

Civilian-Based Defense

EXPLORING A NONVIOLENT STRATEGY FOR DETERRENCE AND DEFENSE

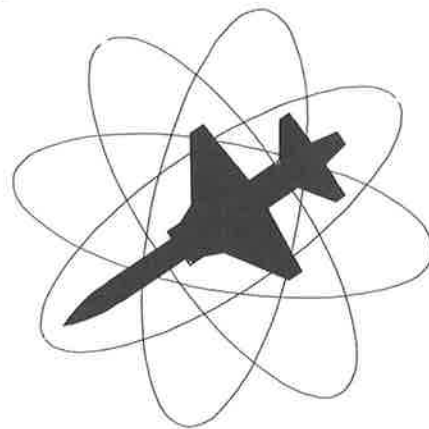
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Using Non-military Defense in a Nuclear Crisis



by Richard Wendell Fogg

Could civilian-based defense respond — stop — a sporadic nuclear attack that is underway? Perhaps. I have spent fourteen years considering this matter and the point would seem to be to aggregate more nonmilitary forms of strength than just nonviolent action alone.

Get Governments Involved

Generally in the past, nonviolence has been organized spontaneously by underfunded dissidents. What if it were organized and rehearsed well in advance by many governments with vast resources? And what if creative conflict resolution were also widely used? This combination might be developed sufficiently to prevent most wars and to defend against attacks that happen anyway — even limited nuclear attacks.

In developing the European Community, statesmen used creative conflict resolution to end centuries of warfare in Europe. France and Germany took the initial step by founding the Coal and Steel Community, which made steel with material from both countries

without tariff-laden imports. This step achieved a superordinate goal, that is, a task neither country could do alone. Sociologists have shown experimentally that such joint efforts are likely to reduce hostilities.

Mikhail Gorbachev's creative negotiation, plus the public's nonviolent action, brought down Eastern Europe's Communist governments. Elsewhere, horrible as he was, the Ayatollah Khomeini ran a revolution that was almost completely nonviolent and that deposed the Shah of Iran, who defended himself with an army that had the seventh largest military budget on earth.

These achievements in Western Europe, Eastern Europe and Iran surprised virtually all observers. The potential of creative conflict resolution and of nonviolence may be surprising too.

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From the Editor ✨ Peter Bergel

Research, Education and Activism Promote CBD

The task of introducing civilian-based defense to the people of the world is, as we know, an arduous one in which our primary tools must be research, education and activism. In this issue, we present examples of all three kinds of work.

Our cover article by Richard Fogg examines how nonmilitary means could be used to respond to a limited nuclear strike or to prevent one. This is helpful conceptualizing because it provides us with a response for those who believe that if CBD ever had any important potential, it was prior to the atomic age. It is also helpful because some of Dr. Fogg's suggestions are already being used by governments under the heading of diplomacy. He shows us how nonviolence can be coupled with these more conventional approaches to improve their potential for providing genuine security.



Under the heading of education comes Robert Burrowes' new book *The Strategy of Nonviolent Defense, A Gandhian Approach*, reviewed in this issue by Norman Freund of Clarke College in Iowa, himself the author of a book about civilian-based defense.

Bridging toward activism, we offer, with Burrowes' kind permission and assistance, two excerpts from his book. One provides a model code of

nonviolence suitable for adoption or adaptation by people's movements. Indeed, many nonviolent struggles have adopted portions of this code as "Nonviolence Guidelines." The other is a short, but useful list of actions any individual can take to root nonviolence more deeply in his or her own life.

In the activism column, too, chalk up Mel Beckman's proposal for a major conference seeking to involve and interest religious leaders in CBD.

For those who are relatively new to the literature of CBD, we also include a short introduction to the ongoing work of the Albert Einstein Institution, now led by perennial CBD innovator and author Gene Sharp.

As we watch with horror the military showdown developing between China and the U.S. over Taiwan, we are reminded yet again how urgent research, education and activism around CBD are to the world's survival. □

Letters to the Editor



Seeking News of Shanti Sahyog

We know that you are engaged in the 'Shanti Sahyog' International Campaign for politically legitimizing nonviolent defense in your country [see *Civilian-Based Defense*, Spring/Summer, 1994].

The Secretariat for civil-based nonviolent defense in Italy launched this campaign on October 24, 1995, but up until now we have received very few positive answers from people. This does not mean we have lost heart. On the contrary, we are still full of optimism and deep in our hearts we cherish the hope of reaching 3,500 signatures before

August 6, 1996.

Would you be so kind as to let us know how the campaign is going in your country? If you had some good news, your successes would encourage the attitudes towards nonviolent affairs of our fellow citizens.

We would be very grateful to receive your answers before the national assembly of objectors to military defense tax payment which will be held in Florence on February 24, 1996.

With the warmest wishes for peace,

— Roberto Mancini

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CBD and the Japanese Constitution

I would like to make a study connecting Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution with nonviolent defense. I am interested in nonviolent action in general and in considering the matter from the viewpoint of political philosophy.

I'm glad to hear that Albert Lin has won a seat in the Taiwanese Parliament. I hope he will be working to promote CBD. Although it seems difficult to convince people of the effectiveness of CBD, we must patiently continue trying.

— Toshio Terajima
Osaka City, Japan

Please Recycle



The Albert Einstein Institution: Analyzing the Lessons of Nonviolence

Adapted from a recent letter by Gene Sharp

For over twelve years, the Albert Einstein Institution has been advancing the study and use of nonviolent strategies by groups in conflict to assert their human rights and gain democratic governance.

By focusing on the widespread use of mass strikes, boycotts, civil disobedience and other forms of noncooperation — the types of methods used to bring about the political sea-changes in Eastern Europe, the former Soviet Union and South Africa — we challenge the general assumption that violence is the only, or even the most powerful, “means of last resort.”

I cannot underscore enough the importance of learning from past conflicts and the power of sharing information on strategic nonviolent action — information that gives people in extremely difficult situations the tools to evaluate and choose effective alternatives to violence. While million of dollars are spent each year studying violent conflict and war, only the Albert Einstein Institution provides the informational resources, groundbreaking research and strategic guidance necessary to understand and promote pragmatic and effective nonviolent alternatives in conflicts.

In the past year, our key accomplishments have included:

◆ **Intensive education of democratic leaders.** Through a three-week course on strategic nonviolent action, we helped the staff of the Burmese opposition shortwave radio station — the Democratic Voice of Burma, broadcasting from Oslo, Norway — strengthen their programming in support of the nonviolent

internal Burmese opposition. Burmese pro-democracy groups, inspired by Nobel Prize winner Aung San Suu Kyi, are adopting strategic nonviolent resistance as the primary means to challenge the brutal military regime that now dominates Burma. In the coming year, we hope to fulfill a backlog of additional requests for



materials and intensive education from a variety of Burmese opposition groups.

◆ **Alternative national security applications.** At the request of Baltic defense officials, we prepared a draft treaty that outlines non-military forms of assistance the Baltic states could offer one another in the event of a defense crisis. Meeting with government officials in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia this past spring, we were asked to help organize parliamentary seminars on civilian-based defense in all three states, to help convene a high-level Baltic governmental conference to consider the treaty and to submit formal recommendations on civilian-based defense to the Latvian government.

◆ **Trail-blazing research.** Our annual Einstein Fellow award has supported unique analysis of protest emigration from Cuba as a form of strategic nonviolent action. We also continue to expand the “knowledge

horizon” through our support of the PANDA project (Protocol for the Assessment of Nonviolent Direct Action) housed at Harvard University — a worldwide survey (computer coded) that allows researchers to assess the conditions and factors that influence the conduct of nonviolent action.

◆ **Dissemination of ideas.** Last year we completed two vital publications — *An Encyclopedia of Nonviolent Action*, a first-of-its-kind reference work in the field, and *Nonviolent Action: A Research Guide*, a major annotated bibliography of English language works in the field. In addition, our program staff continue to translate and distribute materials to non-English-speaking audiences — languages this past year include Macedonian, Latvian, French, Korean, Spanish, and most recently, Tamil. □

[Gene Sharp is President of the Albert Einstein Institution. He has written extensively on nonviolence and civilian-based defense for many years and has produced a number of the standard works in the field.]

You can contact the Albert Einstein Institution by writing to 50 Church St., Cambridge, MA 02138, or calling: 617-876-0311; e-mail: einstein@igc.apc.org. It publishes the periodical *Nonviolent Sanctions*.

“The belief that it is possible to achieve security through armaments on a national scale is a disastrous illusion — in the last analysis the peaceful coexistence of peoples is primarily dependent upon mutual trust.”

— Albert Einstein

CBD Against Nuclear Attack

Continued from page 1

Creative Conflict Resolution Options

Creative conflict resolution, emphasizing win/win bargaining, involves many methods that can succeed initially or after standard negotiation fails. One method is to begin negotiating with a single draft jointly written by all parties to a conflict, not with separate positions from each party. (This method was the basis of the success of the Camp David Accords and of the negotiations leading to the draft treaty for the law of the sea.) Another method is a series of safe steps that de-escalate a conflict. One party initiates with a small step and announces that he or she will continue if the other side reciprocates. (Kennedy and Khrushchev reduced arms levels this way.)

Because a nuclear attack might well be caused by a severe, reasonable need, such as a threat to security, the techniques of creative conflict resolution could help locate this need and generate an acceptable way to satisfy it. Such techniques could prevent the attack if used in advance.

Nonviolent force works by removing the opponent's support rather than by destroying the opponent's military machine. For example, a dictator's army can be persuaded to malingering, as happened in the Iranian Revolution. Many forms of force are available, including psychological, political, economic and ideological ones. Nonviolent force also includes societal, legal, religious and even aesthetic forms (such as charismatic speeches). For example, the societal taboo against the first use of nuclear weapons would make it possible to organize many people to oppose a nuclear attack. Even some high leaders in the aggressing country might respond, and they could possibly depose the perpetrators of the attack.

Use All Non-military Options

The point is to combine all relevant forms of non-military strength, not just nonviolent action, which, for example, does not include the use of courts or normal United Nations activity or established diplomatic negotiation.

Nonviolence has actually forced a superpower's head of state to withdraw a public threat that his chief of staff claims was privately a nuclear one. President Nixon gave North Vietnam an ultimatum demanding that it settle the Vietnam War, but according to his memoirs, he withdrew the ultimatum partly because

Nonviolent force works by removing the opponent's support rather than by destroying the opponent's military machine.

250,000 people demonstrated in Washington against the war. He wrote that they showed that the public was insufficiently united for him to carry out his ultimatum.

Governments should develop nonviolence so the world can use it in a systematic way — and that is happening. The sanctions by the U.N. and many countries against apartheid constituted nonviolent action.

Safer Defense

Security may decline. With the end of the Cold War, nuclear attack somewhere may become more likely than before because the bomb cannot be kept forever from proliferating to irresponsible parties who may put it to

use. Besides, new enmities between countries with nuclear weapons may lead to a nuclear war. Or a country could use such weapons to reverse a conventional attack that could otherwise result in a long war. It is time to radically reduce the need for military defense. One requirement is friendlier relations; the bottom line is a safer defense. Creative conflict resolution and nonviolence could provide such a defense (and more friendliness). A great deal is known about how to make people behave; it is time to apply this knowledge to the problem of making aggressors, particularly nuclear ones, back down. There are alternatives to conventional counterattack and to nuclear counterstrike. How a non-military defense could be used in an extreme case — in response to a nuclear threat or a limited nuclear attack — is shown on page 5.

(continued on page 5)

Nonviolence Trainers' Mailings Available

If you are, or want to be, training others in the skills of nonviolence, Nonviolence International and the International Fellowship of Reconciliation have a deal for you. They are making available a periodic mailing for trainers comprised of announcements, tools, observations, ideas and other nuggets gathered by contributing trainers from around the world. The materials are useful, as is the networking. Send (US) \$15 to Nonviolence International, PO Box 392127, Friendship Station, N.W., Washington, DC. 20016.

Sample Scenario After a Nuclear Threat or Limited Attack

Examples of Strategic Objectives

1. Show the falsity of the perpetrator's claim that the victim nation poses a threat.
2. Build domestic opposition to the perpetrators of the crisis.
3. Satisfy the legitimate grievances that would be used to justify the aggression.
4. Establish bonds with everyone possible in the adversary nation.
5. If the adversary tries to get what it wants, use nonviolence to prevent the attempt.
6. Ostracize and embargo the adversary and pressure it monetarily.
7. Help cause the perpetrators to be deposed or restrained.

Examples of Tactics

- To counter the adversary's fear of retaliation against its capital, send fifty legislators and other prominent people to the adversary's capital as hostages and negotiators.
- Encourage opposition by emphasizing higher loyalties than loyalty to the aggressive leaders. Types of higher loyalty include **common decency** (virtually no Muslims heeded Khomeini's call to take revenge against bookstores selling Salman Rushdie's book or heeded Kadhafi's call to take revenge for the bombing of Libya by the U.S.), **religion** (no religion favors nuclear first-use), and **country** (many Russians have a higher loyalty to Mother Russia than to government leaders). To facilitate reaching the opposition, try to keep broadcast anti-jamming technology ahead of jamming technology.
- Negotiate grievances through an international mediation service (such as the World Court or the United Nations).
- Communicate with everyone possible in the adversary nation, particularly with counterparts of high-level officials and financial leaders. Use a media blitz to exploit the anti-nuclear taboo.
- Shame potential collaborationists (as Austria did after World War II to prevent the Soviets from establishing a successful satellite government).
- Persuade foreign investors in the adversary's national bank to exert pressure. Enlist help from multinational corporations.
- All of the above lead progressively to number 7. Aid adversary leaders who can curb the perpetrators.

Significance

The possibility of a non-military defense in the event of nuclear threat or limited attack can reduce despair and unite hawks and doves around a policy that uses power and also focuses on the legitimate needs of all parties. If, in a nuclear context, non-military defense proves feasible, it can reduce the chances of nuclear destruction; lower defense budgets and remove a roadblock to disarmament by providing a way to deal with cheaters. □

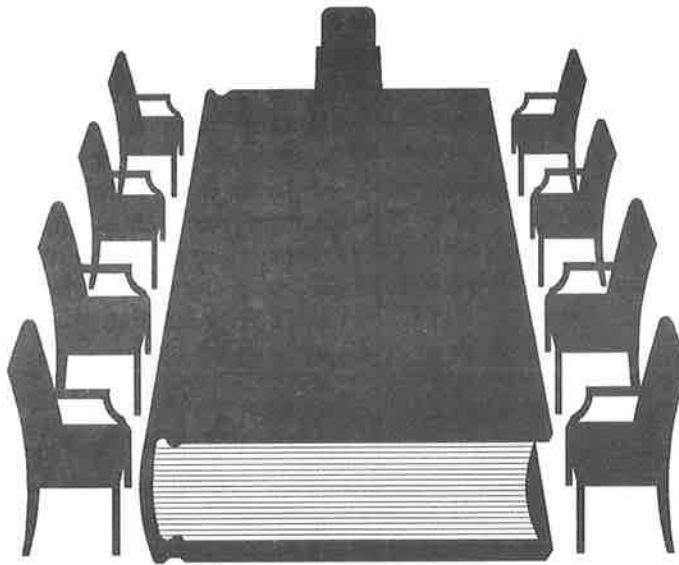
[Dr. Richard Fogg's doctorate at Harvard included work on nonviolent action and creative conflict resolution. Since 1982, he has done research on these subjects as director of the Center for the Study of Conflict, an independent nonprofit corporation. You can contact him by writing to the Center at 5846 Bellona Ave., Baltimore, MD 21212 or phoning 410-323-7656.]

CBDA Planning Conference for Religious Leaders

Under the leadership of Board Chair Mel Beckman, the Civilian-Based Defense Association (CBDA) has begun planning an international conference aimed at providing "an opportunity for religious groups in the United States and Canada to study" civilian-based defense.

"To agree to military forms of defense for national security involves a terrible dilemma for religious communities," said Beckman. "Faith points to love — not to war and threats of war. We want the conference to light a way out of this dilemma." He noted that CBD is an idea not unknown to religious groups. The World Council of Churches at its Convocation on Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation in Korea in 1990 called for the "promotion of nonviolent forms of defense." Several other religious groups have likewise made reference to defense systems which do not rely on violent coercion [see next page].

"Isn't it about time to breathe life into these statements?" Beckman questioned, suggesting that matters of national defense will continue to be the exclusive preserve of the military



unless that status quo is challenged by someone. "If not us, who?" he asked.

Acknowledging that the U.S. and Canada are unlikely to be leaders in the implementation of CBD, Beckman nonetheless maintained that a

conference such as the one proposed makes sense. "The influence of religious communities in the United States and Canada extends well beyond North America. They have missions, agencies and personnel abroad in countries whose citizens might become very interested in civilian-based defense and see it as the most practical way to provide for their security." He continued, "Moreover, a U.S./Canadian conference on civilian-based defense for religious groups could send a strong message to our own governments that religion's support for war and military defense cannot be taken for granted."

The conference will take place in spring or summer 1997. An advisory committee of people affiliated with a variety of religions is currently being formed. To join the committee, or for more information, please contact Mel Beckman at PO Box 92, Omaha, NE 68101 or call 402-558-2085. □

Words of Wisdom About War

"I have known war as few men now living know it. Its very destructiveness on both friend and foe has rendered it useless as a means of settling international disputes."

— General Douglas MacArthur

"As long as war is looked upon as wicked it will always have its fascinations. When it is looked upon as vulgar, it will cease to be popular."

— Oscar Wilde

"The guns and the bombs, the rockets and the warships, all are symbols of human failure."

— Lyndon B. Johnson

"As a woman, I can't go to war and I refuse to send anyone else... You can no more win a war than you can win an earthquake."

— Jeannette Rankin, only Congressperson to vote against U.S. entrance into both World Wars.

"After all, war isn't that effective. In every case, at least one side loses, which is only 50% effective, if you're lucky. The winner pays a very large price, as well."

— Gene Sharp

"War will exist until that distant day when the conscientious objector enjoys the same reputation and prestige that the warrior does today."

— John F. Kennedy

Church Leaders Call for Study of CBD

[The following, excerpted from official religious publications, was published in *Civilian-Based Defense* in January, 1989 and is repeated here to provide our readers with information to use in assisting CBDA with Conference outreach to religious groups.]

Roman Catholic

223. "Non-violent resistance, like war, can take many forms depending upon the demands of a given situation. There is, for instance, organized popular defense instituted by government as part of its contingency planning. Citizens would be trained in the techniques of peaceable non-compliance and non-cooperation as a means of hindering an invading force or non-democratic government from imposing its will. Effective nonviolent resistance requires the united will of a people and may demand as much patience and sacrifice from those who practice it as is now demanded by war and preparation for war. It may not always succeed. Nevertheless, before the possibility is dismissed as impractical or unrealistic, we urge that it be measured against the almost certain effects of a major war.

224. b) Non-violent resistance offers a common ground of agreement for those individuals who choose the option of Christian pacifism even to the point of accepting the need to die rather than to kill, and those who choose the option of lethal force allowed by the theology of just war. Non-violent resistance makes clear that both are able to be committed to the same objective: defense of their country.

225. c) Popular defense would go beyond conflict resolution and compromise to a basic synthesis of beliefs and values. In its practice, the objective is not only to avoid causing harm or injury to another creature, but, more positively, to seek the good of the other. Blunting the aggression of an adversary or oppressor would not be enough. The goal is winning the other over, making the adversary a friend.

226. It is useful to point out that these principles are thoroughly

compatible with — and to some extent derived from — Christian teachings and must be part of any Christian theology of peace. Spiritual writers have helped trace the theory of nonviolence to its roots in scripture and tradition and have illustrated its practice and success in their studies of the church fathers and the age of the martyrs. Christ's own teachings and



example provide a model way of life incorporating the truth, and a refusal to return evil for evil.

227. Non-violent popular defense does not insure that lives would not be lost. Nevertheless, once we recognize that the almost certain consequences of existing policies and strategies of war carry with them a very real threat to the future existence of humankind itself, practical reason as well as spiritual faith demand that it be given serious consideration as an alternative course of action."

(From *The Challenge of Peace: God's Promise and Our Response*, 1983 pastoral letter of the U.S. National Conference of Catholic Bishops. Available from U.S. Catholic Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.)

Presbyterian

"A strategy of civilian-based defense, grounded in nonviolent resistance, is now a matter of serious study at several major universities. Civilian-based defense involves work stoppages, strikes, slowdowns, boycotts, demonstrations, disabling key components of the infrastructures and other nonviolent means as ways

of refusing to consent to be governed by an invading power. There is risk of failure in such an alternative, as there has always been in conventional military defense. For civilian-based defense to have a chance at success would require a degree of national consensus, discipline, and devotion which we do not believe exists in this country at the present time. We do believe, however, that the church needs to give careful study to the growing literature in this field."

(From *Christian Obedience in a Nuclear Age*, a 1988 policy statement adopted by the 200th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A. Available from Presbyterian Distribution Services, 800-524-2612.)

United Methodist

"We encourage special study of nonviolent defense and peacemaking forces. In testimony to our hearing panel, Gene Sharp of Harvard University reported: 'A vast — but neglected — history exists of people who have nonviolently defied foreign conquerors, domestic tyrants, oppressive systems, internal usurpers, and economic masters.'" Among notable examples are Gandhi's 'satyagraha' (soul force) in India, Norway's resistance during Nazi occupation to keep schools free of fascist control, Martin Luther King's civil rights movement, and Solidarity in Poland. Every prospect that either military establishments or revolutionary movements might effectively replace armed force with nonviolent methods deserves Christian support."

(From *In Defense of Creation: The Nuclear Crisis and a Just Peace*, 1986 Foundation Document of the United Methodist Council of Bishops. Available from Graded Press, 201 Eighth Avenue, PO Box 801, Nashville, TN 37202.)

Book Review

The Strategy of Nonviolent Defense, A Gandhian Approach

by Robert Burrows

Reviewed by Norman C. Freund

ISBN 0-7914-2588-6.
State University of New York,
1996, Paper, 367 pp.

Advocates of nonviolent alternatives to military defense should find themselves both intrigued and challenged by Robert Burrows' *The Strategy of Nonviolent Defense*. Painting with a broad stroke, the author provides both detailed analysis of the strategy and tactics of successful nonviolence and a scathing attack on most social structures that exist today.

Burrows argues that a strategy of nonviolent defense is the most **effective** way to respond to military aggression. However, before nonviolence can be fully employed, a clear understanding of what the author calls "social cosmology" is necessary. The cosmos of society consists of four key elements: the pattern of matter-energy use, the set of social relations which exist, the culture's philosophy of society and the strategies for dealing with conflict. Fully understanding social cosmology, as well as being prepared to alter it, is essential for drawing any valid conclusion concerning nonviolent defense. Bearing this in mind, Burrows then proceeds to develop a strategic theory of nonviolence through a combination of Clausewitzian theory, Gandhian analysis and recent research in human needs and conflict theory.

From Clausewitz, Burrows accepts the contention that war is a tool or extension of politics aiming at disarming an enemy, that defensive responses to "attack" are in a superior position to offensive assault (it is the

defensé, after all, not the offense, that determines the mode of resistance), that resistance capacity is the product of power and will, and that each society has a center of gravity — that which is most essential to it — which must be addressed. Nevertheless, Clausewitz's failure to analyze the **causes** of conflict is viewed as a serious weakness.

From Gandhi, Burrows adopts the goals of creating a superior social cosmology, self-reliance, fearlessness and greater human unity. Three Gandhian principles are most key here: the unity of means and ends, the



unity of all life and a willingness to undergo suffering. The author stresses development of power **with** others and **over** oneself.

Finally, Burrows argues that the dominant Western view that human nature is inherently selfish presupposes a general acceptance of the inevitability of violence and a forceful (i.e. violent) response to it. A more proper philosophy of human nature is

one which recognizes that there are basic human needs (security and identity are two of them) and that it is the prevention of the satisfaction of these needs which leads to violence.

Having laid the groundwork for a strategic theory of his own, the author next addresses what is wrong with current society. He considers it a myth that national societies are integrated social systems. Rather, they are filled with structurally generated conflict. Dominant social cosmologies understand power as the capacity to dominate or control, a conception that the author finds far

too narrow and in conflict with the Gandhian conception of power **with**, not **over**, others. True conflict resolution must result in the satisfaction of human needs, and for Burrows the prevailing social cosmologies are often unable to do this. In his own

words, "the principal conclusion of any structural analysis [of conflict] is that **the structures themselves must be challenged**" (p. 93). This is a theme which he returns to repeatedly in his book.

The middle of the book is dominated by the author's elaboration of security issues and the formulation of a strategic theory of

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A Gandhian Code of Nonviolent Discipline

Reprinted with Robert Burrowes' permission from pages 183-84 of his book

To make the commitment to nonviolent discipline explicit, activists should be asked to pledge themselves to a widely publicized "Code of Nonviolent Discipline" that identifies important behavioral agreements. Ideally, this code should be developed by the individuals who will be asked to commit themselves to it. The following covenant is adapted from two primary sources: the one prepared by Gandhi for the 1930 independence campaign¹ and the one that is used widely in Brazil.² It provides a strong sense of the necessary elements, although in practice such covenants are usually less comprehensive. Many movements dedicated to nonviolent resistance have developed similar covenants.³

1. I will speak the truth.
2. I will endeavor to overcome my fear of punishment and death.
3. I will work conscientiously to purify my personal life.
4. I will treat each person with honesty, openness, caring, and respect.
5. I will harbor no anger or hate. I will suffer the anger and assaults of my opponents.
6. I will protect opponents from insults or attack, even at the risk of my own life.
7. I will act in accordance with the decisions and planned program of the organizing group and will respond promptly to requests from the action focalizers.⁴ In the event of a serious disagreement, I will withdraw from the action. I will not initiate or participate in any spontaneous action.
8. I will accept responsibility for my actions; I will not use secrecy.⁵
9. If my arrest is sought, I will accept it voluntarily; if I am taken prisoner, I will behave in an exemplary manner.

10. I will protect the property of my opponents and property held in trust.
11. I will not run or use any threatening motions.
12. I will not carry any weapons.
13. I will not bring or use any drugs or alcohol.
14. I will encourage others to maintain their commitment to this covenant.

It should be clear from this covenant that nonviolent activists require great courage and that the price of that courage might be death. All defense strategies, whether violent or nonviolent, involve a cost. But, unlike the soldiers who are willing to kill for what they believe, the nonviolent activist is willing to die. This, more than anything else, distinguishes the nonviolent activist from the soldier. Of course, nonviolent action will not always result in death, and as the discussion in one section of the next chapter will demonstrate, it will usually minimize the suffering and deaths in any struggle. Nevertheless, a strategy of nonviolent defense is based on the insight that, ultimately, the best way to demonstrate sincerity and commitment to a cause is through personal sacrifice. And this requires great discipline. □

Footnotes:

1. M. K. Gandhi, "Some Rules of Satyagraha," in *Young India*, 27 February 1930, in M. K. Gandhi. *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*. 90 vols. New Delhi: Government of India, Publications Division, 1958-84, 42:491-3.
2. Dominique Barbé, *Grace and Power: Base Communities and Nonviolence in Brazil*. Trans. John Paiman Brown. Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1987, 150; Domingos Barbé, "The Spiritual Basis of Nonviolence," in Philip McManus and Gerald Schlabach, eds. *Relentless Persistence: Nonviolent Action in Latin America*. Philadelphia: New Society, 1991, 280.
3. For an example from the nonviolent revolution in East Germany in 1989, see Michael Randle. *People Power: The Building of a New European Home*. Stroud, England: Hawthorn Press, 1991, 65-66. For an example from one of the campaigns conducted in South Africa during 1989, see Dene Smuts and Shauna Westcott, eds. *The Purple Shall Govern: A South African A to Z of Nonviolent Action*. Cape Town, South Africa: Oxford University Press, 1991, 40. For an example of a set of "respected policies" designed to guide women's participation in the Seneca Women's Peace Camp in the United States in 1983, see Rhoda Linton, "Seneca Women's Peace Camp: Shapes of Things to Come," in Adrienne Harris and Ynestra King, eds. *Rocking the Ship of State: Toward a Feminist Peace Politics*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1989, 244-45.
4. Action focalizers are the people appointed by the group to coordinate the action. Their role is discussed in the next chapter.
5. This injunction against secrecy does not mean that the opponent is entitled to "know everything." In some circumstances, openness may constitute betrayal.

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CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE ASSOCIATION Subscription, Membership & Contribution Form

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(Contributions to CBDA are tax deductible to the full extent of the law.)

Burrowes Book Review

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nonviolent defense (again drawing upon the three strategic elements taken from Clausewitz, Gandhi and needs theory). Although will and power are key considerations here, the most basic assumption is that basic human needs must be met and that nonviolence is the only way to reliably ensure this.

Before elaborating a strategic theory of nonviolent defense, Burrowes criticizes traditional security considerations asserting that these are dominated by the statist assumptions of ruling elites. He maintains that "...ordinary people should reject the elite perspective on security [one which favors violence and militarism] in favor of a radically new conception of it" (p. 149), one which offers security on the levels of the environment, human existence, society and the world. Some nontraditionalist approaches to security which the author believes hold promise for doing this can be found in feminism, third world perspectives and the experiences of indigenous peoples. Combining all this, Burrowes argues that civilian-based defense as usually developed contains too narrow a definition of violence as well as many statist assumptions. He rejects these in favor of a more revolutionary form of nonviolent defense, one with a win-win conception of conflict resolution rather than a win-lose attitude. The author, in other words, presents **nonviolent defense as part of the broader struggle against violence in all its forms.**

The last three chapters of the book are devoted to the planning, strategy, and tactics of nonviolent defense. Burrowes professes that power elites are far more inclined to use violence

against those who oppose them with violence. Thus, an unequivocal commitment to nonviolence is essential. This demands great **discipline** by both individuals and groups, as well as considerable **planning**. Furthermore, nonviolent activists should be asked to pledge themselves to a widely publicized "Code of Nonviolent Discipline." In sum, an unequivocal commitment to nonviolence, clearly defined strategic

True conflict resolution must result in the satisfaction of human needs.

aims and a widely understood strategic plan are key to successful nonviolent defense.

Burrowes argues that strategy both reflects and shapes a society's cosmology. The strategic aim of the defense should be to consolidate the power and will of the defending population to resist aggression, while the strategic aim of any counteroffensive is to alter the will of the opponent's elite to conduct aggression. The latter can be accomplished through tactics directed toward the elites themselves, their troops, their peoples or their allies. In any event, development of a strategic time frame and sequences of stages is a vital dimension of the planning process, and, even though success may come quickly, resisters should be prepared for a resistance which may last years or even decades. True to his underlying assumption, he argues that successful resolution of conflict involves winning over "opponents," not coercing them to do what you want. This in turn is only possible when the needs of both resister and aggressor are met.

By way of summation, *The Strategy*

of Nonviolent Defense argues that understanding "social cosmology," including its four interrelated components, is essential. Further, at the core of any truly and fully successful nonviolent theory, strategy and planning is the central concern of satisfying heretofore unmet human needs on the part of **all** parties concerned. Ultimately, exponents of nonviolent defense must alter the political conditions which currently make nonviolent alternatives to militarism politically unacceptable.

As stated earlier, the author paints the landscape of nonviolent theory with a broad brush, including analysis of key structural change as vital to any nonviolent social defense. At times, Burrowes seems to bite off more than can be digested in one text, addressing everything from eco-feminism to political realism.

Nevertheless, his commentary is rich, well documented, unique (especially in his eclectic strategic theory) and insightful. For those who carry many unconscious nation-state assumptions about what nonviolent resistance is and should be, this book can be particularly rewarding. I know that it awakened me from my doldrums of assuming that it's **countries** which must be defended and it challenged me to consider a more holistic approach to nonviolence in general. □

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"If my soldiers began to think, not one of them would remain in the ranks."

— Frederick the Great

How Can Individuals Implement Nonviolent Discipline?

Reprinted with Robert Burrowes' permission from pages 275-77 of his book

A key insight shared by Gandhian nonviolence and feminism is that personal behavior is a vitally important locus for change. Moreover, as Gandhi stressed repeatedly, only powerful individuals are effective agents of social transformation. In his view, a powerful individual is someone who has power-from-within/power-over-oneself. This is why he stressed ongoing review of personal values and attitudes and continuing modification of personal behavior.¹ In addition, as Brian Martin has noted, a personal focus in one's daily life is important. It provides the positive stimulation that results from the knowledge that one is *involved* and *doing something constructive*, and if it is connected with the ongoing work of radical social movements, it also undermines, in a fundamental way, the structures under challenge.²

Given the central importance of personal change, what can individuals do?

The following suggestions are derived from the evidence presented in earlier chapters that the real (as distinct from declared) reason why national elites use military violence is to defend structures of exploitation. These structures exploit women; indigenous peoples; the people of Africa, Asia, and Central/South America; nonhuman species; the environment; and working people generally. By adopting first one and then more of these suggestions, and understanding the reasons for doing so, an individual gains strength, *on a daily basis*, for the struggle to create a nonviolent cosmology using nonviolent means. This is a vital aspect of the struggle to gain widespread acceptance of nonviolent defense.

First, everyone can learn to speak the truth.³

Second, everyone can learn to deal creatively with the conflict in their personal lives.

Third, everyone can learn to respect others more deeply; that is, to refrain from the use of manipulative, exploitative, coercive, or violent behavior in their personal relationships.⁴

Fourth, men can continually examine the ways in which they benefit by living in a patriarchal society and work conscientiously to change their own attitudes, language, and behavior to eliminate their personal oppression and exploitation of women.

Fifth, nonindigenous peoples can acknowledge the identity and other needs of indigenous peoples and work



to create a new and caring relationship with indigenous peoples and their land.

Sixth, people who live in industrial societies can minimize their personal consumption and become vegans or vegetarians; this will reduce their exploitation of the people of Africa, Asia, and Central/South America, as well as nonhuman species and the environment.

Seventh, everyone can plant indigenous plants as well as their own vegetable gardens (or participate in a community garden or buy organically grown food from a local food cooperative); this will facilitate the shift to an economy based on self-reliance, cooperation, decentralization, and ecological sustainability.

And finally, everyone can devote a higher proportion of their time to creative political activity *outside* the framework of existing state structures by participating in local nonviolent struggles and local efforts to build nonviolent communities. According to Gandhi, personal action will help

to cultivate discipline and fearlessness. And the time to act is now: "it is an idle excuse to say that we shall do a thing when ... others also do it: ... we should do what we know to be right, and ... others will do it when they see the way."⁵ Action to secure the widespread acceptance of nonviolent defense requires ongoing efforts in several areas. These efforts will be more effective if they are undertaken by powerful individuals. □

Footnotes:

1. For one easily accessible reference in which Gandhi explained the importance he attached to personal behavior and his suggestions in this regard, see M. K. Gandhi, *From Yeravda Mandir: Ashram Observances*. Trans. Valji Govindji Desai. Ahmedabad, India: Navajivan, 1932.

2. Brian Martin, "Mobilising against Nuclear War: The Insufficiency of Knowledge and Logic." *Social Alternatives* 1, no. 6/7 (1980), 9-10. See also Thomas Weber, *Conflict Resolution and Gandhian Ethics*. New Delhi: Gandhi Peace Foundation, 1991, 113-14.

3. For a fuller explanation of what truth meant to Gandhi, see Gandhi, *From Yeravda Mandir*, 3-5. See also Thomas Weber, *Conflict Resolution and Gandhian Ethics*, 43-47.

4. Gandhi, *From Yeravda Mandir*, 5-7; Sissela Bok and Bill Moyers. "Role of Non-violence: An Interview." *Sansthakul* 21 (July 1991), 11.

5. M. K. Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj or Indian Home Rule*. Rev. ed. Ahmedabad, India: Navajivan, 1939, 103.

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International Training for Nonviolence

There is still time to get an application in to participate in "Nonviolence in the Context of War or Armed Conflict" an English-language training sponsored by the International Fellowship of Reconciliation April 13-28 in northern Germany.

The training will address:

- ◆ Principles of nonviolence and nonviolent direct action,
- ◆ Dealing with threatening situations
- ◆ Dialogue and nonviolent communication skills
- ◆ Reconciliation
- ◆ Consensus decision making and team work
- ◆ Dealing with stress, fear and traumatic experience
- ◆ Receiving and giving criticism — empowerment
- ◆ Understanding and transforming conflicts

- ◆ Observing and reporting human rights violations
- ◆ Issues of cultural sensitivity, and
- ◆ political analysis and nonviolent strategy development.

The training will be held at Kurve Wustrow — a nonviolence training center not far from Hamburg and

Hannover. The staff has experience in training volunteers for peace work in former Yugoslavia and has trained participants in Peace Brigades International projects. Trainers for this session will be Jill Sternberg and Hagen Berndt — two specialists in training volunteers

for crisis intervention — plus another trainer from Asia.

Cost of the training is DM 750. To apply, write Kurve Wustrow, Bildungs- und Begegnungsstätte für gewaltfreie Aktion, Kirchstrasse 14, W-3135 Wustrow, Germany; phone: 0 58 43 - 5 07. □



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