

Civilian-Based Defense

EXPLORING A NONVIOLENT STRATEGY FOR DETERRENCE AND DEFENSE

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Strategic Nonviolence in a Post-Bosnia World

Michael Randle

Are nonviolent modes of action pertinent in all types of conflict situations — or might they become so given sufficient research? It is an appropriate moment to reconsider this question, particularly in relation to “strategic nonviolence” and civilian-based defense.

Historic Opportunity Lost

At the beginning of the decade — in the wake of the 1989 revolutions in Eastern Europe, the defeat of the anti-Gorbachev coup in 1991, the collapse of apartheid in South Africa, and developments during preceding years in several other countries, notably, the Philippines, Chile, and Korea — strategic nonviolence appeared to have come of age historically. The ending of the Cold War provided space for countries formerly

locked into the East-West confrontation to reconsider their security needs, perhaps even to assign a significant role to civilian-based defense. The United Nations could also be expected to play a more dynamic role in strengthening international security now that it was no longer stymied in major crises by the predictable veto of one side or the other.

Today the outlook is grimly transformed. The end of the Cold War did not usher in a stable New World Order, but rather an era of bloody conflicts. Moreover, most of these conflicts did not readily lend themselves to effective nonviolent action. Civilian-based defense has, as a result, become still further dis-

tanced from practical politics. Today the countries of Eastern Europe, where civil resistance played an key role in the overthrow of Soviet hegemony, are queuing up to join NATO.



Weak Points of Peace Proposals Revealed

What is true of civilian-based defense applies to some extent to the whole alternative, non-nuclear, defense strategy pioneered by the peace movements in the 1980s. Non-offensive defense was the key element in the strategy, to be adopted either unilaterally or jointly with potential adversaries. It implied a configuration of forces and armaments that would be strong in defense, but would have only a limited capacity to project force at a distance. In some versions, notably that

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Nonviolent modes of action are more effective in some situations than others. Sometimes they will not be effective at all.

From the Editor ✨ Peter Bergel

CBD: Practical Proposition or Overrated Dream?

To regular readers of this publication, many of them members of the Civilian-Based Defense Association, civilian-based defense seems like both a good idea and a practical proposition. We define our highest priority task (at least in the short-term) as alerting others to those optimistic views and then convincing them. Beginning on this issue's back cover, Leonard Desroches, in an excerpt from his recently-published book *Allow the Water*, makes these arguments. However, Michael Randle, taking a more critical and pessimistic view, suggests that CBD (and other forms of nonviolent action) may be less applicable in today's post-Bosnia world than many of us would prefer to admit.

Because we believe his article raises some difficult questions, we

feature Randle's arguments on our cover. Is Randle correct when he suggests that the joint tragedies of the Gulf War and Bosnia demonstrate the need for military intervention in some kinds of conflicts? Or is he merely serving the old wine of military apology from a new bottle? *Civilian-Based Defense* invites reader comment.

In our Summer issue, we printed an article alleging that the Federal Emergency Management Agency might become a serious threat to the U.S. people — a threat requiring a CBD response. In this issue, we print FEMA's answer. Is it credible, or does it gloss over the basic concerns of the original article? Interested readers are encouraged to investigate further and to keep *CBD* abreast of their findings.

An Opportunity To Introduce CBD

Canada's Department of Foreign Affairs invites public input on the implications of a recent decision handed down by the International Court of Justice. The decision makes the threat or use of nuclear weapons illegal in virtually all cases. Suggestions regarding Canada's next steps to promote nuclear disarmament are also sought.

The invitation appeared on the Department's web site (<http://www.dfait.macc.gc.ca/ENGLISH/FOREIGN/DISARM/DISARM.HTM>).

Comments may be sent by e-mail to skrsb3@fox.nstn.ca or by fax to 613-944-1177, or by snail mail to Lloyd Axworthy, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dept of Foreign Affairs and international Trade, 125 Sussex Drive, Ottawa, Ont., K1A 0G2, Canada.

[This information is from the Nov/Dec issue of *Peace Magazine*, published by the Canadian Disarmament Information Service, 736 Bathurst St., Toronto M5S 2R4, Canada.]

CBDA NEWS

Co-Sponsors Sought for CBDA Conference

Mel Beckman

Planning continues for CBDA's 1997 conference, which is designed to introduce CBD to both the leaders and general membership of religious communities in the United States, Canada, and Taiwan (others also welcome). The consultation is tentatively scheduled for the weekend of November 21-23, 1997, at a church in Los Angeles.

Final suggestions for content and speakers are now being solicited from an extended planning committee of some forty individuals who have contributed start-up funding or suggestions for the consultation. When the program is confirmed early in

1997, a request for co-sponsorships will be mailed to religious communities in the three countries. The decision by the CBDA board to seek broad support of the consultation means that a group or individual may become a co-sponsor by contributing \$100 or more toward costs. Co-sponsorships are being accepted now. For more information, to suggest possible co-sponsoring groups, etc., write to CBDA, P.O. Box 92, Omaha NE 68101 USA - or send message by e-mail to: melb@creighton.edu.

CBDA's 1997 consultation on religion and civilian-based defense may well represent the most substantial effort to-date to focus the attention of diverse religious communities on the potential effectiveness of CBD as a defense policy, and on its compatibility with religious values. □

ONE-THIRD OFF



Send *Civilian-Based Defense* to your favorite religious leader, teacher, author, etc., — anywhere in the world — for a period of one year, for only \$10 (regularly \$15 per year). Also applies for church offices and agencies, religious organizations, etc.

This offer is good until November, 1997. We want church-connected people to know about CBDA's upcoming "Consultation on Religion and Civilian-Based Defense," scheduled for next November in Los Angeles.

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of the Alternative Defence Commission in Britain, it would be supplemented by preparations for territorial defense and/or civilian defense.¹ Usually a corollary of the non-offensive strategy was an unconditional renunciation of military intervention coupled with the strengthening of the UN as a peacekeeping rather than as a war-fighting force.

The Gulf War and Bosnia together exposed the weak points in these proposals and split the peace coalition mainly responsible for promoting them. Whatever the ambiguities surrounding Iraq's invasion and occupation of Kuwait, and however mixed the motives of the anti-Iraq alliance formed to combat it, some vigorous response was clearly called for by the international community when one UN member state occupied another and announced its demise and incorporation. However, it required the deployment of the largest offensive strategic force since the end of World War II, and the use of the most modern offensive weapons, to drive out Saddam Hussein's forces. Moreover those alternative defense commentators who predicted that the Iraqi army, because of the thoroughness of its defensive preparations, would take months or perhaps even years to dislodge were shown to have been mistaken.

In Bosnia the UN adopted a peacekeeping rather than a warfighting approach, and suffered in consequence a humiliating defeat. There were, of course, other factors involved. Political error was even more responsible than military weakness for the debacle. At all events, the European and U.S. peace movement — and the left generally — were divided over what should be done. Some called for the arms embargo on Bosnia to be lifted and for full-scale military intervention. Others, myself included, feared this could lead to a prolonged Vietnam-type war, especially if the aim was to establish by force a unitary sovereign state which had never been acceptable to the majority of Bosnia's Serb population. It remains the case, however, that when a solution

of sorts was accepted in principle by all parties, it took NATO's war-fighting approach to push it through and end Bosnian Serb prevarication and continued aggression.

Military Intervention Seems to Have Been Needed

NATO intervention, coupled with the U.S. rearmament of Croatia, of course had other consequences including enabling the Croatian army to expel several hundred thousand Serbs from their homes in central Bosnia, the Krajina and Western Slavonia. Nor is it at all clear whether we are witnessing the first stages of a genuine peace or simply an intermission in the fighting which will resume when NATO forces withdraw. But my point is that the UN peacekeeping force, defensively armed and operating within strict limits, was unable to halt the bloodshed. This occurred only when the NATO guns began firing.

Sanctions against Serbia did play a role and this should not be forgotten. Milosevic has had to curb his expansionist ambitions and distance himself from his maverick allies in Bosnia and Croatia. Nevertheless, the experience also underlines the fact that economic and political sanctions are slow-acting and cannot normally bring a swift end to an ongoing conflict. On the other hand, military action sometimes can, though not always, of course. Sometimes even well-intentioned interventions can lead to a more prolonged and bloody conflict. However, we cannot assume *a priori* that this will be the result. In Bosnia, as in Haiti, military intervention has made a difference.

Courageous attempts by outside peace groups to interpose themselves between the combatants in former Yugoslavia, or between the military and their civilian targets, proved ineffectual. More to the point have been the efforts of groups like *Otverene Oci*, the Balkan Peace Team in Croatia, which have made a longer-term commitment to work in the area in close cooperation with local peace and nonviolent groups. In the end it is such indigenous organisations in ex-Yugoslavia that are

the key to effective nonviolent action there. Significantly many of these supported military intervention to halt the bloodshed.

War Avoided, but No Political Victory

In Kosovo the situation is different and it represents something of a test-case. The majority Albanian population has employed noncooperation and other forms of nonviolent action to resist Belgrade's coup of 1988, which annulled the region's autonomous status. But while war has been avoided, political success has largely eluded the campaign, chiefly because the Serb authorities are not particularly dependent on the cooperation of the local inhabitants, and because the international community has failed totally to take up the issue and put pressure on Milosevic to restore Kosovo's autonomy.

This brings us back to the original question. Clearly nonviolent modes of action are more effective in some situations than others. Sometimes they will not be effective at all, at least within the required time frame. They are more likely to be successful where the opponents depend ultimately on the cooperation of those engaged in the struggle, and where they are constrained by other factors from using extreme violence. Such constraints may include: the uncertain loyalty of the army or the police, or vulnerability to sanctions coupled with a determination by outside states to apply them. They are least likely to be effective where the aim of the opponent is ethnic cleansing or even genocide and the perpetrators of such outrages command the loyalty of fanatical armed followers.

Nonviolent Action, But Not In Isolation

Unfortunately it is conflicts of this nature that are now becoming more common as multi-national states like Yugoslavia or the Soviet Union, or the states carved out by colonialism in

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Africa and elsewhere, fracture and fall apart. Further research and action may reveal how to make nonviolent action more effective in a wider range of situations. However, simply to call for further research whenever a nonviolent solution appears beyond reach can be a way of evading the hard political and moral choices that have to be made in the world as it actually exists.

One implication of this is, I think, that we should not view nonviolent action in isolation from initiatives at the diplomatic, political, and sometimes even, regrettably, the military level. We need also to recognize that in some circumstances there is a role for conflict resolution and mediation, approaches which have tended to be dismissed in the past by the proponents of more radical nonviolent action.

Appropriate Nonviolent Action Will Reveal Its Practicality

To conclude on a positive note, the strategic successes of nonviolent action over the last ten or fifteen years are not to be brushed aside. While there may be little scope for nonviolent action in the height of a war, or against a genocidal regime, its use at an early stage can sometimes determine whether a situation deteriorates to such extremes. In Burma and Nigeria today, civil resistance offers the one slim hope of avoiding all-out civil war and new killing fields. It is praxis, in these critical situations, carefully analyzed to draw out its implications, that will in the end convince or fail to convince people about nonviolent action and determine the limits of its effectiveness. □

[Michael Randle has been involved as activist and researcher promoting and analyzing nonviolent action since the 1950s. He is currently coordinator of the Bradford University-based Nonviolent Action Research Project in England.]

1. See Alternative Defense Commission, *Defense Without the Bomb*, Taylor & Francis, London, 1983, and *The Politics of Alternative Defence*, Paladin, London, 1987.

Special Report from the Balkan Peace Team in Belgrade

Nonviolent Student Protesters Seek Support in Belgrade

Recent large protest demonstrations in Belgrade have been receiving international media coverage. The university student strike and protest marches which are a part of these protests merit special attention. The student strike and daily student

messages and reports to the rest of the world. They have a well-thought-out nonviolent strategy, with designated monitors — who are prepared to act as a buffer between police and demonstrators — lining the march route. In case of police violence, demonstrators are prepared to sit down en masse in the street.

The demonstrations are quite creative. For example, on December 5th, students built a brick wall in front of the Parliament to show that they are building their society, not destroying it.

The students told us that they are in great need of outside support. They do not need nonviolence trainings, which have been offered by some international NGOs (non-governmental organizations). Rather, they called for practical help, both from NGOs in Belgrade and around the world.

- ◆ From local NGOs, they need paper; photocopier toner (Minolta copy machine); and food and drink for the all-night e-mail crews.
- ◆ From international NGOs, they need financial donations to pay for printing and office supplies.
- ◆ From university students and student organizations around the world, they need letters of support.

They suggested that if organizations would like to help in some way, they should contact the student organizers directly to make arrangements. The telephone number for Student Protest 1996 is +381 11 438 653. The e-mail address is: protest@galeb.etf.bg.ac.yu They maintain a special office for handling contributions which is open daily.

[Balkan Peace Team is a non-partisan international voluntary organisation which supports the building of civil society. This report was forwarded via e-mail by the War Resisters League.]

protest marches are organized independently of all political parties.

The students have 3 specific short-term demands:

- ◆ investigation of the cancelled local election results;
- ◆ acknowledgement of the protests from the University Rector (who denied there were any protesting students), and
- ◆ a public explanation from Yugoslavian President, Slobodan Milosevic.

However, the student organizers sense that this democratic student movement is creating an atmosphere for much bigger social changes in the years ahead. They also believe that the strike and protest have put their careers and their lives at risk.

The Balkan Peace Team in Belgrade met with students at Student Protest 1996 recently and found the organizers very well prepared.

There are marches and demonstrations taking place every day at noon; each night students occupy university buildings, sending electronic mail



[In the Summer issue of Civilian-Based Defense, we ran an article about the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) sent to us by Board Member Suzanne Pearce who had gleaned it from an Internet newsgroup. Recalling FEMA's unrealistic and dangerous plans dealing with prepara-

F E M A

Responds to CDB

tion for nuclear war, we published it with the promise to our readers that we would contact FEMA for its response. We spoke with Phillip S. Cogan of FEMA who has provided the following rebuttal.]

Phillip S. Cogan

In direct response to allegations made in the article we respond as follows.

FEMA is not an elected body

True, nor is any other department or agency of the Federal Government.

FEMA has a quasi-secret budget in the billions of dollars

Not true. Our basic budget request to the Congress for the upcoming fiscal year 1997 was \$792.3 million. We estimate outlays of \$3.8 billion, \$3.4 of which would come from the President's Disaster Relief Fund for the federal share of disaster relief under the Stafford Act. These are the only billions of dollars we administer, mostly from supplemental appropriations from the Congress when major disasters such as the Northridge earthquake, the Great Midwest Flood of 1993, the recent major flooding in the Northwest, or, most recently, Hurricane Fran, occur.

Peace, n. In international affairs, a period of cheating between two periods of fighting.

— Ambrose Bierce

FEMA has more power than the President or the Congress

Not true, pure nonsense. We operate under the Constitution and the laws enacted by the Congress. The Congress has given considerable authority to the President to deal with national security,

national defense, and civil emergency preparedness. The President, in turn, has delegated a small portion of his total authority to FEMA, to

coordinate federal efforts in disaster relief; to plan and prepare for a range of natural and manmade disasters — including the consequences of terrorism; to manage the National Flood Insurance Program, to provide training and exercises in emergency preparedness for federal, state and local government personnel, and to provide grants and training in fire and arson prevention and control, among other things.

We do not have power to suspend laws, move entire populations, arrest and detain citizens with or without warrants, hold citizens without trial, seize property, food supplies, transportation systems, nor to suspend the Constitution.

FEMA was not created under Constitutional law

Not true. FEMA was established in the executive branch as an independent agency under Reorganization Plan No. 3 of 1978. It consolidates in one agency the emergency management functions previously administered by five different federal agencies. The reorganization plan was transmitted to the Congress by President Carter on June 19, 1978, under the Reorganization Act of 1966, 5 U.S.C. 901 and following sections.

FEMA is the product of a Presidential executive order

Partly true. The executive order is one of the legal mechanisms the President uses to delegate authority granted to him, and by which he determines which agencies have what duties under the laws and Constitution. After Congressional approval of Reorganization Plan No. 3 of 1978, President Carter delegated to FEMA certain functions and authorities vested in him by the Congress by Executive Orders 12127 and 12148. Additional delegations to FEMA by the President for planning and coordinating responsibilities include; E.O. 11988, Floodplain Management; E.O. 11990, Protection of Wetlands; E.O. 12656, Assignment of Emergency Preparedness Responsibilities; E.O. 12657, Federal Emergency Management Assistance in Emergency Planning at Commercial Nuclear Power Plants; E.O. 12699, Seismic Safety of Federal and Federally Assisted or Regulated New Building Construction. Our regulations in Volume 44 of the Code of



Federal Regulations list at least 30 executive orders that we and other Federal agencies and departments are required to adhere to, by order of the President.

FEMA has been given control of the State Defense Forces

Not true. FEMA has no authority whatsoever over any "State Defense Forces," the National Guard, any state militia, or any other military or paramilitary group.

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FEMA Responds to CBD

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Executive Orders listed could suspend the Constitution and the Bill of Rights

Each of the Executive Orders listed in the article [printed in *CBD*] delegated a portion of the President's authority from the Congress to a federal department or agency during national security emergencies. Virtually every one of those listed has been superseded or revoked. None of them authorized FEMA or any other department or agency to suspend the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. The status of the Executive Orders is as follows:

Executive Order 10990 was superseded by E.O. 11612; E.O. 11612 was superseded by E.O. 11807; E.O. 11807 was revoked by E.O. 12196.

Executive Order 10995 was revoked by E.O. 11556; E.O. 11556 was revoked by E.O. 12046; E.O. 12046 was amended by E.O. 12148 and E.O. 12472, and is presently codified.

Executive Order 11490 revoked and superseded the following Executive Orders included in the list: Executive Orders 10997, 10998, 11000, 11001, 11002, 11003, 11004, 11005, and 11310. Executive Order 11921 amended E.O. 11490. Executive Order 11490 was revoked by E.O. 12656.

Executive Order 11051 was revoked by E.O. 12148.

FEMA's powers were consolidated to incorporate the National Security Act of 1947, the Defense Production Act of 1950, the Act of August 29, 1916, and the International Emergency Economic Powers Act.

FEMA has no responsibilities or authority under the Act of August 29, 1916 or the International Emergency Economic Powers Act.

◆ **National Security Act:** FEMA has very limited authority under the National Security Act of 1947 to "advise the President concerning the coordination of military, industrial, and civilian mobilization." The role is strictly advisory and has no operational authorities or duties associated with it.

◆ **Defense Production Act:** By Executive Order 12919 the President delegated certain advisory and coordinating functions to FEMA under the Defense Production Act of 1950. These functions include attempting to resolve issues or disagreements on defense priorities or allocations among

250 trucks involved. When your information was developed in the 1980s MERS units were used infrequently for disaster relief, but in fact were used for disaster relief. Today we regularly deploy MERS units to disaster areas. For instance, we deployed 20 vehicles and 22 personnel from Maynard, MA to Virginia and 35 vehicles and 37 people to North Carolina from Thomasville, GA to meet communications needs resulting from Hurricane Fran. The vehicles include communications equipment, generator sets, fuel, cargo, and spares trucks, HVAC trucks, and

other vehicles needed to support the MERS field operations once they are in place.

FEMA has no authority whatsoever to take control of the country. The only authority that could exist to exert the type of control feared in the article is vested in the Congress, subject to the consent of the President, and subject to the judicial review of the Supreme Court.

Unleashing FEMA's powers

You state that FEMA's powers can be triggered in response to any form of domestic or foreign problem, and that the President's power to declare martial law activates our extraordinary authority. Wrong. We have extremely limited authority to act in foreign, international

departments and agencies; assisting the Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs in coordinating administration of the Act; and coordinating the activities of department and agencies under the National Defense Executive Reserve.

Mobile communications units

Your article states that FEMA has developed 300 self-sustaining mobile communications units that have never been used for disaster relief. Your reference apparently is to our MERS (Mobile Emergency Response System) units. We have five MERS detachments positioned around the continental United States, with a total of about

matters. Our authority is basically domestic. Our authority is not activated by a declaration of martial law. Our disaster funding begins when the President declares a major disaster or emergency under the Robert T. Stafford Disaster Relief and Emergency Assistance Act (Stafford Act). We acted in the Los Angeles riots because the President made a disaster declaration under the Stafford Act because of the fires, not because he separately declared martial law under different authority.

Not all disasters warrant a Presidential declaration. Other federal agencies may have adequate legal authority and resources to act, e.g., the National Transportation Safety Board

authority in airplane crashes, the EPA and Coast Guard in oil spills, or the Corps of Engineers in floods. Where a disaster such as a hurricane or an earthquake affects state and local governments, a finding must be made that the disaster is of such severity and magnitude that effective response is beyond the capabilities of the state and affected local governments and that federal assistance is necessary. As a prerequisite of a Presidential declaration, the Governor of the affected state must take appropriate response action, and must commit state and local resources to the disaster under the cost-sharing requirements of the Stafford Act. Then the Governor must ask the President to declare a major disaster or emergency, effectively inviting and authorizing the federal presence and resources into the state.

Taking control of the country

Without specifying what or how, your article asserts that three times since 1984 FEMA stood on the threshold of taking control of the nation. The absurdity of this statement is revealed in what would have to be done in order for this to be accomplished. FEMA would have to overthrow the government — all three branches — take over the military, control the banking system and the

economy, and have the concurrence or total passivity of the people for starters. Quite a task for an agency with fewer than 2,600 employees and a \$790 million budget!

FEMA has no authority whatsoever to take control of the country. The only authority that could exist to exert the type of control feared in the article is vested in the Congress, subject to the consent of the President, and subject to the judicial review of the Supreme Court. The closest we as a nation have come to such control has been in time of major wars, e.g., the Civil War, the First and Second World Wars, and perhaps Korea — times of extreme danger or threat of danger.

The reality of what FEMA is and what we do is almost 180 degrees opposed to most of what was stated in your article. Your authors uncritically gathered information, most of which first appeared in the early 1980s (and wasn't accurate then), and without further questioning its validity or veracity, reprinted it.

Thank you for the invitation to reply. □

[Phillip S. Cogan is Deputy Director of FEMA's Office of Emergency Information. You can contact him at the Federal Emergency Management Agency, Washington, D.C. 20472; 202-646-4600.]

Military Leaders Call for Nuclear Disarmament

Air Force Gen. George Lee Butler, former commander in chief of the Strategic Air Command, and Andrew J. Goodpaster, a former supreme allied commander in Europe, have done a remarkable about face. On December 4th they joined 60 generals and admirals from countries around the world calling for additional nuclear arms cuts and the phased elimination of nuclear arms.

Butler said the elimination of nuclear arms around the globe is the only way to forestall a horrible nuclear accident and prevent warheads from falling into the hands of rogue states or terrorists. He described U.S. nuclear policy as "fundamentally irrational" because nuclear weapons pose a great threat to mankind. "Nuclear weapons are inherently dangerous, hugely

expensive, militarily inefficient and morally indefensible," Butler stated, despite having commanded several wings of B-52 bombers laden with nuclear bombs and cruise missiles.

Butler described those who argue that nuclear arms are still needed as victims of "intellectual smog." It was not until he actually read SAC's secret war plans — which had been in effect for the bulk of the Cold War — that he became convinced that Washington had lost "touch with the reality of nuclear weapons."

Although Butler is one of the most prominent military officers to change his mind about nuclear weapons, the bulk of the military still widely views them as central to U.S. power. □

— Information from *The Washington Post*, December 4 1996.

A World Without Armies Is Possible

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"national security" — depends entirely on the physical power of the "armed forces." Community is dependent on what J.S. Woodsworth called "spiritual forces." A United Nations motto is "Armed For Life." A motto for Civilian-Based Defense could be "Armed with Life." Jean Goss, the great French exponent of radical nonviolence, used to say simply that "nonviolence is life."

Woodsworth stated clearly:

It seems to be taken for granted that we must follow the example of European nations and proceed to arm... Now I would like to challenge the implication that in order that we may become a self-sufficient nation it is necessary for us to maintain a militia force. Now is the time when we should decide whether or not an armed force means or makes for peace.

...I recognize that the policy which I have advocated would involve risks, but the present policy involves not only risk but almost certain failure. Why not take those risks which are incident to the development of the new means of protecting our nation?!

Divine Right of the Gun

In referring to the "new means of protecting our nation" Woodsworth was prophetically pointing to Civilian-Based Defense (CBD).

In the Philippines, Benigno Aquino bluntly asked: "Can the killers of today be the leaders of tomorrow? Must we destroy in order to build? I refuse to believe that it is necessary for a nation to build its foundations on the bones of its young."

Let us be honest. Woodsworth and Aquino were challenging the very foundation of the state: that the final authority resides in the Gun. Aquino was shot. Woodsworth's challenge was shamefully abandoned and has never

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Lifelong Peacemaker and CBD Advocate Dies

Franklin Zahn, peace activist and worldly ascetic, was born in Los Angeles, California on January 2, 1908 and died quietly in Los Angeles on June 3, 1996.

Discipline Developed Early

Franklin was the eldest child of a family of deeply religious Christian Scientists. In his autobiography *Deserter from Violence*, he describes how his upbringing taught him the importance of spirituality at an early age. During adolescence, he began the physical disciplines which supported his spiritual integrity throughout his life.

As an engineering student at Caltech in the late 1920s he met Allan Hunter, Kirby Page, and other pacifists and began thinking about pacifism. However, not completely committed to pacifism, he joined ROTC for practical reasons and became convinced that militarism is obsolete primarily because of the effects military life has on those who live it.

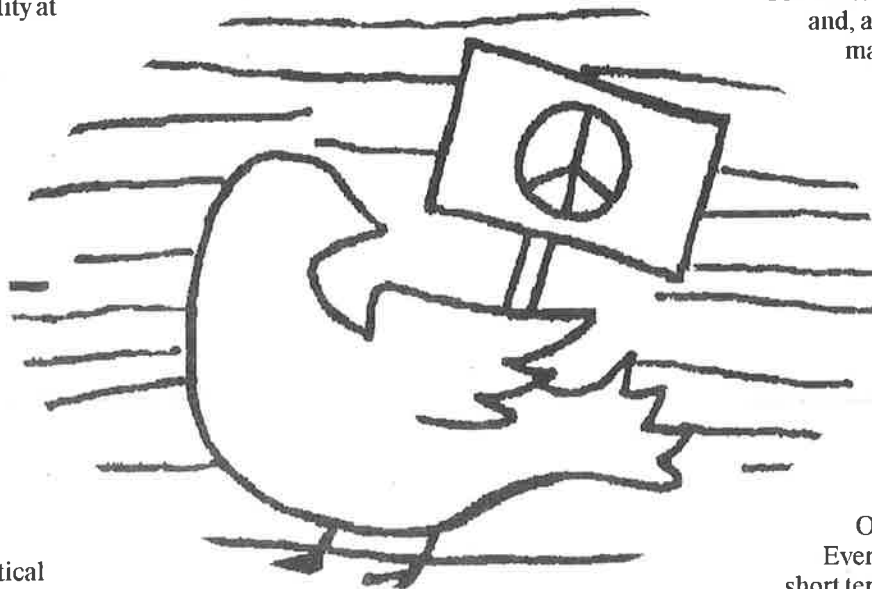
Zahn graduated in engineering and moved on to doing research in diesel fuels, jobs in the automotive industry and continued activity in the Fellowship of Reconciliation. During the early years of World War II, his increasing commitment to nonviolence in all situations led him to leave industry to teach in a religious college, but ultimately he left there also. Although spiritually in harmony with the religious devotees, he was an activist, not a contemplative.

Throughout the rest of his life he used disciplines of religious asceticism — regular meditation, vegetarianism, celibacy and voluntary poverty — as both sustenance for his personal spiritual life and public witness to the

power of love and truth in the world.

Continuing Personal Growth

Deserter from Violence is a record of personal growth that never stopped. As a draft resister, he accepted Civilian Public Service, but then joined a noncooperator group in protest against their unpaid labor. Eventually he “deserted,” got a job in a hospital, was arrested and continued his testimony in



jail and while serving his probation by working in hospitals.

After the war, his commitment to live simply for peace led him to act against racial and ethnic discrimination by buying a lot in an area where blacks and Hispanics lived. He built a small house as the laws allowed, began practice as a religious healer, and experimented with nonviolence toward garden pests with mixed success.

Throughout the years of the Korean War, “Cold War” and Vietnam, Zahn became involved in public demonstrations and increasing public opposition to the use of tax money for military equipment and programs. During these years he began a campaign to persuade people to refuse payment of the telephone excise tax imposed to cover costs of U.S. “police actions” and wars. He also continued to work for peace in

his own community by buying, selling and renting property near his home to create an integrated neighborhood while keeping his personal income below the level which would require him to pay federal income taxes.

Zahn grew into the Society of Friends as he grew into so many other things in his life. He first met Friends in the CPS camps and worked with them on various projects. He worked for the American Friends Service

Committee assisting prisoners and, after careful study of many religious faiths, he joined the Religious Society of Friends when Claremont, California meeting was started in 1956.

In 1962, sensitized to the evils of nuclear weapons, Zahn joined the crew of *Everyman II*, sailing into the nuclear test areas of the South Pacific Ocean. After the

Everyman II voyage, and a short term in jail, he went to India to administer the FOR “Shelters for the Shelterless” program building housing for low-income families in India.

Home in the United States again, he continued to write and work for nonviolent national defense and integrated living. In his last years he became the resident at the Los Angeles Friends Meeting in South Central Los Angeles, supporting and working with community groups in attempts to improve the quality of life for “minorities” in Los Angeles.

His book, *Alternative to the Pentagon*, on nonviolent national defense, will be published soon by the Fellowship of Reconciliation.

In his own words, “For me the only Kingdom of Heaven is some infinitude of life beyond the limits of the physical.... About God as Life I remain an optimist.” □

A World Without Armies Is Possible

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been taken up by either the church or the NDP (New Democratic Party — the successor to the Canadian Commonwealth Confederation [CCF] which Woodsworth helped to found). It remains an aborted Canadian dream. The divine right of the Gun remains the final authority. It is on that foundation that we continue to build our pitiful attempts to end wars.

Politicians know the real consequences of such a fundamental rearrangement of the very structure of the state. They know it every bit as much as the kings and queens whose shrieks of protest against abandoning their "divine right" we can still hear echoing through the centuries. The consequences for a king or queen becoming a part of the community were indeed great: to take the same risks as everyone else in the building of true "common security." The risks of J.S. Woodsworth's challenge to the Canadian state are greater still than those faced by those frightened monarchs of old. Even when we got rid of the divine right of monarchies, we did not, as a society, face the more fundamental divine right of the Gun. Getting rid of that divine right implies that rather than being the last ones to accept physical risk in times of aggression or invasion, elected political leaders would be the first to face the risks involved in organized Civilian-Based Defense (CBD). I believe that is the final fear — about which we have to be more honest — in the political realm.

Cowardly and Lazy

Imagine how much less romantic, macho or plain careless our politicians would be if they knew that dealing with war automatically meant risking their own lives! In state warfare the question is not, "Will someone get killed?" The question is, "Who will get killed?" It is never the wealthy and powerful. The politicians and religious leaders do not rot in the trenches. This is why I see war as profoundly cowardly and lazy. What could be easier than to order

someone else — the young — to go and kill and die for you — and to have their terror, torture and death bring you both political points and economic advantages? What could be more realistic, courageous and fair than to risk your own life as the "prime minister" — the "first servant" — to put in motion country-wide nonviolent resistance to invasion or aggression?

This is just what the Danish people did in their resistance to the powerful Nazi war machine. As Thomas Merton put it so well: "Denmark was not the only European nation that disagreed with Hitler.... But it was one of the only nations which offered explicit, **formal and successful resistance** to Nazi power."² The King of Denmark declared that he'd be the first to wear the yellow badge that the Nazis wanted to use to identify Danish Jews.

The Duty of Religion and Government

This entire critique applies to the official leaders of the various religions. In fact, I'm convinced that they have the greatest power of all. What if religion no longer hid behind the protection of the state (which in turn hides behind the lives of the young ones)? Would we not be forced to deal with this system which perpetuates so much

endless suffering? "Our problems stem from our acceptance of this filthy, rotten system," cried the prophet Dorothy Day. "It's a matter of living our lives in drastically different ways," she added.

The more thorough our "pilgrimage" into all this — going to the very edge to see for ourselves — the more we begin to see the day-to-day implications. They are costly — personally and collectively — as a church community and as a people. But, as French general Jacques De Bollardière put it: "This strategy is accessible to the masses... As an officer I have constantly asked young men to accept to be killed. And they accepted, often without understanding, simply out of obedience to a discipline, because they were trained for that. Why would not young people today accept to sacrifice of themselves for something that they understand and believe in?"³

"Paralysis, rather than destruction, is the true aim in war, and the more far-reaching in its effect," declared Sir Basil Liddell. This is clearly what nonviolent noncooperation seeks to achieve.

Obviously, we will need to invest at least the same kinds of resources — and taxpayers' money — into the

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A World Without Armies Is Possible

Continued from page 9

serious exploration of CBD. In keeping with the spirit of nonviolence, bold imagination is utterly urgent.

Stephen Dale, writer on Canadian military matters, noted recently: "In the early eighties, Laval University political scientist Alver Legault calculated that between 1949 and 1980, Canada's peacekeeping costs not reim-

bursed by the UN amounted to a cumulative \$266 million — less than one half of one percent of the total military budget during that period... Canada and its multinational weapons-producing partners continue to develop more sophisticated generations of weapons for the next war.

While the peacekeepers occupy the front page, nobody notices the armies of anonymous bureaucrats and scientists — ordinary civilians with high-paying jobs and respectable lives — who spend their days refining the technology of death."⁴

The Canadian peacekeeping tab for 1992 was approximately \$120 million — less than 1 percent of Canada's military budget of over \$13 billion for 1991-92. Had it been prepared for genuine nonviolent intervention in Bosnia and Somalia, the UN would have put in place mechanisms whereby 50, or 200,000, nonviolent, international peacemakers could be deployed.

We need to imagine the turning of Canadian Legion halls into exciting centers of study and practice of CBD — for the young and the elders all across the country. Along with the work of CBD, these centers could be used for the ongoing development of local, neighborhood conflict resolution programs (such as have just begun to

blossom here and there).

Could we dare imagine the use of church halls as exciting centers where the spirituality of gospel nonviolence is explored and developed with relentless persistence — for the young and the elders all across the country. (Imagine, for example, the Knights of Columbus renaming itself after Bartolome de las Casas, the Dominican monk who

denounced his fellow Spanish Christians' violence against the Indians.)

Imagine young people being introduced to a rich, ongoing apprenticeship in the love of enemy!

I am convinced that young people would be open to being concretely and

practically challenged to explore the love of enemy in their day-to-day lives. I'm confident that young people — who haven't yet gone into denial about the horror of war would say in amazement, "I didn't know this kind of vibrant alternative community is what 'church' meant!" They can't say it yet. Shamefully, "church" does not stand for that.

Risking for Peace

Adolf Proulx, the late bishop of Gatineau-Hull Québec asked: "Can we conceive of... being condemned to forever make war? ... The efficiency of nonviolence in stopping wars has been demonstrated many times, and if we applied as much determination in dying for peace as we do in dying for war, the results would be even more spectacular... Men and women, especially Christians, must be able to read again the gospels and to embrace the attitude of the first Christians who rejected war, even if their lives were endangered.

Would we be able to give our lives for peace as thousands of soldiers have accepted giving their lives for war?"⁵ We seriously betray our children if we don't honestly and practically pursue Proulx's question as a church community.

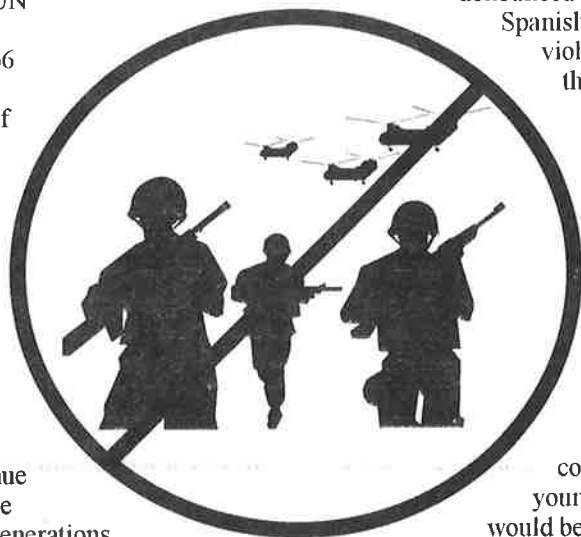
It is urgent to free up people and groups to begin exploring CBD in earnest. No political party, including the NDP, has in any substantial way addressed this. (It should be a basic human right to be able to choose how one will help defend one's own people in case of aggression or invasion.) And how strange is most of the churches' silence and inaction. As for the army, it is clear that there are people within its own ranks who know deep inside themselves that the earth is round. Historically, we can no longer afford to have them wait till they retire to publicly admit it. They owe it to the children now!

Try This On for Size

"Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Canadian people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes. In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized." How does that sound as an article in

How strange is most of the churches' silence and inaction.

the Canadian constitution? In reality this is article IX of the Japanese constitution! The word "Canadian" fitted very well in the place of "Japanese." The Japanese not only



discovered that they wouldn't fall off a round world, but also that it made much more economic sense to admit it and rearrange the whole country accordingly.

If we risk dealing courageously with war we will regain the strength to deal with our sexuality.

Political, Spiritual and Sexual Maturity

Admitting that the world is round, renouncing the divine right of monarchs, demands maturity — political and spiritual maturity. Political and spiritual maturity necessarily demand sexual maturity. We seem to be somewhat aware that dealing with our sexuality is dealing with our war-making tendencies. I would add the reverse: if we risk dealing courageously with war we will regain the strength to deal with our sexuality. Yin-yang. I sense that thoroughly and publicly renouncing war has more to do with healing and nurturing our sexuality than most people realize — including those whose main focus of commitment is sexuality itself. I am utterly convinced that if, as a world community, we spent even a portion of our research and resources on healing our collective sexuality, we could eventually stop running away from it with wars. If there is any valid “national security” it has much more to do with sexual healing than with killing mythical enemies in wars.

CBD: A Historic Decision

We sometimes talk of “historic decisions.” At this volatile time in history, all our major decisions are by definition historic. If we choose (it is a choice) to continue to prepare for war we will have made a historic decision.

If we choose to develop nonviolent Civilian-Based Defense, we will have made a historic choice that will necessarily alter the very course of history for our children's children. Civilian-Based Defense is no more “unthinkable” than Solidarity was in Communist Poland, or *glasnost* in the USSR, or the fall of the Berlin Wall. However, as French nonviolence historian, Jean-Marie Muller, observed, “*Il est plus difficile d'inventer la paix que de se résigner à la guerre*” — it is more difficult to invent peace than to resign ourselves to war.⁶ Too often we no more believe that as a people we could actually play a healing, prophetic role in the development of humankind than we believe that our individual choices matter. This is a paralyzing lie! In fact, our very paralysis is a lie — and, in the face of God, a blasphemy.

I can hear, echoing through the centuries, the cry of the young third century Christian war resister, Maximilian. In 295 he declared to the Roman proconsul Dion, in North Africa: “I will not be a soldier of this world, for I am a soldier of Christ.” Given the death penalty, as required by law, Maximilian cried out: “God lives!” Maximilian's refusal — our refusal — is not an act of bravado or even defiance; nor is it competition against the state. It is a prophetic invitation and challenge to live community — with each other; with each and every sister and brother on this small, wondrous earth and with the Creator.

God lives! Community is possible!
The earth is indeed round! □

[This article is an edited and abridged excerpt from *Allow the Water* by Leonard Desroches. You can order your copy for \$29.95 (Canadian) plus postage (Canada: \$3.50, U.S. \$8.55, Int'l. \$16.10) from éditions DUNAMIS publishers, 407 Bleeker St., Toronto, ON M4X1W2, Canada; 416-975-4897 or fax: 416-515-1515. Leonard Desroches, a drywaller by trade, lives in Toronto. He has served as a resource person for the exploration of the practice and spirituality of nonviolence with neighborhood groups, farmers, churches, schools, unions, native groups, and Third World workers.]

Booklet Explores UN Peacekeeping

Briefing Book on Peacekeeping — the U.S. Role in United Nations Peace Operations is a useful booklet for those interested in what “peacekeeping” really means to the United Nations.

Author Victoria K. Holt writes: “Commonly called “peacekeeping,” peace operations are part of a spectrum of measures for dealing with international disputes. Primarily conducted by the United Nations, they range from missions of civilians and lightly armed military personnel observing elections to armed troops using force to turn back aggressors or enforce a ban on military aircraft flights.”

Holt's analysis includes short sections on:

- * History,
- * The workings of peace operations,
- * The U.S. experience, the Clinton Administration's new policy regarding UN peace operations,
- * The role of Congress, and
- * Today's major issues.

Included in the latter category are such questions as:

- * Dealing with civil conflicts,
- * Increasing complexity,
- * UN subcontracting of operations to individual nations.

Published by the Council for a Livable World's Education Fund, the booklet can be ordered from the Council at 110 Maryland Avenue, NE, Washington, DC 20002; 202-543-4100/546-0795.

Footnotes

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6. *Non-Violence Actualité*, Feb. 1993.

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

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A World Without Armies Is Possible

CBD and the Canadian Churches

Leonard Desroches

Introduction

“The world is round. Really!”
 Imagine the shock that must have been created when this was first uttered — likely in the 12th century — while the fearful keepers of the status quo proclaimed: “That’s ridiculous! We’d fall off!”

Now there is even more shocking news. A world without war — without armies — is possible. Really!

“Ridiculous!” say the politicians and church leaders — to the great relief of the arms makers and arms pushers — “We’d all fall! High tech warfare will protect you. Trust us!”

When the global community finally accepted that the world was round, it made the necessary adjustments. We named the force that kept us from falling off “gravity.” It is now time for another historic readjustment. The force that could keep us together this time is not physical as much as spiritual. It

is already at our disposal. Some have done and some are doing marvelous explorations with it. It is called “community.” Not dependent on high tech machines, its power resides in truthfulness, trust, generosity, respect, intelligence, imagination, courage and the



powerful tools of “nonviolence,” “satyagraha,” “agape,” “people power,” “relentless persistence.”

Community takes us beyond the dangerously brittle notion of “patriotism.” Patriotism — and its consequent

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