

Civilian-Based Defense

EXPLORING A NONVIOLENT STRATEGY FOR DETERRENCE AND DEFENSE

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Spontaneous CBD in Kosovo

Peter Bergel

A fascinating article in the May issue of *World Press Review* suggests that an embryonic form of civilian-based defense is occurring in the Balkan province of

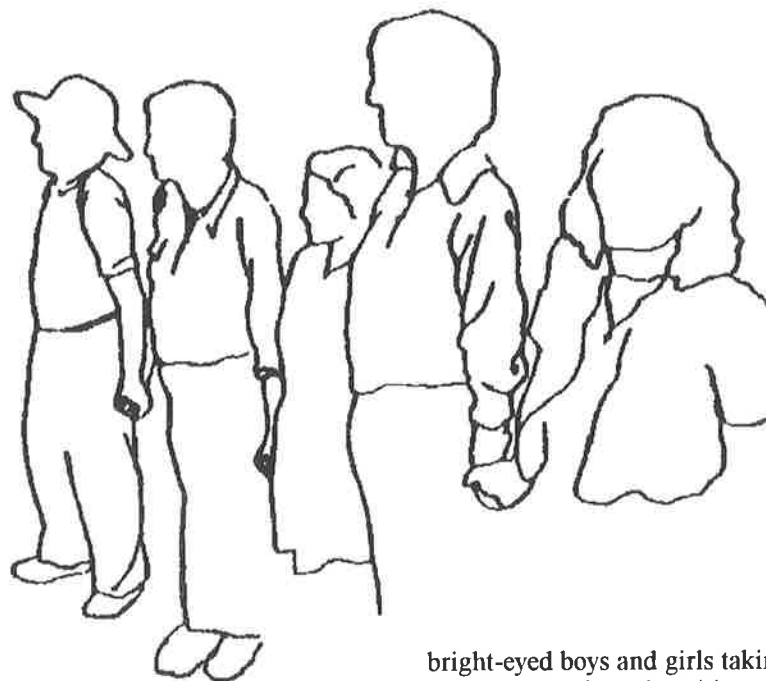
Kosovo. According to Theo Sommer, writing in the liberal weekly *Die Zeit* of Hamburg, Germany, Albanians comprise 90 percent of the population of Kosovo. Nonetheless, political control of the city is nominally in the hands of Serbs who regard Kosovo as both historically and spiritually a part of Serbia. "Serbia is every place where there are Serbian trenches, or Serbian graves," says Vuk Draskovic, who leads the largest Serbian opposition party.

How do the Serbs maintain control? It's "the Albanians' own fault," says the district governor, "they have boycotted the last three elections." However, they have not knuckled under. Rather, they have, in the tradition of advanced nonviolence, replaced Serb authority with their own. According to Sommer, "In September, 1990, they proclaimed their own constitution, and a referendum held shortly thereafter garnered 87 percent in favor of an independent Kosovo. In 1992, right under the noses of the Serbs, they held parliamentary elections and chose LDK [Democratic League of Kosovo] chairman [Ibrahim] Rugova as their president. From his office in downtown Pristina, he presides over a 'government in exile,'

complete with a foreign minister and other cabinet officers and a fleet of Mercedes limousines."

Sommer continues, "The Albanians speak openly of their 'parallel administration.' It runs their own school system right up to the university, as well as a health-care system. Some 18,000 teachers and hundreds of doctors are on its payrolls. The government is financed by regular donations from Albanians in Kosovo and abroad. It is impressive to see what the Albanians have managed to achieve in three years.

"Private individuals have put their houses at the administration's disposal, and high schools now function there. What were bedrooms are now packed with 40



bright-eyed boys and girls taking notes. Since the universities were expelled from their former quarters, they have existed in old buildings scattered around the city, often in private homes. Today about 1,000 professors are teaching 15,000 students in 13 departments. The same thing has happened with clinics. An individual will vacate his home, then volunteers will renovate the home into a clinic, while foreign-aid organizations will donate equipment and medicines. Albanian doctors staff the clinics, working for almost nothing."

The Albanians of Kosovo were not prepared for civilian-based defense before the Serbian military moved in, in 1989. Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic declared martial law when Albanians objected to Serbian government plans to pass constitutional amendments limiting Kosovo's

(continued on page 11)

From the Editor ✧ Peter Bergel

History Invites Involvement in Kosovo Struggle

Ten years ago the people of the Philippines were engaged in an enterprise of courage and integrity as they united behind the dream of throwing off a tyrant's yoke and replacing it with a democratic government. Many Filipinos stood ready to die, if necessary, as millions of soldiers have done throughout the history of our curious species. The difference was that these people were **not** soldiers. They were civilians who had, as they created a national community, found both the courage and the vision to offer their lives nonviolently for their collective future. Their story is revisited by John F. Taylor and Richard W. Fogg in an article beginning on our back page.

Today, in the Balkan enclave of Kosovo, another nonviolent quest for political independence is being played out. As with the Philippines, the absence of violence has meant that mainstream news media have bypassed the story and few outside the region are aware of it. In the Philippine revolution, the International Fellowship of Reconciliation sent trainers to help the Filipinos follow in the footsteps of leaders like M.L. King and M.K. Gandhi. In Kosovo, such groups as the American Friends Service Committee, Human Rights Watch, and others have sent representatives to the area. Some, according to AFSC's Michael Simmons, have likewise spoken of the U.S. civil rights movement, perhaps influencing those engaged in the struggle there. Can/should CBDA become involved in some way? Our front page story describes this contemporary drama.



Two Goals

Last year the Civilian-Based Defense Association's Board dedicated itself to two major efforts over the next five years (*CBD*, Summer, 1995). One was to assist at least one country in establishing CBD as part of its defense policy. The other was to acquaint at least 10 percent of the people in North America with the concept of CBD. With respect to the first goal, CBDA was thrilled last winter by Board Member Albert Lin's election to the Taiwanese Parliament, where he intends to encourage Taiwan to adopt a CBD program. The Kosovo effort offers a second opportunity for CBDA to take action relevant to this goal. Please write us your thoughts about how we can help Kosovo develop a civilian-based defense.

With respect to the second goal, Board Chair Mel Beckman reports to us on page 3 about developing plans for a major conference in 1997. The purpose of this "consultation" is to introduce CBD to religious leaders and explore with them how CBD can resolve the age-old conflict between the need for defense and the almost-universal prohibition against killing.

If religious leaders can be convinced to help spread the word about CBD, a very important step toward our second goal will have been taken.

Because we can not — at this time — count on the establishment news media to help us reach our second goal, we must take personal responsibility for knowing enough about CBD and related matters to serve as our own spokespeople. This is very much in the spirit of CBD anyway. To help us become more conversant with the history of nonviolent action, Roger S. Powers, William B. Voegle, Christopher Kruegler and Ronald M. McCarthy have created *Protest Power and Change, an Encyclopedia of Nonviolent Action*. A selection from the Introduction to this book explaining its intent, and a list of campaigns, events and locations covered in the book appear on pages 6 and 7.

Don't Neglect the Home Front

CBDA Board Member Suzanne Pearce, urging us not to forget that CBD may yet be needed to protect our liberties and way of life in the United States, has brought a startling article about the Federal Emergency Management Agency to our attention (page 4). Some of FEMA's plans, if the article can be believed, are quite alarming. Pearce says, "One thing is clear: we should organize to get present planning off the books. Substitute some disaster plans with civil rights and checks and balances built in — real community input...." Do readers agree?

Input Needed

CBD offers readers a chance each issue to comment on matters related to civilian-based defense. We solicit your opinions in our articles and editorials regularly. Board members rely on your comments, in part, as they plan CBDA's programs and foci. So please, keep those cards and letters coming, folks. □



From The Chairman

CBD Brain Bytes Sought

Mel Beckman

The idea of civilian-based defense received youth's highest award for excellence the other day. It happened in a copy shop. The college-age young man had printed my copies of some civilian-based defense material and was ringing up the sale. He pointed to the letterhead and asked, "what is that?" I explained briefly how a society might be able to deter aggression by being prepared in advance to withhold the cooperation which an invader/occupier would need to rule. The invader could, of course, bring in the tanks, but if the society were well-prepared, it would be too much of a hassle. The whole exchange lasted about a minute, and ended with the young man's tribute of "cool!"



If the concept of CBD can be grasped so quickly, with the help of such a few words, maybe we could find a lot of new, quick ways to illustrate the concept. Perhaps a rhyme, a cartoon, or a riddle? Maybe a logo or a bumper sticker? How can we describe CBD in fifty words or less? What could we produce that would emphasize the visual, with not too many words?

We invite all our readers to tap their creative abilities and help us develop some fresh, simple images of CBD so that many more people, of all ages, can quickly grasp the logic of this idea and begin to pay attention to it. Send your ideas to CBDA, P.O. Box 92, Omaha NE 68131, USA. □

1997 U.S./Canadian "Consultation" On Religion, Defense Planned

Mel Beckman

CBDA is inviting the religious communities of Canada and the United States to engage in a "faith-directed" inquiry into civilian-based defense next year. The conference will challenge people of faith (Christians, Jews, Muslims and others) to acknowledge and respond to the exciting possibility that national deterrence and defense systems could be built on a strategy of prepared, nonviolent noncooperation, instead of the capacity to use violence against potential enemies.

A Moral Form of National Defense

An expanding conference committee will plan the event, together with the Board of the Civilian-Based Defense Association. Any person or group contributing money, an idea, a referral or other assistance will automatically be added to the committee and kept informed of progress toward realization of the conference.

Preliminary conference plans call for a keynote speaker to explore the historical linkage between religion and warfare, and the moral dilemma posed to religious groups when called upon to support their country's military forms of deterrence and defense. The policy of nonviolent, civilian-based defense will be explained and offered as a kind of national security system which people of faith could accept without reservation. Conference participants will also be challenged to involve the personnel and resources of their religious communities in spreading the idea of civilian-based defense in the parts of the world where they are working.

It is hoped that the 1997 conference will stimulate a series of consultations on civilian-based defense



within the religious communities of the two countries, with later conferences held at intervals of perhaps three years.

The conference planning committee can be contacted by writing to: CBDA, P.O. Box 92, Omaha NE 68131, USA. □

Mark Your Calendar

CBDA Annual Meeting September 6-8

CBDA members who would like to meet with the directors of the Association this year are invited to mark their calendars for the weekend of September 6th to 8th. The meeting will be in the Boston area, place to be announced. If you would like to be kept informed, send your name and address to CBDA, Box 92, Omaha NE 68102. □

CBDA Welcomes New Board Members

CBDA recently welcomed Colleen Morken of Moorhead, Minnesota; Janet Nelson of Harlan, Iowa; and Stephen Lee of Taiwan to its Board of Directors. □

Recently, CBDA Board Member Suzanne Pearce sent *Civilian-Based Defense* an article about the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) which she had taken from the alt.conspiracy newsgroup on the PeaceNet computer network. If this is an accurate description of FEMA's plans, U.S. citizens would certainly have reason to fear that a crisis could seriously threaten their liberties and to consider CBD as a response. We are sending FEMA a copy of this article and asking for their response, to be published in the next issue of *CBD*. Pointing out that FEMA has a bad reputation as a result of its unrealistic plans dealing with civil defense against nuclear war, Pearce said, "organizing people to meet a catastrophe is not a far-fetched wild-eyed idea — the plans exist in these executive orders and in the heads of FEMA planners... the planning, whether practical or not, epitomizes the National Security State. What is the people-centered CBDA approach? An edited version of the FEMA article follows so our readers can judge whether we may want to use CBD to protect ourselves from FEMA.



The Secret Government

Harry V. Martin with
research assistance from

David Caul

Some people have referred to it as the "secret government" of the United States. It is not an elected body, it does not involve itself in public disclosures, and it even has a quasi-secret budget in the billions of dollars. This government organization has more power than the President of the United States or the Congress, it has the power to suspend laws, move entire populations, arrest and detain citizens without a warrant and hold them without trial, it can seize property, food supplies, transportation systems, and can suspend the Constitution.

Not only is it the most powerful entity in the United States, it was not even created under Constitutional law by the Congress. It was a product of a Presidential Executive Order. No, it is

not the U.S. military nor the Central Intelligence Agency, they are subject to Congress. The organization is called FEMA, which stands for the Federal Emergency Management Agency. Originally conceived in the Richard Nixon Administration, it was refined by President Jimmy Carter and given teeth in the Ronald Reagan and George Bush Administrations.

FEMA had one original mission when it was created: to assure the survivability of the United States government in the event of a nuclear attack on this nation. It was also given the task of being a federal coordinating body during times of domestic disasters, such as earthquakes, floods and hurricanes. Its awesome powers grew under the influence of people like Lt. Col. Oliver North and General Richard Secord, the architects of the Iran-Contra scandal and the looting of America's savings and loan institutions. FEMA has even been given

control of the State Defense Forces, a rag-tag — often considered neo-Nazi — civilian army that will substitute for the National Guard, if the Guard is called to duty overseas.

The Most Powerful Organization In The United States

Though it may be the most powerful organization in the United States, few people know it even exists. Nevertheless, it has crept into our private lives. Even mortgage papers contain FEMA's name in small print if the property in question is near a flood plain. FEMA was deeply involved in the Los Angeles riots and the 1989 Loma Prieta earthquake in the San Francisco Bay Area. FEMA has been given responsibility for responding to many disasters including urban forest fires, home heating emergencies, refugee situations, urban riots, and emergency planning for nuclear and toxic incidents. In the West, it works in conjunction with the Sixth Army.

FEMA was created by a series of Executive Orders. A Presidential Executive Order, whether Constitutional or not, becomes law simply by being published in the *Federal Register*. Congress is by-passed.

Here are just a few Executive Orders associated with FEMA that could suspend the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. These Executive Orders have been on record for nearly 30 years; they could be animated by the stroke of a Presidential pen:

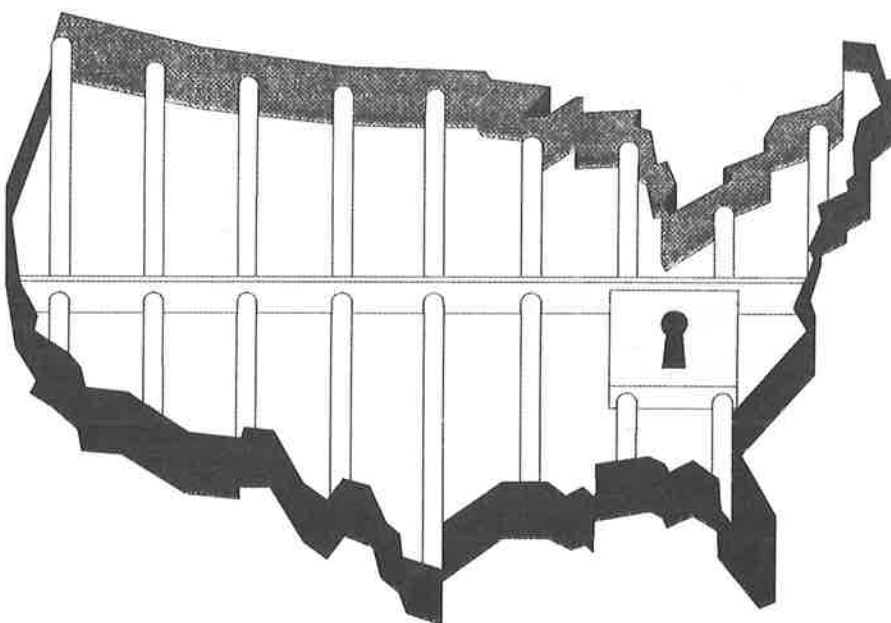
- ◆ Executive Order 10990 allows the government to take over all modes of transportation and control of highways and seaports.
- ◆ Executive Order 10995 allows the government to seize and control the communication media.
- ◆ Executive Order 10997 allows the government to take over all electrical power, gas, petroleum, fuels and minerals.

- ◆ Executive Order 10998 allows the government to take over all food resources and farms.
- ◆ Executive Order 11000 allows the government to mobilize civilians into work brigades under government supervision.
- ◆ Executive Order 11001 allows the government to take over all health, education and welfare functions.
- ◆ Executive Order 11002 authorizes the Postmaster General to operate a national registration of all persons.
- ◆ Executive Order 11003 allows the government to take over all airports and aircraft, including commercial aircraft.
- ◆ Executive Order 11004 allows the Housing and Finance Authority to relocate communities, build new housing with public funds, designate areas to be abandoned and establish new locations for populations.
- ◆ Executive Order 11005 allows the government to take over railroads, inland waterways and public storage facilities.
- ◆ Executive Order 11051 specifies the responsibilities of the Office of Emergency Planning and gives authorization to put all Executive Orders into effect in times of increased international tension and economic or financial crisis.
- ◆ Executive Order 11310 grants authority to the Department of Justice to enforce the plans set out in Executive Orders, to institute industrial support, to establish judicial and legislative liaison, to control all aliens, to operate penal and correctional institutions, and to advise and assist the President.
- ◆ Executive Order 11049 assigns emergency preparedness functions to federal departments and agencies, consolidating 21 operative Executive Orders issued over a fifteen year period.
- ◆ Executive Order 11921 allows the Federal Emergency Preparedness Agency to develop plans to establish control over the mechanisms of production and distribution, of energy sources, wages, salaries, credit and

the flow of money in U.S. financial institution in any undefined national emergency. It also provides that when a state of emergency is declared by the President, Congress cannot review the action for six months.

Protect Government from the People?

The Federal Emergency Management Agency has broad powers in every aspect of the nation. General Frank Salzedo, chief of FEMA's Civil Security Division stated in a 1983 conference that he saw FEMA's role



as a "new frontier in the protection of individual and governmental leaders from assassination, and of civil and military installations from sabotage and/or attack, as well as prevention of dissident groups from gaining access to U.S. opinion, or a global audience in times of crisis."

FEMA's powers were consolidated by President Carter to incorporate:

- ◆ the National Security Act of 1947, which allows for the strategic relocation of industries, services, government and other essential economic activities, and to ration manpower, resources and production facilities;
- ◆ the 1950 Defense Production Act, which gives the President sweeping

powers over all aspects of the economy;

- ◆ the Act of August 29, 1916, which authorizes the Secretary of the Army, in time of war, to take possession of any transportation system for transporting troops, material, or any other purpose related to the emergency; and
- ◆ the International Emergency Economic Powers Act, which enables the President to seize the property of a foreign country or national.

These powers were transferred to FEMA in a sweeping consolidation in 1979.

Hurricane Andrew Focused Attention On FEMA

FEMA's deceptive role really did not come to public attention until Hurricane Andrew smashed into the U.S. mainland. As Russell R. Dynes, director of the Disaster Research Center of the University of Delaware, wrote in *The World and I*, "...The eye of the political storm hovered over the Federal Emergency Management Agency. FEMA became a convenient target for criticism." Because FEMA was accused of dropping the ball in Florida, the media and Congress commenced to study this agency. What emerged from this critical look

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RESOURCES

Roger S. Powers and William B. Vogele are the Editors — with Christopher Krugler and Ronald M. McCarthy, Associate Editors — of *Protest Power and Change, an Encyclopedia of Nonviolent Action from Act Up to Women's Suffrage*. The Introduction to the *Encyclopedia*, which reads as follows, explains the authors' intent.

"Everyday one can find evidence of nonviolent struggle in world events. Labor strikes, protest marches, and the defiance of governmental authority by groups of people in all parts of the world are common stories in the news. No form of government appears to be free from nonviolent challenges, neither the most repressive nor the most democratic. Nor are examples limited to the current period — historical research reveals examples of nonviolent action going back as far as the Roman Empire. And nonviolent action has been used throughout the ages by people as varied as members of medieval guilds, African-American slaves, and upper-class English women.

Nonviolent Action Inadequately Studied, Poorly Understood

"But like the prose that Moliere's Monsieur Jourdain discovered he had been speaking all his life, nonviolent action has not had a distinctive identity as such. Most people associate nonviolent action with the movements led by Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr. — but they are unaware of the larger history of its use. A much smaller group of people practice nonviolent action — but they usually call it "protest," in keeping with the purposes of their activities. Some scholars study nonviolent action — but they often call it 'collective action.' And reporters frequently write about nonviolent action — but they tend to

Encyclopedia of Nonviolent Action Soon to Be Available



call it by the particular method being used, a 'demonstration,' a 'march,' a 'rally,' or a 'boycott.'

"Thus, nonviolent action remains poorly understood as a distinctive phenomenon. Because it overlaps with other areas of human behavior that receive much more study on their own — such as social conflicts, state violence and repression, war, and collective action and protest — nonviolent action has been subsumed into these fields, to the extent that it is studied at all. As a result, behavior that clearly qualifies as nonviolent action has not been studied as such; rather, it has been treated as a marginal part of other areas of interest, or worse, misinterpreted completely. Further, the field of research on nonviolent action itself generally lacks clear definition as the study of a genuinely empirical category of human actions in conflicts.

Standard Reference

"The central purpose of *Protest Power and Change* is to provide a standard reference work for an important domain of human behavior that has been well studied but incompletely identified. In this sense we wish to name the phenomenon to give it identity and coherence. Nonviolent action is defined here as a range of methods for actively waging conflict without directly threatening or inflicting physical harm to human beings. This deceptively simple definition

locates nonviolent action within the realm of social conflict and identifies it as a distinctive form of conflict behavior — one that eschews violence and physical force.

Our goal has been to develop a reference work that is at once focused and eclectic. It is focused empirically on the human experience — and therefore the great diversity — of applying nonviolent methods of action in social and political conflicts. Our conviction that nonviolent action is a universal phenomenon, transcending cultures, political systems, and even historical periods, demanded that we strive to represent much of that experience. Our selections of the many cases of nonviolent struggle provide a rich set of examples.

At the same time, our volume is eclectic in reaching out to scholars and activists whose work in other areas directly informs the study, and even the definition, of nonviolent action. *Protest Power and Change*, therefore, is also an exercise in interdisciplinary discourse.

Soup to Nuts

"What will the reader find in this book? *Protest Power and Change* includes case studies of nonviolent struggle, selected methods of nonviolent action, and profiles of people and organizations that have contributed through their arguments or actions (or both) to advancing the knowledge or practice of nonviolent struggle. In selecting these entries, we have sought to be representative rather than exhaustive. Our aim was to compile a body of work that would present the diversity of applications of nonviolent action, as well as cases that hold particular lessons. That said, we must also acknowledge that *Protest Power and Change* has two biases. It contains much more on the twentieth century than on other periods in history. And it focuses on the

(Continued on page 8)

Categorical Listing of Campaigns, Events and Locations in the Encyclopedia *Protest Power and Change*

To show how rich the — largely unknown — history of nonviolent action is, here are the campaigns and events covered in *Protest Power and Change, An Encyclopedia for Nonviolent Action*. How many do you know about?

- Abolitionist Movement (United States)
 Ahmedabad Labor Satyagraha (India), 1918
 Albany, Georgia, 1961 — 1962
 Algeria, French Generals' Revolt of 1961
 Australia, A History of Nonviolent Action
 Baliapal Movement (India), 1985 — 1992
 Baltic Independence Movements, 1987 — 1991
 Bardoli Campaign (India), 1928
 Beit Sahour (Occupied West Bank), 1988 — 1989
 Berlin Wall Destruction, 1989 — 1990
 Birmingham, Alabama, 1963
 Bosnia-Herzegovina, Resistance to Civil War, 1991 — 1992
 Burma, Democracy Movement, 1988 — 1989
 Catonsville Nine, 1968
 Chile, Civic Strike, 1931
 Chile, Transition to Democracy
 China
 Chipko Movement (India)
 Civil Rights Movement (United States)
 Colombia, Civic Strike, 1957
 Czechoslovakia, 1968 Resistance Movement
 Democracy Wall Movement
 Denmark, Evacuation of Danish Jews, 1943
 Denmark, Resistance to Nazi Occupation
 Desaparecidos Movement in Latin America
 Dharasana Salt Works Raid (India), 1930
 Dominican Republic, Civic Strike, 1961
 East Timor, Resistance to Indonesian Occupation
 Egyptian Demonstrations Against British Rule, 1919 — 1922
 El Salvador, Civic Strike, 1944
 France, Politics and Protest
 Freedom Rides, 1961
 Freedom Summer Project, Mississippi, 1964
 Gay Rights Movement
 Ghana, Anti-Colonial Movement, 1947 — 1951
 Golan Heights Druze Resistance, 1981 — 1982
 Greenham Common Peace Camp, 1981 — 1993
 Guatemala, Overthrow of Jorge Ubico, 1944
 Haiti, Fall of Duvalier, 1985 — 1986
 Hungarian National Movement, 1848 — 1867
 Independence Club Movement (Korea), 1896 — 1898
 Indian National Movement
 Intifada (Palestinian Uprising), 1987 — 1990
 IRA Hunger Strikes, 1980 — 1981
 Iranian Revolution, 1963 — 1979
 Iraq Uprising, 1948
 Italy, Social Movements and the Evolution of Strategy
 Japan, Security Treaty Protests, 1959 — 1960
 Jewish Resistance to the Holocaust
 Kapp Putsch (Germany), 1920
 Korea, Democratic Struggle in the South
 Kosova, Albanian National Movement
 Kwangju Uprising (Korea), 1980
 Larzac (France), 1971 — 1981
 Le Chambon Sur Lignon, France
 Maori Movement, 1870-19%
 March First Independence Movement (Korea), 1919
 March on Washington, 1963
 Mau Noncooperation (Western Samoa), 1924 — 1936
 May Fourth Movement (China), 1919
 Mexico, Nonviolent Action & Political Processes
 Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955 — 1956
 Namibia, Campaign for Freedom
 Native American Treaty Rights Movements, 1950s — 1990s
 Nazism, Civilian Resistance, 1939 — 1945
 Nepal, Movement for Restoration of Democracy, 1990
 Nicaragua, Civic Strike, 1944
 Nicaragua, Nonviolence and Revolution
 Norway, Resistance to German Occupation, 1940 — 1945
 Nuclear Energy Opposition
 Nuclear Weapons Opposition
 Palestine, Arab Revolt, 1936-1939
 Palestine, Illegal Jewish Immigration, 1939 — 1948
 Panama, Civic Crusade, 1987 — 1989
 Pathan Defiance, 1929 — 1938
 Persia, Reform Movement, 1880 — 1909
 Philippines People Power Revolution, 1986
 Poor People's Campaign, 1968
 Rainbow Warrior
 Revolutions of 1989
 Rosenstrasse Protest (Germany), 1943
 Rowlatt Bills, Opposition (India), 1919
 Ruhrkampf (Germany), 1923
 Russian Revolution of 1905
 Salt March (India), 1930
 San Francisco General Strike, 1934
 Sanctuary Movement
 Seattle General Strike, 1919
 Selma-to-Montgomery March, 1965
 Serbia, Antiwar Activity, 1991 — 1994
 Solidarity (Poland)
 South Africa, Anti-apartheid Sanctions
 South Africa, Opposition to Racial Oppression
 Soviet Union, Coup Attempt, 1991
 Soweto Uprising (South Africa), 1976
 Sudan Rebellion, 1985
 Thailand, Democracy Movement, 1992
 Tiananmen Square, Democracy Movement, Beijing, 1989
 Tibetan Resistance, 1950 — present
 U. S., Independence Movement, 1765 — 1773
 Vietnam War Opposition
 Vykom Campaign (India), 1924 — 1925
 Women's Suffrage
 Zambia, Anticolonial Movement, 1953 — 1964. □

Nobel Peace Laureate to Speak at IPRA Conference

The University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia, will be hosting the 16th General Conference of the International Peace Research Association (IPRA) from 8th to 12th July, 1996. Among the speakers at this very important event

will be Nobel Peace Laureate, Professor Joseph Rotblat, as well as many of the leading peace researchers and scholars of the world.

For more information, contact Ralph Summy, Department of Government, The University of Queensland, St. Lucia QLD 4072, AUSTRALIA; PH: +61 7 365 2324; FAX: +61 7 365 1388; e-mail: r.summy@mailbox.uq.oz.au □

RESOURCES

Encyclopedia

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United States more than on other parts of the world.

"The *Encyclopedia* also contains essays on topics directly related to the study of nonviolent action, as well as on themes not commonly associated with that enterprise. These entries offer integrative insights that can inform our reading of the empirical case study entries. In some cases they may also provide a certain creative tension. For example, the entry on strategy suggests that the exercise of strategic analysis, commonly undertaken by military professionals can, and should, be applied to nonviolent struggle. Indeed, when one then reads the essays on abolition, the Indian independence movement, or women's suffrage, the moments of strategic dilemma and choice appear sharply, and we can think about whether the choices made were wise or foolish. Similarly, the entry on methods of nonviolent action elaborates on the technique approach to studying nonviolent action, arguing that ethical motivations should not be part of the definition of nonviolent action.

Nevertheless, ethics as well as politics and strategy have often influenced the course of nonviolent struggle, as the essays on pacifism, Gandhi, and King, among others, clearly show.

"We hope our efforts here contribute to defining a field of study and facilitate productive thought and action by many persons. We see this volume as a place where one might begin an inquiry on this important topic, be engaged by mature debates, and be struck by new insights." □

Garland Publishing, 717 Fifth Ave., Suite 2500, New York, NY 10022. \$75 hardbound. 300+ entries, 800+ pages, 100 photos.

Gandhi's Peace Army — The Shanti Sena and Unarmed Peacekeeping

This new title by Thomas Weber from Syracuse University Press, includes a foreword by Elise Boulding. The following is how the publisher describes it.

With an increase in United Nations peacekeeping operations around the world, and given the problems in Somalia and Bosnia, there is growing debate about their future and the possible alternatives to resolving international and inter-communal conflicts.

Alongside the U.N. model of peacekeeping, there has been a little-known but significant history of unarmed peacekeeping attempts based largely on Mahatma Gandhi's ideas and the experience of the Shanti Sena. Sena members are involved on a grassroots level in conflict resolu-

tion, using peace-building techniques which have inspired groups such as the World Peace Brigade, the Cyprus Resettlement Project, and Peace Brigades International.

Based on interviews with key participants and analysts of the peace army, and archival documents, the book contributes greatly to the study of unarmed peacekeeping. It marks the first time anyone has chronicled in such detail the activities and history of the Shanti Sena during its most active years of 1957 to 1975. □

Thomas Weber teaches Legal Studies and Peace Studies at Melbourne's La Trobe University. 320 pages, index. Cloth \$49.95.

Citizen Nonviolent Peacemaking: An Alternative To Violence And War

David Hartsough

Violence And War Are Neither Natural Nor Inevitable

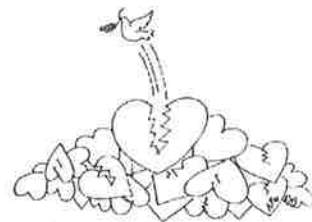
Common people can confront and overcome violence. History is full of examples of citizen nonviolent peacemakers discovering a way out of violence. Their histories and examples demonstrate that accelerated violence is not the only means for transforming conflict or "combating" war. However, the world needs to be challenged to expand its understanding of peacemaking.

Currently there are many alternative citizen peacemaking groups working on a small scale. Given their

size and resources, their accomplishments have been enormous.

PEACEWORKERS believes that the history and examples of citizen nonviolent peacemaking efforts can help to unmask the myth that violence — communal, national, or international — is inevitable, natural and unstoppable. Citizen nonviolent peacemaking is a cost-effective and successful alternative method for dealing with conflict. It has a

(continued on page 11)



FEMA — The Secret Government / Continued from p. 5

was that FEMA was spending 12 times more for "black operations" than for disaster relief. It spent \$1.3 billion building secret bunkers throughout the United States in anticipation of government disruption by foreign or domestic upheaval. Yet fewer than 20 members of Congress, only members with top security clearances, knew of the \$1.3 billion expenditure by FEMA for non-natural disaster situations. These few Congressional leaders state that FEMA has a "black curtain" around its operations. FEMA has worked on National Security programs since 1979, and its predecessor, the Federal Emergency Preparedness Agency, secretly spent millions of dollars before being merged into FEMA by President Carter in 1979.

FEMA has developed 300 sophisticated mobile units capable of sustaining themselves for a month. The vehicles are located in five areas of the United States. They have tremendous communication systems and each contains a generator that would provide power to 120 homes. They have never been used for disaster relief.

FEMA's Powers Easily Unleashed

FEMA's powers can be triggered in response to any form of domestic or foreign problem — perceived or real. The President has broad power to declare martial law, which activates FEMA's extraordinary authority. Martial law can be declared because of increased tension overseas, economic problems within the United States (such as a depression), civil unrest (such as demonstrations) or events like the Los Angeles riots or a drug crisis. These Presidential powers have increased with successive crime bills — particularly the 1991 and 1993 versions.

Three times since 1984, FEMA has stood on the threshold of taking



were not severe enough to warrant risking martial law. Most experts on the subject of FEMA and martial law agree that a crisis has to appear extremely dangerous for the people of the United States to tolerate or accept complete government take-over. Examples might include threat of imminent nuclear war, rioting in several U.S. cities simultaneously, a series of national disasters posing widespread danger to the public, massive terrorist attacks, a depression in which tens of millions are unemployed and without financial resources or a major environmental disaster.

Once FEMA is triggered into action it may be too late, because under the FEMA plan there is no contingency by which Constitutional power is restored. □

*A longer version of this article was posted by
jhdaugh@a-albionic.com in
igc:alt.conspiracy.*

Under the FEMA plan there is no contingency by which Constitutional power is restored.

control of the nation. Once under President Reagan in 1984, and twice under President Bush in 1990 and 1992. On those occasions, the crises

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10th Anniversary of Philippine Revolution / Continued from p. 12

Reconciliation (IFOR). It is a religious, pacifist organization that educates and acts to substitute nonviolence and reconciliation for violence. Father Jose Blanco, SJ leads the Philippine chapter of IFOR. Richard Deats led the chapter in the United States, but he wanted to help the action in the Philippines so he joined the IFOR effort there. He told us the story.

For a year and a half before the 1986 presidential election, The Fellowship had run workshops in the Philippines on nonviolence. Bishops and other Catholic and Protestant leaders and grassroots activists attended these workshops and spread the teachings through their clergy to many of the islands. Deats and Hildegard and Jean Goss-Mayr, vice presidents of IFOR, led some of the workshops. Mrs. Goss-Mayr met with Cory Aquino and Cardinal Sin prior to the election in which Mrs. Aquino ran against Mr. Marcos for the presidency. The workshops built on the fairly widespread nonviolence movement that had mushroomed in the Philippines after the death of Benigno Aquino, Mrs. Aquino's husband.

The fundamental point stressed in the workshops was that everybody is somebody because he or she is a child of God. From this sense of dignity, which the Marcos dictatorship had partly destroyed, the rest flowed.

Many Filipinos believed that the only ways to react to the Marcos dictatorship were with passivity or counterviolence. IFOR taught that there is a third way: active nonviolence, the way of Jesus. This means being friendly to opponents but refusing to submit to them.

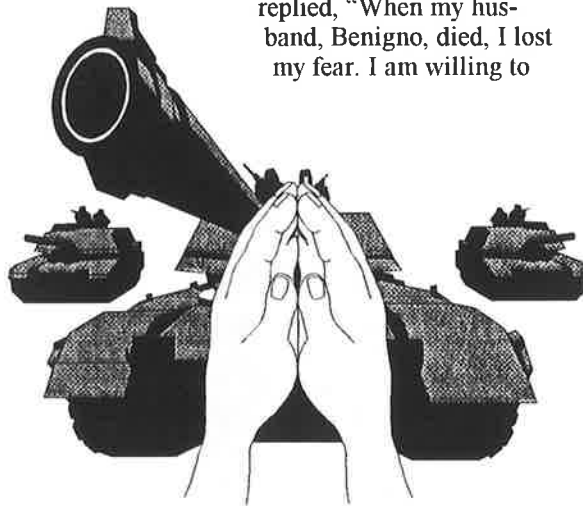
Noncooperation Works

In nonviolence meetings, rural Filipinos asked how to apply this principle to the problem of guerillas

trying to recruit in towns at night and soldiers trying to find out during the day who was considering joining the guerillas. Leaders of the meetings advised such townspeople to form a fairly large group to confront the guerillas and the military to say politely that the town would cooperate with neither. Many towns did this and were not harmed or, in most cases, approached any more.

Not only these townspeople, but Cory Aquino did not submit to her opponents. Her guards urged her to stop dressing in

yellow, her campaign color, because it made her a better target. She replied, "When my husband, Benigno, died, I lost my fear. I am willing to



die for my country if necessary."

Marcos proceeded to steal the election. In an effort to prevent that, Aquino workers sat on the ballot boxes. Later, they said, "Because Cory had no fear, we had the courage to guard the ballot boxes and oppose the soldiers."

Soldiers' Courage Without Soldiers' Weapons

Then the activists stepped up their campaigns. The churches set up

prayer tents for activists and offered the Eucharist. It raised the question of whether the activists were willing to risk giving their lives, as Jesus had done. Some were. That willingness to die helped bring the courage to demonstrate against the military.

Filipinos experienced the paradox of staying alive by agreeing to die.

The children of Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile said to him, "Daddy, how can you support Marcos when he stole the election?" "Child power. Enrile and Lieutenant General Fidel Ramos learned that Marcos

planned to have them arrested. They defected and went to Camp Crame, where there were a mere 300 sympathetic soldiers to protect them — against Marcos' 300,000. Enrile and Ramos took last rites.

Marcos ordered the camp attacked. Tanks rolled and planes started to dive-bomb, but nonviolence won. One hundred thousand people had surrounded the camp. The pilots pulled their planes out of their dives and did not drop their bombs; instead they dropped their allegiance to Marcos, saying that they were not butchers; they had joined the military to defend civilians, not attack them.

Then the nuns and priests acted. Some of them had seen the film *Gandhi* and, inspired by it, they decided that they would oppose Marcos' military and would keep coming in waves, even if beaten down. Many expected to be mowed down or run over by tanks. They took last rites and prepared to die.

When the tanks came, the nuns and a few priests knelt before them and prayed, placing statues of Jesus and of Mary on the ground in front of them. The tanks moved forward,

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Philippine Anniversary

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but stopped and eventually went back to camp. There were so many people around them that they could not move. Nun power. Priest power. Enrile and Ramos were saved.

In the event, not many people were killed. Filipinos experienced the paradox of staying alive by agreeing to die.

Governments of other nations participated in the nonviolence, refusing to loan money to the Philippines. President Reagan withdrew his support of Marcos. And with that final gesture, Marcos fled to Hawaii and eventually died. Cory Aquino became president, followed by Fidel Ramos. □

John F. Taylor is a writer living in Austin, Texas. Richard W. Fogg directs the Center for the Study of Conflict, Inc., located in Baltimore, Maryland.

Citizen Nonviolent Peacemaking

Continued from p. 8

recorded ability to strengthen communities, empower social change agents and save threatened lives. Below is a list of eleven nonviolent citizens' peacemaking approaches currently in use:

1. Preventive Diplomacy
2. Protective Accompaniment
3. Interposition
4. Reconciliation, Peace Building and Conflict resolution
5. Mediation
6. Training in nonviolent methods to overcome injustice
7. Modeling
8. Supporting the Peace Process
9. Changing Government Policy
10. Observation and Monitoring
11. Domestic Peacemaking (in the US)

Groups pioneering excellent work in nonviolent peacemaking include: Peace Brigades International, Witness For Peace, Global Exchange, Christian Peacemaker Teams, Balkan Peace Teams, SIPAZ, International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR), War

Resisters International (WRI), International Alert, CDR Associates, and UN Volunteers.

Countries in which these teams are presently working include: Guatemala, Mexico, Colombia, Canada, the United States, Nicaragua, Haiti, Palestine/Israel, former Yugoslavia, Burundi and the Caucasus region of former Soviet Union.

A team of citizen peacemakers goes into a location if:

- 1) there are already local groups or people (in the conflict area) working for a peaceful and just solution for all parties involved; and
- 2) these local groups invite us.

Our role is to be supportive, not to come in with solutions. We do not favor a new kind of imperialism or "peace colonialism." We respect the key role of local groups and local peacemakers by playing a supportive role through accompaniment, training, interposition, etc. Some of the lessons learned in our work thus far include:

- ◆ Good organization, strategic thinking and support for the peace teams are essential.
- ◆ Never sacrifice quality for quantity of peacemakers
- ◆ Nonviolence is not for cowards. A peace team member needs at least as much courage as the armed soldier, but does not need to be super-human. S/he needs to believe that we are all brothers and sisters, and be willing to act on the belief that peace teams can make a difference.
- ◆ Good listening and cultural sensitivity skills are essential
- ◆ An emergency response network is an invaluable back-up to peace teams in the field. □

David Hartsough is Executive Director of Peaceworkers. He has led or participated in nonviolent peacemaking efforts in the US, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Cuba, the Philippines, Yugoslavia, Germany and Russia. This article is part of a longer piece in which Hartsough explores each of the eleven forms of peacemaking mentioned above. For a copy of the longer article, contact Peaceworkers, 721 Shrader St., San Francisco, CA 94117; phone/fax:415/751-0302; e-mail: peaceworkers@igc.apc.org.

Kosovo

Continued from p. 1

autonomy. Under cover of the emergency declaration, there were, says Sommer, arrests, killings and torture. The regional legislature was abolished and the police and Communist party packed with Serbs. More than 100,000 Albanians lost their jobs and apartments. When the Albanian-language daily was shut down, Radio Pristina stopped broadcasting in Albanian and teachers were ordered to lecture in Serbo-Croatian, the stage was set for revolt.

As many as 10,000 people at a time took part in mass protests, according to University of Washington professor Sabrina P. Ramet. On July 2, 1990, the provincial Assembly declared Kosovo's secession from Serbia (though not from Yugoslavia).

Ramet points out that three factors cooled the ugly confrontation that was developing between the Kosovo Albanians and the Serbian military (and local Serbian vigilante groups).

1. The largely unarmed Albanians did not want to give the heavily-armed Serbs further excuses to escalate the repression.
2. President Rugova consistently counseled and modeled moderation.
3. The outbreak of the Serb-Croat war distracted Milosovic.

Despite all this, Kosovo's experience of determined nonviolent resistance can offer encouragement to advocates of CBD. □

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Ten-Year Anniversary

Spontaneous CBD in the Philippine Revolution

**John F. Taylor and
Richard W. Fogg**

It has been ten years since people power toppled President Ferdinand Marcos from office in the Philippines in late winter 1986. He had seemed entrenched in office because he controlled the federal government and many local

governments, the military and the economy in a country that is divided into 7,000 islands. But nonviolent action reached into many of those islands and ended his dictatorship.

Fellowship of Reconciliation Played Key Role

Unlike many nonviolent struggles, the Philippine campaign had a religious base, and much of the organizing was done by the International Fellowship of

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