

# Civilian-Based Defense

A PUBLICATION OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR TRANSARMAMENT STUDIES

EDITORS: Melvin G. Beckman, Julia A. Kittross, Philip D. Bogdonoff

I

## UNDERSTANDING POLITICAL POWER: THE CONTRIBUTION OF NONVIOLENT RESISTANCE STUDIES

By Leonard Gambrell

Nonviolent resistance as a field of scholarly endeavor is maturing and now deserves the attention and critique of political scientists, national security experts and policy-interested citizens. Prospects of nuclear disaster have produced considerable scholarly attention. There have been projects of gloom, doom, blame and counterblame and a sprinkling of denials that it is really a problem after all. Nonviolent resistance studies offer an approach that stands in stark contrast to the standard debate and they offer some hope that we might develop genuine alternatives. Few, if any, scholars argue that we need only stop what we are now doing. Most of this literature expresses general recognition of the need for additional analysis and theoretical development, and thus, invites the full participation of so-called "mainstream" political and social sciences. At the very least nonviolent resistance studies may be of assistance in furthering the social sciences' traditional concerns for grasping and understanding the concept of power. Whether this scholarship leads to new approaches to national security policy and practices remains uncertain. Ultimately this may depend on whether nonviolent resistance studies contribute to our conceptual understanding of power. This paper is limited primarily to the issue of whether or not this assumption is true and asks whether refining our understanding of political power is an essential first step toward breaking the vicious circle that is frequently referred to as the national security dilemma.

Conceptual thinking about political power often lacks rigor. This kind of behavior extends to political science,<sup>1</sup> which takes power as a core concept in the development and organization of the discipline. Evidence abounds to illustrate general ignorance and an apparent degree of professional disdain for nonviolent resistance studies.

What is meant by nonviolent resistance studies? Though there are some important differences among scholars in this field, there is an increasingly recognizable broad consensus on the basic conceptual content of this perspective.<sup>2</sup> It is the focus on the social roots of political power which distinguishes this literature from most traditional treatments of power. Power generated from any action, whether violent or nonviolent in form, is derived from the degree of cooperation, obedience or submission of those toward whom action is directed.<sup>3</sup> The focus is not primarily on whether the action is violent or nonviolent. In either case, the degree of power generated is directly related to the degree to which there is cooperation, obedience or submission. Consequently, nonviolent resistance studies focus on the relationship between social and political structures, processes, and the degree to which leaders are able to stimulate and achieve successful or desired cooperation, obedience or submission. In short, this scholarship gives direct attention to official and public perceptions of the essence of power. In this sense it is a bit inaccurate to refer to it only as studies in nonviolent resistance. It is equally as concerned with avoiding analyses of power which confuse the outer or physical attributes of power with its essence. Focusing on the social roots of power helps direct attention to the ultimate source of all power. We refer to it as nonviolent resistance scholarship since there seems to be a distinguishable conceptualization of power that springs from efforts to discover whether and to what degree power, if institutionalized in nonviolent resistance forms, might be substituted for violent action in the concern for national security. This inherently demands careful study of violent action. Thus, nonviolent resistance scholarship must include efforts to measure and evaluate the utility of various forms of violent action in a variety of circumstances. Ultimately this should permit the comparison of violent and nonviolent political action in specific national security situations, for relative effectiveness. With its focus on the social roots of power, nonviolent resistance scholarship avoids the confusion that derives from using "force" as a code word for political violence and military action. Failure to make this distinction explicit leads to confusion in the concept of political power. Several analysts

challenge the practice of implying that military power is the "ultimate" form of power. Within these critiques of power, however, we often discover the habit of equating "force" with military action. For instance, "In some situations, force works very well but in others it is counterproductive."<sup>4</sup> Here the writer intends to comment on the utility of military action, but this should be made explicit. There are many types of force. Nonviolent resistance scholarship asserts that "force" is not a monopoly of the military. Nonviolent political action, as envisioned by scholars such as Gene Sharp and Adam Roberts,<sup>5</sup> may involve coercion or "forceful" action. The fundamental issue in each policy-making situation is not whether leaders wish to use power or force; rather it is whether to use violent or nonviolent forms of action. Failure to make this explicit leaves us only a short conceptual step from the erroneous notion that power derives from violence. We know, in fact, that whether power results from violent action varies from situation to situation. Therefore, some other variable or variables determine whether or not it is effective power.

Nonviolent resistance studies thus contribute to a clearer and broader image of power than we get in traditional or mainstream analyses. In a direct manner this perspective reminds us that political power may develop out of deliberate acts of omission as well as commission. That is, political power always stems from human decisions to obey, disobey, cooperate or refuse to cooperate and submit, or refuse to submit to political authority.<sup>6</sup>

## II

Political analysts commonly agree that political power is neither inherently violent nor nonviolent in character,<sup>7</sup> yet their professional behavior seems to imply the opposite. Example after example from introductory international relations textbooks on the nature, scope and importance of political power are drawn almost exclusively from military force or the threat of such action.<sup>8</sup>

Two decades after the publication of numerous case histories and theoretical development of nonviolent resistance studies and its treatment of political power, none of the widely adopted textbooks offer the slightest indication that their authors are even remotely aware of important nonviolent illustrations of power.<sup>9</sup> Broad analysis of their overall treatment of power causes this observer to conclude that the absence of attention to nonviolent resistance scholarship is not the result of rejection of this scholarship. Soft and incomplete conceptual handling of political power in those textbooks cited above offers strong evidence to the contrary--it has been ignored! Why has this happened? Have political scientists and the general academic community become so accustomed to the incorporation of violence in political behavior that it is seen as the operational norm? Does this explain much of the distorted conceptual understanding of power?

Whether violence is more effective than non-violent behavior is an appropriate proposition for careful investigation. Uncritical

acceptance of such a proposition as truth, however, is inconsistent with general academic norms. Confusing political power with customary political practices is a serious error. More grievous is the error of ignoring scholarship that challenges assumptions within existing political behavior. Lack of awareness of these mistakes results in sloppy conceptual treatment of political power and widely held assumptions about political and social reality that often are patently false.

## III

Gene Sharp, probably the most prolific scholar in this field, says that one of the greatest obstacles he experiences is that of the absence of professional criticism. Non-violence as a concept is so poorly understood or professional treatment of power is so distorted that his publications are rarely mentioned or seldom reviewed in mainstream literature. Ironically, his primary source of "feedback" seems to come from largely positive reviews by military-related journals and periodicals.<sup>10</sup>

Not only do international relations writers ignore this scholarship, they compound the obstacles to its consideration by maintaining and publishing images of it that blatantly illustrate their ignorance on the subject. For instance, Russett and Starr in their generally high-quality textbook stressing "scientific approaches" to international relations, label nonviolence as "Pacifist Alternatives."<sup>11</sup> The seasoned reader of non-violent resistance literature is skeptical and is likely to explore such labels critically. A skeptical attitude is essential in dealing with mainstream writers. In this case, not only are the authors' remarks on Mohandas Gandhi poorly informed, but we also discover that the short section on "Pacifist Alternatives" concludes with a reference to two books, neither of which have anything to do with pacifism. The footnote is to works that, in fact, seek to explain that non-violence can be aggressive and possibly developed into a planned form of coercive national power.<sup>12</sup> This is hardly pacifism!

Practices of this sort make it seem quite appropriate to conclude that mainstream authors have ignored rather than rejected the perspective on power suggested by non-violent resistance study. Absence of any mention of nonviolent examples of power is due to lack of awareness of these works.

The impact of this distortion is particularly significant for international relations professionals. Works of the type cited above suggests that they were prepared in the same careful manner that we believe is customary with widely used textbooks. For years, international relations theorists have argued the international system is characterized by struggle, conflict and cooperation. In the "realist" school or perspective, wise nations accept these realities and develop capacities for dealing with them. Generally this has been interpreted narrowly so that "realism" becomes expanding and sophisticating military power. The "fallout" from this

dominant perspective has produced a view that realistic national policies are those rooted in accepting the world as it is. Usually there is little empirical evidence to support notions that the international system is nothing but a world of raw political violence. Nor is its effectiveness comparatively evaluated. It is just assumed to be necessary and realistic. Pacifism and other non-aggressive positions are relegated to a "dream world." Those who grapple with the real world surely do not choose pacifism. Labeling nonviolent resistance scholarship as synonymous with pacifism is thus equivalent to proclaiming it as irrelevant and thus utopian. That nonviolent studies may advance the refinement of our thinking and perceptions of political power has not been widely discovered and is not likely to occur as long as it is perceived by established scholars as nothing but a pacifist alternative.

Another illustration from a popular international relations textbook demonstrates the degree of the misunderstanding of nonviolent resistance scholarship. In his analysis of political power K.J. Holsti presents the following hierarchy of power:

- .Use of force.
- .Infliction of nonviolent punishment.
- .Threat of punishment (the "stick").
- .Granting of reward (the "carrot").
- .Persuasion.<sup>13</sup>

This is a vivid illustration that this author is aware of nonviolent punishments; however, it is also clear that it is considered as inherently a less "powerful" form of action than is "force." Apparently Holsti sees "force" as violence, although this is not completely clear. What is clear, however, is that he doubts that nonviolent behavior can be either equivalent or superior to violence as a generator of coercive power. As used here, this assumption for investigation becomes a categorical assertion of fact. Scholars focusing on the history of nonviolent resistance behavior have documented many cases which illustrate that nonviolent resistance has produced dramatic changes absolutely contrary to the wishes of those toward whom it was directed. In short, opponents were forced to surrender or alter their behavior.<sup>14</sup>

This does not mean that we can conclude nonviolent coercion is superior (in terms of power produced) to violent coercion. In fact, current scholarship in nonviolent resistance reveals that significant research and debate is focused on the effort to define and delineate those conditions or situations in which nonviolent national resistance might produce coercive power that is at least as effective as violence. In short, it is a proposition for investigation, not a matter of faith nor a moral assertion.<sup>15</sup>

#### IV

Though popular images of nonviolence often anticipate the study of some aspect of pacifism, the scholars identified in this manuscript pay little or only negative attention to pacifism. Whether or not a pacifist form of life is possibly superior, does not occupy their attention. Most would agree with Gene Sharp's observation, that widespread adoption of pacifism is simply

not going to occur.<sup>16</sup> On the other hand, it is presently clear from this literature that there are, in fact, numerous cases of ordinary people who have engaged in organized nonviolent behavior without having had any exposure to pacifism.<sup>17</sup> This is why most scholars in nonviolent resistance studies argue there is no relationship between the development and use of nonviolent political action and pacifism. We may conclude, therefore, that nonviolent resistance scholarship exists as a separate and identifiable entity. Its focus is on careful, often empirical, study of nonviolent direct action. Commonly this incorporates a wide range of direct action. It does not include traditional political activities such as elections, diplomacy, negotiation, mediation nor conciliation. Gene Sharp has identified 198 different methods of nonviolent direct action.<sup>18</sup> Several writers seem to agree with Sharp that a useful scheme of analysis is to divide these direct actions into three broad categories of acts--actions which are designed to convert, actions seeking accommodation and action that aims to coerce an opponent.<sup>19</sup> In all cases, the emphasis is on action and in most cases there is either a clear or implicit degree of coercion or the possibility of using force, albeit nonviolent in form.

The initial significance of this scholarship for political science and the general academic community is that it requires us to think about our conceptual images and uses of political power. Classification by the form of the action provides the opportunity to research and probe assumptions and experiences so that it may become possible to generalize about which type of action is most effective (powerful) under specific circumstances. Eventually it may become possible to learn whether or not it is possible to develop functional alternatives to violent behavior that today may seem inherently necessary. A crucially important by-product may be the beginning of serious scholarship attempting to measure empirically the effectiveness of violent actions. At a minimum, academic analysis surely requires that nonviolent resistance scholarship be evaluated for what it is or is not rather than through images unrelated to its content, concerns and focus.

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#### NOTES

1. Though examples cited here are generally applicable to the entire discipline of political science, all specific cases are from the sub-field of international relations.

2. Anders Boserup and Andrew Mack, War Without Weapons, (New York, Schocken Books, 1975), see chapter 1, "Positive and Negative Conflict Behavior: Theoretical Problems," pp. 21-36.

3) Gene Sharp, The Politics of Nonviolent Action, (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1973), see especially chapters 1 and 2.

4. David Baldwin, "Power Analysis and World Politics: New Trends versus Old Tendencies," World Politics, Vol. 31, No. 2 (January, 1979), p. 181.
5. A perusal of the table of contents of Sharp, pp. xi - xviii, and Adam Roberts, ed., Civilian Resistance as a National Defense, (Baltimore, Penguin, 1969) reveals that both focus significant attention to coercive forms of nonviolent action.
6. Sharp, pp. 64-71.
7. For a good illustration of a wide range of definitions on this concept see Frederic S. Pearson and J. Martin Rochester, International Relations (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1984), pp. 42-43.
8. Bruce Russett and Harvey Starr, World Politics (San Francisco, W.H. Freeman & Co., 1981). This text, on the whole, presents its arguments in a rigorous fashion. Yet, there are numerous examples in its discussion of power that are militarily texted. Many of these are useful and instructive but the military element is not essential to the point of their argument. (See especially 140-141.) Moreover there are no nonviolent examples. Defensive behavior is used in an exclusively military fashion. Further compounding the confusion is the author's treatment of coercion as being inherently violent. (See 130-137).
9. This list includes some of the most widely used international relations textbooks not referenced in previous portions of this paper. Each book was analysed in an attempt to discover whether there was even a brief mention of nonviolent action as a form of political power. In no case was there any reference to nonviolent forms of political power: James N. Rosenau, editor, International Politics and Foreign Policy, (New York, The Free Press, 1969); Ivo D. Duchacek, Nations and Men, 3rd edition, (Hinsdale, Illinois, The Dryden Press, 1975); Karl Deutsch, The Analysis of International Relations, 2nd edition, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1978); K.J. Holsti, International Politics, 3rd edition (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, Prentice-Hall, 1977); David W. Ziegler, War, Peace, and International Politics, 2nd edition, Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1981); Walter S. Jones and Steven J. Rosen, The Logic of International Relations, 4th edition, (Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1982); Frederick H. Hartmann, The Relations of Nations, 6th edition, (New York, Macmillan Publishing Co., 1983).
10. Military Review, April, 1974, pp. 101-102 and Air Force Magazine, November, 1974, p. 89
11. Russett and Starr, pp. 388-389.
12. Ibid, see footnote number 13, p. 389.
13. K.J. Holsti, International Politics, 3rd edition (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.; Prentice-Hall, 1977). Chapter 6.
14. For a general treatment of U.S. case history see Robert Cooney and Helen Michalowski, The Power of the People: Active Nonviolence in the United States, (Culver City, California, 1975). Numerous international cases are cited in Gene Sharp, The Politics of Nonviolent Action, Part II. Norwegian experience with nonviolent resistance during World War II is detailed in Paul Wehr, Conflict Regulation, (Boulder, CO., Westview Press, 1979), chapter 4. Danish resistance to Nazi occupation is analysed and evaluated by Paul Wehr in "Aggressive Nonviolence," chapter 14 of Arnold P. Goldstein, Edward G. Carr, William S. Davidson, II and Paul Wehr, In Response to Aggression, (New York, Pergamon Press, 1981), pp. 479-515.
15. Alex Schmid, "Nonviolence and Social Defence - Some Research Problems and Answers" (Leiden, the Netherlands, Center for the Study of Social Conflicts, 1983). This publication is a compilation of answers to a survey conducted by Schmid. Respondents from the U.S., Western Europe and Australia make clear that there is a variety of opinion among nonviolent resistance scholars.
16. Gene Sharp, Social Power and Political Freedom, (Boston, Porter Sargent, 1980), pp. 265-266.
17. Ibid, p. 302.
18. For a complete listing and description see Gene Sharp, The Politics of Nonviolent Action, Part II.
19. See several of the selections in Severyn T. Bruyn and Paula M. Rayman, editors, Nonviolent Action and Social Change (New York: Irvington Publishers, Inc., 1979).

## NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS



### NETHERLANDS

"Women for Peace" are part of a Dutch network on social defense which involves civil servants, political parties, trade unions, educators and others. Women for Peace published a thirty-page English-language bulletin this past year in which they outlined their concept of social defense and what it means to work for it.

Early on, the bulletin poses the question, "what do you want to defend"? Answer - a livable world! A world in which the rights spoken of in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are considered important. The values to be defended are related to the persons they want to be. Looking at defense in this way, it becomes easier to see who "opponents" are. One considers first what one sees as a livable world and then what one finds in the way opposing it. Opponents can be, besides people, also ideas, structures, customs and ways of living and thinking. One might find the opponent in oneself or in a

partner. The women prefer to use the term "opponent" instead of "enemy" because enemy is not individualized enough and it is important to keep talking to your opponent.

Women for Peace view social defense not only as a system for resistance, which can be put into effect the moment some power wants to conquer the country.

Social defense also means "trying for peace now...trying for international understanding and cooperation", to "stop thinking in terms of enemies and to keep the talks going." They perceive that simply suppressing attacks and rebellions amounts to little more than trying to keep the lid on a boiling pot to prevent steam escaping. The root problem is not addressed. One should not, then, conceive of social defense only in terms of its ability to coerce or intimidate an enemy but rather, trying to achieve real solutions to problems and differences.

The workgroup is trying to initiate discussion of social defense within the women's peace movement. Stress is placed upon the equal defense role which women should have in a future system of nonviolent defense.

One may contact the Social Defense Workgroup of Women for Peace by writing to Lineke Schakenbos, Utrechtseweg 29A, 3704 AH Zeist, Netherlands. Phone: (31) 3404-52551.

## WEST GERMANY

In November, 1983, the West German Bundestag conducted a hearing on alternative defense strategies, including civilian-based defense. From Dr. Theodor Ebert (Freie Universitat Berlin, W E 3, Ihnestrasse 22, 1000 Berlin 33) we have learned that the substance of those discussions are being published by the Rowohlt Publishing House.

## UNITED STATES

Members of SCANAR (Siouxlanders Concerned About the Nuclear Arms Race) heard a presentation on "transarmament" by Mel Beckman at their November 14th meeting in Sioux City.

Catholic educators in the Omaha Archdiocese were exposed to an exhibit of materials on civilian-based defense at their meeting on October 8th.

The National Catholic Reporter (Sept. 7, 1984) devoted its three-page "Forum" section to a report on civilian-based defense, based on interviews with Gene Sharp by managing editor, Dawn Gibeau. (Single copy: \$1.00, to N.C.R., P.O. Box 281, Kansas City, Mo. 64141.)

A videotape of Gene Sharp's 1984 lecture at Whittier College (either VHS or Beta format) is available for \$50 from: Educational Film and Video Project, 1725 Seabright Avenue, Santa Cruz, CA 95062. (Ph. 408-427-2627).

The 1984 platform of the United States Pacifist Party called for a zero military budget along with "preparation for nonviolent resistance against possible invasion and

occupation attempts". The party's national office is located at 5729 S. Dorchester, Chicago, Ill. 60637. Ph. 312-324-0654.

Two audio-cassettes on civilian-based defense are available from the Stanley Foundation, 420 East Third St., Muscatine, Iowa 52761, U.S.A. (Ph. 319-264-1500). The price is \$5 each. In tape 83-24, "A Modern Alternative To War", Gene Sharp argues for a civilian-based, nonviolent defense system as an alternative to a nuclear deterrent. Tape 84-40 is a follow-up; "More on Civilian-Based Defense". Sharp presents an in-depth look at how a nation can render itself unconquerable through citizen action. The two tapes were aired nationwide on "Common Ground" a radio series on world affairs.

The Association for Transarmament Studies was represented at a literature fair that took place prior to a conference entitled "Solidarity With the People of Poland: Against Militarism & Oppression, Both East and West" held in Seattle, Washington on December 13, 1984. Topics at the conference included "The Ideologies and Tactics of the Solidarity Movement in Poland," and "The Unofficial Independent Peace Movement in Eastern Europe."

National Security Through Civilian-Based Defense, by Gene Sharp, is expected to be in print within the next few months. It will be released by the Association for Transarmament Studies. All who have pre-ordered copies will be receiving them upon completion of printing.

Mel Beckman, former volunteer coordinator of the Association for Transarmament Studies, has been employed by the organization on a salaried, half-time basis to handle the work load resulting from increased membership and also to work on outreach and development of new educational resources relating to CBD.

Making Europe Unconquerable, by Gene Sharp, is to be published later this year by Taylor & Francis, Ltd., London.

## FRANCE

On April 2, 1984, the French Ministry of Defense, through the Foundation for the Study of National Defense, signed a contract with three French researchers known for their work on nonviolent resistance. Christian Mellon, Jean-Marie Muller, and Jacques Semelin are to conduct a one year study on the "Possibilities for taking into account the principles and the methods of nonviolent resistance in the global strategy of the defense of France." This contract fulfilled the pledge of the French Minister of Defense to the National Assembly on May 16, 1983 that "a very precise study on nonviolence as a defense hypothesis" would be undertaken.

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Please send news and announcements for this column to: A.T.S., 3636 Lafayette Avenue, Omaha, NE 68131, U.S.A.

SPEAKING SCHEDULE: GENE SHARP

Readers who live in the area might want to make arrangements to hear Gene Sharp speak this Spring. The schedule is tentative.

- March 22 - in Wilkes-Barre, PA. (contacts: Mrs. Tweedy, Margaret Ferry)
- March 25 - in Brookings, South Dakota. (contact: Mitchell Kurker, United Ministries Office)
- March 27 - 30 - in Kansas City, MO area. (contact: Peggy Frantz, AFSC) Includes talks at two universities and to an Episcopal Church group.
- March 31 - in Grand Forks, North Dakota, 8 p.m. at University of N.D. (contact: Kristen Sorenson for Vito Perrone)
- April 12-14 - in Denver, Colorado, at Univ. of Colorado. (contact: Roger Powers) Air Force Academy?
- April 26 - at Haley House, Boston College, MA.
- May 24-26 - in Rochester, New York.

## THE NONVIOLENT DEFENSE OF PITTSBURGH

Ed. Note: The Pittsburgh Peace Institute explores the theory and practice of active nonviolence as an effective, practical, morally desirable alternative to reliance on weapons and armed soldiers. We asked the Institute Director, Dr. Liane Norman, to share her experience with our readers, with special attention to the course entitled, "The Nonviolent Defense of Pittsburgh". The Pittsburgh Peace Institute is located at 1139 Wightman St., Pittsburgh, PA 15217. (Ph. 412-687-4753)

The Pittsburgh Peace Institute has completed its first academic term. We learned not to charge high tuitions, among other things, but in general we judge our first term a great success. The three courses/workshops of particular interest were "The Nonviolent Defense of Pittsburgh", "Applied Nonviolence as an Alternative to the Arms Race", and "Alternatives to War." They were all essentially the same course, though the Nonviolent Defense of Pittsburgh attempted to do too quickly (three two-hour sessions) what the others did in 10 - 13 weeks.

The presumption in each was that modern weapons technology makes the risk of warfare too high to be tolerated. (We used Ruth Leger Sivard's WORLD MILITARY AND SOCIAL EXPENDITURES plus lectures on the history of the post-World War II arms race to explore this proposition. We also looked at the development of just-war theory and codes of international law to limit the destructiveness of warfare.) We examined the assumption underlying the arms race: that without it, all international hell would break loose, the Russians would take over the world, etc. (I had not anticipated but found useful a discussion of theories of human nature; whether it is inherently corrupt or inherently good, and what behavior springs from each

unprovable theory.) We then tested the proposition that the Russians wanted to and could take over the world, examining these questions: what motives would they have? how would they do it (in concrete, practical terms - numbers of troops, movement of troops and materiel, required support, etc.)? what would be the consequences to them?

We then looked at the popular iconography that supports the notion that the Russians plan to take over the world and considered the role of enemies in national policies based on violence. (We also considered, somewhat later, the strategic implications of the advice to love one's enemies.) Finally, we acted on the assumption that probabilities notwithstanding, the Russians (or somebody) had conquered enough of the world to have surrounded Allegheny County and particularly Pittsburgh. What, we asked, would be necessary for conquest and control? How might we, if we were committed to non-violent strategies, go about making them long for home-grown vodka and borscht? That is, how might we deny control and thus make conquest meaningless?

In all of these classes, we discussed power: what is it? who has it? how is it manifest? how can it be exercised without violence? We read Gene Sharp's short prize-winning essay on the Abolition of War, and Volume I of Politics of Nonviolent Action. Students were in agreement that Sharp's prose is a barrier to understanding what he is saying; they had no trouble with the ideas, only the flat prose. We also read three essays by Martin Luther King: "On Loving Your Enemy," "Letter from a Birmingham Jail," "Declaration of Independence from the War in Vietnam." Next term, we hope to bring in a military strategist to talk about conquest in military terms.

The more extended discussions of the longer classes were essential, and the attempt to do it all in three classes was unrealistic, though students agreed that even the shorter class had been useful. Nonviolent defense is too new an idea, and the widespread sense of citizen powerlessness too pervasive, for quick understanding. Nevertheless, even in the short course, but particularly in the longer ones, students found themselves observing the events of reality differently, seeing new dynamics (finding all sorts of instances of resistance) and understanding their power and responsibility in fresh ways.

In the Fall and Winter of 1985-1986, we intend to offer a graduate-level course on "The Literature of Nonviolence," which will concern both imaginative literature

(Melville's "Bartleby the Scrivener," Jean Merrill's THE PUSHCART WAR, a new children's book, THE FRAGILE FLAG, Liane Norman's unpublished novelette "The Simpleton Story") and theoretical literature (Sharp, Boserup, Miller, etc.) This term taught me, however, the wisdom of combining reading assignments with observation and interviewing assignments. Students find the latter engages them in the application of ideas to real social and ideological occasions and makes the concepts of nonviolent power far more real than would otherwise be true.

## NEW PUBLICATIONS

The following publications may be of interest to our readers. Some of them may be reviewed in future issues of this newsletter.

There Are Alternatives!: Four Roads to Peace and Security, by Johan Galtung. 1984. Spokesman, Nottingham (England). Distributed in the United States by Dufour Editions, Inc. Chester Springs, PA 19425, (215) 458-5005. ISBN 0-85124-394-0. \$10.95.

Preventing War: A Rational Strategy for Peace in the Nuclear Age, by Dietrich Fischer. 1984. Littlefield, New Jersey.

Vous Avez Dit "Pacifisme"?: de la menace nucleaire a la defense civile non-violente (You Said "Pacifism"?: From the Nuclear Threat to Nonviolent Civilian-Based Defense) by Jean-Marie Muller. 1984. Les Editions du Cerf, Paris. ISBN 2-204--2210-1. Premiere partie: Analyse Critique de la Course aux Armements (I: Critique of the arms race); Deuxieme partie: Vers une Defense Populaire Non-violente (II: Towards civilian-based defense)

Uprooting War, by Brian Martin. 1984. Freedom Press, London. ISBN 0-900384-26-3. Chapter 3; "Social Defence".

### NOTE ALSO THESE ARTICLES:

The January, 1985 issue of the Tarrytown Letter begins with a section on "Alternative Defense: A new social invention could cut military spending and keep America out of war". In addition to many photographs of nonviolent actions around the world and excerpts from Gene Sharp's writings, the section features an interview with Gene Sharp titled "A Political Analyst Offers a Workable Alternative to War". The newsletter is \$36 per year for ten issues, available by writing to The Tarrytown Letter, P.O. Box 509, Academic Building, Sawmill Rd., West Haven, CT, 06516.

The October, 1984 issue of Peacelink, no. 24, carried a short, 1-page article by Allan Cumming, called "Transarmament: A Strategy for nuclear 'disarmament'".

An article by Koen Koch entitled "Civilian Defence: An Alternative to Military Defence?" appeared in the Netherlands Journal of Sociology, vol. 20, no. 1, April 1984, pp. 1-12.

The winter 1984 issue of the French journal alternatives non violentes, no. 53-54, contains an article by Jan Zielonka on non-violent strategy in Poland, titled "Strategie non-violente en Pologne?". (Address: Alternatives Non Violente, Craintilleux, 42210 MONTROND, FRANCE)

## SEARCH FOR RESEARCH

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 will 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, 3918 1st Ave. N.E., Seattle, WA 98105. Ph. 206-633-1670.

"The Line of Battle" by Hans Sinn was described in CBD: News-Opinion, Vol. 2, No. 2, September, 1984. It has since been revised to include one specific political/military situation where the author applies CBD as a possible application. Focusing on the "Berlin Appeal" issued by independent peace activists from East Germany in 1982, Sinn contends that the pursuit of the proposed peace treaty between the Germanies would help accomplish three things: 1) military disengagement between Warsaw Pact and NATO forces; 2) the establishment of CBD as a significant factor among the world's present security arrangements and 3) an actual beginning towards disarmament.

The author states: "In that I am by this time actively pursuing these objectives, "The Line of Battle" has ceased to be a proposal or suggestion for action and is turning more into a description of my own pursuit with an explanation of the thinking behind them." 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 ATS or any of the newsletter editors.

### 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 issues. Reprints of past issues are available for \$1.50 each (Vol. 1, Numbers 1 through 4 and Vol. 2, Numbers 1 and 2).

## 1985 REGIONAL MEETINGS

The directors of the Association for Transarmament Studies would like to encourage United States members to meet with one another this Winter to plan 1985 regional meetings on civilian-based defense. CBD is still a new idea to the vast majority of U.S. citizens. As an organization we are trying to bring about more public discussion of its potential. Directors of the Association feel that regional meetings, by attracting representatives of diverse groups and institutions, could provide the catalyst needed to move the exploration of civilian-based defense into hundreds of additional communities during the coming year.

The kind of meeting envisioned by the directors would be one or two days in length. It could include presentations on the origin and history of the idea, the assumptions on which it is based, and the present state of discussion. There could also be study of specific historical instances where a kind of civilian-based defense has occurred, as well as discussion of how the projected policy might meet the defense needs of certain countries today. There could also be "get acquainted" meetings of A.T.S. members during the larger meeting, and opportunities to examine the printed and audio-visual resources relating to civilian-based defense. Finally, there could be included a planning component to ensure that discussion of civilian-based defense is continued and promoted in the region.

Directors suggest that A.T.S. members in a given state or large metropolitan area come together to hold an initial planning meeting. At that meeting, questions of co-sponsorship, location, regional boundaries, funding and program could be discussed. A member or members willing to call together such a meeting may write to our Omaha address for a list of members and subscribers who live in a given region, and for a speakers list. A.T.S. has concentrations of membership in the states of California, Nebraska, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and New York, and in the Washington, D.C. area. There are smaller numbers of members in almost all of the states.

Planning for a regional conference on the East Coast has been underway for some time. It is tentatively scheduled for the end of September, 1985, in the Washington, D.C. area. For more information, please contact Margaret Schellenberg, 1844 Beulah Rd., Vienna, VA 22180. (Ph. 703-281-2296)

## THE DETROIT INSTITUTE

By Mary Carry

Detroit, Michigan has a new organization to promote the study of nonviolent defense.

The Nonviolent Action for National Defense Institute (NANDI) was formed in the summer of 1983 by Dr. John McCartney, a United

Methodist clergyperson and a former associate professor of Sociology at Mercy College, Detroit. Dr. McCartney, now the full-time coordinator of the Institute, has been a life long advocate of nonviolence. He has gathered an enthusiastic group of supporters who are convinced that because time is short and the survival of our planet is at stake, efforts must be made to educate the public on the philosophy, the history and the possibilities of a nonviolent alternative to war.

NANDI has a Board of Directors made up of 22 persons representing a large spectrum of Detroit organizations and individuals. The board is a working board consisting of several committees; the Program Planning Committee which plans and coordinates educational programs, the Development Committee which is responsible for fundraising, the Communications Committee which promotes the Institute through a speakers bureau, news releases, TV interviews, etc., and the Committee on Volunteers which recruits help for various activities. Besides the working board there is an Advisory Committee of 58 people who bring a great deal of support and interest.

In the first year the Coordinator spoke to many school, church, civic and peace groups and had several news media interviews. He attended a number of conferences and assemblies and distributed a good deal of literature on nonviolent action. A brochure explaining the Institute was developed and widely circulated and NANDI co-sponsored the Detroit Area Nuclear Freeze Survival Line this past Fall.

Future plans for NANDI include increased educational activities through a speakers bureau and the news media, a newsletter and other publications, outreach to existing organizations actively engaged in understanding and promoting nonviolent defense and assistance to interested persons in other states or cities in setting up similar organizations.

The NANDI office is located in the Faculty House of Mercy College, 8200 W. Outer Dr., Detroit, MI 48219.

### PRE-PUBLICATION OFFER

The Association for Transarmament Studies is proud to announce the publication of Gene Sharp's National Security Through Civilian-Based Defense. Because printing has been delayed, we are able to extend our pre-publication offer until April 1. This short book, approximately 100 pages in length, will be an excellent introduction to the concept of civilian-based defense. The special price before April 1st is \$3.00 per book. The post-publication price will be \$4.95. Specify how many copies are desired. Add 20% to the price of the books to cover tax, postage and handling costs. Mail to: A.T.S.  
3636 Lafayette Avenue  
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# PEACE BRIGADES INTERNATIONAL EXPANDS WORK FOR NONVIOLENT OPTIONS IN CENTRAL AMERICA

By Herb Ettel

On October 12, 1984, a rare event occurred in the violence-torn history of Guatemala. A nonviolent march by 4000 Guatemalans, mostly rural Indians, was held by the Guatemalan Solidarity Group for the Safe Return of Our Loved Ones. Participants from labor unions, religious and other groups carried street-wide banners along the Pan American Highway from the Government Palace in Guatemala City to a village sixteen miles away, calling for the return of persons who had "disappeared".

Key support for this bold action was provided by the Peace Brigades International team that has been doing nonviolent peacemaking work in Guatemala for the past two years, seeking justice and human rights in a situation of dire oppression. "We realize we are always just one factor," says JoLeigh Commandant, PBI's Central America Project Director. She cited the example of 63 widows with children living in the village of Paquinac, who were receiving some food and occupational assistance until it was interrupted by local military authorities. The same town was not being allowed to have Catholic Mass. "We were able to be a catalyst to get a very big outdoor meeting of the army, widows...and all the members of the civil patrols. It was resolved that they could hold Mass and receive the aid."

PBI itself was formed in 1981, essentially as a re-creation of the World Peace Brigade that operated in the early 1960's, based on M.K. Gandhi's vision in 1922, and the activities of the Shanti Sena in India for the past 25 years. The World Peace Brigade assisted nonviolently in the Zambian independence movement in Africa, the Chinese-Indian border conflict, intervention to oppose superpower nuclear weapons testing, and the Nagaland Peace Mission in 1964 in India, helping with negotiations and monitoring a ceasefire in a secessionist guerilla war. Similar techniques were applied during the Cyprus Resettlement Project in 1972-1974.

Building on this pioneering heritage, Peace Brigades International calls on people of diverse cultures, languages, nations, religions and social systems to contribute their energies, knowledge and financial support to assist in averting violent outbreaks and finding peaceful solutions to those already occurring. PBI promotes the creation of local peace brigades to address community and regional problems, and the adoption of nonviolent peacemaking by the United Nations and other bodies. In addition to the Guatemala team, PBI is exploring projects in other parts of the world, including Sri Lanka, where violence has erupted between Sinhalese and the Tamil minority.

P.B.I. organized the first team of volunteers on the Nicaragua-Honduras border in September 1983 at the request of the then-forming Witness for Peace. Following that North American campaign's success in maintaining a nonviolent presence in Nicaragua to deter U.S. government-backed contra attacks, PBI has proposed a similar project for the border between Nicaragua and Costa Rica. However, volunteers would be drawn from both nations, the United States and elsewhere, and have a clearly nonpartisan role.

Besides discouraging contra and other violence across that border, the border patrol is also intended to help demonstrate the potential effectiveness of nonmilitary means of defense. Since 1948, Costa Rica has had no national military system, only a civil guard. PBI hopes the project will help that government to withstand current pressures to re-establish a military as well as challenge the military build-up in the region.

The border proposal was initiated by Julio Quan, PBI's Central America Field Representative, and Program Director of Friends Peace Center in San Jose, Costa Rica. On May 15, the Contadora group of nations (Panama, Mexico, Venezuela and Columbia) announced a pact between Costa Rica and Nicaragua to lessen tensions and conflict along their border, to be enforced by a "Commission of Supervision and Prevention." Quan is negotiating with the Commission to set up the border patrol under its auspices, and hopes that a favorable decision and establishment of the patrol will occur soon. He is also working to educate the government of Nicaragua on the effectiveness of nonviolent civilian-based defense, and is urging it to set up such a program as a back-up component to its military preparations should it be overwhelmed militarily by invading forces from the U.S. or its neighbors.

To raise funds for the proposed border project and other PBI programs, a series of benefit dinners will be held, featuring Julio Quan as keynote speaker with inspirational entertainment and testimony from local activists who have recently visited Central America. Beginning in Boston January 26th, there will be dinners in Amherst, Philadelphia, Durham, N.C., and Washington, D.C. with other speaking engagements and media interviews arranged in between. For information on the dinners, or to receive PBI's quarterly newsletter and mailings, contact the address below. For a copy of Paul Hare's report, "Cyprus Resettlement Project: An Instance of International Peacemaking," send \$3 plus \$1 postage.

In the words of Julio Quan, "It is not we who go to Central America proposing nonviolence. It is Central America which calls for nonviolence to all who will heed."

Peace Brigades International  
4722 Baltimore Ave.  
Philadelphia, PA 19143  
(215) 729-4663



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