

Civilian-Based Defense

A PUBLICATION OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR TRANSARMAMENT STUDIES

EDITORS: Melvin G. Beckman, Liane Ellison Norman, Philip D. Dogdonoff

D.C. CONFERENCE EXPLORES CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE

Ed. Note: The following report was prepared from notes provided by Herb Ettel, a director of the Association for Transarmament Studies, and from a review of the videotapes of the conference. An edited videotape of the event is being prepared and should serve as a very useful resource for persons and groups who have already done some study of civilian-based defense.

"I don't think we get rid of the military system by organizing against it," stated Gene Sharp to an audience of some fifty activists, academics and others who met at George Mason University in Arlington, Virginia on Oct. 5, 1985. The group was meeting to assess the relevance of civilian-based defense to the security needs of our time. The Center for New Creation in Arlington was the organizer of the conference with A.T.S. director Margaret Schellenberg serving as Coordinator. The conference brought together students of civilian-based defense in the D.C. area with staff from the Harvard Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and directors of the Association for Transarmament Studies who were in Washington for their annual business meeting.

The day's program included keynote addresses by Gene Sharp and Christopher Kruegler from the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions. Each address was followed by responses from panelists along with questions and discussion from the audience.

In his opening remarks on the relevance of CBD to particular security dilemmas in the world today Christopher Kruegler clarified the relationship between nonviolent action and the concept of CBD. Nonviolent action he described as being often a choice of last resort, after other methods have failed. It has often been spontaneous, under-prepared, and strategically ill-informed. Yet it has often been effective and it is so commonplace today that the question is not "does it work?" but "when and how?"

"CBD is quite a different thing," said Kruegler. "It would make systematic use of nonviolent sanctions and prepared nonviolent action...for the defense of a particular nation state." He said CBD will require much research and invention because there is no

GENE SHARP'S NEW BOOKS PUBLISHED

Summaries by Robert Irwin, an A.T.S. board member, who is conducting research on non-violent revolution at Harvard's Program on Nonviolent Sanctions.

National Security Through Civilian-Based Defense. Omaha: Association for Transarmament Studies, 1985. \$4.95 plus \$1.00 for postage & handling. 3636 Lafayette Avenue, Omaha, NE 68131.

This inexpensive introduction to civilian-based defense combines features especially valuable for courses or study groups with a section highly useful for the advanced student or scholar in the field.

To a basic introductory essay on CBD, Gene Sharp has added "Ten Points about Civilian-based Defense," "Questions about the Applicability of CBD," "Steps in Consideration" of same, a set of "Key Definitions," and advice "For Further Reading."

For those whose interest has been aroused, a thirty-five page chapter on "Research Areas and Policy Studies on Civilian-Based Defense" presents nearly sixty topics or questions pertaining to: the nature of threats against which defense is needed; problems of adoption, politics, and practice of CBD; the technique of nonviolent action; and the implications and consequences of nonviolent alternatives.

This chapter offers, as does the whole book, a rich source of stimulation for much-needed thinking about alternative ways to achieve national security.

Making Europe Unconquerable: The Potential of Civilian-based Deterrence and Defense. \$14.95. Postage paid if payment is sent with order. Ballinger Publishing Co., Order Dept.: Harper & Row, 2350 Virginia Avenue, Hagerstown, MD 21740.

Much of the content of Gene Sharp's latest book will be familiar to readers of his earlier works, but it contains enough that is new to make it "must" reading for everyone seriously interested in civilian-based defense.

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established precedent. "Where nonviolent action spends energy getting supporters, CBD would start with the resources of a whole society... CBD by definition must be fully intentional and strategically coherent." "CBD", he said, "is conceived to enhance overall security, and not to compete with or replace other positive contributions."

Kruegler stated that all the literature on CBD supposes Western Europe to be the most relevant place for the implementation of CBD. The key question West Europeans would want answered is whether CBD can not only be useful in repelling an invader but also in deterring that invader from attempting an invasion. In regard to Central America, he felt that, given a situation such as North American aggression against a militarily far weaker Nicaragua, a well-prepared civilian-based defense would provide a more effective defense with far fewer casualties. Kruegler suggested that Japan, because of the nature of its economy and its grasp of what comprehensive security is all about, is also a prime candidate for the exploration of CBD.

Kruegler criticized the peace movement for its failure to grasp the importance of CBD as an alternative policy to the arms race and a "minimal precondition for any fundamental shift" away from it.

In his panel response, Bob Irwin, also of the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions, discussed the question of applying CBD to the defense needs of the U.S. He noted that the question is hard to deal with because of the great gulf between various definitions of national security. Policy makers in government have a very broad, inclusive conception of our defense interests while someone like Gene Sharp would outline the requirements for legitimate national security quite differently. CBD is immediately relevant to the U.S., however. While its implementation in the U.S. in the near future is improbable, the adoption of CBD by Japan or our allies in Western Europe would produce substantial savings for the U.S. in military funds and troops currently deployed for their defense.

A controversial issue discussed was the relationship between the development of CBD and the programs of organizations working for disarmament and related peace and justice issues. Irwin advocated a "pluralistic approach" to social change, defending the wisdom of separate groups for different issues and constituencies. Kruegler suggested that other organizations ought to have at least one individual or committee to give attention to CBD. Sharp was more critical of activists, for their failure to think strategically about what must be done to help a whole society move in a new direction regarding defense. While witnessing against the arms race might be personally fulfilling it has not, historically, led to replacement

of defense by military means with an acceptable substitute.

Sharp rejected two common visions of how war can be abolished: through public revulsion following a terrible nuclear or other cataclysm, or through some form of revolution creating a society able to be defended by nonviolent means. He dismissed the first on the grounds that past cataclysms have not done this and we have no reason to think worse ones would. As for the latter belief, he noted that revolutions have often led to worse, more oppressive societies, and that socialist countries attack each other just as capitalist nations do.

Sharp also disagreed with criticism of CBD as a "status quo" system. On the contrary, he argued, its adoption would bring fundamental changes with it. It would necessarily involve greater decentralization of power in a society. Moreover, CBD could not be used to exploit and dominate other nations as military means can.

"The potential for public acceptance of CBD is very high," said Sharp. He cautioned proponents to avoid alienating the very people who must be supporters if it is to be implemented - the vast majority of people who simply have a concern for real defense of their lives, property and way of life. One should not put oneself in the posture of being antagonistic toward defense. Proponents should begin modestly, not by seeking converts, but rather, by asking only for exploration of CBD. The groundwork for CBD must be done at this point. Steps he proposed as needed for future progress toward CBD included: research, publishing articles, personal study and development of skills, setting up public forums, study groups, and commissions on CBD within organizations, churches, political parties and departments of government.

Sharp advocated an "incrementalist" approach to implementation of CBD. A society might at first support a small CBD component within an overall defense plan. This would be progress and it would have the advantage of allowing experimentation and correction of mistakes while an alternative defense capacity is being built up and considered.

The mood of the conference was generally optimistic. Participants expressed a willingness to do the educational groundwork needed. Their high level of interest and capability were indicators that more and more citizens in this country will soon be studying civilian-based defense as a possible way to answer the defense needs of various nations. After the conference was adjourned the directors of the Association for Transarmament Studies met for another day in their annual business meeting, with hospitality provided by the Center for New Creation.

Continued on page 3

CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE: NEWS-OPINION

Published quarterly by the Association for Transarmament Studies, 3636 Lafayette Avenue, Omaha, NE 68131. U.S.A. \$5.00 per year. \$7.50 outside the U.S. and Canada. The Association informs its members and readers about new ideas, publications, governmental action and other developments relating to civilian-based defense, both in the United States and abroad. Past issues are available for \$1.00 each. Readers are invited to submit news, letters and articles for future issues. For more information: 402-558-2085.

D.C. Conference ... con't.

The directors were grateful for the stimulating discussions which preceded their meeting.

The Center for New Creation can be reached at 845 Lincoln St., Arlington, Virginia, 22201. Telephone 703-528-1446.

Gene Sharp's ... con't.

What follows is not a review, which is more appropriately done by others (I helped edit the book), but rather a brief outline drawing attention to some aspects of it that may be especially noteworthy.

Most importantly, the book breaks new ground by assessing CBD at length in relation to a particular region. Second, as the subtitle suggests, Sharp forcefully argues that CBD has a deterrence capability, which has often been denied. Third, the book includes important new historical material (pp. 95-97). Finally, the discussions of transitional steps to CBD and the best ways to advance the policy (e.g., pp. 61-64, 67-73, 79-80, 157-161) should clarify Sharp's view for many readers.

Chapter One opens by examining the problems of current nuclear and conventional policies for Western European security. Sharp proceeds to define defense and deterrence more carefully than is commonly done, underscoring that neither is intrinsically military.

Chapter Two describes four historical cases of improvised nonviolent struggle for national defense. Those cases offer insights into the potential of a prepared defense policy based on that technique of struggle.

Chapter Three suggests how transarmament might occur, what different political stances might accompany it, and what responses it might draw.

Chapter Four explores deterrence and dissuasion by CBD, including a discussion of dissuasion of nuclear attacks (pp. 100-106). The table "Comparative Deterrence" (p. 107) sums up the author's points neatly and in a way that speakers on CBD may find effective.

Sharp's argument that CBD can have a deterrent effect is buttressed by his account of the abortive mobilization of ethnically Polish Soviet reservists in the USSR's Carpathian district bordering on Poland. This episode may prove to be a case of dissuasive influence exerted through pre-emptive noncooperation by the would-be invaders' own forces, something unanticipated (as Sharp notes, p. 95) by theorists of CBD.

Chapter Five begins a generalized scenario for applying CBD against attack, and Chapter Six completes it, posing six major questions intended to guide the defenders in planning selective resistance.

The book's concluding chapter--nearly the longest--discusses steps in consideration and adoption of CBD and briefly surveys the relevance of it for both non-aligned and NATO countries, and the status of elements of the policy in some of them. After ex-

amining dangers the policy might present for an invading Soviet Union, the book ends with an assessment of CBD's costs, benefits, and likely effects on international politics.

Don't be "deterred" by the book's regrettably high price; Making Europe Unconquerable is essential reading on civilian-based defense.

INTRODUCTORY PACKET AVAILABLE

A useful packet of materials about CBD, the Association for Transarmament Studies, resources, speakers, etc., is available for \$2.75, postage paid, from A.T.S. The packet includes Gene Sharp's Making the Abolition of War A Realistic Goal, a paper on CBD and the peace movement, and a sample copy of the A.T.S. newsletter. Order from:

A.T.S.
3636 Lafayette Ave.
Omaha, NE 68131

WORKING CLOSE TO HOME

The idea of civilian-based defense is little known in most communities. A.T.S. depends on its members to make learning opportunities available. One member can do a great deal. Here are some ideas:

- * Call together some friends to study with you - or ask an organization to which you belong to be the sponsor of a study group on civilian-based defense.
- * If you are a student, ask your teacher or professor if you can obtain credit for papers relating to civilian-based defense. If you are a teacher, try to interest your students in doing work on the subject.
- * Make reprints of this newsletter or of the insert about the new book and pass them on to friends, community leaders, pastors, libraries, etc. Ask them to take an interest in this possible alternative for defense.
- * If your organization has an annual meeting or other important gathering during 1986 begin now to discuss with the planning committee a possible speaker or workshop on civilian-based defense.
- * Buy a quantity of the new book, National Security Through Civilian-Based Defense and re-sell them in your community.
- * Begin to do writing on the subject in local or regional publications. Prior study and preparation would be essential.

DIRECTOR'S MEET: OCTOBER-5-6

Directors of the Association for Transarmament Studies spent a productive weekend near Washington D.C. in early October, first attending the October 4th conference on civilian-based defense at George Mason University and then meeting as a Board at the Center for New Creation nearby.

Focus of the 1985 meeting was on the very basic need to provide most citizens with their first exposure to the concept of non-military defense. National Security Through Civilian-Based Defense, just published by A.T.S., was seen as likely to be helpful in this regard because of its conciseness and low price. Plans were made for its review and sale throughout the United States. Money was allocated for its second printing in the 1985-1986 budget.

A major commitment was made to the development of new resource materials. The A.T.S. Resource Development Project will continue through 1986 and funding of \$10,000 will be sought for it in the form of grants and smaller contributions. (See article elsewhere in this issue.)

Some 500 new organizations and institutions will be contacted by A.T.S. during the next year. The newsletter, "Civilian-Based Defense: News and Opinion" will be sent to them without charge for a year and, in return, the Association will ask their help in exposing their members to the idea of civilian-based defense.

The directors also spent some time discussing a need often expressed by individuals who have recently become interested in CBD after personal study, hearing a lecture or participating in a study group. Such persons usually want to know what they can "do" to take the idea on toward implementation. In National Security Through Civilian-Based Defense, pp. 41-46, Gene Sharp describes various steps which such persons might take, including more self-education and development of skills, arranging informal and formal educational programs on CBD, raising money, and establishment of formal study commissions. The directors felt that these steps might well be considered by participants in study groups as they come to the end of their sessions. Organizational efforts for implementation of civilian-based defense would seem to be premature at this time, since a majority of citizens have not even heard of the idea. Thus, one of the more practical things any one of us can do is to arrange learning opportunities for others. This might also include writing articles for publication. Various kinds of research efforts are also needed to eventually determine whether civilian-based defense can actually become an effective substitute for military forms of defense. In National Security Through Civilian-Based Defense, pp. 57-92, Sharp lists and describes fifty-nine possible areas of research relating to civilian-based defense. Many members of A.T.S. are capable of doing research and are urged to read this section for ideas.

"THANK YOU" AND "WELCOME"

A.T.S. is indebted to Julia Kittross of Seattle for her service as co-editor of this publication during its first eight issues. Her editing skills and her understanding of the idea of civilian-based defense have been of much help to the Association. She now has a need to give more time to other commitments. Liane Ellison Norman of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania has joined Phil Bogdonoff and Mel Beckman as co-editor. She has experience in writing as well as in teaching, and has included material on civilian-based defense in courses at the Pittsburgh Peace Institute, which she also directs. We welcome her and appreciate her willingness to help.

CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE AND THE ART OF WAR

A stimulating exchange of ideas on civilian-based defense took place on May 22, 1985 when Major General Edward B. Atkeson (Ret.) spoke to participants in one of the regular seminars conducted by the Program on Non-violent Sanctions at Harvard University. Atkeson does not consider himself a proponent of civilian-based defense but rather, a friendly observer of Gene Sharp's work and sometimes a critic. His topic at the seminar was "Civilian-Based Defense and the Art of War."

Atkeson stated his assumption about CBD - that it is war without weapons - war by means other than military means. It is a novel concept which he sees as reaching a degree of maturity but which has not yet gained the credibility it needs. Partially this is because proponents must overcome the entrenched experience of centuries - war having been for so long the acceptable way to settle conflicts. But another reason for its failure to gain credibility is that proponents have not been specific enough about how this policy would be effective in concrete situations - in difficult situations like those faced by military planners in the past.

During his talk, Atkeson constructed the scenario of a Soviet invasion of Finland and pointed out a likely chain of events that civilian-based defenders would have to face in such a situation. In what ways could the nonviolent defenders meet the challenge? This, he suggested, is the kind of nitty-gritty application that needs to be done if the concept of civilian-based defense is to become more credible.

Ed. Note: General Atkeson's talk, and the dialogue afterwards, represented an instance in which CBD was discussed on its own merits, in an exploratory way, by persons who shared a common interest in defense but who did not share the same views about the potential of CBD as a future defense policy. A.T.S. members might consider including a wide range of persons, including military personnel, in their discussions of CBD.

O P I N I O N

TRANSARMAMENT AND THE STATE

By Michael A. Genovese

Almost everyone agrees that some form of national defense is necessary, but there is wide disagreement over what form that defense should take. The conventional approach to national defense is "Peace Through Strength", which is based on the adage "If you want peace, prepare for war."

But Peace Through Strength is an umbrella term which encompasses the Reagan approach (military superiority); the Kennedy approach (military strength and negotiations); and the Eisenhower approach (adequacy is sufficient). The national defense debate generally revolves around one of these categories of peace through strength.

Of course, there are alternatives to peace through strength. One of the more attractive alternatives is Civilian-Based Defense (CBD). In short, CBD is

"An alternative policy which uses non-military forms of struggle, either as a supplement to military means, or as a full alternative to them to deter and defend a society against attacks... Deterrence and defense are to be accomplished by civilian forms of struggle - social, economic, political, and psychological. These are used to wage widespread non-cooperation and to offer massive public defiance. The aim is to deny the attacker his desired objectives, and also to make impossible the consolidation of foreign rule, a puppet regime, or a government of usurpers."¹

Civilian-Based Defense can be viewed either as an additional leg on which a nation's defense can rest, or as a replacement for defense with armaments. For CBD to become a part of, or the entire, defense policy, would require a concerted educational effort on the part of the state designed to reorient the thinking of the average citizen and impart the skills necessary for CBD to become reality.

The difficult question is not how to convince leaders that CBD will work - there is ample historical evidence to suggest that it has worked and will work. The difficult question is how can we convince the state to transarm? How do we convince the state to teach CBD?

If historical evidence clearly spells out the viability of CBD, why will it be difficult to persuade the state to transarm? Because the techniques of CBD could be employed against the very state which is to teach the skills of citizen defense.

What state has the self-confidence to teach its citizens the art of civil disruption? What state is secure enough to show its citizens how to more effectively challenge the authority of the state? After all, any

CBD scheme designed for possible use against an alien power could be used against the state which teaches CBD.

Sharp recognizes this problem when he writes that

"For citizens to have the will to defend their democratic system does not imply that they believe the system is perfect. It does mean that the system is preferable to any regime likely to be imposed by internal take-over or by foreign invaders, and that any necessary changes in the system should be made by democratic decision. For effective civilian-based defense, people have to want to resist threats to their freedom and independence. They must genuinely cherish the democratic qualities of their society." 2

Few states feel secure enough to take this risk. Why create additional avenues for civil disobedience? Most states feel threatened enough by citizen action or its potential. Unusual is the state that willingly teaches its citizenry the arts of civil disobedience.

Of course, social and political revolutions do not occur for cavalier reasons. "Revolution for the hell of it" is a far cry from reality. Jefferson's notion of "a long train of abuses" is a closer approximation to the revolutionary reality.

But the skills and techniques of CBD could be used by groups on the far left and right to disrupt society's functioning, and what state would teach its extremist groups the techniques of social and political disruption? The skills which are designed to serve the vast majority might not serve society well when in the hands of extremist groups.

Given this, can we really expect the state to take the lead in transarmament to civilian-based defense? Perhaps the only way for CBD to become a part of the national defense consciousness is for private groups to take the lead in promoting CBD. This would be a slower process than if the state were to take the initiative, but I would suggest that to wait for the state to take the lead is to doom CBD to the academic dustbin. CBD is too important to meet that end. Since CBD is citizen-based, it must be the average citizen who takes the lead.

Footnotes

1. Gene sharp, National Security Through Civilian-Based Defense (Omaha, Nebraska: Association for Transarmament Studies, 1985), p. 47.
2. IBID, p. 24.

Ed. Note: Michael A. Genovese is Assistant Professor, Political Science and Director of the Peace Studies Program at Loyola Marymount University. Responses and other points of view on the subject chosen by Professor Genovese will be welcomed

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS



AUSTRALIA

The newly appointed director of the Peace Research Centre at the Australian National University is Andrew Mack, who, with Anders Boserup, co-authored War Without Weapons; Nonviolence in National Defense (New York. Schocken Books, 1975).

Canberra Peacemakers has interviewed people in that city about what they could do to nonviolently resist an invasion or coup. They are now in the process of collectively writing up an account. They have also produced a slide show on Social Defense. Canberra Peacemakers can be reached at GPO Box 1875, Canberra ACT 2601, Australia.

SWITZERLAND

A group at the Martin Luther King Center (Bethusy 56, 1012 LAUSANNE) is preparing a brochure on nonviolent defense in Switzerland. The group wants to make the work constructive, concrete and capable of being a starting point for work with the military. Swiss historians are being asked to give help in showing examples of nonviolent action in the history of their country.

FRANCE

An international conference on civilian-based defense strategies is being held in Strasbourg, France in late November, as we go to press. A report on this conference will be given in the next issue.

DENMARK

The first issue of a research newsletter entitled "Non-Offensive Defence" has been published by the Centre of Peace and Conflict Research at the University of Copenhagen. Its editor is Bjorn Moller. Its purpose is to foster contacts between researchers and others all over Europe and abroad in this new field. The Centre can be reached at: Vandkunsten 5, DK 1467 Copenhagen K., Denmark.

UNITED STATES

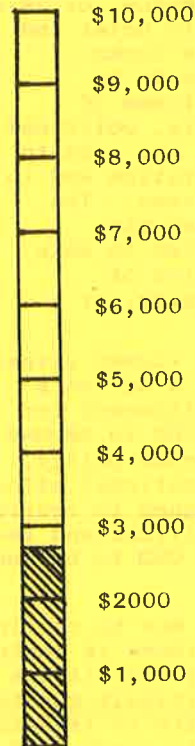
Ms. Constance Grice is the new Executive Director of the Albert Einstein Institution for Nonviolent Alternatives in Conflict and Defense. The Institution is located at 60 Brattle Street, Cambridge, MA 02138. Telephone: 617-876-0311.

Persons interested in forming a study group on civilian-based defense in the Newark, Delaware area are asked to contact Jeffrey Mann, 43 Fairway Rd. Apt. 1-A, Newark, Delaware 19711.

AOTEAROA (NEW ZEALAND)

From the Association for Transarmament (Aotearoa) we learn that the New Zealand Government has invited the public to participate in a review of the country's defence policy. The review is to begin in December with a report due to go to the Government at the end of March, 1986. The Transarmament group is preparing its own submission for the review and is sending out information about civilian-based defense to other groups, which might want to include CBD as part of their submissions. The Transarmament Association hopes the Government will begin to look at CBD as a longer-term option. The Association can be contacted at 20 Gillespie Street, Dunedin, Aotearoa (New Zealand).

RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT PROJECT



In mid - 1985, directors of the Association for Transarmament Studies approved a fund-raising effort to permit development of new educational resources relating to civilian-based defense. Since then, contributions toward this project have come to \$2,700. A.T.S. hopes to raise a total of \$10,000 by the end of 1986. The money will be used to produce visual materials, a manual for study commissions, secondary-level school materials, and a wide variety of short pieces aimed at particular audiences or on specific aspects of civilian-based defense. The materials will be distributed throughout the United States and in other countries too if there is interest.

If you know of an organization, a business or an individual who might contribute toward Resource Development Project won't you please make a request for funding on behalf of A.T.S.? We can send a four-page brochure describing the Project, either to you or directly to the address you specify. Contributions should be made payable to: Association for Transarmament Studies and mailed to 3636 Lafayette Avenue, Omaha, NE 68131. Contributions to A.T.S. are tax-deductible.

LETTERS

717 N. Main, Box 1222
Walla Walla, Washington
99362

A campaign of civilian-based defense has two focuses: the defenders and the aggressors. The current US aggression in Central America provides an excellent opportunity for CBD researchers in the US to look for those factors which cause division in an aggressor population, with a view to determining, if possible, which tactics would be most effective in that facet of a CBD campaign.

With that aim, I distributed to members of a local sanctuary committee a questionnaire relating to their decision to actively oppose government policy. Only two questionnaires were returned, so at the next meeting of the committee, I requested that each person tell about the particular event, thing, or person that was critical in his or her decision to work with the sanctuary movement. There were 20 respondents, some citing more than one factor. The breakdown was:

Direct personal contact with refugee(s) and/or Central America (includes speech by refugee) - 8

Influence of respected North American individual (known personally) - 7

Movie or videotape depicting situation in Latin America, US role there, or sanctuary response - 5

General philosophy (e.g., I think this is wrong, or predisposition to oppose government) - 4

Speech given by someone familiar with situation (but not a refugee) - 1

These responses were subjective, of course, and in the context in which the discussion took place there was no opportunity to ask further questions to clarify any of them. Incidentally, the above categories were created to organize the answers; people were not asked to fit themselves into any a priori category.

For this group of people it appears that direct, personal contact with individuals (either Central Americans or respected North American friends or acquaintances) was the catalyst to action for a majority of the respondents. If this sample is representative, it might be concluded that an important tactic for CBD defenders would be to encourage travel between the contending countries (or groups) by individuals on both sides. It would also seem to make sense to concentrate attention on converting "respected" people (at the community level) in the aggressor country. Also, where resources are limited, it would seem to be more effective to use film rather than printed materials to communicate.

I chose a sanctuary group because among opponents of US actions in Central America to whom I have access, they are the ones whose actions go beyond study, voting, and discussion (which are essentially neutral in

their effect on government action) to actual attempts to interfere with and frustrate US government policy--the kinds of actions that a CBD group needs to encourage within the oppressor population. Other groups whose action is on a similar level would be Witness for Peace, Pledge of Resistance, the various medical and other material aid groups, and those arranging tours to the US of non-refugee Central American speakers and artists.

I hope that those to whom this approach appears useful will do their own interviews. I would be pleased to hear from anyone who does or has done similar investigation, or who might suggest a different and more effective approach to gathering this information.

- BARBARA CLARK

BOOK REVIEWS REQUESTED

One of the primary functions of A.T.S. is to bring the concept of CBD into greater public view. Members are encouraged to help in this process by writing reviews of Gene Sharp's National Security Through Civilian-Based Defense, which the Association is now distributing as one of its main activities.

We are especially interested in placing reviews in small, local, and popular periodicals. The newsletter of another organization to which you belong would be ideal.

Members who agree to write reviews will receive a complimentary copy. We ask in return that you write a thoughtful critique, let us know where you submitted it, and, if possible send us a copy of it when it is published. Reviewers are asked to keep in mind that this new book is published as an introductory work on the subject.

PUBLICATIONS OF INTEREST

Martin, Brian. Uprooting War. London: Freedom Press, 1984. 300 pp.

The author assumes that action to end war must come from individuals, small groups and local communities. See especially chapter 3, "Social Defense."

Moulton, Phillips P. Ammunition for Peace-Makers. Pilgrim Press, 1986.

The book will seek to provide those who question current foreign policies of the superpowers with convincing answers to the questions they most often encounter. The fifth chapter will deal with civilian-based, nonviolent defense.



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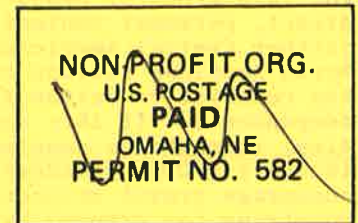
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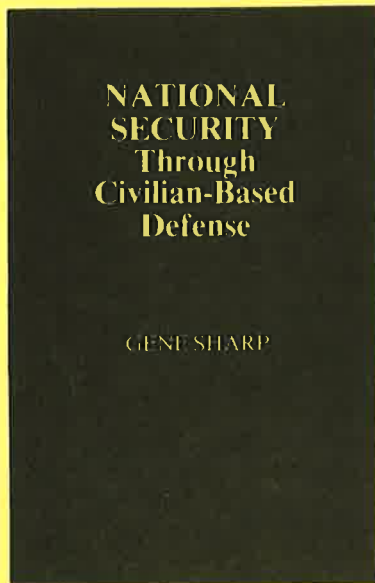
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NEW

From the Association for Transarmament Studies



NATIONAL SECURITY

Through

Civilian-Based Defense

by GENE SHARP

Professor of Political Science and Sociology at
Southeastern Massachusetts University.

Program on Nonviolent Sanctions, Center for
International Affairs at Harvard University.

Defense by other-than-military means is a novel concept to most citizens. Gene Sharp's new book is a short but thorough introduction to civilian-based defense - the idea that a society might prepare itself to use nonviolent sanctions and nonviolent forms of struggle to deter and resist aggression. *National Security Through Civilian-Based Defense* is "must" reading for all who want a strong defense but are dissatisfied with the extremely dangerous defense policies now being implemented or planned. The book presents an alternative option which both the just war advocate and the pacifist might consider.

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