

Civilian-Based Defense

A PUBLICATION OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR TRANSARMAMENT STUDIES

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

AUSTRALIA: GENE SHARP'S VISIT

During the first three weeks of July 1984 Gene Sharp toured the capital cities of eastern Australia - Brisbane, Sydney, Melbourne, and Canberra, in that order. The trip was sponsored by the University of Queensland, which bestowed upon him the title of visiting professor. The purpose of the visit was to have him meet and talk with as many university staff and students, peace activists, community leaders, journalists, and members of the general public as possible about the topic of transarming to nonviolent sanctions. Most of these people were unfamiliar with the concept of CBD as a potentially viable defence alternative.

The visit was opportunely timed. Alarm had been growing across a broad section of the Australian people about their country's involvement in global militarisation and specifically its complicity, without public debate, in America's first strike nuclear capacity. Only three months prior to the visit approximately two per cent of the population had participated in a day of disarmament protest. On a per capita basis the numbers that joined these marches and rallies exceeded even the huge peace demonstrations of Western Europe. There were calls for the removal of U.S. bases - particularly the "jointly controlled" bases at Northwest Cape, Nurrungar, and Pine Gap - as well as for an end to the granting of port facilities to nuclear armed and powered vessels and landing rights to B-52 bombers at Darwin. The South Pacific and Indian Oceans should be made nuclear-free, so that if the ANZUS alliance were to continue it should be of a non-nuclear nature. Despite the Labor Government's retraction of some aspects of its party platform and its staunch commitment to the U.S. alliance and the strategy of nuclear deterrence, a general view prevailed within the peace movement that an aroused public could effect changes in governmental policies. But the positive changes to be introduced were left unarticulated. The hard work of peace criticism - actually proposing alternatives to the existing defence system - had not found its way on to the public agenda or even been broached at the research level.

The organizers of the Gene Sharp visit hoped his brief tour might help to redress this deficiency. At the very least it might encourage the development of peace studies, which were now underway at some universities, and provide broad support for those teachers campaigning to introduce peace education into the primary and secondary schools.

The whirlwind tour began in Brisbane where Professor Sharp spent more than a week speaking at public meetings and seminars, appearing on radio talk-back shows and TV news spots, and holding discussions with a few church leaders and university administrators. The focal event of the entire trip was a weekend conference at the University of Queensland on the theme of 'Alternative Defence Strategies for Australia'. Besides the featured appearance and paper of Professor Sharp, the conference was addressed by academics from various Australian universities.¹ Also presenting a paper was the Acting Minister for Defence, the Hon. Kim C. Beasley (now the Minister for Defence). Most of these papers, together with some new material, are currently in the process of being edited and considered for publication. The conference was generally acclaimed a resounding success, certainly by those present to participate in its lively sessions. While the organizers were disappointed that attendance never reached beyond 150 - due mainly to a poor response from people outside the Brisbane area - national interest belatedly developed after Professor Sharp had toured the southern states. Numerous requests then arrived for copies of the papers and frequent references began to appear about this first conference in Australia to challenge seriously conventional thinking on defence strategy.

The second leg of the tour was a three-day visit to Sydney. The schedule included more talks with church leaders, a seminar in the government department at Sydney University, and some video taping of a public address at Macquarie University. The next stop was Melbourne where an intensive week-long program had been arranged. A volatile center of peace activity, Melbourne is the home base of the Victorian Peace Studies Association (VAPS)², an energetic group of academics from the four universities and six colleges

and institutes of the area. Their dual aim of fostering greater cooperation among scholars engaged in peace research and stimulating public discussion about a wide range of peace issues has led to the creation of a number of publishing outlets (including a monthly journal Peace Studies), the holding of regular meetings and public lectures, and a systematic approach to the dissemination of information to the mass media. One of their members, Robert Burrowes, undertook the responsibility of coordinating the Melbourne visit - an event eagerly awaited by the membership. From all accounts it proved a great success, particularly a side trip to Deakin University in Geelong. In addition, Professor Sharp was cordially received at the University of Melbourne and at Monash University where he conducted seminars with selective groups of staff and students. At the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology he was principal speaker at a public meeting held on a Sunday afternoon. Joining him on the platform were two of VAPS most highly respected scholars, Herb Feith and Max Teichmann. Between these major engagements Professor Sharp fitted in a series of personal interviews and radio appearances.

From Melbourne he travelled to Canberra, the nation's capital. Hosted by the Canberra Peacemakers and the secretary of a committee formed to establish an Australian Peace and Development Research Institute (APADRI)³, he met staff at the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre of the Australian National University and delivered another public lecture. Appointments were secured with some senior officials of the Department of Defence and with the Private Secretary of the Minister for Defence Supply. While these talks lasted for as long as one and a half hours in the case of the Assistant Secretary of Arms Control and Disarmament, there do not appear to have been any salutary follow-up enquiries.

In assessing the overall trip, disappointment was also experienced in the responses of the popular press and television. For the most part they ignored his visit. The biggest disappointment was the failure of the Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC) to put to air a TV program 'Pressure point' that had been recorded about CBD and which featured both Professor Sharp and Andrew Mack.

Since the program is viewed nationally, the concept of nonviolent defence would have reached more people in the course of 40 minutes than a tour of public lectures could have probably managed in a year. The reason given for the cancellation was that public interest in the topic was not sufficient for people to persevere through an argument of intellectual complexity. In short, the presentation was too slow-moving and lacked visual content. A commercial national channel also abandoned the idea of an in-depth interview for similar reasons.

The poor responses of the media and Labor Government were not matched in other circles. Many of the academics and peace activists who met Professor Sharp were sufficiently intrigued to want to delve more deeply into the theory and dynamics of nonviolent politics. As a result, there has been an increased demand for his books and other writings. The

peace movement is now beginning to extend the debate beyond its long list of negative criticisms and to canvas a variety of positive alternatives. Certainly the Sharp visit highlighted this necessity, though the new approach probably owes most to the inspiration derived from the New Zealand Government's decision to break out of its nuclear alliance with the U.S. Australia's cousins across the Tasman Sea tangibly demonstrated how a peace movement could effect a major shift in defence policy.

Any radical reassessment of Australia's defence posture is apt to be thwarted unless significant support can be galvanized in the party political and the religious spheres. In this respect, the Sharp visit may have registered its greatest impact. Firstly, the Australian Democrats, a minor political party holding the balance of power in the Senate, while adopting a general policy of armed neutrality, has expressed within that framework an interest in exploring the feasibility of nonviolent resistance should Australia suffer military defeat at the hands of an occupier or usurper. The stimulus for the consideration of a CBD component is acknowledged to have come from discussions Professor Sharp held with party officials and the parliamentary spokesperson on defence matters, Senator Colin Mason. Although the

Australian Democrats are never likely to gain government in their own right, their critical position in the Senate enables them to exert an inordinate influence on the direction of national debate, and, in their own idiom, "keep the bastards honest".

Equally as significant has been the impingement of Professor Sharp's thinking on the views of some Australian bishops in the Roman Catholic Church. Moreover, following his talks with members of the clergy and laity, the Catholic Commission for Justice and Peace has incorporated into the draft of its 1985 Social Justice Statement (for 1986) - which is on the theme of peace - a call for the Church to support people promoting nonviolent methods of defence and conflict resolution. When finalised, this Statement, prepared at the request of the Australian Catholic Bishops' Conference, will be publicly released and distributed through the churches on Social Justice Sunday (the last Sunday in September). Its reference to nonviolence as a credible form of defence represents an historic advance in this country's debate on defence policy.

That the Sharp visit helped to stimulate and clarify thinking about nonviolent political action is beyond dispute. Whether interest will be sustained over the long run remains to be seen. But if the constant questions I receive about 'when is he going to make a return trip' are any indication of the people's enthusiasm, the prospects for future research and serious public debate are indeed bright.

By Ralph Summy,
University of Queensland

Footnotes

1. These academics included Peter King (Sydney University), Andrew Mack (Strategic and Defence Studies Centre, Australian National University), Rosalind Mills (Co-editor, Social Alternatives, University of Queensland), Ralph Summy (Co-editor, Social Alternatives, and University of Queensland), Rachel Sharp (Macquarie University), and Brian Martin (Australian National University).

2. VAPS can be contacted at GPO Box 1274L, Melbourne, Vic 3001, Australia. Its publication Peace Studies costs \$20 Aus. annually.

3. The Australian government has agreed to set up a peace research centre, but its plans fall far short of the APADRI Committee's proposal. The APADRI proposal was costed at \$1,050,000 per annum, whereas the government has provided a seven-year arrangement which rises to \$350,000 per annum by 1987-88. Secondly, the APADRI Committee wanted an independent statutory authority rather than a body closely linked to the management of a university (in this case the Australian National University) and an Advisory Committee very conscious of the needs of its governmental benefactor. Thirdly, the APADRI proposal stressed the close relationship between peace research and development research, and made the point that Australia's geo-political position enabled it to make a unique contribution in this respect. The Centre, however, appears to have aims directed more to the resolution of East-West problems. Finally, the APADRI Committee had a broad concept of the projects and subjects associated with peace research in contrast to the narrower task of collecting 'hard data' on military and international political matters that seems to be favoured by the Centre's designers.

BELGIUM AND AUSTRIA: CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS STUDY CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE

Ed. Note: The following article contains information obtained in an interview with Mr. Jean De Wandelaer, a Belgian conscientious objector and member of the Belgian section of War Resisters International (IRG - Internationale Des Résistants a La Guerre) and from an article by Christine Orovcic, based on interviews with Dr. Andreas Maislinger, assistant teacher at the Institute for Political Science at Innsbruck University, and with some members of the "Working Group for Alternative Service."

For the past ten years members of the Belgian sections of International Fellowship of Reconciliation (MIR) and War Resisters International (IRG) have been involved in instructing Belgian conscientious objectors about the idea of civilian-based defense. The training is conducted jointly by the Confederation for Civil Service for Youth (C.S.C.J. - Confederation du Service Civil de la Jeunesse) and by Peace University (Universite de Païse). Funds for the training are supplied by the Belgian Ministère de l'Intérieur. Included in the training are the topics:

"The CO and Defense"
"The CO in Society"
"Training in Nonviolent Action"
"Civil Disobedience"

National service is compulsory for all men in Belgium. Even though the period of alternative service is longer than that for military service about 5%, or approximately 2000 young draftees choose it each year. (The number has increased each year since 1974 when legislation providing for it was enacted.) CO's do their service in a wide range of approved public and private organizations. Since CO's serve in virtually all sectors of Belgian society, MIR/IRG considers their training as an excellent opportunity to disseminate the idea of civilian-based defense in Belgium.

All CO's may spend up to fifteen days, with pay, in the training provided by the Confederation and by Peace University. The training is part of their alternative service. Three 5 day sessions are offered. Each year about 20% of the CO's attend at least one 5 day session. This means that approximately 400 young men each year are helped to understand how their alternative service can be a real contribution toward preservation and defense of that society.

In Austria, alternative service was introduced in 1974. Both military service and alternative service last 8 months. In 1980, alternative service was integrated in the "ULV", the overall defense system, and, at the same time, the "Grundlehrgang" ("GL"), a basic course for CO's was introduced. The "GL" lasts for four weeks and is compulsory. It has been operative since Febr., 1985. The course has six parts, the first three of which are done in one week:

1. Duties and rights of the alternative servants.
2. Political training
3. Possibilities of non-violent defence in the framework of "Umfassende Landesverteidigung"- "ULV" (=comprehensive defence system")
4. Sanitary service
5. Self-protection and disaster control
6. Technical aid

Peace groups concerned with alternative service and the socialist youth organizations boycotted the drafting of the "GL" because they objected to the new legislation making alternative service a service aiding military defense. The organization for alternative service (SORG) and the Austrian branch of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation organized a course of their own lasting for a week and called for a boycott of the last week of the "GL".

While there is controversy about the worth of the "GL" it does apparently compel all young men doing alternative service to concern themselves for awhile about the political aspects of their work. And even though nonviolent defense is not provided for in the "Landesverteidigungsplan" (national defense plan), CO's do receive an exposure

to historical examples of nonviolent defense and to the possibility of an alternative defense policy.

In Belgium, MIR/IRG can be reached at 35 rue Van Elewijck, 1050 Brussels, Belgium. In Austria, SORG-FOR can be reached at Schottengasse 3A/1/4/59, A-1010 WIEN, Austria. Dr. Andreas Maislinger can be reached at Universitat Innsbruck, Institut fur Politikwissenschaft, Innrain 52 (neues Gebaude) A-6020 INNSBRUCK, Austria.

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS



FRANCE

In the planning stages is an international conference, "Civilian Defence Strategies", to be sponsored by the Research Institute on Nonviolent Conflict Resolution (Chairman: Francois Marchand, 126 Bd H.-Sellier, 92150 SURESNES, France). The conference is planned for late November or early December, 1985, in Strasbourg. The Institute has been studying civilian defense strategies "either as complementary to military defence, or as a resort in case the military system would prove inefficient, or as an alternative strategy to any kind of armed defence." More on this conference as information becomes available.

COSTA RICA

A representative of the Friends Peace Center in San Jose has expressed an interest in developing a local training program in civilian-based defense after studying Gene Sharp's writings. The Center is also publishing the pamphlet Sharp prepared for use in Costa Rica and will use it as study material with Costa Ricans working in support of peace and neutrality.

UNITED STATES

The Christian CENTURY (April 3, 1985) carried an article by Belden C. Lane, Associate Professor of Theological Studies at St. Louis University, entitled, "The Remapping of Politics: Prophetic Imagination and Defense." Lane suggests that "royal consciousness" (bondage to the gods of order, to security, and to the present structures of society) may be preventing us from exercising "prophetic imagination", which would allow a new reality like civilian-based defense to emerge.

Williams College this Spring offered a course entitled "Nonviolence and Social Change" (Sociology 488). The student-initiated course included sections on Gene Sharp's analysis of political power and the dynamics of nonviolent action and a section on civilian-based defense and the abolition of war.

Robert Irwin of A.T.S.'s Executive Committee reports that he is participating in the new Exploratory Project on the Conditions of Peace, a group of intellectuals, educators, and activists who began in September 1984 to meet three or four times a year to discuss the minimum conditions for a warless world and how it might be brought about. "Expro," still in formation, will have no more than 30 members. At present at least three -- Irwin and two fifths of Expro's executive committee (W.H. Ferry and Mark Sommer) -- are A.T.S. members. Mark Sommer (whose pamphlet "Beating Our Swords into Shields" was reviewed in CBD News/Opinion Vol. I, No. 4) has written in "Beyond the Bomb" (1984), a survey of ideas commissioned by the founders of Expro, that "nonviolent theory and action likely have more than any other tradition or school of thought to offer towards the resolution of the nuclear conundrum."

On August 10th Robert Irwin will be the keynote speaker (along with recently retired Canadian Major General Leonard Johnson) at the Third Annual International Festival for Peace held at the International Peace Garden (on the North Dakota--Canadian border). He will do two workshops and participate in a panel discussion with Johnson in which a Congressman, a Senator, and a Canadian member of parliament (among others) have also been invited to participate.

Members of Fellowship of Reconciliation, Cowlitz, Washington, listened to tapes of interviews with Gene Sharp (produced by the Stanley Foundation, 420 E. Third St., Muscatine, Iowa 52761) in June, 1985, as one of a series of six meetings to examine nonviolence.

Phil Bogdonoff (co-editor, News and Opinion) made presentations on civilian-based defense in recent months to church groups in Harvard, Massachusetts and Beverly Farms, Massachusetts and to the Annual Town Meeting at Rockport, Massachusetts.

An Introductory Packet on Civilian-Based Defense has been published by the Association for Transarmament Studies. Contents include the 15 page pamphlet, Making the Abolition of War A Realistic Goal, an essay on CBD and the peace movement, a three-page listing of resources, a speakers bureau list, definitions, suggestions for further consideration of CBD, and a copy of the Association's newsletter. Packets may be ordered from A.T.S., 3636 Lafayette Ave., Omaha, NE 68131 for \$2.75 postage paid (\$6.00 postage-paid outside the U.S. and Canada, air-mail delivery).

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

CBD RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT PROJECT APPROVED

Directors of the Association for Transarmament Studies have approved a 1985-1986 fund-raising effort to allow development of new resources relating to civilian-based defense. Wide-spread public awareness of an alternative to military defense is needed, but the tools to bring about that awareness are in short supply. Some book-length publications are available, as are a scattering of articles in journals, but "hand out" types of material, visual things, and materials for use in schools are not easily found. The Resource Development Project is an attempt to make substantial additions to the existing pool of educational resources relating to CBD.

Project funds will be used to produce the following materials:

1) Audience-Oriented & Topical Material
Some twenty new pieces of literature will be produced, each directed toward particular audiences (such as business owners, youth, military personnel, physicians, political leaders, etc.) or focused on particular aspects of civilian-based defense. Each piece will be brief, concise and introductory in nature. \$5000 is sought for this part of the project, to pay for staff time, planning meetings, writers' stipends and the cost of printing an initial quantity of the materials.

2) Manual for Study Commissions
The Association encourages the creation of appointed study commissions within churches and by all kinds of public and private organizations. The manual will provide such commissions with a model, step-by-step procedure which a study commission might follow in investigating civilian-based defense and in writing a useful report on its findings. \$2000 is sought for production of the manual.

3) Secondary Level Teaching Aids
Students approaching the age of military service have a special need to be exposed to the idea of an alternative defense policy. Secondary school faculty will be asked to help develop and test age-appropriate course outlines and other teaching materials. \$1000 is sought for school-related materials.

4) Graphic Materials
\$2000 is sought to pay for creation of many kinds of visual helps, such as maps, posters, logos, cartoons, photographs, slide programs and drawings. Visual materials are badly needed to help illustrate the concept of civilian-based defense. Project funds will be used to pay professional fees and to fund planning meetings and illustration contests.

The \$10,000 needed for the Project will be solicited over a two-year period. Materials will be produced as funds become available for them. Members of A.T.S. are being asked to contribute personally, if they can, but also to help procure large and small grants for the Project. Brochures describing the Project, suitable for presenting to potential funding groups or individuals, will be sent upon request. Write to: A.T.S., Resource Development Project, 3636 Lafayette, Omaha, NE 68131. Phone: 402-558-2085.

U.S. REGIONAL CONFERENCES ON CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE

Regional conferences are being considered in Wisconsin and California. A.T.S. members in those states are in contact with one another and are discussing the feasibility of organizing West-Coast and Great-Lakes conferences. If you live in Wisconsin or California and would like to be in contact with the members in your state, please write or call the Association for Transarmament Studies.

The feasibility of a Midwest conference will be discussed in a meeting in Omaha, Nebraska, on Saturday, July 27th, from 9:00 a.m. to Noon, at 3636 Lafayette Avenue. Overnight housing will be provided for anyone needing it. Please call or write A.T.S. if you plan to take part. Since previous conferences on civilian-based defense were held in Omaha in 1978 and 1982, and were informational in nature, it is possible that a future Midwest regional conference would presume an acquaintance with the literature on CBD and be somewhat goal-oriented (for example, the participants might be asked to focus on a particular issue relating to CBD or to produce some visual materials, etc.)

Executive Director Sought

The Albert Einstein Institution for Nonviolent Alternatives in Conflict and Defense is accepting applications for the position of Executive Director. The Einstein Institution is a foundation concerned with research, policy studies, and educational resources on the nature and potential of nonviolent sanctions in face of international aggression, genocide, social oppression, and dictatorship. At present it provides partial support to Harvard University's Program on Nonviolent Sanctions in Conflict and Defense and to several individual researchers.

The office is to be established in the Boston area. Salary negotiable on the basis of qualifications. Duties include liaison with donors and research grant recipients, oversight of publications program (books, monographs, brochures, newsletter) and direct mail fundraising, writing grant proposals, office administration, and reporting to President and Board.

Indicate educational background, work experience, career objectives, administrative and leadership style, fundraising experience, salary requirements, and knowledge of the field of political and international conflict and nonviolent struggle.

Kindly provide all relevant information in writing. No initial telephone enquiries. A description of the Institution is available on request.

Reply to: Gene Sharp, President, Albert Einstein Institution, 33 Lebanon Street, Winchester, MA 01890.

The Bibliography Project of the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions

By Dr. Ron McCarthy

Most of us at the Harvard Program on Nonviolent Sanctions have been studying nonviolent action for years, yet we continually encounter the exact problem that anyone coming into the field for the first time has. What is the literature of nonviolent struggle? Is it extensive or narrow? Does it really tell us anything new, or does it just repeat the same points over and over again? We all have our favorite time-tested sources certainly, but what can be done if we want to get into an unfamiliar area? Word of mouth and the sources used in well-known studies help, but we are all aware that we spend many valuable hours of research time duplicating bibliographies that others, unknown to us, have already developed.

Several years ago, Gene Sharp initiated a project with a dual aim. First, the project would develop a bibliography of known basic works in the field, representing the gains that the technique approach to the study of nonviolent struggle has made to date. Second, it would explore in depth the literature in history, political science, sociology, and other fields in search of as-yet undiscovered case material and analytical works. The resulting bibliography, when published, will be a resource for scholars, students, and citizens informing themselves as part of their active involvement in the questions of the day.

Using primarily the resources of the Harvard University libraries, research assistants (including several volunteers) have sought out materials containing theory, analysis, and accounts of the concrete practice of nonviolent action. Our focus is on works that illuminate the nature of nonviolent sanctions, their effects, the circumstances under which they have been utilized in struggle, and their potential policy implications for the future. Great progress has been made in identifying historical descriptions of key cases of nonviolent struggle (often unearthing important works whose authors had no idea they were writing about nonviolent action), description and analysis of the methods and mechanisms of nonviolent action, works on the psychological and sociological correlates of nonviolent struggle, and related studies of conflict and change.

For the first several years of the project, Gene Sharp personally reviewed each of the hundreds of books brought to light by research assistants. The works containing primary source material, high quality case descriptions, or important contributions to the social-scientific literature have then been fully annotated to guide users of the bibliography to significant passages. For the past year, Ron McCarthy has been overseeing the project. (Limitations both on available research help and length of the finished work have dictated that English-language and book-length materials make up the bulk of the current bibliography. Readers wishing to bring works to our attention for review and possible inclusion

are invited to write to Dr. McCarthy at the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions.)

The bibliography project has reached an important stage. With support and lots of work it can be completed during 1985 and published to reach the widest possible range of researchers, students, instructors preparing courses, and others interested in the study of nonviolent action. Nearly one hundred pages of typescript representing hundreds of entries already exists. When published, this bibliography will unquestionably become a major resource for all of us who want to understand the vast body of human experience that nonviolent action represents.

(Dr. McCarthy can be reached at the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions, Center for International Affairs, Harvard Univ., 1737 Cambridge St., Cambridge, MA 02138. Phone: 617-495-5580)

Letters to the Editors

Thank you for the February 1985 issue of "Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion." I am grateful for your existence and wish much power to you as you continue to witness to an alternative to the way of violence and war.

I am especially grateful for Leonard Gambrell's article on "Understanding Political Power: The Contribution of Nonviolent Resistance Studies." I believe that it is essential, as Gambrell points out, to underscore the fact that nonviolent direct action has power to coerce as well as to convert. When presenting the examples of Ghandi and Martin Luther King I am often told that these nonviolent methods worked in relation to the loving and convertible English and Americans but that they could, of course, never work against tyrants like Hitler. Yet, if it is true that the power of leaders comes from the cooperation of their people, nonviolent noncooperation has the potential power of coercing even the most ruthless tyrants if sufficient numbers of people have the courage to practice it, even at the cost of suffering and death.

As there is widespread misunderstanding of nonviolent direct action, there is also a great deal of confusion concerning "pacifism", some of which is reflected in Gambrell's article. There are, as John Howard Yoder and other pacifists frequently point out, a great many varieties of pacifism. Some are opposed to all use of physical force, many others support the use of coercion without killing. Many make a distinction between limited police power exercised under law and in conjunction with courts and military power that intends the destruction and death of the enemy. Therefore, I do not believe that it is accurate or fair to assert that "there is no relationship between the development and use of nonviolent political action and pacifism." Pacifists are not passive. Pacifists are people who take a stand for peace and peace is not the absence of conflict but the nonviolent resolution of conflict. When they understand it correctly, I am sure that many pacifists will concur that nonviolent direct action is an appropriate means toward peace when it is used responsibly to coerce and undermine the power of tyrants as well as to convert them. It should also

be noted that the purposes 1) to convert, 2) to accomodate, and 3) to coerce, as stated in Gambrell's article (originally Gene Sharp's typology. Ed. note) are not mutually exclusive and that persons who practice non-violent noncooperation can hope for all three at the same time.

- LOWELL O. ERDAHL
St. Paul, Minnesota

I have yet to see any discussion in the literature of CBD on how intelligence gathering systems would fit within a nonviolent system of defense. The issue is an important one both from strategic and ethical perspectives. I offer my opinions and raise my own questions to give those with more expertise on these topics someone to take exception with or to support if that is the case. My intent is to spark some productive dialogue.

The current US intelligence network consists of operatives in all levels of foreign governments and societies, providing the most accurate and up-to-date information possible on military, social, economic and political issues for the decision makers of our country. This includes such things as keeping track of all dissident groups and government factions in other nations and their strengths and weaknesses; what new military hardware is being developed and how well it works; what the various opinions of top leaders are on issues; what the people in the streets are thinking and doing; what financial and production conditions are; and why and how people and groups are connected. Along with simply providing information, the intelligence system is involved in various actions or operations intended to influence conditions in other countries. It is primarily for these activities that we have received so much criticism.

Such activities include: support of dissident groups attempting to create changes favorable to the US by supplying arms, money, training and technology; creating such groups where none exist; and participating actively in these groups. Assassinations, terrorism, kidnapping, blackmail, underground railroads and sabotage have all been used directly or supported indirectly by our intelligence services.

The results of such activities has been the development internationally of a perception of the US as a dangerous nation, imperialist, unethical and little more to be trusted than the USSR.

In assessing a role for the CIA in civilian-based defense, we must avoid outright condemnation of it because of our distaste and outrage at its previous activities or our dislike of the concept of spying in general. Because of the closed and controlled nature of so many states, often the only reliable source of information on conditions inside countries with which we must deal is through spying activities.

A nonviolently defended country under attack must be able to rally international support, maintain negotiations and provide accurate information to all peoples, including those,

in controlled societies, as to events during the struggle. We must have timely, accurate information on our aggressor, his strengths and weaknesses, intentions and conditions in his country. We will need information on third parties and potential allies.

The information gathering network, in my opinion, will therefore become more and not less important in a CBD system. In planning and conducting a nonviolent campaign, information will be one of, if not the, most powerful tool. But can this be done consistent with a nonviolent strategy? I believe so. The James Bonds of the CIA are already few and far between. In a strictly information gathering system, violence is usually completely unnecessary and tends, as anyone who watches the news knows, to draw undue attention, endangering the whole network.

It is in the area of "special operations" where difficulties arise. I doubt that anyone would disagree with me when I say that such actions as assassinations, terrorism, gunrunning and kidnapping would have no place in a civilian-based defense intelligence system. But what about the support of non-violent dissident groups? Should we directly or indirectly aid in an attempt to non-violently overthrow the government of our attackers? It could incite massive retaliation against our people and might weaken the attempt itself. On the other hand, if the attempt is strictly nonviolent and we are public and not clandestine about it, we could claim that it was an action consistent with our principles, and certainly in our own interest. If this is the case, would the task fall to the information agency or to another branch of government? What about forming non-violent groups where they do not exist? Is this a reasonable or justifiable cause? Do we have a responsibility to do so? Isn't it interfering in internal affairs? Would it make a difference if we announce our intentions of doing such things?

A powerful tool of CBD is the capacity to elicit conversions from among the enemy troops. A great incentive to an aggressor's troops to defect would be the promise that we could get their families out of their country and over here to them, if they did. This would require an extensive underground railroad set up in the aggressor country. It would be very dangerous and very provocative.

One of the concepts behind nonviolent defense is that, by becoming a completely non-threatening society, we remove all excuses for aggression against us based on fear or "self defense." How realistic is this? It is my opinion that the very existence of a society based on nonviolence will be perceived as a threat to all governments that maintain power based on violent sanctions. It would be merely more difficult, not impossible, to justify actions against us. Intelligence activities of any sort will be considered a threat by closed societies, and I believe this view will be accepted by the world as a whole, even if those activities are non-violent. Yet the information gained through these systems would be vital.

- CARY FLECK
Scottsdale, Arizona

CBD AND U.S. PARTY PLATFORMS

One of the goals approved by the A.T.S. directors in their 1984 meeting was to have the rationale for consideration of civilian-based defense presented at platform hearings of U.S. political parties. A.T.S. members who have some understanding of the process involved in these hearings and who would be willing to assist with implementation of this goal are asked to please make themselves known.

- Pre-Publication Offer Extended

Until August 1, 1985, National Security Through Civilian-Based Defense, by Gene Sharp, can be ordered at the reduced price of \$3.00, plus 60¢ per copy for postage and handling. A.T.S. regrets the delay in publication. Persons who have already ordered the book can expect to receive it during August. Checks should be made payable to A.T.S. and mailed to 3636 Lafayette Avenue, Omaha, NE 68131. U.S.A.

- How You Can Help

Introduce the idea of civilian-based defense in your city. A.T.S. can mail introductory materials about CBD to 200 names and addresses supplied by you for a contribution of \$50, or to 500 for \$90. Send addresses on self-sticking labels, together with contribution, to A.T.S., 3636 Lafayette, Omaha, NE 68131. Call 402-558-2085 for more information.

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