwhelmingly in the latter area and in the area of "experimental" research — trying the principles of CBD in real-world contexts.

These needs call CBD supporters to the following kinds of work:

- ◆ Spread the word about CBD. The idea has little power and no future

CBD. Include CBD in art works, theater productions, music, videos, stories, etc. If the plot of a major Hollywood movie involved CBD, millions could be introduced to the concept at once.

- ◆ Begin training programs preparing to defend your community, state or country against whatever you feel is a serious threat to it. This could be invasion from outside — physical,

We do not lack for laboratories in which to perfect the techniques of CBD.

if people don't know about it.

- ◆ Start study groups.
- ◆ Give presentations.
- ◆ Write articles and op ed pieces for popular publications.
- ◆ Write letters to the editor.
- ◆ Call radio talk shows to acquaint listeners with CBD.
- ◆ Include the vision of CBD whenever you publicly criticize the military or warlike foreign policy.
- ◆ Give friends and libraries subscriptions to *Civilian-Based Defense*.
- ◆ Engage in cultural work involving

economic or cultural — or it could be corruption or autocracy from within.

- ◆ Try to recruit community, state or national leaders into your planning with an eye toward eventually making your efforts part of official policy. Set achievable sub-goals.
- ◆ Keep in touch with us so we can publicize your work in *Civilian-Based Defense*.
- ◆ Of course the academic research and planning must also continue. These tasks are appointed to the readers of this periodical. If not us, who? If not now, when? □

The most significant article in the Summer '95 *CBD* for U.S. readers should have been the one by Joe Maizlish, "Defense Needed Against Current Occupation," p. 8.

We need to realize that it is difficult to interest U.S. citizens in some of the CBD principles since we are "top dog" and militaristic. "Conflict resolu-



tion" principles are, fortunately, gaining ground. Perhaps "diplomacy before military threats" is a next area.

For years, many of us have cringed as our tax

dollars have gone to military regimes and to our own military to promote anti-democracy and human rights violations. The above article speaks to this problem of our political leaders not following the will of the people. It is worth more cultivation by CBDA. □

— W. Henry Tucker
Salem, OR

Making Opportunities to Promote CBD

Leonard Desroches forwarded this letter to the editor to us. It's a good example of how CBD supporters can bring the topic into public discourse. This letter was printed in The Toronto Star.

Canada is being shaken to its foundations. I'm glad.

As someone whose Franco-Ontarian ancestors tilled the soil of Lafontaine and Penetanguishene (which is Ojibway for "land of the white rolling sands"); as someone with an Ojibway brother-in-law; as someone who has fallen in love with the 'enemy' (Anglophone women)

and finally as someone for whom the single most beautiful part of all the large cities in Canada and in the world is the rich ethnic rainbow — I make the following proposals:

1. That the French, English and aboriginal peoples be **officially** declared **equal** founding peoples of Canada and distinct nations.
2. That whatever native language is spoken in a particular part of Canada be considered one of the official languages in that area and that

resources be made available to make this a viable reality both for native people and for those who would want to learn that particular native language.

3. That French be the official



language of Quebec and that all anglophones and allophones who choose to live there commit themselves to learning it, while at the same time having the right and being given the resources to maintain their culture.

4. That English be declared the official language of the rest of Canada and that all francophones and allophones who choose to live there commit themselves to learning it, while at the same time having the

right and being given the resources to maintain their culture.

Finally, we should ask ourselves **why** is Canada's foundation coming undone? Fundamentally, so much of it is based on military conquest: the English conquering the French, and

both of them subjecting the First Nations to their **combined** military might. My final proposal, therefore, is the most fundamental one of all: build a completely new political foundation where our collective resources (taxes) are diverted from military spending and costly alliances and channeled toward the

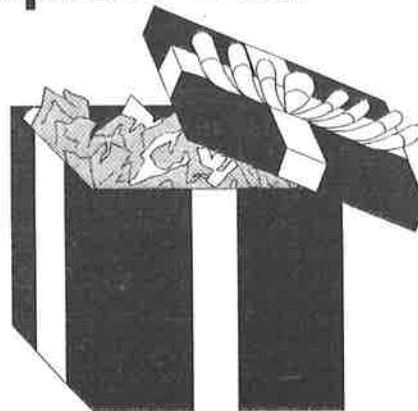
serious exploration and development of **civilian-based defense** (CBD) — a reality that more and more military people are admitting is an urgent need for our eventual global security.

I sincerely believe that with such genuinely new foundations, Canada would deservedly be "the envy of the world" — and more importantly would be a spiritual force in the global community. □

[Leonard Desroches is a nonviolence trainer, writer and drywaller who lives in Toronto, Ontario.]

Own a Complete Set!

Own a complete set of *Civilian-Based Defense* back issues (37, count 'em). They'll be yours absolutely free with a \$50 donation to the Civilian-Based Defense Association. Use the form below. *Civilian-Based Defense* chronicles the development of this potentially world-changing concept. Perfect for students of public policy, peace activists, educators, scholars and historians. No library of political thought is complete without it. A unique gift!



Watch for This One

Coming in January is CBDA member Rob Burrowes' new book *The Strategy of Nonviolent Defense — A Gandhian Approach*. Should be a terrific read. We'll carry a review in an upcoming issue of *Civilian-Based Defense*.

Meanwhile, you can order the book from the State University of New York Press, State University Plaza, Albany, NY 12246, USA. Cost is \$16.95.

A Sample Presentation on CBD

(Continued from page 1)

After a few preliminaries, I asked the group "what is nonviolent CBD?" Their responses revealed that only a few had a clear idea of what CBD is.

Two Case Histories

Leaving aside the niceties of CBD vs. social defense, etc. I presented two case histories, making the following points about them:

Czechoslovakia, 1968

- ◆ Czech collaboration with the Soviet invasion was prevented by mass support for the resistance.
- ◆ The Czech Communist Party was nearly unanimous in resisting the invasion.
- ◆ Clandestine radio networks evolved from preparations previously made for war with the west.
- ◆ When these networks got word that the Soviets were going to arrest party delegates, the meeting place was changed and the changes passed along.
- ◆ When they got word that arrests of journalists and activists were planned — people took down house numbers and street signs, which was very confusing to the invaders.
- ◆ When police got hold of the license numbers of cars the Soviets were using for arrests, these were broadcast so the cars could be easily spotted.
- ◆ People watched for the cars and wrote the numbers on posters and walls. When cars were spotted, they were surrounded and the prisoners released.
- ◆ Within a day, more than 20 freedom newspapers appeared, all supporting A. Dubcek and the legitimate Czech government.
- ◆ All measures of resistance short of violence were urged.

- ◆ These papers may have reached as many as 400,000 people.
- ◆ No pro-Soviet newspapers were circulated. When some were air-dropped from a helicopter, they were immediately seized and burned.
- ◆ Distribution of papers was carried out right in front of Soviet soldiers. If they tried to interfere, crowds closed in around them and made way for the distributors to get away.
- ◆ More sophisticated Soviet efforts to interfere with distribution led the resistance to initiate distribution from police cars and ambulances.



- ◆ Resistance efforts were headquartered in the industrial district.
- ◆ Without street and other signs, the Soviets couldn't find their way.
- ◆ Space to hold large meetings was available.
- ◆ Materials could be readily hidden in huge factories and warehouses.
- ◆ Party delegates were not distinguishable from the tens of thousands of workers.
- ◆ Soviet morale was undermined.
- ◆ At first people came out and dialogued with soldiers until they (the soldiers) couldn't stand it anymore.
- ◆ Later, people cold-shouldered the soldiers, even turning their backs when their cars were in

the street.

- ◆ Soldiers had been told they were being sent to quell a counter-revolution. What they saw was people courageously going about their business, no violence and no evidence of subversion.
- ◆ Many foresaw the likelihood that their resistance would collapse just as it did — through a process of compromise and broken promises.

Moscow, 1991

- ◆ In August 1991 thousands of tanks occupied Moscow to undermine the fledgling democracy.
- ◆ People surrounded tanks and greeted crews with cakes, cigarettes, roses, dialogue, questions — especially pointed questions like "Who are you going to shoot?" People asked soldiers not to kill their relatives.
- ◆ Many people took up positions at barricades, which were made of anything handy, **even though they thought it likely they would be killed.**
- ◆ Demonstrators linked arms and created a human barricade to prevent soldiers from approaching the Russian White House. This came to be known as the "Living Ring."
- ◆ Women at the barricades constantly urged nonviolence and fearlessness.
- ◆ The official policy was: no violence.
- ◆ The head of the KGB said military force could clear away the resistance in 30 minutes, but when crack KGB soldiers learned they would have to kill hundreds or thousands of nonviolent civilians to fulfill

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A Sample Presentation on CBD

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their mission, they refused orders to carry out the attack.

- ◆ Some newspapers refused to cover the news as instructed. Others carried blank spaces where material had been censored. An underground paper came out on photocopiers and mimeo machines. These were posted on street corners and bus stops. People gathered to read them and discuss the situation.
- ◆ Curfews were ignored. Public transportation ran despite them.
- ◆ Word of mouth was so effective that a gathering of 400,000 people was convened in 24 hours at the suggestion of the mayor, although he had no access to mass media.
- ◆ Although the coup leaders supposedly controlled a four million-person army, thousands of tanks and many other weapons, including nukes, the coup foundered and collapsed.

What Conditions Does CBD Require?

Having told these two stories of spontaneous nonviolent defense, I asked the group to brainstorm a list of factors that made them effective. I was especially looking for the following points, most of which were mentioned and recorded on newsprint. Other points were also mentioned, of course, and these provided worthwhile discussion material.

- ◆ The opponent has to be recognizable.
- ◆ Citizens must consider their society worth defending.
- ◆ Citizens must support their leaders.
- ◆ The defenders must undermine the opposition's morale.

What Are the Tactics of CBD?

Then I suggested that CBD could be a more organized and formal application of many of the tactics used in the examples, so I asked the group to identify the tactics they remembered, especially any the two cases had in common. Most of the following were among those identified and recorded on newsprint.

**Find a way to make
CBD profitable —
privatize defense —
CBD contractors could
compete with military
contractors to provide
for national security.**

- ◆ Defenders refuse to collaborate.
- ◆ Defenders carry on with pre-invasion life.
- ◆ Peaceful demonstrations are held and exhibit disciplined nonviolence.
- ◆ Defenders struggle to retain control of the social instruments that can be used for domination.
- ◆ Defenders undermine occupiers' morale.
 - ◆ Defenders make occupiers feel unwelcome.
 - ◆ Defenders confront occupiers with the discrepancy between their self-image and their actions.
 - ◆ Defenders provide a face-saving way out for the occupier.

What Would the Pluses and Minuses of CBD in the U.S. Be?

Then I asked the group to help me list the positive and negative aspects of applying a CBD model to the

United States. These too were recorded on newsprint.

How Could We Apply CBD to the U.S. Situation?

The last step was to ask the group how CBD might be implemented in the U.S. These were among the interesting ideas suggested:

- ◆ Focus on defending the values we hold sacred, not the U.S. government.
- ◆ Find a way to make CBD profitable — privatize defense — CBD contractors could compete with military contractors to provide for national security.
- ◆ We need an issue to come together around.
- ◆ We need to humanize our adversaries.
- ◆ Start doing the training civilians would need and make detailed nonviolent defense plans. Include all interested people and groups in the process. Don't wait for government leadership — the people must lead.
- ◆ We must overcome society's violent mindset.
- ◆ We should begin to seek natural allies now.

The group was fully engaged throughout the presentation and seemed to greatly enjoy the discussions. I concluded by passing out back issues of *CBD*. The next day, when I was scheduled to conduct a short nonviolence training session, the group requested a training oriented specifically toward preparing for CBD.

How Do You Do It?

We know there are a lot of CBD presenters among the readers of *CBD*. If you tell us how you do your CBD presentations, we'll share your approaches and we'll all learn. □

Organizing Your Own Talk on CBD

(Continued from page 1)

alternatives by examining such aspects as

- ◆ Conflict resolution
- ◆ Balance of power
- ◆ Disarmament
- ◆ Other alternatives to nuclear defense
 - ◆ Conventional military
 - ◆ Paramilitary

3. Refer to *Paths to Peace: Exploring the Feasibility of Sustainable Peace* by Willis Harmon with Richard Smoke.

4. War is obsolete, as *Beyond War* has pointed out. It is too destructive. CBD would result in fewer deaths. One exposes oneself to death, but refuses to be involved in killing.

5. Point out that 40 years of deterrence has **decreased** our security.

6. We need a suitable vocabulary to guide our thinking. The Presbyterians in 1980 made a distinction between "peacemaking" (a long-term strategy) and "peacekeeping" (short-term tactics). This offered pacifists a way to enter into dialog with the military: the latter buying us a time of relative safety and the former doing something positive with that time.

7. If the military broadened its conception of national defense it could incorporate CBD into its operations.

8. Review Gene Sharp's contributions to the thinking about CBD.

- ◆ Refer to his book *Vocabulary of Civilian Defense*.
- ◆ Distribute his 12 categories and 198 types of nonviolent action to reveal the potential breadth of CBD.
- ◆ Explore Sharp's ideas concerning what CBD is **not** about (such as morality).

9. Compare and contrast spontaneous unarmed resistance vs. trained, educated CBD. Examples of the

former:

- ◆ The American colonists' resistance to Britain, 1763-1775.
- ◆ George Washington's administration of the Revolutionary War.
- ◆ Hungarian resistance to Austrian rule 1859-67.
- ◆ Finnish political non-cooperation and civil disobedience with Russia, 1889-1905.
- ◆ China's boycott of U.S. goods, 1905.
- ◆ Russian resistance in 1905 and 1917 before the revolution.
- ◆ Korean nonviolent protest against Japanese rule, 1919-1920.
- ◆ India's campaign for independence from Britain, 1918-1934.
- ◆ The German government's resistance to Franco-Belgian occupation of the Ruhr, 1923.



- ◆ World War II examples
 - ◆ Norway and Denmark.
 - ◆ Netherlands' underground resistance.
 - ◆ Resistance to anti-Jewish measures in Bulgaria, Italy, France and Denmark.
- ◆ Post-World War II examples
 - ◆ Lithuanian resistance, 1944-52.
 - ◆ East German uprising, 1953.
 - ◆ Strikes in Soviet political prisoner camps, 1953.
 - ◆ Hungarian revolution, 1956.
 - ◆ Poland
 - ◆ Czechoslovakian resistance to Soviet invasion, 1968.
 - ◆ De-Stalinization in the Soviet Union.
 - ◆ Buddhist campaigns against the government of S. Vietnam, 1963-1966.

◆ Recent examples

- ◆ Popular removal of dictators in Central America.
 - ◆ Governmental change in Korea.
 - ◆ Bloodless revolution in The Philippines.
 - ◆ Burma.
 - ◆ Resistance to West Bank occupation.
10. Discuss countries willing to consider CBD (e.g. Denmark, China, Bolivia(?) or Costa Rica).
11. Discuss the types of pro-CBD activities being undertaken in various countries.
12. Discuss action ideas like:
- ◆ Blending the military and CBD
 - ◆ Creating a national youth corps that would train for CBD as well as undertaking civic projects.
 - ◆ Using the principles of CBD at home, in schools and within the community.
 - ◆ Bringing CBD into U.S. universities.
13. Intellectual antecedents to CBD (e.g. Gandhi, Thoreau, Tolstoy).
14. Discuss newspaper and magazine articles with a relationship to CBD.
15. Build CBD around small groups that meet to analyze current events, discuss alternative ways of responding and train for CBD action.
16. Show how CBD offers a spiritually acceptable form of defense for Christians and others who eschew killing. Refer to United Methodist Bishops' letter "In Defense of Creation" which mentions CBD. □
- W. Henry Tucker is a chemical engineering consultant and a Professor Emeritus of Chemical Engineering from Purdue and Tri-State University in Angola, IN. He now lives in Salem, OR.*

First U.S. General Understood Many Principles of CBD

W. Henry Tucker

Drawing from the book Washington, The Indispensable Man by James T. Flexner, (Signet Book, New American Library, 1984), Tucker reveals "The Father of His Country" as a man of principle and compassion who instinctively understood that the Revolutionary War was a struggle fought primarily in the minds of citizens.



the process short, but he knew that victories involving brutality against civilians — and thus achieved at the expense of public opinion — would, in fact, be defeats. The British came to realize the utter hopelessness of conquering a people who had become united against them. Washington's role in fostering this unity had been great. (p. 182)

Compassion Builds Unity

- ◆ Those who refused to swear allegiance to the U.S., or who had conspicuously cooperated with the British, should not — Washington thought — be punished, but merely escorted to the enemy lines. Time was to prove that Washington's lenient measures were not only kind, but also the smartest possible politics. Waverers who were persecuted would glow with hate, while forgiven waverers were grateful. (p. 100)
- ◆ Writing the British philanthropist Lord Buchan, Washington mourned, "If, instead of the provocations to war, bloodshed, and desolation (often times unjustly given) the strife of nations and of individuals was to excel each other in acts of philanthropy, industry, and

economy, in encouraging useful arts and manufactures, promoting thereby the comfort and happiness of our fellow men and in exchanging on liberal terms the products of one country and clime for those of another, how much happier would mankind be!" (p. 310)

Willingness for Self-Sacrifice

While the army wintered at Valley Forge, Congress was outraged that Washington would not take what it needed from the inhabitants at bayonet point. Washington believed that what was morally most desirable was likely to be politically most valuable. Since the future liberty of the soldiers themselves would be secured by ultimate victory, let the American army earn gratitude by suffering deprivation while the British and Hessians earned hatred by stripping the countryside. (p. 110)

Individual Action Is the Backbone of the Struggle

Washington's militia was deployed across the countryside to harass the "foraging parties" of the enemy, fighting in detachments as small as one man. If British action proved too strong, they could hide their guns and turn into farmers wandering — apparently innocently — around their fields. Should the British, unable to determine who was a soldier and who was not, be incited to random violence against men grasping plows, this too served the patriot cause by engendering hate against oppressing invaders. (p. 131)

Value of Negotiation

- ◆ At the First Continental Congress in October, 1774, Washington

Unity Is Critical

- ◆ Washington was so little the dedicated soldier that he never regarded fighting the enemy as the fundamental means by which the Revolutionary War would be won. He demonstrated again and again his conviction that the crucial battlefields were in the minds of individual Americans.
- ◆ If the people became such staunch supporters of American rights that they would hold steadfast through any emergency, the British might just as well march their military might into the ocean. (p. 64)
- ◆ The rebellion flowed almost unhindered around occupied Philadelphia and the British were unable to sortie into the countryside without being surrounded by clouds of guerrilla fighters. Howe's hope of recruiting a large corps of Americans disillusioned with the rebel cause had been frustrated by Washington's gentleness to Tories and the mostly good behavior of the Continental Army. (p. 119)
- ◆ Washington realized that a war won primarily by the force of public opinion would, necessarily, be a war of attrition, a very long war. He yearned for the military victories that would cut

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...In Brief...In Brief...In Brief...In Brief...

Lin Wins

A serious CBD backer who believes Taiwan should adopt CBD as part of its defense strategy has been elected to Taiwan's 162-member Parliament.

Civilian-Based Defense Association Board member Albert Lin was elected in early December and at press time we had no additional news. Look for details in our next issue.

Lin polled the second-highest number of votes in his party's primary in June, which virtually assured him a Parliamentary seat after the general election. He explained to the CBDA Board that one of his main goals in seeking the Parliamentary seat was to inject the idea of CBD at the highest levels of Taiwanese public discourse.

Haiti Ripe for CBD?

In early 1995, at the suggestion of Costa Rica's Nobel Peace Prize-winning former president Oscar Arias Sánchez, Haitian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide agreed to commission an opinion poll to see how Haitians feel about de-mobilizing the Haitian army. Dr. Arias then approached Global Demilitarization of Troy, NY, which arranged to finance the poll.

Data was taken by bi-lingual poll-takers during the week of March 17-24, 1995. Twelve hundred Haitians over the age of 17 were interviewed, yielding an error margin of $\pm 3\%$. The results were quite remarkable.

To the question "Would the disbanding of the army be positive or negative for democracy?" an astounding 62% said positive. Additionally, 66% believed that soldiers should **not** be transferred to the new civil police force. An equal percentage believed that the occupying multinational force should also disarm paramilitary groups such as the so-called attachés and the tonton macoutes.

At the same time, 40% believed



that the Dominican Republic, Haiti's neighbor on the island of Espanola, is Haiti's enemy and Haiti must be prepared to defend itself against it.

A country so disenchanting with its military that it wants its army abolished, yet living in fear of aggression from a neighboring country, would appear to be a country ready-made for CBD. Anyone have any organizing ideas?

W.H. "Ping" Ferry Dies

W.H. Ferry, known to his friends as "Ping," died on September 30th at the age of 84. He and his wife Carol Bernstein were benefactors of numerous peace and justice causes, including the Civilian-Based Defense Association. Others included the movement to stop the Vietnam War, the civil rights movement, European nuclear disarmament, efforts to halt nuclear testing, support for striking coal miners and democratic dissidents in Eastern Europe, to name a few.

Ferry and Bernstein adopted a low-key, non-intrusive style of philanthropy, attaching no conditions to their gifts and understanding that social change groups must, of necessity, work through a trial-and-error process that makes few guarantees honestly possible.

We at CBDA mourn Ping's passing and extend warm condolences to Carol Bernstein.

Global Peace Services Network

In her most recent *International Nonviolent Peace Teams/Peace Services Newsletter* (#7, dated 11-17-95), Elise Boulding, in addition to a nice plug for the last issue of *CBD*, reports:

"World Peacemakers is proposing a Peace Service Program to be comparable to military Reserve Officer Training Programs but for peacemakers, offering a two-year curriculum of intense and rigorous academic instruction, combined with supervised practical experience in peacemaking, at the college and university undergraduate levels. A Placement Service for successful graduates would be part of the program. The general auspices would be the Global Peace Services Network (GPSN), building on earlier projects and gatherings devoted to the development of global peace services. While addressed particularly to the need of U.S. college students, it would be part of a global network. From the Proposal: The GPSN is an emerging informal structure of initiatives and people committed to the proposition that the tension and violence afflicting societies around the world can be changed into caring and healing through the transformative power of active nonviolence. Groups in Sweden, Germany, Ireland, England, Croatia and the United States have initiated similar programs dedicated to the same principle. Together they comprise the emerging Global Peace Services Network.

"In the U.S., three GPSN Working Groups are:

- ◆ involved in ongoing dialogue with military officials, developing new noncombative roles and operations for military personnel in peacekeeping.
- ◆ working with people in inner-city Washington DC on relationships between nonviolence and urban economic needs, problems and programs.
- ◆ developing proposals for private and public funding of GPS training and placement within

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...In Brief...

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college, and eventually high school, curricula, including both fieldwork and classroom instruction.”

- ◆ For further information, contact William Price, 11427 Scottsbury Terrace, Germantown, MD 20867-6010 (USA).

[Although Elise Boulding will no longer be taking responsibility for the Peace Teams/Peace Services newsletter after this issue, she asks those who wish to be in contact with each other to send her their:

1. Mailing addresses
2. Fax numbers, if any
3. Electronic mail addresses, if any.

She will send out a mailing list in January to those who respond. Information should be mailed to Elise Boulding, 624 Pearl St. #206, Boulder, CO 80302.

She refers interested people to Robin Crews' Peace and Conflict web site on the Internet: <http://csf.colorado.edu/peace>. You can get more information from Crews via his e-mail address: crews@csf.colorado.edu.]

Washington and CBD

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was sick at heart when the Congress voted that the colonies would unite in meeting force with force. When the Royal Governor of Virginia seized the colony's gunpowder, Washington used his influence to keep armed militiamen from scuttling the peaceful negotiations which ultimately resulted in return of the powder. (p. 57)

- ◆ Washington was shocked to see in his Cabinet that personal differences and hatreds occurred when reason could have reconciled them. (p. 265)
- ◆ Washington deplored the adversary theory which sees government as a tug of war between the holders of opposite views, one side eventually vanquishing the other. He saw the national capital as a place where men came together not to tussle, but to reconcile disagreements. (p. 326)

Nonviolent Leadership

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participant to raise any issues they have around their role as nonviolent leader in his or her group. Again, suggestions and support are given by the leaders' group.

4. Finally, a new aspect of nonviolent strategy is taught so that leaders can help their group develop powerful campaign strategies.

The Leaders' Groups have been very successful. I believe they have been so rewarding and effective because they meet the needs that nonviolent leaders have as outlined here:

Nonviolent Leaders Need Emotional Support

Nonviolent leaders need emotional support. This has emerged as the strongest need participants of the leaders' groups have had so far. Working as a nonviolent leader is challenging and can stir up strong feelings. The leaders' groups give high priority to supporting each other

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Nonviolent Leadership

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— in fact we sometimes don't get to the learning part of the day because our need for support is such a strong priority.

Some of the features of the groups that encourage this meaningful support are: the groups are small (only three participants), we meet for five hours, and the groups are closed. The small size allows ample time for each person to share fully their feelings and experiences in their personal lives. This opens up all sorts of exciting possibilities for our social change work when our personal lessons, experiences, aches, pains — whatever — are valued. This also helps create a culture of nonviolent activism that replaces the 'never enough time' burnout model of activism with making enough time. The closed groups help build the continuity, intimacy and high level of trust needed for this kind of support.

The combination of leadership with support has been a poignant lesson for me. Near the beginning of the group we discussed what leadership has meant to us over our lives. From this I realized I've internalized some standard ideas such as: leaders work alone, know everything and are not meant to be vulnerable or need support. The basic structure of the leaders' group as a support group replaces this isolation with mutual respect, support and solidarity with other nonviolent leaders in ANN. It also makes our social change work as leaders sustainable.

Nonviolent Leaders Need Training

The work of activists to improve the world in some way is difficult to say the least. Nonviolent leaders often perform complex managerial-type roles with little training. In my leaders' group our leading roles are: one is an experienced environmental activist providing leadership for her group in a variety of ways; another

plays a key role in facilitating several campaigns to improve Victoria's water management and I'm initiating a long-term campaign against domestic violence in a rural town. I'd say we deserve training! Training in the leaders' group has been emotionally oriented through its structure as a support group and educational through its structure as a learning group. One main focus of the training has been on exploring the richness of nonviolent campaign strategy. Using the group's combined extensive experience and Rob's in-depth work on nonviolent strategy, we spend time grappling with applying nonviolent theory to our campaigns. Each session, we discuss one of the twelve components on Rob's Nonviolent Strategy Wheel² or other issues as we need to. This has included topics like: power, conflict resolution, political purpose, strategic aims, community campaign strategies, conception of nonviolence, spirituality, leadership, organizational structure and so on. It's exciting to know that we're furthering the global understanding of nonviolence by applying it to our local campaigns.

Nonviolent Leaders Need to Share Leadership

Nonviolent leaders need to explore and develop the concept of nonviolent leadership itself. What is leadership? What is nonviolent leadership? To explore these questions we've used Starhawk's³ work describing the different leadership roles as follows:

- ◆ The crows who have vision and keep the overview of the group's progress;
- ◆ The graces who inspire and expand the group;
- ◆ The snakes who deal with the groups' emotions;
- ◆ The dragons who maintain the group's limits and
- ◆ The spiders who weave the group's connections.

We've used an exercise where we draw our leadership abilities in these five areas to identify our strengths and weaknesses. Nonviolent leadership aims to develop all these five functions in a group, in ways that are empowering for all involved. This means sharing leadership which, in essence, means sharing skills, knowledge and power. With leadership comes responsibility and — too often — over-responsibility. A leader's commitment and planning ability can become burdens if not shared within the group. Shared leadership reduces dependency on particular leaders and reduces the likelihood of an individual being targeted for repression. Though in practice it is a challenge, nevertheless nonviolent leaders need to share leadership.

Nonviolent Leaders Need Role Models

Nonviolent leaders need inspiring role models. I've learned so much about leadership by the example other participants in my group have set. Within a world that promotes leadership based on patriarchal power, we need to seek out ways to learn from nonviolent leaders. As the facilitator of the leaders' groups, Rob has been an inspirational role model offering wisdom, care and dedication. By 'inventing' the leaders' groups, he has provided a way to validate the wisdom nonviolent elders have and, at the same time, enable these inspiring leadership skills to be shared. In Rob's words, he finds offering his personal support "*immensely rewarding because I am involved in a process in which nonviolent leaders learn how to support each other, learn how to better support and empower the activists with whom they*

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Nonviolent Leadership

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work, and learn how to build solidarity across issues. I enjoy facilitating these groups because I work with great people and I am able to share some of what I have learned during my own years as a nonviolent activist."

Nonviolent Leaders Need Affirmation and Feedback

Leaders need to be told they are doing a good job, and why they are. Often leaders don't get direct praise or only a quick "that was great." In the leaders' group we often give affirmation to each other that is specific and meaningful. In this way leaders can be proud of their efforts and can remember the group's enthusiasm and encouragement in difficult times. It's heartening to be able to bask in the glow of each others' successes.

Nonviolent leaders need critical feedback. The leaders' groups provide a space to give constructive critical feedback on our leadership roles. It's important that we respect each other's ability to hear constructive criticism so that leaders can keep on learning. This is a chance to practice challenging each other in a direct and caring way. As leaders in our groups, we may need to actively encourage submerged criticism (perhaps of ourselves) to surface. In the future, as ANN matures and we're dealing with increasingly complex conflict situations, the leaders' groups could provide supportive accountability where honest feedback can be given to leaders who are being counter-productive or unethical in their positions.

Nonviolent Leaders Need to Take Care of Themselves

Nonviolent leaders need encouragement to look after themselves.

Those in leadership roles can be so focused on their group or campaign that their own self-care is neglected. For sustainable work (perhaps for the rest of our lives) we need a steady, self-nurturing pace. In the leaders' group, we gently challenge each other when we go beyond our own personal limits and affirm steps taken by individuals to look after themselves emotionally, physically or spiritually. By doing this, we value time-out, self-nurturance and plain old simple rest.

Nonviolent Leaders Need Their Own Styles

Nonviolent leaders need to develop their own leadership styles. Within the broad framework of nonviolent leadership there is plenty of room for individual leadership styles. The discussion, affirmation, feedback and support within the leaders' groups increase awareness of our own leading styles and how we as individuals enhance the groups we work with. With an overview of all the different leadership functions and with an understanding of our own abilities, we can then call on others to provide leadership in areas in which we ourselves are not skilled. In this way, the leaders' groups are helping ANN to create many leaders with diverse nonviolent leadership styles.

The leaders' group has helped me slowly absorb my identity as a 'leader.' This has been a long process and still sometimes I have a slight tinge of embarrassment when I say I'm in the Nonviolent Leaders' Support Group, just like in sixth grade when I was excruciatingly embarrassed to be picked as House Captain. I still sometimes think, as I did then, that I get into leadership roles 'by accident,' as though it's nothing to do with me. One reason I had so much difficulty thinking of myself as a leader is

because of society's message that the words 'woman' and 'leader' don't fit together. The leaders' group has put me straight on that one!

The leaders' group is an anchor for my nonviolence work. It has become a sacred place of intimate sharing and learning. I want to thank all the leaders in my group and especially Rob who dreamed the whole thing up. I would encourage others to consider forming their own Leaders' Support Groups in their regions and, in this way, continue to strengthen our practice of nonviolence personally and as a network. □

[Jo Barter is seeking case studies, ideas, stories, contacts, etc. from around the world concerning grassroots action aimed at stopping domestic violence and incest, preferably nonviolent but not necessarily so. She's using this information to help develop a long-term feminist nonviolent campaign against domestic violence. She may be contacted at: 76 West St., Daylesford, Australia, 3460; phone: (053) 481 342. This article is reprinted from the July-August 1995 issue of Nonviolence Today, a bi-monthly promoting nonviolence as a political theory and as a method of social change. Subscriptions are available from PO Box 5292, West End QLD 4101, Australia; phone: (07) 366 2660; e-mail: davek@peg.pegasus.oz.au.]

Footnotes

1. Robert J. Burrowes, "Nonviolence Education: What and How?" in *Nonviolence Today*, Jan/Feb. 1995.
2. As described in Robert Burrowes, *The Strategy of Nonviolent Defense: A Gandhian Approach*. State University of New York Press, Albany, NY, forthcoming.
3. Starhawk, *Truth or Dare: Encounters with Power, Authority and Mystery*. San Francisco: Harper Collins, 1987.

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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Subscriptions: \$15/year or \$25/two years to CBDA, Box 92, Omaha, NE 68101 USA; 402-558-2085.

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Nonviolent Leadership

by Jo Barter

For successful social change work, we need effective leaders. Yet within most activist circles, leadership is still rarely openly acknowledged or developed. One practical way the Australian Nonviolence Network (ANN) validates its leaders is through the Nonviolent Leaders' Support Groups (Leaders' Groups) based in Melbourne. I've enjoyed my involvement in one of these groups and I'm hoping this article will give others inspiration and practical ideas for developing leadership skills in their region.

Leadership Necessary

Leadership is necessary to any social change group and if it is not consciously developed it will happen indirectly and, usually, less effectively. Even in collectively-run groups, leadership skills are often not passed on and power imbalances can become entrenched. Experienced activists can become burnt out or 'stuck' in their powerful roles while other remain disempowered. Then leaders can become isolated, unsupported and vulnerable to

criticism or repression from the outside world.

We all have the potential to lead in some way, but the leaders' groups are a way to validate individual activists in the Network who, brimming with experience, are ripe to lead. Rob Burrowes established these by inviting experienced activists from different activist groups within ANN. Two groups have met every three weeks since March 1994 and are continuing in 1995. This year three new groups have formed, making fifteen participants in all. We meet for five hours each time with an hour for lunch. As Rob described briefly in his article on nonviolence education,¹ the standard format has four main sections:

1. Support is given to each person in turn around any personal issues that may have arisen in their lives.
2. Each participant can then raise any dilemmas, difficulties or questions from their campaign. The leaders' group listen and gives suggestions as to how the action group may be able to deal with these dilemmas more effectively.
3. There is also opportunity for each

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