

# Civilian-Based Defense

Exploring a Nonviolent Strategy  
for Deterrence and Defense

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## *Civilian-Based Defense*

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***Civilian-Based Defense*** 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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# No More Kosovos

## Invest in a Stronger, More Effective UN to Prevent War

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### **Friends Committee on National Legislation**

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#### **Was There An Alternative to Bombing?**

While the Milosevic regime engaged in brutal violence, the U.S. and NATO ignored feasible alternatives to war. They bypassed a weakened UN and ignored its Charter. They withdrew from Kosovo the under-funded, under-staffed, and ill-equipped civilian observers from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). They issued ultimatums to Milosevic (including requiring him to surrender to NATO Yugoslavia's sovereignty-not just in Kosovo), and then, with their bombs, they poured fuel on a flickering fire, turning it into an inferno.

The death and destruction in Kosovo and Serbia did not have to happen. With adequate funding and authority, trained personnel, and the full support and cooperation of member states, the OSCE and the UN could have done much more, sooner to prevent the escalation of violence. Before the violence began, there was a strong, nonviolent, democratic opposition movement in both Serbia and Kosovo that could have provided a basis for a non-violent, negotiated resolution of the conflict. Further, with a fully operational International Criminal Court (which is still a work in progress that the Clinton Administration opposes in its current form), the Kosovars would have had an international legal forum in which to present their grievances before the court of world opinion, long before the conflict reached a flashpoint.

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If the world community had invested as little as \$500 million (one fourth the cost of a single B-2 bomber) in building these institutions and capacities a decade ago and if these were available to address developments in Kosovo in the early 1990's, the peoples of Kosovo and Serbia today would probably not be facing this devastation and reconstruction and relief costs of tens of billions of dollars.

The irony is that in the end, the peace accords could only proceed under the auspices of the UN and with a resolution of the UN Security Council - the very institution that the U.S. and NATO bypassed as they blundered into war.

### **The U.S. Bombs, and Then Wants the UN and Others to Clean Up the Mess**

Recently, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Henry Shelton, and Secretary of Defense William Cohen criticized the performance of the UN in post-war Kosovo ("Pentagon Faults UN in Kosovo," *Washington Post*, July 21). Gen. Shelton said, "We are concerned about the slow progress in establishing the United Nations mission in Kosovo to aid the recovery process." They cited the fact that only 600 of the anticipated 5,000 UN staff are on site and that the 3,000 person international civilian police force is not on the ground yet. They are anxious because the sooner functioning civil society institutions are set up, the sooner the militaries can go home.

Yet, rebuilding a society devastated by war takes time and resources. Is it any wonder why the UN is moving slowly or that other member countries are hesitating to contribute staff and police officers? Despite Congress's plan to increase military spending by \$150 billion over the next five years, it still has not paid \$1.5 billion in arrears to the UN, and it has demanded that the UN budget shrink in real terms. Most of this is owed to other countries for past UN peacekeeping activities. Further, since the UN does not have a standing reserve force of 3,000 police officers and 5,000 civil servants, it must recruit from contributing member countries. This takes time and money. Foresight and

adequate funding could have made all the difference, but our government provided neither.

There is a tremendous mismatch in logistical resources between the Pentagon and the UN. Whereas the Pentagon's budget is around \$280 billion per year and increasing, the UN Secretariat operates on only about \$1.25 billion per year, and the U.S. will not let its budget grow. Yet the Pentagon expects the UN to be fully mobilized to rebuild a country within weeks?

J. Brian Atwood, outgoing head of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), who directed U.S. relief efforts in Kosovo during the war, provides this insight ("Departing Foreign Aid Chief Says Cuts Are Dangerous," *New York Times*, July 5): "The UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees] was not doing its job in the early days. They didn't have the resources. They didn't have the people. I say that their management failure was the direct result of our [U.S. government] failures in providing them with resources." Concerning current U.S. UN relations, Atwood said, "I use the word unconscionable."

Meanwhile, the head of the UNHCR, Sadako Ogata, observes that far worse humanitarian crises than Kosovo are occurring in other parts of the world - for example in the Congo Republic and Sierra Leone ("UN Refugee Chief Says Rich Nations Favor Kosovo Over Africa in Aid," *Washington Post*, July 27). Yet, while billions are flowing in to rebuild Kosovo, Ogata has been able to raise only 25 percent of the \$660 million that she needs to assist the hundreds of thousands of displaced refugees in these zones of conflict.

**Note:** \$660 million is only a quarter of the value of the \$2.7 billion in surplus inventory that the Pentagon *lost last year* ("Fate of Excess Defense Hardware Uncertain," *Washington Post*, July 8).

### **What About the UN Arrears?**

In June, the **Senate** overwhelming approved the "Foreign

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Relations Authorization Act" (S 886) by 98 to 1. This bill includes the "Helms-Biden" agreement to pay the UN arrears, which was negotiated with and has the support of the Clinton Administration.

Although the UN provisions in the bill are an improvement over last year's bill (which was vetoed for reasons unrelated to UN funding), it is still a weak bill that would do more harm than good to both the UN and U.S. leadership in world affairs. The bill would still pay too little (only \$926 million of the \$1.5 billion owed), too late (over three years), with too many unworkable conditions.

It would not even authorize sufficient funds in the first year to avoid the Article 19 penalty. Article 19 of the UN Charter automatically revokes a member country's vote in the UN General Assembly when it falls too far behind in its dues. The U.S. must pay about \$250 million by December to avoid the penalty, but the bill only authorizes \$ 100 million.

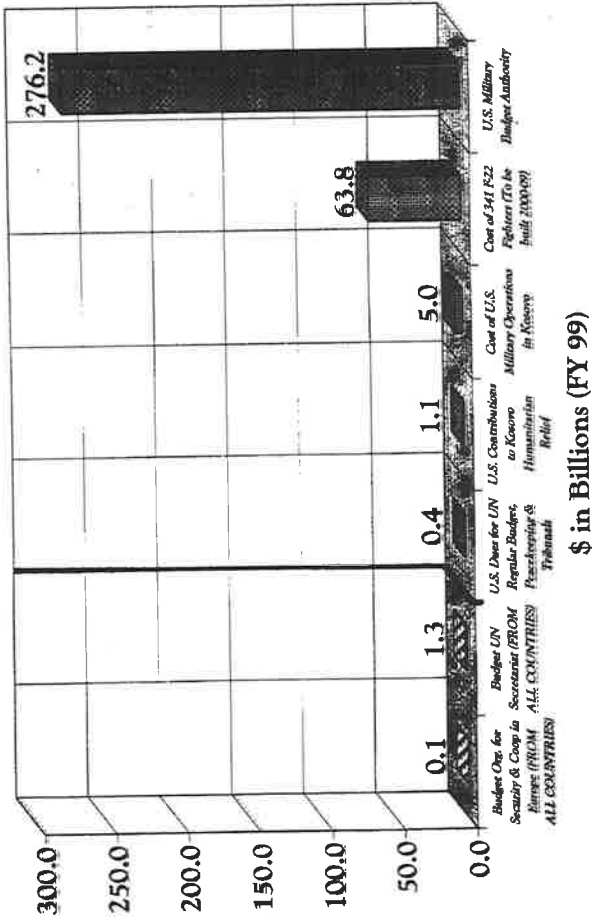
Other problems with the S.886 include:

1. It ***requires*** that the 185 UN General Assembly members vote to reduce U.S. regular and peacekeeping assessments and to elect a U.S. representative to a seat on the budget committee-before the U.S. pays most of its arrears.

2. The UN says that the U.S. still owes about \$600 million more that Congress does not want to pay. The bill would require the UN to set up a "contested arrears" account to deal with this disagreement, and it requires that the UN not count these contested arrears against the U.S. under the terms of Article 19. Setting up such an account virtually guarantees that these funds will never be paid, and it would set a bad precedent that other countries would likely follow.

3. By requiring that the UN meet dozens of conditions before the U.S. will fulfil its treaty obligation, the U.S. is setting another bad precedent that many other countries will be sure to follow in the future. Overall, these provisions will weaken the UN

**PENNY WISE AND POUND FOOLISH:**  
*U.S. Invests Little in International Cooperation to Prevent War*



8/99

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as an institution and undermine positive U.S. leadership in world affairs.

The House passed its counterpart version of the foreign relations authorization act in July (entitled: "The American

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Embassy Security Act," HR 2415). In an effort to avoid another threatened legislative entanglement with anti-abortion provisions, the House bill did not contain any provisions concerning UN funding.

The next venue for legislative action is the conference committee which will reconcile differences between the two bills. The Senate will move to insert the Helms-Biden provisions into the final bill. UN advocates, on the other hand, want the conference committee to produce a better bill that pays more of the arrears, sooner, and with fewer conditions.

HR 1355, "The UN Arrears Payment Act," would be a far better **first step** toward paying the arrears. It would authorize paying the \$575 million that has already been appropriated for FY 1998 and 1999 immediately **and without conditions**. This bill currently has 97 cosponsors (including nine Republicans). The more cosponsors, the stronger the message to the House leadership and conference committee that the American people want the UN arrears paid now.

*Prepared by and courtesy of Friends Committee on National Legislation.*



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For thousands of years we've been fed this business of dying for our country. But didn't the Germans die for their country, and didn't the Japanese die for their country, and aren't the Soviets in Afghanistan answering their country's call? On that basis, everything is noble. I wish there were some way we would stop dying for our own little segments of Earth and start living for humanity. I think that must be harder, or we would do it.

**-Isaac Asimov**

*The late Dr. Asimov wrote these comments in response to a letter from a reader, published in his magazine several years ago.*



# Is Television Military Styled Violence Training for America's Kids?

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## The TV-Free American

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The outbreak of school shootings in the last year and a half has brought home the point to Americans that the epidemic of violence in our society is real. This violence is especially real for our nation's children. Teenagers are more likely to die from gunshot wounds than all natural causes combined.<sup>1</sup> Worse yet, children have also become the perpetrators of these violent crimes. Why now have children become brutal killers? Children don't naturally kill. They learn it from violence in the home and in society, including violence marketed as entertainment in television, movies and video games.

This is a compound problem, in which the very presence of television plays a large role. University of Washington researcher, Dr. Brandon Centerwall, has documented that homicide rates doubled in 10 to 15 years following the introduction of television into a society. Centerwall studied changes in the white homicide rates in South Africa and the U.S. (because South Africa's apartheid system made conditions for blacks so egregious as to skew crime and homicide data) and the overall homicide rate in Canada, which was over 96 percent white. In the United States the annual white homicide rate increased 93 percent from 1945 to 1974. The Canadian homicide rate grew 92 percent over the same time period. Centerwall observed that since television's behavior modifying influence primarily affects young children, a 10 to 15 year lag-time between the introduction of TV and the increase in the adult crime rates tracks the growth of the first generation of TV-watching kids into adults.

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Using those findings, Centerwall hypothesized the same outcome for South Africa, a nation that outlawed TV until 1975. As expected, the white homicide rate began to rise after the introduction of television. By 1983 the homicide rate had climbed by 56 percent and as of 1987 the rate had more than doubled, to 130 percent of its pre-TV level.

Dr. Centerwall is careful not to diminish the other factors that lead to violent actions, such as domestic violence, mental illness, and drug or alcohol abuse, but states, "hypothetically, if television technology had never been developed, there would today be 10,000 fewer homicides each year in the United States, 70,000 fewer rapes, and 700,000 fewer injurious assaults."<sup>2</sup> According to a recent study by the Senate Judiciary Committee, television is responsible for 10 percent of youth violence.

How does television actually lead to homicide? Lt. Col. David Grossman, a military expert in the psychology of killing, maintains that today's media works as an effective tool to train children to kill. According to Grossman, many TV programs, movies and violent video games incorporate the same techniques militaries use to train soldiers to kill: desensitization, classic conditioning, operant conditioning and role modeling.

**Desensitization:** Training new soldiers to survive and kill in war requires breaking down existing values and instilling destruction, violence and death as a way of life. In the military, much of this psychological desensitization occurs through the brutalization of bootcamp. Desensitization also happens to children through violent television images. Young children, who do not have the judgement to distinguish between fantasy and reality, perceive the murders, stabbings, rape and degradations on TV as real. Repeated exposure to these brutal stimuli without negative consequences blunts emotional responses, thus leading to desensitization.

**Classic Conditioning:** Just as Pavlov's dogs learned to associate a bell with food, soldiers can be conditioned to associate killing with pleasure. The Japanese, for example,

employed this technique during World War II by staging bayonet executions of prisoners in front of a crowd of Japanese soldiers who were encouraged to cheer. Following the executions, the onlookers were treated to a meal and "comfort women." Similarly, television punctuates each violent outburst with a commercial break and cheery images of happy people drinking sodas, playing with toys, and so on. By age 18 the average child has witnessed 200,000 violent acts on television sponsored by the companies selling the toys and junk food, thus learning to associate negative behavior and violence with pleasurable things.

**Operant Conditioning:** This stimulus-response, stimulus-response type of conditioning is designed to make killing a reflexive action. On military firing ranges, trainees shoot at man-shaped silhouettes that repeatedly pop into view. A target is shot, then it drops. Soldiers experience hundreds of these repetitions, which condition them to shoot reflexively and shoot to kill. Playing point and shoot video games can teach a child the same conditioned reflex skills as a soldier in training.

**Role Modeling:** According to Grossman, "Violent role models have always been used to influence young, impressionable minds." In the military, drill sergeants personify violence and aggression. In the media are violent heroes such as Arnold Schwarzenegger and Bruce Willis. Children also see many real life killers become celebrities. Copy-cat school shootings have criss-crossed the nation: Pearl, Paducah, Jonesboro, Columbine. Celebrities are made each time TV news indulges in non-stop coverage of these disasters.

Grossman labels the accumulative effect of this type of training "AVIDS": Acquired Violence Immune Deficiency Syndrome. Just as Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) weakens the immune system so diseases that normally do not kill become fatal, AVIDS acts similarly. TV violence does not kill but it weakens one's violence immune system and conditions one to find pleasure in violence. When a critical

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moment arises, AVIDS can destroy the brain's resistance to violence. Violence becomes a viable option for children who should know better.

*This article is adapted from David Grossman's **On Killing** (1995). He is the co-author of a new book, **Teaching Kids to Kill: A Call to Action Against TV, Movie and Video Game Violence** (October 1999). [Reprinted from **The TV-Free American** Volume 5, No. 2, Fall 1999.]*

<sup>1</sup> *Pediatrics*, Volume 103, No. 1 January 1999, p. 173-181.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the American Medical Association* June 10, 1992, Volume 267, No. 22, p. 3059-63



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The loud little handful - as usual - will shout for war. The pulpit will - warily and cautiously - object - at first; the great, big, dull bulk of the nation will rub its sleepy eyes and try to make out why there should be a war, and will say, earnestly and indignantly, "It is unjust and dishonorable, and there is no necessity for it." Then the handful will shout louder. A few fair men on the other side will argue and reason against the war with speech and pen, and at first will have a hearing and be applauded; but it will not last long; those others will outshout them, and presently the anti-war audiences will thin out and lose popularity. Before long you will see this curious thing: the speakers stoned from the platform, and free speech strangled by hordes of furious men who in their secret hearts are still at one with those stoned speakers - as earlier - but do not dare to say so. And now the whole nation - pulpit and all - will take up the war-cry, and shout itself hoarse, and mob any honest man who ventures to open his mouth; and presently such mouths will cease to open. Next the statesmen will invent cheap lies, putting the blame upon the nation that is attacked, and every man will be glad of these conscience-soothing falsities, and will diligently study them, and refuse to examine any refutations of them; thus he will by and by convince himself that the war is just, and will thank God for the better sleep he enjoys after this process of grotesque self-deception.

- Mark Twain  
(Samuel Langhorne Clemens)  
in *The Mysterious Stranger*  
circa 1905

# Depleted Corporations Part Two

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**David Gallahan**

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Our government has effectively been taken over by a set of collectivist legal entities and now, more clearly than ever, exists to serve these entities. Transnational corporations of business and finance are the major entities that together with the U.S. government form a global nexus of power that has incredible control over the lives of humans and the use of the earth.

The decision making process of these entities is not human, it is a corporate process: decisions nominally made by humans are made in the context of a job, in the interest of the collectivist legal entity, on the basis of a simple nonhuman value system (money). A good corporate executive would have armored off any intruding human values that interfered with their being able to act to yield best return to investors.

The U.S. military does the bidding of this network of multinational corporations. Recently its bidding has included destroying the possibility of Iraqi resistance to its control of oil in the Middle East, and destroying the pharmaceutical plant in Khartoum that was undercutting its prices in Africa (done behind an outrageous veil of lies). Its bidding also has been that we sink as much public money as possible directly into corporations by building weapons systems. The all-American bottomless need for "defense" weaponry, the endless, fear-based drive to keep building things that one must hope would never be used, serves this entity's goals perfectly. And now it has found that, with a facade of lies, these weapons can actually be used for a variety of excuses, achieving multiple goals: it uses up weapons, reason

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to build more; it destroys some local elements in far-flung parts of the world that are defying the corporate agenda; and it threatens everyone everywhere who might be considering defying this agenda.

We are in a real global life crisis. This ruling corporate-governmental nexus of power is threatening all life on earth, and we can now truly name it: ***the beast***.

The beast is not alive, it does not care about your life--whoever you are. Even if it is your employer, the beast is your enemy in reality: it is an epiphenomenon of our curious economic and legal systems which has now effectively taken over control from humans. The beast has nonliving values, its fundamental purpose is to increase its own wealth and scope of control. The only human considerations are those that rely on monetary value. There is a certain amount of statistical correlation between human values and dollars, but it can be extremely small. And especially, if we examine the current distribution of money in the world, we see that it is extraordinarily arbitrary with respect to any human consideration. (One example, the Savings & Loan insurance scam allowed those in the know to collect arbitrarily vast sums of money from the public till.) Concentration of wealth has proceeded to absurdity: While vast numbers of humans are *starving* these nonliving entities are vastly wealthy, tying up an earthly abundance that otherwise could allow every human a comfortable living (perhaps many times over). And worse, the systems now in place to maintain this disparity include a U.S. created international terror network of mind numbing scope and violence, the bulk of domestic violence (the police and prison systems), and the "propaganda machinery of the west" - the mass media that manufacture "consent." (see: Herman, E.S.: ***The Real Terror Network***, 1982; Chomsky, N.: ***Profit over People***, 1999)

The beast is coming up with a total agenda for everybody all the time. This entity does not have any human's good at heart: not the "bosses," not the "owners," no one's. It has

nothing good at heart; it has no heart. It just has its insatiable inner purpose to make more money and "guarantee" maintaining itself into future in its totally shortsighted, one dimensional way. This is, after all, just a collection of ideas given reams of detailed absurdity.

The beast could actually be considered our first experiment in artificial intelligence. In a way it was a success; we need not be surprised that this early try came out having very low intelligence -- still, it is extremely impressive. We're impressed, already. Let's shut it off and try again. So no one knows how to shut it off, it seems. Well, everyone will know how to shut it off ultimately: We just stop being *it*. Hopefully we've learned more than one thing from this experiment in creation. One thing is not to set our creation, our economic system or whatever, not to set this structure in control of ourselves and our living world.

When a cultural structure or pattern begins systematically killing its host (the human animals) along with their natural habitat, it is time for that host to figure out how to rid itself of that parasite.

The current world order is deleterious to all humans, the "oppressors" as well as the "oppressed." We are all spiritually crippled by this system of oppression. It generates fear in all directions. It is making our children, in emulation of Uncle Sam, commit terrible atrocities. Assumptions of scarcity are deep in the worldview that produced this present structure. Erroneous assumptions within the liberal culture that took over our social evolution more than one hundred years ago have yielded some very ugly byproducts.

Now we can see that it is a major danger to have given human rights to nonhuman entities which, of course, do not have human responsibility. As we explore, it becomes obvious that true human progress requires us to become our own masters, not beholden to the rule of law. In some ways it is quite simple to remove these erroneous assumptions and to deflate these entities that exist on paper. This paper, alas, is supported by,

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and structures the lives of, countless humans. If we all woke up tomorrow realizing together the nature of our imprisonment in this system that we maintain, we could be free at once. No one would have to go to work unwillingly. All whose work was truly important or essential would be quickly sought out by everyone else, and relieved of any necessity of drudgery. We all do want to help to some extent, and the vast majority of current human activity is actually counterproductive or meaningless for our general human livelihood. If we communicate together and figure out what we really want to have going on, we will find that our productive capability is vast compared with our actual human needs.

The first step in solving the global life crisis is recognition of the nature of the beast, and the resulting realization that we must remove our support and end the reign of the beast. It has gone too far, it is perhaps the greatest threat to humanity that has ever existed, and we Americans live near to its center.

As Martin Luther King said in 1967, "The dispossessed . . . live in a cruelly unjust society. They must organize a revolution against that injustice, not against the lives of the persons who are their fellow citizens, but against the structures through which the society is refusing to take means which have been called for, and which are at hand, to lift the load of poverty." We are virtually all "dispossessed" in this world, and the load we bear includes all the anti-life actions of the beast. In the same passage, King speaks of our way out: "Nonviolence will be effective, but not until it has achieved the massive dimensions, the disciplined planning, and the intense commitment of a sustained, direct-action movement of civil disobedience on the national scale." (King, M. L.: *The Trumpet of Conscience*, 1968, p 59) Nonviolent civilian-based defense appears to be our only hope for liberation of ourselves, of America and the world, from the beast - to disentangle ourselves from these structures that are destroying our world.

*David Gallahan is a member of the Board of Directors of CBDA.*





# Ann Arbor Peace Teams Counter Anti-Klan Violence

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**Bunyan Bryant**

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In 1996 when the Klan filed for a permit to rally in Ann Arbor, a number of local ministers encouraged members of the community to boycott anti-Klan protests, assuming the Klan rally would fizzle if no one showed up to counter it. While this assumption was reasonable, it was not practical given Ann Arbor's history of politics.

When the local religious community heeded the plea of the ministers and stayed clear of the anti-Klan protests, a political void was created for militant protesters to respond with their own violence and hatred. From the outer perimeter of the U-shaped parking lot surrounding City Hall, some 300 protesters jeered the Klan, whose members were partially encased by an eight-foot high chain link fence. Hundreds of police in full riot gear occupied the inner perimeter of the fence.

## **Anti-Klan Violence in 1996**

As the event gathered steam, anti-Klan protesters shouted hate and violence into their megaphones, and jeered the police as well as the Klan. Rocks, bottles, and pieces of asphalt thrown from the outer perimeter struck and knocked down Edna Berry, wife of Klan Imperial Wizard Jeff Berry, and she had to be rushed to the hospital emergency room for medical attention to her head wound.

This was the turning point: Police Chief Carl Int moved to halt the riot by clearing the surrounding area of protesters with tear gas, and by using a show of force to escort the Klan to safety. As police cleared the area there were seven arrests, numerous injuries, and tear-gassing of innocent passers-by.

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As the young militants retreated from the mayhem, they hurled more rocks and bottles at police, called them names, and trashed several downtown buildings in anger.

For the next ten days the Klan got front-page coverage in the ***Ann Arbor News***, and made national news as well. It was as if they were the victims, and to the extent they were, they capitalized on their predicament. Berry took advantage of his newfound national status in 1996, and was able to increase his organization from one chapter in Butler IN to 14 chapters in 12 states.

### **1998: Peace Teams Organize**

When the Klan returned two years later, the ministers and local community leaders felt the situation warranted a different response. To keep peace at City Hall, media attention was focused on a much larger community rally against violence and hate at Wheeler Park, several blocks away. Over a thousand people came with their children and were inspired by music and by speeches of love, respect, and diversity.

Concurrent with this event, people at City Hall were putting their bodies in harms' way and appealing to the consciences of bystanders and those who sought refuge in hate and violence. When Berry brought his 37-member flock to town this time, the ministers were part of a 100-member Peace Team trained in nonviolent direct action. Our ages ranged from 14 to 70. We put our backs against the fence that bordered Huron Street to keep the anti-Klan protesters separate from the Klan. We all wore yellow T-shirts with a quote from Martin Luther King on the front and "Peace Team" emblazoned on the back in large letters.

We faced an angry crowd of 400 militant anti-Klan protesters. They shouted at police and at us, claiming that we were protecting the Klan. But they failed to understand that we were opposing violence regardless of who initiated it - be it Klansmen, police, or anti-Klan protesters. We held our ground

as anti-Klan youngsters in one instance ripped a T-shirt from the body of one of our Peace Team members and tried to dislodge our fingers and wrestle our bodies from the fence. In several instances Peace Team members were punched on their bodies, to no avail.

At one point the anti-Klan protesters dislodged the fence from its posts and began to pull it down over Peace Team members, trapping us underneath. If the fence had been lowered enough, they would have stampeded over the backs of those caught under it. A small group of police in the inner perimeter came to our rescue, and quickly dispersed the protesters with pepper spray. After this scene was repeated, the protesters gave up and attacked the perimeter on the other side, gaining access to the second story promenade surrounding City Hall on three sides.

Those of us at the fence could not deploy quickly enough to assist the few Peace Team members at the promenade. Tear gas and a show of police force cleared the protesters, and Klan members were never in danger. When anti-Klan protesters heard that the Police Chief had ended the Klan demonstration an hour into their two hour program, they claimed victory and returned to campus. This time there were no arrests on the scene, no trashing of buildings other than City Hall, and only a few minor injuries.

### **Nonviolence as Active Resistance**

Nonviolence / noncooperation is **active** resistance to violence and hatred. We were not just pacifists: we were resolute in using our bodies to keep protesters from penetrating the inner perimeter. We clung to the fence and nonviolently resisted the pulls and tugs on our bodies. For conflict to be intense, it does not require the use of violent force or retaliation. This was the most intense conflict that many of us had ever witnessed, as anti-Klan protesters yelled at us, the police, and the Klan, and pulled and tugged on our bodies. Meanwhile, the Klan levied unrelenting attacks on their protesters, Blacks, Jews,

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and Gays and Lesbians. Both the Klan and the anti-Klan protesters became frustrated because neither could gain the moral high ground or claim complete victory.

This time around, it was the Peace Team that got ten days of coverage in the *Ann Arbor News*. The Team had won the public relations war by showing love rather than hate, and by bringing out the best in people who joined us by putting their backs against the fence, by curtailing violent behavior at the fence line, and by stopping acts of violence in the crowd. A young skinhead who was physically attacked by anti-Klan protesters was surrounded by Peace Team members and safely escorted away. Others in the crowd spoke out and defended our actions.

Acts of nonviolence enabled the Peace Team to seize and hold the moral high ground, preventing injury and retaliation, disarming the opponent and creating a moral dilemma that resulted in transformative behavior. Nonviolence helped break through the deepest level of communication, where youngsters had to question the way they were treating men and women, some of whom were old enough to be their grandparents. The use of nonviolence was a way of testifying by behavioral conduct to the truth of oppression and human indignity; nonviolence dignified the potential love and respect in all of us. We had effectively marginalized the Klan and the militant anti-Klan protesters. It was the peacekeepers and the ministers who carried the day.

*Bunyan Bryant is a professor in the School of Natural Resources and Environment at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. He serves on the Center for New Community Board of Directors. Reprinted from **Breaking New Ground** by permission of the author.*



# CBDA Mailbox

Dear friends at CBDA:

I just received the Summer 1999 issue of *Civilian-Based Defense*. . . I still feel some differences with you, which I will expand upon here. . .

Currently, I'm reading Gene Sharp's *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*. I'm nearing the end of it, being halfway through the third volume. It has greatly increased my view on the efficacy of nonviolent action, if done properly. May I say that I place great emphasis on those last three words. Taking the principles of nonviolent action and making them into the main means of defense for a society is possible - at least in theory - but quite difficult.

The first thing which makes it difficult is that it requires the active participation, if not of everyone in the society, at least of a sizable majority. . . [T]he fact that an international conference on religion and CBD attracted some 40 people shows clearly that CBDA has no such clear majority. I think you came to the same conclusion at the same time, which is why you decided to re-think the mandate of the CBDA. However, here is where we part company. I will return to this in more detail after the next paragraph.

The second thing which makes applying the principles of nonviolent action to societal defense difficult is the depth of commitment and degree of discipline required. Not only must the nonviolent actionists be ready to endure protracted periods of physical hardship, they must be prepared for harsh, even brutal, repressive measures. In addition, for nonviolence to have any real meaning in society, it must go far beyond the defense

## **Civilian-Based Defense**

sector. Specifically, much of the violence in repressive societies revolves around keeping people working at unpleasant, monotonous jobs. In a society based on nonviolence, obviously all the jobs have to be done voluntarily. This is a much larger undertaking than it might appear to be.

Getting back to where we seem to differ: I was very skeptical about nonviolent defense and favored the idea of a universal, armed militia, along the lines of what they have in Switzerland or Israel. Now, having read most of Gene Sharp's treatise on nonviolent action, I see much more potential in it. However, my stance is now that I would favor training the population in nonviolent resistance and nonviolent conduct in general, but still have an armed, trained, and prepared militia in case all the apparatus of nonviolent defense breaks down.

I think such an idea has much more chance of penetrating more deeply into the population of this country than does commitment to nonviolence no matter what. Let's face it, there are a lot more people in the NRA [National Rifle Association] than in CBDA. It's not a cop-out either, since the armed militia concept would be a fall-back position, assuming that all the nonviolent methods failed.

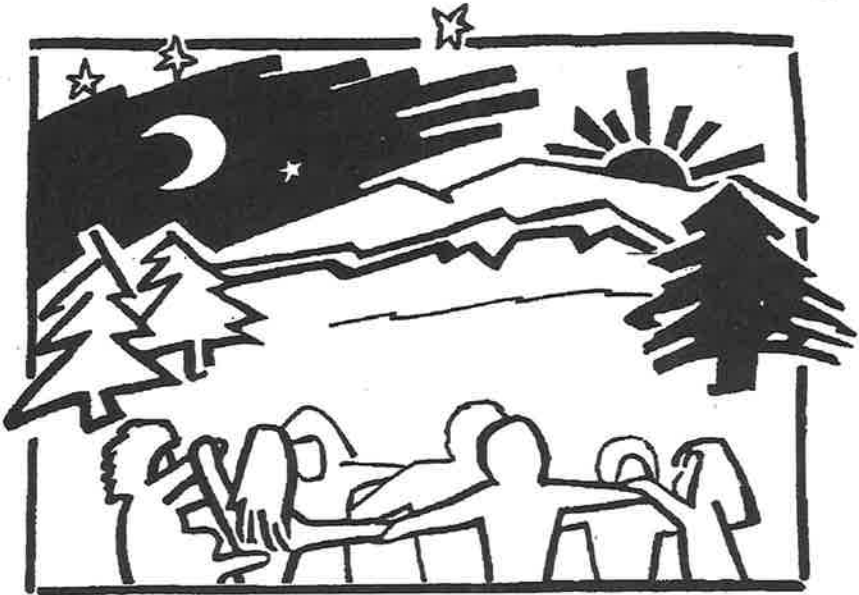
**Peter Van Zant  
Seattle WA**



*Current military defense requires substantial participation by all of society as well; consider the World War II era wage controls, rationing, cessation of civilian production and conversion to war materiel production, etc. Similarly, military defense requires that soldiers - often conscripts - endure physical hardship and danger for years on end. If these are drawbacks for CBD, they are also drawbacks for military defense. A universal militia as "back-up" would invite dismissal of nonviolence and recourse to the militia, and is incompatible with CBD. Readers are invited to respond!*

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