

# Civilian-Based Defense

EXPLORING A NONVIOLENT STRATEGY FOR DETERRENCE AND DEFENSE

Volume 12

Number 2

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Single  
Issue

## Conference on Security, Religion, and Civilian-Based Defense

Slated for November 21-23 in Los Angeles

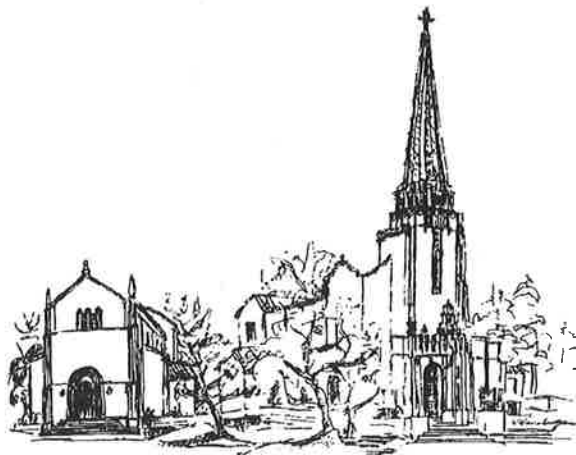
### Peter Bergel

"Don't organize the community," goes an old organizing maxim, "the community is already organized. Use what's there." Guided by this philosophy, the Board of the Civilian-Based Defense Association (CBDA) seeks to build closer alliances with religious groups, one of the most stable components of most communities.

It should be a natural alliance. CBDA two years ago adopted as a major goal: "publicize CBD in North America to the point where at least ten percent of the population recognizes the concept (not necessarily the term 'civilian-based defense') when asked about it on a public interest poll."

At the same time, most religious groups have long been troubled by the conflict between their spiritual beliefs against violence and killing and the seeming necessity to use violence and killing to ensure national security. CBD offers religious groups a well-researched alternative to using violence in defense of national security — one which is based on a long and noble history of successes. Religious groups, if they came to grasp the exciting potential of civilian-based defense, would be ideally placed in society to quickly communicate this potential to a very large population, thus meeting both sets of concerns.

To begin building such an alliance, CBDA will sponsor a conference aimed at bringing proponents of CBD together



*Westwood United Methodist Church  
Location of the November CBD Conference*

— Drawing courtesy of Al Rhodes-Wickett

with religious leaders and lay people to explore motivations and opportunities for cooperation.

### Keynoter

Delivering the keynote address for the conference will be Professor Ronald McCarthy, Chair of the Department of Sociology at Merrimack College in North Andover, MA and Director of the Fellows Program at the Albert Einstein Institution in nearby Cambridge. Professor McCarthy has long been associated with the work of Gene Sharp, the most prolific writer and theorist dealing with CBD. His address will be titled, "Civilian-Based Defense — A Nonviolent Strategy for National Security" and

he will supplement this presentation with a Saturday afternoon workshop entitled "Small Nation Security."

Professor McCarthy has done two stints as Visiting Scholar in the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions at the Center for International Affairs, Harvard University. He has coauthored (with Gene Sharp and Brad Bennett) the forthcoming book *Nonviolent Action: A Research Guide* to be published by Garland Publishers of New York in September.

He is also an associate editor of *Protest, Power, and Change: An Encyclopedia of Nonviolent Action*, also published by Garland.

In 1993, he coauthored (with Christopher Kruegler) the monograph "Toward Research and Theory Building in the Study of Nonviolent Action" published by the Albert Einstein Institution (Monograph Series, Number 7). Nonviolent action has been the subject of a long series of papers and investigations which have occupied Professor McCarthy for decades.

### Conference Details

For information on cost, location and other conference details, please turn to the poster in the center of this issue of *Civilian-Based Defense*. All those interested in CBD and those who believe religious groups should play a greater role in bringing defense policy into line with religious principles are warmly invited to attend. □

From the Editor ✕ Peter Bergel

## Why It's Important to Plan Your Conference Attendance Now

The CBDA Conference on Religion, Security and Civilian-Based Defense slated for November still seems a long way off. Summer, with its usual demands and rewards, stretches before us with its tendency to make us think fall is impossibly far off.

Yet the favorable airfares available when one plans well in advance may not be available



anymore when summer's dust has cleared and we are well into the fall. **That's why now is the time to make your plans to attend this fascinating and important conference.**

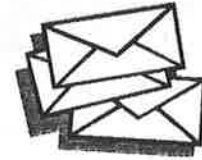
It will be a marvelous opportunity not only to learn about civilian-based defense from experts, but also to explore the various dimensions of this visionary, yet profoundly practical concept with religious leaders, CBD leaders, activists, people of faith and scholars.

It will also be a chance to leave harsh winter weather behind and enjoy both warm climate and warm companionship.

Put the conference on your calendar today. Then clip and mail the preregistration form on page 6. Next, call your travel agent and make your travel arrangements. Then you can plunge into summer, secure that your place is reserved for the conference and the conveyance which will take you there. What security!

By registering early you will also be helping conference organizers plan better. Since CBDA doesn't put on a conference every year, as some groups do, our volunteer organizers need all the information they can get regarding

## Letters to the Editor



### Questions "Human Nature"

It was encouraging to see a review of David Grossman's *On Killing: The Cost of Learning to Kill in War and Society* in the Spring 1997 issue of *Civilian-Based Defense* because there is so little communication between advocates of civilian-based defense and psychologists. There is a great need for real communication between the two groups.

Unfortunately, the reviewer failed to recognize that Grossman has opinions about "human nature" with which few academic psychologists would agree.

The most important of these is that he considers untrained soldiers' reluctance to kill innate. He completely ignores the effects of past experience and socialization as determiners of this reluctance to kill. Lynching, fragging, and slaughter in Ruanda and former Yugoslavia indicate that no special training is necessary for people to kill when there is little danger of retribution. Like other social actions, civilian-based defense will be more effective if it is used by persons whose beliefs about human nature are empirically based than if they are based on wishful thinking.

— Charles C. Perkins, a retired psychology professor whose specialty is learning.

E-mail address: perk@ksu.edu  
Manhattan, KS.

### Churches to Help Peace Tax Legislation?

As a Roman Catholic, who registered as a conscientious objector during WWII and who has protested taxes for war purposes for the past 15 years, I was greatly encouraged by our Pope's recent pilgrimage to Sarajevo. Describing himself as a pilgrim for peace and friendship, the Pope urged Catholic Croats, Muslims and Orthodox Serbs to "let the natural instinct of revenge give way to the liberating power of forgiveness." He added, "Never again war! Never again hatred and intolerance." It reminded me of Jesus' own words, "Overcome evil with good, hatred with love and falsehood with truth."

Also encouraging is a rising worldwide movement among religious denominations putting the sanctity of conscience and body on the same level. This means that ultimately withholding one's money from the war machine will be no harder than withholding one's body. Clearly this is critically important. When politicians in our own country give the Pentagon 10 billion unasked-for dollars, as happened last year, and now propose to spend \$4-5 billion we don't have on ABMs we don't need, it is time people had power to direct taxes to peaceful purposes.

Thanks to Papal leadership and help from other church denominations, we may even get a hearing on Peace Tax legislation this year.

— Larry Lange  
Devils Lake, ND

how many participants to plan for.

There are times when people are called together for truly historical reasons. This conference has the potential of being such an occasion. If CBD fulfills its potential of providing a workable national security alternative offering protection without threatening counter-violence, this conference may turn out to be one of the key landmarks along the way.

So don't miss being a part of history being made. Besides, the more support this conference receives, the more likely that it will actually be historic.

You can also help in another way. Remove the centerfold of this issue of *CBD* and post it where the right people will see it. If you need additional copies, please contact Mel Beckman at the address on the bottom of the poster.

□

*David Hartsough of PeaceWorkers has invited us to publish this statement observing the International Day of Women's Peace Actions, May 24, issued by the "Women in Black" in Belgrade. Even though we are publishing it after the May 24 actions referred to have taken place, the power and relevance of the Women's statement remains.*

For International Day of Women's Peace Actions, women throughout the world will demonstrate their work and activities aimed at creating peace and creating solutions to such vital issues

any army. The Algerian women bravely and tenaciously rise up against integrist terrorism. The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo in Argentina; the women in Guatemala, El Salvador; Chiapas; in all of Latin America for decades have been resisting the military dictatorships.



exert greater influence on official international policy, on the policy of governments and states, "international policy." Their representatives sign peace agreements such as the Dayton one, which favors the local and global oligarchies, in which decisions were made strictly on the basis of profits for the military industry. This is peace based on the weapons of the planetary army, IFOR, combined with those of the local armies. All this means an

increasing militarization of the region.

We, Women

in Black, organize our protest for 24 May, which will be called "Let's Expel Militarism From Our Lives." We will form a circle to symbolize the life cycle. In the middle an enormous

# Let's

as that of our environment. This is happening everywhere.

The crucial message women of the world hope to communicate is that: women reject violence as a way of solving problems. We, Women in Black, also add: nonviolence and antimilitarism are our spiritual option, as well as our political option. Women are not satisfied to just stand by and watch the war take place and cry for the victims. No, instead, as political beings, they take the initiative and act. Activists of the women's movement and the peace movement aspire to a peace based on the civilian population's needs; not those of the armies. We reject military power and all producing of weapons to kill people and nature. We reject domination by gender, race or ethnicity. What we do want is to live together in harmony, to have recognition of differences among people, mutual support, interdependence, respect of nature, development according to the needs of the civilian population, rather than those of elites, both civilian and military.

In many points of the planet May 24th will be the day when women and peace activists hit the streets and visually show their nonviolent strategies for creating peace. Women in Cambodia organize actions to remove mines laid during the long civil war in their country. The mothers of the soldiers in Russia support the young men who don't go to war in Chechenya. The antimilitarists of the Spanish state show they will never accept any war, or

# Expel Militarism

# From

Israeli and Palestinian women organize joint actions against violence and war. Women from Italy visit "difficult places" and build bridges among the women in the belligerent states: the Middle East and ex Yugoslavia.

Women and peace activists in ex Yugoslavia reject the role of victims that has been designed to invalidate them by the same people who designed the war. They are transforming their vulnerability and their indignation into actions against the war, militarism and nationalism. All together we are knitting the subtle but strong fabric of sisterhood, tenderness and friendship.

We are proud of the fact that communication and relations among women represent a dimension vital to the world peace movement today. We are proud to be building together the alternative international policy. However, we of Women in Black feel that there is a decrease in the actions to

# Our Lives

globe will symbolize Mother Earth lacerated, martyred, wounded by militarists of all stripes. We will mark on the globe every place where there is war. We will remove from the face of the earth the instruments of death so that the points of women's resistance to war are visible. We will show our links with women who are creating peace throughout our planet. We will write with the threads of our network the horrors to which we are exposed because of local and global militarists. We will express our hope and our longing that the actions of women will cover in a network the entire planet.

You can contact Women In Black Belgrade through David Hartsough at Peaceworkers, 721 Shrader St. San Francisco, CA 94117 USA; Phone and fax: 415-751-0302; e-mail: [PEACEWORKERS@jgc.apc.org](mailto:PEACEWORKERS@jgc.apc.org) □

# Los Angeles, California

***Sponsored by the Civilian-Based Defense Association, publisher since 1982 of the quarterly Civilian-Based Defense, which carries world news and opinion about developments in the field of nonviolent deterrence and defense.***

## **Cosponsors**

Religious communities, organizations and interested individuals in the United States, Canada, and Taiwan who wish to explore the practicality of civilian-based defense, its compatibility with religious values and what future support it should receive from faith communities.

## **Keynote Speech: "Civilian-Based Defense — A Nonviolent Strategy for National Security."**

Conference keynoter is Professor Ronald McCarthy, Associate Professor and Chair, Department of Sociology, Merrimack College, North Andover, MA, and Director of the Fellows Program, Albert Einstein Institution, Cambridge, MA.

## **Respondents**

Representatives of various religions will review past efforts of their communities to be true to both faith and country in the matter of war and preparations for war. They will also reflect on the compatibility of civilian-based defense with the tenets of their religious traditions.

## **Workshops**

Some workshops will focus on the relevance of civilian-based defense for specific countries. In others, participants will search for the best channels to promote consideration of civilian-based defense in specific religious communities.

## **Interdenominational Religious Service**

Participants will have opportunity to join in a worship service expressing their commitment to continue searching for security options which are both effective and compatible with religion.

## **Cosponsorships**

Broad-based cosponsorship is sought from individuals of all faiths and from their religious organizations and institutions. A contribution of \$100 toward conference expenses constitutes cosponsorship and includes one free registration (not including meals). Cosponsors will also receive recognition on the conference program.

## **Why Cosponsor?**

Cosponsorship implies an interest in civilian-based defense, not an endorsement. Cosponsorship implies a willingness to search beyond the solutions of the past for a way in which people of faith can participate in good conscience in the security arrangements of a country. While most religious groups allow some moral space for war and preparations for war, they have also seen how quickly governments rely on armed deterrence and defense — not as a last resort, but routinely. A few religious groups allow no room for violence in security matters, but they must acknowledge that most citizens reject their approach. Thus, the nations of the world continue to be heavily armed, with the anguished blessing of many religious groups and despite the opposition of a few. By cosponsoring the conference, individuals and congregations can take a first step toward finding an acceptable way for religion to be involved in — and supportive of — national security preparations.

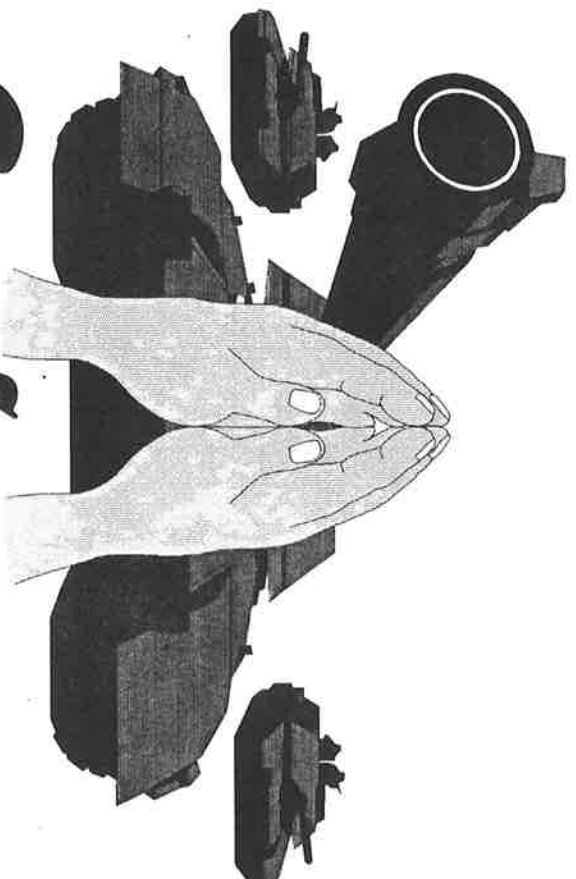
## **Registrations**

Preregistration on or before November 1, 1997 is \$40 per person. After November 1, \$50 per person. Members of the Civilian-Based Defense Association will receive a \$10 discount on conference preregistration. Information about hotels and other housing opportunities is available from the Conference office. Please use the form on the back of this page to preregister or request information.

## **Civilian-Based Defense Association**

**PO Box 92, Omaha, NE 68101; 402-558-2085; e-mail: melb@creighton.edu.**

PLEASE POST



# Conference

**on Security, Religion,**

**and Civilian-Based Defense**

**November 21-23, 1997**

Westwood United Methodist Church, 10497 Wilshire Blvd.

Clip and return to: Civilian-Based Defense Association, PO Box 92, Omaha, NE 68101; 402-558-2085; e-mail: melb@creighton.edu.

## Preregistration and Cosponsorship Form

I/We want to cosponsor of the Conference on Security, Religion, and Civilian-Based Defense by making a donation of at least \$100. Enclosed please find \$ \_\_\_\_\_.

I/We want to preregister \_\_\_\_\_ people for the Conference on Security, Religion, and Civilian-Based Defense. (\$40 before November 1; \$50 after November 1. CBDA members may deduct \$10.) Enclosed please find \$ \_\_\_\_\_.

Names of registrants: \_\_\_\_\_

I/ We would like to join the Civilian-Based Defense Association (@ \$25 each). Enclosed please find \$ \_\_\_\_\_ for \_\_\_\_\_ memberships.

Please send more information regarding the Conference on Security, Religion, and Civilian-Based Defense.

- Housing information
- Information about Civilian-Based Defense
- Map to the Conference site and local travel options
- Other: \_\_\_\_\_

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Organization Name (if applicable): \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

City: \_\_\_\_\_ State: \_\_\_\_\_ Zip: \_\_\_\_\_ Country: \_\_\_\_\_

Phone: \_\_\_\_\_

Fax: \_\_\_\_\_

E-mail: \_\_\_\_\_

### CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE ASSOCIATION Subscription, Membership & Contribution Form

I want to BEGIN  RENEW  membership (magazine included) as indicated:

\$25 Basic                       \$5 Low income                       \$50 Supporting

\$100 Sustaining                       \$500 Lifetime

I want to CONTRIBUTE \$ \_\_\_\_\_ to further the Association's work.

I do not want to become a member, but wish to subscribe to the magazine.

\$15 One year                       \$25 Two years                       \$30 Three years

Please send an acknowledgement.     I do not need an acknowledgement.

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

City: \_\_\_\_\_ State: \_\_\_\_\_

Zipcode: \_\_\_\_\_ Nation: \_\_\_\_\_

**CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE ASSOCIATION**

**Box 92, Omaha, NE 68101 USA**

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

## CBD Conference Location Offers Host of Nearby Attractions

When you're making travel reservations for the CBD Conference, consider mixing in a little sightseeing pleasure with your CBD business.

The Conference will be held at the Westwood United Methodist Church on Wilshire Blvd. in Los Angeles. Within half an hour's drive, you'll also find:

- ◆ The Museum of Tolerance, featuring displays on the Holocaust and other important historic events
- ◆ Wilshire Blvd.'s "Miracle Mile"
- ◆ Hollywood, including tours of the Stars' homes, Fox Studios, Graumann's Chinese Theater, the Movieland Wax Museum and glamorous Hollywood Blvd.
- ◆ The UCLA/Westwood Village area and other colleges and universities
- ◆ Santa Monica's beaches and the lovely Pacific Coast Highway
- ◆ Chinatown, Little Tokyo and other downtown LA attractions

A little further away you'll also find theme parks like Disneyland, Knotts Berry Farm and Magic Mountain plus other Southern California tourist destinations like the Queen Mary in Long Beach Harbor and the Griffith Park Observatory.

All told, here's just one more reason to attend the CBD Conference.

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## Selected CBD Literature

Continued from page 8

Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press, 1990. Order from Princeton Univ. Press, 3175 Princeton Pike, Lawrenceville, NJ 08648. Phone: 800-777-4726. 166 pp. Cloth, \$24.95. An updated account of the author's thinking on the use of nonviolent action in the context of national defense. Includes discussion of various models for transarmament.

*Unarmed Against Hitler: Civil Resistance in Europe, 1939-1943*, by Jacques Semelin. Praeger, 1993. (Order, 800-225-5800) 198 pp. Paper, \$19.95. Examines the character of Nazi occupation in Europe and the forms and circumstances of noncooperation with it. The author includes a chapter on civilian resistance to genocide and a conclusion about civilian-based defense strategies.

*The Politics of Nonviolent Action* (3 volumes), by Gene Sharp. Boston, Porter Sargent, 1973. Porter-Sargent, 11 Beacon Street, Boston MA 02108. Phone: 617-523-1670. \$14.85, paperback.

*Social Power and Political Freedom*, by Gene Sharp. Boston, Porter Sargent, 1980 (see address and phone above). \$8.95, paperback.

*Gandhi As A Political Strategist, with Essays on Ethics and Politics*, by Gene Sharp. Boston, Porter Sargent, 1979. (See address and phone above). Paperback, \$7.95.

*Self-Reliant Defense, Without Bankruptcy or War*, by Gene Sharp. Available from the Albert Einstein Institution, 50 Church Street, Cambridge MA 02138. 72 pp. 1992. \$4.00. In this booklet, Sharp discusses the potential of civilian-based defense for

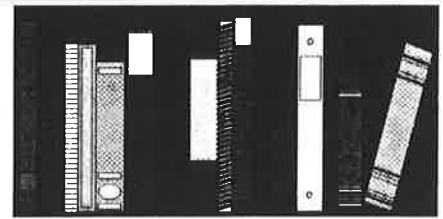
the Baltics, East Central Europe, and members of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

*Making The Abolition Of War a Realistic Goal*, by Gene Sharp. 15 pp. \$2.00. Available from the Einstein Institution (see address above). This popular essay, first published in 1980, provides a brief introduction to CBD, a policy in which civilians are prepared to use nonviolent resistance as a means of national defense.

*The Role of Power In Nonviolent Struggle*, by Gene Sharp. 19 pp. \$2.00. Available from the Einstein Institution (see address above). Nonviolent action is capable of wielding great power, even against ruthless rulers and military regimes. Abstracted from Sharp's classic three-volume work, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, this monograph summarizes the core concepts behind the technique of nonviolent struggle.

*Protest, Power, And Change; An Encyclopedia Of Nonviolent Action From Act-Up To Women's Suffrage* Roger Powers and William H. Voegelé, eds., Christopher Kruegler and Ronald M. McCarthy, associate eds., order from Garland Publishers. New York, 1000A Sherman Avenue, Hamden, CT 06514 for \$75 plus \$3 s&h. Info: 800-627-6273. Fax orders to: 203-230-1186.

N.B. This is by no means an all-inclusive list. Articles about civilian-based defense can be found in a variety of place and there are quite a number of books which contain one or more chapters devoted to civilian-based defense. The above list, however, should provide something for almost any reader. □



**New! For Your Bookshelf**

## Unarmed Bodyguards

*International Accompaniment for the Protection of Human Rights*

by Liam Mahoney and  
Luis Enrique Eguren

Members of International Peace Teams are on the cutting edge of those developing the on-the-ground technology of civilian-based defense. They are using tried and true nonviolent defense strategies and developing new ones. They are also learning how to train others in these practices. Liam Mahoney and Luis Enrique Eguren are deeply experienced Peace Team members. In addition, they bring the experiences of those whom they've have protected, those who have threatened them and those with whom they have worked to their analysis of this work.

Heralded by kudos from such luminaries as Nobel Peace Laureates Adolfo Pérez Esquivel and Rigoberta Menchú and academics Johan Galtung and Dr. Kevin Clements, *Unarmed Bodyguards: International Accompaniment for the Protection of Human Rights* (304 pages) is now available for \$21.95/paper (1-56549-068-1) or \$46.00/cloth (1-56549-069-X) from Kumarian Press, 14 Oakwood Avenue, West Hartford, CT 06119-2127; 800-289-2664; e-mail: kpbooks@aol.com. □

## Nobody Else Will Do It!

Only *Civilian-Based Defense* keeps you current on the organizing, scholarship and politics that are moving us toward a civilian-based defense policy. If you're not a subscriber, please consider becoming one. If you are, please consider an additional contribution to help support the CDB conference. Appropriate forms are provided for your convenience on page 6.



*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.

Editor: Peter Bergel: 333 State Street, Salem, OR 97301; 503-371-8002; email: pbergel@igc.apc.org.

Consulting Editors: Mel Beckman and Phillip Bogdonoff.

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

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

**PLEASE CHECK YOUR MAILING LABEL**

The top line of the mailing label on this newsletter will tell you when your membership or subscription is/was renewable.

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*Printed on recycled paper*

# CBD Literature: Request It, Buy It, Read It, Donate It

## Mel Beckman

When the Civilian-Based Defense Association was organized in 1982, one of its stated purposes was to make people aware of the existing published material on CBD and encourage them to read it. We also asked them to contact public and school libraries, and request that they buy the relevant books and make them available to library users.

In 1982, the amount of published material on CBD, and/or the "pragmatic" and "strategic" use of nonviolent action, was much smaller than is the case today. Nevertheless, we still need to help create a market and a readership for it. Please consider ordering some of the following books and monographs and also check your library catalogues to see if they are being made available. If not, you might request copies on interlibrary loan, or donate the books, or ask the librarian to purchase copies.

*Strategic Nonviolent Conflict: The Dynamics Of People Power In The Twentieth Century*, by Peter Ackerman and Christopher Kruegler. Praeger, 1993. To order, toll free: 800-225-5800. 366 pp. Paper, \$24.95. Cloth, \$55.00. The authors

analyze six twentieth-century examples of nonviolent campaigns. Using those examples, they delineate twelve strategic principles that form the foundation and enhance the prospects for success of nonviolent campaigns.



*National Security Through Civilian-Based Defense*, by Gene Sharp. Omaha: Association for Transarmament Studies, 1985. Order from Civilian-Based Defense Association, P.O. Box 92, Omaha NE 68101. 93 pp. Paper, \$4.95, plus \$1.00 postage & handling. A short introduction to the concept of CBD, including a definition of terms and an outline of the research areas that are involved.

*Civilian-Based Defense: A Post-Military Weapons System*, by Gene Sharp.

(Continued on page 7)

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