Civilian-Based Defense

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SWEDEN: THE COMMISSION ON NONMILITARY RESISTANCE

(Ed. Note: The following news material appeared originally in the July, 1983- April, 1984 Progress Report, from the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, by Gene Sharp.)

The report of the Commission on Nonmilitary Resistance, which has been working in the Swedish Ministry of Defense, was delivered to the Minister of Defense and the Cabinet on February 29 by Bengt Gustavsson. The Commission had been established by Cabinet decision on 18 December 1980, at the request of the then Minister of Defense Erik Kronmark. The report has been published by Liber Allmanna Forlaget as Kompletterande
Motstandsformer (Complementary Forms of Resistance), and is identified as "Statens offentliga utredningar 1984:10, Forsvarsdepartementet." The report itself constitutes 65 pages of the 207 of the text, the balance of which consists of three appendices. The first of these is the text of the Commission's directive from the Cabinet. second, 130 pages in length, focusses on "Civil Resistance: An Orientation to the Concept and Some Suggestions." It is authored by Lennart Bergfeldt (a former student of mine) who joined the Commission's staff in February 1982. The third appendix, "Some historic examples when nonmilitary resistance has been applied," cites my work and that of Adam Roberts. It contains short sections with a brief bibliography on the Hungarian passive resistance, 1850-1857; passive resistance in Finland, 1898-1905; the Ruhr struggle in Germany, 1923; civil resistance during the Second World War, 1939-1945; the Hungarian Revolution, 1956; civil resistance against the French generals' "Putsch" in Algeria, 1961; and Czechoslovakia, 1968-1969.

It should be remembered that Sweden's national defense policy is one of "total defense". It is overwhelmingly military. (Sweden has a strong conventional military capacity of its own, without foreign military alliances.) The existing policy, however, also includes various nonmilitary parts, including civil defense (as bomb shelters),

psychological defense, and economic defense. "Total defense" should be recognized as a "very encompassing concept."

The recommendations of the Commission have been described as "very moderate." One of the aims is to legitimize "nonmilitary resistance" as a deliberate factor in Swedish defense planning. The Commission has defined its terminology somewhat differently than the academic literature on civilian-based defense has done. "Military resistance" for the Commission consists of convenitonal military action by the organized military forces (as the Army), whether waged in frontal confrontations or in nonfrontal strategies, known in Sweden as "free war." "Nonmilitary resistance" in the Commission's terminology includes both prepared civilian-based defense (using nonviolent means) and irregular paramilitary resistance by small civilian groups. The Commission, however, recommends that violence should be kept as limited as possible if "nonmilitary"defense is to be applied by the whole population.

The Commission has recommended continuing research on "non-military defense," incorporation of it in long-term defense planning, and a restructuring of Sweden's "total defense" policy. Here are the details:

The Total Defense authorities should extend their planning to include "nonmilitary resistance" for occupied areas. A special permanent commission on "nonmilitary resistance" should be set up under the Government. It should work in connection with the existing administrative structure of the present civilian parts of the total defense policy to coordinate plans for "nonmilitary resistance." The new permanent commission is to meet four times a year. The chief of the present main administrative structure of the civilian parts of the total defense is to lead the new commission on "nonmilitary resistance." In addition to representatives of the various Total Defense authorities. other members shall be from the popular movements and social scientists. The new structure will include nonviolent resistance, irregular paramilitary resistance, psychological defense, economic defense, and civil defense. (Comment: That means that if and when it is ever determined that irregular paramilitary resistance is counterproductive and would undermine the nonviolent resistance, the whole new structure would consist of civilian-based defense activities or ones compatible with them.)

The new Commission on "nonmilitary resistance" should have the following aims:

1) to be a forum for deliberations on "nonmilitary resistance";

2) to keep the discussion on this topic alive within total defense planning;

3) to advance its development; and 4) to have supervisory functions and to follow up research in this field (discussed below).

The Commission further recommends that the responsibility for actual planning of "non-military resistance" shall be given to the six "High Regional Commands" which coordinate the civilian parts of the "total defense" plans in their respective regions. (Below them are the "Low Regional Commands" and the local governments (Kommunerna).) The six High Regional Commanders would coordinate their operations with the military commanders.

The actual planning for the "nonmilitary resistance" is to be realized in stages, and begin in only one of the High Regions at first. (Bengt Gustavsson is presently the commander of the Eastern Region which includes Stockholm and has the highest population of the six. However, no decision has been made as to which High Region will be selected for the pilot project if the Commission's recommendations are adopted.)

The Commission's report will now be circulated to various parts of Swedish society for study and discussion in order to obtain reactions, as is the usual practice with commission reports. The Ministry of Defense will also examine it. This process is expected to take about a year, at which time the Cabinet will consider it and determine what action to take.

Request the English summary of Kompletterande Motstandsformer from Forsvarsdepartemente, 103 33 Stockholm, Sweden. The full text of Kompletterande Motstandsformer is available for sale from Liber Allmanna Forlaget, Box 16427, 103 27 Stockholm, Sweden.

NONVIOLENCE IN THE CHILEAN STRUGGLE

by Steven Huxley

Alongside of the Solidarity movement in Poland the Chilean resistance to dictatorship represents one of the most significant current experiments in the use of nonviolent action. Publicity has been made of the massive protests of 1983-84; yet there has been little in-depth analysis of the ideology and methodology of this Chilean weaponless endeavor to establish a democratic government.

Among the opposition there are many who believe that any means used to overthrow dictatorship is justified. These people adhere to a nonviolent strategy, for the time being, for practical reasons. If they were to take up arms at this point they would be forced into an urban guerrilla conflict which would not have much chance for success.

There are exponents of this pragmatic form of nonviolent action in all of the oppositional political groupings, from the communists to the alienated middle class. There are also those who advocate principled nonviolence, i.e. Christian nonviolence, which involves the complete rejection of violent means. They are, it seems, a minority among the resisters, but very vocal.

Of the three major oppositional political coalitions, the Popular Democratic Movement (MDP), the Socialist Block and the Democratic Alliance (AD), the Christian Democratled AD has been the source of the most outspoken advocacy of weaponless resistance. Allied with the Christian Democrats is the Chilean branch of the international Catholic association, SERPAJ (Service for Peace and Justice).

This association's dynamic leaders have published a whole series of pamphlets on, and studies of, nonviolent action. In addition they have conducted popular courses throughout Chile on the theory and practice of active nonviolence. SERPAJ is an invaluable source of information on the protest movement; its members have been compiling documentation of the resistance from all points of view as well as writing extensive commentaries on the Chilean situation.

The protest movement which has now continued for over a year is proof that its wide variety of adherents are truly convinced of the efficacy of nonviolent action. These protests no longer represent the type of spontaneous, unplanned, nonviolent rebellion which has ultimately failed so often in the past. The Chilean resisters are becoming experts in waging weaponless conflict. This merits serious attention, especially on the part of those whose special interest is weaponless defense and popular struggle against dictatorship. It is to be hoped that someone will undertake a major study of the Chilean resistance in the near future.

Here are a few sources of information on the Chilean struggle:

SERPAJ (Servicio, Paz y Justicia) Casilla 5219 Santiago - 3 CHILE

Otto Boye 3 Norte 441 Vina Del Mar CHILE (researcher on nonviolence, pol. sc.)

Analisis (a major opposition magazine) Manuel Montt 425 Santiago

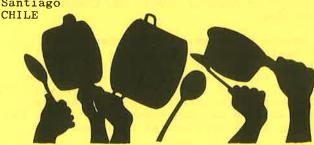


Illustration by John Gummere. Friends Journal, March 15, 1984.
The Chilean people reportedly bang pots and pans on their days of protest.

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS



NETHERLANDS

A national group on social defense has been organized within Women for Peace. The group tries to inform women in and out of the peace movement about social defense. It is part of a social defense network in the Netherlands. There are groups working in various fields: political parties/ trade unions and industry/ critical groups in and around military forces/ ideological groups/ public administration/ police and judicature/ local situations and social defense/ education/ media/ science. The above information was sent by Lineke Schakenbos, Utrechtseweg 29A, 3704 HA ZEIST. (Phone 03404-52551)

A Dutch newsletter on civilian-based defense has just been announced. It will be called sociale verdediging (social defense). Subscriptions will cost 12/50 florins within the Netherlands and may be obtained from Oncko Heldring, Twentseweg 196, 7722 M X Dalfsen, Netherlands.

AUSTRIA

The Austrian government has reportedly incorporated a civilian-based defense component in its training for young males refusing ordinary military service. The person in charge of developing a programme is Dr. Andreas Maislinger, Dept. of Politics, University of Insbruck, Insbruck, Austria.

AUSTRALIA

Gene Sharp spent the last part of June and the first weeks of July lecturing and meeting with university students and nonviolent activists in Sydney, Melbourne, Canberra, and Brisbane. His trip to Australia was at the invitation of Professor Ralph Summy of the University of Queensland and others. In Brisbane he participated in a national conference on "Alternative Defence Strategies for Australia". More information about this conference will be printed in a subsequent issue of CBD: News-Opinion.

IRELAND

The December '83/January '84 issue of <u>Dawn</u> included an insert entitled: "An Alternative Defence for Ireland: Some Considerations and a Model of Defence Without Arms for the Irish People" by Rob Fairmichael. This eight page pamphlet describes civilian-based defense and how it could be an appropriate system for Ireland. It also includes a short bibliography and is available from <u>Dawn</u>, 1 Belgrave Square, Ratsmines, Dublin 6, <u>Ireland</u>.

ITALY

Preparations are being completed for the publication of La Politica dell 'Azione Nonviolenta (the full text of The Politics of Nonviolent Action, plus the "Social Power and Political Freedom" chapter). The book will carry an Introduction by Professor Matteo Soccio, a leader of the Italian nonviolence movement. The book, in three volumes, will be published in the Fall of 1984 and will be available from Edizioni Gruppo Abele, via dei Mercanti 6, 10122 Torino, Italy.

MIDDLE EAST

The Jerusalem Post, on November 25, 1983, carried a long report of the proposal by Mubarak Awad, a Palestinian-American, that Palestinians in the occupied territories should shift to nonviolent forms of struggle. The Jerusalem Post quoted from Awad's Arabic language pamphlet "Nonviolence in the Occupied Territories," which was being distributed among Palestinians. Excerpts from Awad's paper were subsequently published in English, in London, in the Journal, Race and Class, Vol. XXV, Spring, 1984, No. 4.

A seminar on the idea of nonviolent resistance for the Palestinian struggle was held in East Jerusalem and then moved to Ramallah. Over 100 people from the West bank and Israel attended.

Gene Sharp's book, Power, Struggle and Defense, is to be published this year in both Hebrew and Arabic. The book is an abridgement of The Politics of Nonviolent Action, with an abridgement of the title chapter and the "Popular Empowerment" chapter from Social Power and Political Freedom, and "Civilian-Based Defense: A New Deterrence and Defense Policy" (a chapter prepared for UNESCO). Hitherto, it is reported, there has been no literature on nonviolent forms of struggle available in either Hebrew or Arabic.

COSTA RICA

Power, Struggle and Defense is expected to be published in Spanish in late 1984, for distribution throughout Latin America. Requests as to price and availability may be addressed to Sr. Francisco Varahona, Secretario Executivo, Universidad para la Paz Apartado 199, Escuzu, Costa Rica.

Defensa por el Poder de la Sociedad (Defense by Societal Power) by Gene Sharp, is to be published in Costa Rica as a booklet of about 65 pp., for distribution throughout Central America. This is a new, much shorter manuscript on the nature of nonviolent struggle and civilian-based defense, prepared especially for Central America. It already appears that it may be translated into other languages. Publication is expected in the Summer of 1984, at an estimated price of \$5.10 plus postage, by the Centro de los Amigos para la Paz, Apartado 431, San Pedros Montes de Oca, Costa Rica.

ESTONIA, LATVIA, LITHUANIA

A recent publication from RAND "examines the political and religious potential for unrest in the Baltic and suggests that the combination of the two could pose, under conditions of continued economic deterioration and increased Soviet repression, a serious challenge to the Soviet regime, perhaps on the order of the Solidarity movement in Poland. ... The report says that religious dissent in the Baltic has evolved into a mass opposition movement, with clandestine publications and an active underground."

(Material in quotes excerpted from a review of the report published in the "Rand Checklist". The report is Dissent and Nationalism in the Soviet Baltic by Alexander Alexiev, 1983. RAND publication number R-3061-AF, 47 pp., \$4.00. ISBN 0-8330-0537-5. Order from the Rand Corporation, 1700 Main St., P.O. Box 2138, Santa Monica, CA 90406.)

POLAND

"There are presently hundreds of independent bulletins, journals and newspapers published underground in Poland. They range from the official voice of regional underground Solidarity structures, such as Tygodnik Mazowsze ("Warsaw Weekly"), to factory Solidarity bulletins, such as Informator of the Gdansk Repair Shipyard, and to publications outside Solidarity like the KOS Bulletin of the Committee for Social Resistance. The volume is anywhere from 500-1000 for a factory publication to 20 - 30,000 copies for some of the most important underground publications.

The independent press publishes articles and information of the Solidarity resistance movement, as well as repression by the state-party apparatus and workplace management, announcements of underground union bodies, reports of trials and prison conditions, appeals from prisoners, and other uncensored information and analysis."

(From Committee in Support of Solidarity REPORTS, Issue # 25, July 13, 1984.)

"During the annual meeting of the Lodz P.S.S. SPOLEM (retail state food cooperatives) a question was asked about the size and scope of the threat posed by the underground. The chairman of the meeting said that during a discussion with a police colonel, he was told that to liquidate all the underground printing houses, the secret police would need six years."

(From Tygodnik Mazowsze, no. 79, February 23, 1984.)

Recently, the first chapter, on power, from The Politics of Nonviolent Action was published in Annex, a Solidarity journal issued in London and edited in Paris. Annex is circulated in Poland and its articles are often reprinted in underground publications.

THAILAND

Power, Struggle and Defense is to be published in Thai this year. The book is to be issued in BAngkok by Krong Karn Nang Sue Sasna Lae Sanivitee for the Coordinating Group for Religion and Society, and the Komol Keemthong Foundation. Copies may be ordered from the Coordinating Group for Religion and Society, 495/44 Soi Yoo Omsin, Jaransanitwong 40 Road, Bangkok 10700, Thailand at an estimated price of \$7.00 plus postage.

Gene Sharp lectured for two weeks in Bangkok and in various cities in the Southern province. His visit was sponsored by the Coordinating Group for Religion and Society.

WEST GERMANY

Professor Theodor Ebert of the Free University of Berlin, and for a long time a leading analyst of civilian-based defense, testified on this policy last November before the Defense Committee of the West German Bundestag. The occasion was a hearing on alternative defense strategies. Ebert was one of two experts nominated by the Greens. The Green Party has civilian-based defense (soziale verteidigung) as its official defense policy, although it is reported that not all members understand it very deeply and some support strictly defensive conventional military options.

The Green Party held hearings on social defense in the Bundestag building in mid-June. Gene Sharp gave testimony as did a number of other researchers, including Adam Roberts, Theodore Ebert, Andreas Maislinger, and Johan Galtung.

ENGLAND

In April, 1983, the Alternative Defence Commission published its first report under the title Defence Without the Bomb (cf a review in News-Opinion, July, 1983). The report considered the range of defense options that would be available to a Britain that had renounced nuclear weapons and refused to have nuclear bases on its territory. The Commission is now working on a follow-up report looking at foreign policy for a unilateralist Britain, and other aspects of disarmament and peacemaking in the 1980s.

UNITED STATES

A.T.S. member James Tindall interviewed Gene Sharp after his recent lecture at Whittier College in California. Subsequently, a four-page story by Tindall, about Sharp's work and the idea of civilian-based defense, appeared in the April 20th, 1984 issue of Commonweal.

An article by another A.T.S. member, Dr. Walter H. Conser, Jr. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, appeared in the Journal of the Middle States Council for the Social Studies (Fall, 1983). The article, entitled "Revising Early American History: The Contributions of Nonviolence", explored three instances of pragmatic (as opposed to principled) nonviolent struggle: the move-

ment for American Independence, 1765-1775, the Jefferson Embargo of 1807-1809 and the resistance by the Cherokee Indians to the federal removal policy from 1833-1838.

Patrick G. Coy, Coordinator of the Peace and Justice Ministry at St. Louis University, recently gave two talks on civilian-based defense; one to a faculty study group at Fontbonne College, and the other to a regional conference on the U.S. Catholic Bishops' Pastoral Letter on Peace, held in Carbondale, IL.

The producers of the Alternatives to Violence Video Forum are offering Programs #1, #2 and #5 at a reduced lease cost in order to promote one-day workshop sessions in 1984. The 60-day lease cost is now \$75 + \$2.50 for shipping. Write: W.T.L., Box 351 (D) Primos, PA 19018.

A <u>Progress Report</u> (July, 1983 to April, 1984) from the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions at Harvard University has just been published. Besides news relating directly to the Program, the report contains extensive information about developments world-wide. (This newsletter contains considerable material first reported in the Progress Report). Copies of the 1982-83 Report are also available. Write to: Program on Nonviolent Sanctions, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 1737 Cambridge Street, Cambridge, MA 02138. (Ph. 617-495-5580)

The Albert Einstein Institution for Non-violent Alternatives in Conflict and Defense has recently been established to assist in the securing of funds for research on non-violent sanctions and to support and engage in research and education about nonviolent action. The Institution is now incorporated in Massachusetts and has just received its tax-exempt status from the Internal Revenue Service. Careful plans are being made for its operations. Temporary address is 596 Franklin St., Cambridge, MA 02139.

Articles about the Harvard Program and Gene's work were published in late 1983 in the Boston Globe (December 18th), the New Yorker (December 12), the Harvard University Gazette (November 4), Santa Cruz Sentinel (November 13), and the Santa Barbara News-Press (November 11).

In Detroit, the Nonviolent Action for National Defense Institute has been founded by Rev. John Mecartney. Supported by a Board of Directors including A.T.S. Board Member Mary Carey, Mecartney has also recruited Bishop Thomas Gumbleton of the Bishop's Pastoral Letter fame, to assist in the necessary fund-raising. A speakers bureau, media campaign, brochure and bookstore are all services offered by the Institute. Rev. Mecartney can be contacted at: Nonviolent Action for National Defense Institute: 8200 W. Outer Drive, Detroit, MI 48219. Phone: 313-592-6254 or 313-531-5461.

The May 16, 1984 issue of MANAS carried a comment on the December 12th New Yorker piece about Gene Sharp, echoing his statement that if the knowledge of the techniques of nonviolent resistance could be spread around, "then unhappy people in a hundred and more places might decide on such tactics

before someone could hand them an assault rifle."

Defence Without the Bomb's chapter on "Defence by Civil Resistance" was reprinted in Burns Weston, ed., Toward Nuclear Disarmament and Global Security, as part of a chapter titled "Relying on Alternative Defense Strategies". (Westview Press, Boulder, CO 80301.)

Gene Sharp will again be featured on the Stanley Foundation's radio program, Common Ground, the first week in October in a new program which further outlines his ideas on civilian-based defense and nonviolent resistance. The 1983 program drew more response than any other program they have ever done, surpassing even those by Helen Caldicott or George Kennan. (The Stanley Foundation, 420 East Third St., Muscatine, Iowa 52761.)

The Pittsburgh Peace Institute and the Pittsburgh Friends Meeting will co-sponsor a workshop entitled "The Nonviolent Defense of Pittsburgh, Sept. 17, Oct. 22 & Nov. 19, from 7:00 to 9:00 p.m. The workshop will "examine seriously the notion that the Russians plan to take over the world. It asks: what would it take for them to do so? how might they go about it? what means have we - without resort to violence - to make conquest difficult and/or unsuccessful? /hat would be the likely costs and benefits of such a strategy? The instructor is Liane Norman, Ph.D. Write: Pittsburgh Peace Institute, 1139 Wightman St., Pittsburgh, PA 15217.

Bishop Lowell O. Erdahl, President of the Southeastern Minnesota District of the American Lutheran Church, reflected on civilian-based defense in an article published recently in the Augsburgh College Global Concerns newsletter. He wrote: "The way of the cross is costly and does not always 'work'. But war, too, is costly and in war at least one side always loses. There are problems plenty with 'civilian-based nonviolent defense' but its use does not threaten the survival of the human species and it is, even when practiced pragmatically, much more in harmony with the way of the cross than is the arms race quest for security through military might.

The American Library Association's Task Force on Peace Information Exchange, organized in 1977, is concerned with the availability of information on peace and conflict controls, and the support of research and publication in these areas. It invites researchers in transarmament studies to share bibliographies, reviews and information that might help the spread of peace information into libraries' main stream programs. It is presently chaired by Elizabeth Morrissett, 1325 West Quartz, no. 204, Butte, MT 59701. Phone: 406-496-4283 or 782-7750

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

We want to hear from our readers. As space permits, we will print letters designated as "letter to the editors". Please type and include your name and address. Thank you.

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to civilian-based defense.

DIRECTORS' MEETING

The directors of the Association for Transarmament Studies held their second annual meeting on April 13, 14 and 15, in Omaha. Goals of the Association which were approved the previous year were reaffirmed, including:

1) Improve understanding of the concepts of civilian-based defense and transarmament through educational efforts.

2) Develop a more extensive international exchange-of-information network in regard

3) Encourage scholarly research and development of the concept.

4) Build the Association into an effective organization with adequate financial support.

Directors discussed an additional goal; that the rationale for serious consideration of civilian-based defense be presented adequately in 1987 and 1988 at platform hearings conducted by U.S. political parties.

It was decided to not plan an Association-sponsored national conference on civilian-based defense at this time. Instead, our members will be encouraged and assisted in planning regional conferences during 1985 and 1986.

There was a felt need for production of an introductory packet of materials on civilian-based-defense, which could be distributed widely throughout the country. This packet is to be produced and made available as soon as possible.

It was reported that membership in the Association had doubled since the 1983 Board meeting and that the newsletter was being well-received. Plans were made to distribute and sell the initial printing of 5000 copies of Gene Sharp's new booklet, National Security Through Civilian-Based Defense, which the Association is having printed.

SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION

"Civilian-Based Defense: News and Opinion" is published quarterly by the Association for Transarmament Studies. Subscriptions are \$5.00 per year (\$7.50 outside the U.S. and Canada). Send checks to A.T.S., at 3636 Lafayette Avenue, Omaha, NE 68131. The publication is offered as a vehicle of communication for individuals and groups who believe the concept of civilian-based defense deserves very serious consideration. The Association attempts to inform its readers about new ideas, publications, governmental action and other developments relating to civilian-based defense, both in the U.S. and abroad. Toward that end, the Association invites readers to submit news, letters and short articles for future

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SEARCH FOR RESEARCH

PRE-PUBLICATION OFFER

If you have written on some aspect of non-violent action, please send us: 1) title of the paper, thesis, or article. 2) a short (one paragraph) annotation. 3) information on cost for copying or obtaining copies and where the paper can be obtained. 4) a copy of the paper.

We will then do one (or more) of three things with it: A) determine whether it should be published in CBD: News-Opinion; B) reviewed in the newsletter, or C) listed in this "search for research" column where readers will be encouraged to directly contact the author to obtain a copy.

Address information and queries to: Julia A. Kittross, 1514 NE 45th Street, Seattle, WA 98105. Ph. 206-523-4755.

"A Common Understanding: An Excursion into the Nature of Non-violent Action" by Ken Christenson. This 20 page paper is a highly personal examination into the "moral dynamics of non-violent action." Remarking on the purpose of struggle, the nature of "social power," the definition of "justice," and the necessity for defense, Mr. Christenson ends his essay with a list of six "suggested principles of social defense," all of which reflect his "positive" (using the Boserup and Mack distinction) outlook on CBD.
Write: Ken Christenson, R.R. 1, Ontario, Canada POG 1GO.

"The Line of Battle--Some Considerations for a Social Defense Strategy" is a 66 page paper by Hans Sinn, Chairperson of Peace Brigades International in Canada. Mr. Sinn, in his introduction, says he will "attempt to make a contribution to the development of a unified theory of non-violent persuasion that is of practical relevance to the peace, ecology and feminist movements....(He will) focus on the question of freedom rather than the basic necessities of food, shelter, and clothing as the critical element in the development of an effective strategy of unarmed persuasion." In chapters entitled "Mass Suicide," "The Automation of Self-Destruction," "Social Engineering," "Losing," "Strategy," and "Non-violence for Beginners," (among others), Mr. Sinn creates an essay which looks into the sociological, anthropological and psychological factors in the practical application of nonviolent civilian-based defense. One of his urgent arguments encourages the development of language and images to improve the acceptance and dissemination of the idea of nonviolence. Write to: Hans Sinn, R.R. 4, Perth, Ontario K7H 3C6.

Note: Inclusion in this "Search for Research" column does not imply endorsement or agreement with the conclusions of the articles by A.T.S. or any of the CBD: News-Opinion editors.

The Association for Transarmament Studies is proud to announce the publication of Gene Sharp's National Security Through Civilian-Based Defense, the Fall, 1984.

This short book (approximately 100 pages) is an excellent introductory work to the concept of civilian-based defense. An essay re-worked from Sharp's useful but out of print Exploring Nonviolent Alternatives is the main piece, while the following chapters are also included:

- * "Ten Points About Civilian-Based Defense"
- * "Questions About the Applicability of Civilian-Based Defense"
- * "Steps in Consideration of Civilian-Based Defense"
- * "Key Definitions"
- * "For Further Reading"
- * "Research Areas and Policy Studies on Civilian-Based Defense.

For all those friends who aren't ready to tackle the larger written materials, this booklet is the perfect introduction.

We are able to offer you, A.T.S. readers and subscribers, a special pre-publication discount. If you order before October 30th, this book will be sent to you when it arrives from the printer, for only \$3.00 plus 20% tax, postage and handling. This represents quite a savings from the post-publication price of \$4.95. Please fill out the order form below and send it along with a check to: A.T.S., 3636 Lafayette, Omaha, NE 68131.

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