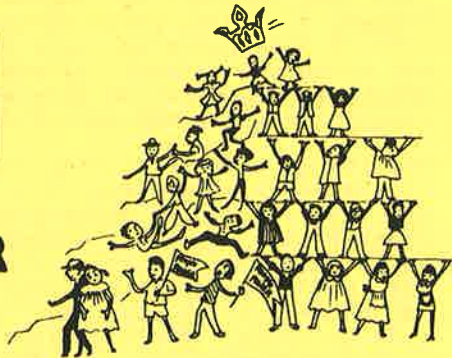


Civilian-Based Defense

A PUBLICATION OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR TRANSARMAMENT STUDIES

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

P
is for
POWER



All power depends on consent, obedience, submission, co-operation, which can be given or withdrawn.

PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH

By Liane Ellison Norman

This article appeared originally in "The New People", a publication of the Thomas Merton Center, Pittsburgh, PA. Liane Ellison Norman, the author of the article, serves on the Board of that Center as well as on the Board of the Association for Transarmament Studies. Reprinted with permission.

You want us to lie down and let the Russians trample over us, critics say of peace workers. There's some justice in this view: we've opposed particular wars or preparations for wars. But we've not sufficiently explored ways to replace warfare, which has historically been the principal recorded¹ means whereby nations, states, princes or parties within states have contended for both noble and ignoble ends -- defense as well as conquest, liberty and justice as well as hegemony and despotism. In our hatred of war, we've ignored the needs it has satisfied.

War at its Old German linguistic roots means confusion, discord and strife. But war is also associated with splendid panoply and poetry. "Once more into the breach, dear friends," urges the warrior King Henry V, appealing to the tradition that burnishes the reputation of battle. Our culture tells us that though war is hell, it is honorable. It occasions solidarity, heroism, spectacle, comradeship, self-sacrifice and vitality.

War is thought to work, despite evidence that there's always at least one losing side, that each war concludes by making the next more likely. And when, for participants, experience tarnishes war, culture tells us there's no other way to pursue certain objectives.

Long-standing ambivalence about war has tightened like thumbscrews since 1945, when it became evident that nuclear weapons could do in seconds the damage it had taken decades --even centuries--to do in earlier times; could destroy not only populations and their works, but the very environment on which life depends. We who deplore violence have seized on each new piece of evidence that war is insupportable to make our point. But, say the dubious, so long as the world is not made up of saints, you cannot dismantle arms nor do away with war.

It's worth listening to our critics. History suggests it's realistic to be concerned about both conquest and tyranny. If we had neither weapons nor soldiers, what would we do if an enemy tried to conquer us? What would we do if our government suspended civil liberties, imprisoned, tortured and executed people like us? Women know that to accommodate bullying makes them silent partners in violence. Peace, given such realities, smacks of weakness, cowardice, appeasement and submission.

Our language both reflects and shapes the problem. Peace means the absence or cessation of war, a negative definition. How can we have both peace and the power to stand up to conquerors and tyrants?

I ask my students to draw a picture of power, not an easy task, for while we use the term "power" with confidence, it's an elusive idea. One student draws God threatening a father who has his arm raised with a club to beat his son--my student. This picture crudely expresses a common notion about power: that in the nature of things, power resides at the top of some kind of hierarchy and that it involves the ability to hurt and/or humiliate. Those with high position have power because they can do violence. Parents, teachers, religious leaders and employers can make us do their bidding because they can punish us if we don't. This view of power is a widespread article of faith.

Looked at more closely, however, the power exercised by those in power is both dependent and fragile. No head of state governs single-handedly. She² has aides and advisors to help formulate and transmit policy to bureaucracies; secretaries to answer the telephone, write letters and file records; tax collectors to provide revenues; experts of all varieties (planners, economists, engineers, construction crews, garbage collectors, mail deliverers, cooks, cleaners); police to enforce and courts to interpret the laws; and citizens, who by and large obey the laws, co-operate, submit to the general order.

Continued page 2...

Peace Through Strength continued ...

The power to govern depends on the willingness of a multitude of people to be governed. If they withdraw their consent, even in significant part, no head of state can govern. In other words, citizens provide their leaders with power and can regulate its use. Those in power can use sanctions against the dissident and disobedient--or at least a representative sample--but even sanctions require obedience to carry out.³

For example, the federal government says Central American refugees are illegal aliens and requires that law-enforcement officials help catch and punish them. But a number of cities have declared themselves sanctuaries, which means that city employees will not assist the government in carrying out its policy. The New York Times (December 27, 1985) proclaims editorially that "Cities Can't Make Immigration Law." But cities, along with individual citizens, make law all the time when they comply with it. "If the law displeases them, let them petition Washington," scolds the Times, which nearly always reinforces the view that power rests only at the top. The cities, like the churches which have offered sanctuary, like those who once harbored runaway slaves en route to freedom or those who made white lightning during prohibition, refuse obedience to the federal government and laws they judge to be oppressive. Government is limited by the power of the people.

What really frightens power-at-the-top people is that citizens and localities may discover how powerful they are. However, with the discovery that they can resist the policies of their own government comes the insight that the same citizens and localities can formulate a defense that does not depend upon the kind of organized, legalized violence we call war.

To design a nonviolent defense requires thinking about conquest, victory and defeat. Though it seems to be about battlefields, war is really about who is to govern what and how. Conquest is meaningless unless the conquerer is able to govern: victory means that one or more of the contending parties acknowledges defeat, concedes the right of the victor to govern. One army may rout another, but unless the population represented by the defeated army permits itself to be governed by the conquerers, there is no conquest.

A conqueror can punish or kill those--or some of those--who resist, just as he does in battle. But conquerors do not bring with them whole regimes to govern, enforce and implement: even if they had the requisite human power, newcomers would not know how to make a conquered system operate. The conquerers, instead, have to persuade local people to run things for them by intimidation or reward. If the "conquered" refuse, braving threat or punishment, the "conquerers" are stymied. Increased oppression meant to persuade the population to obey may backfire: any regime that has to rely on excessive punishment to govern loses legitimacy and increases resistance. Precisely the same general principles apply to domestic tyranny as to foreign imposition: dictators, wherever

they originate, rely on co-operation and consent, whether given with enthusiasm or fear.

Nonviolent defense strategy is to deny enemy objectives, to make the task of controlling a population and its institutions impossible. Historic instances--of the Danes and Norwegians in World War II, of the Czechs in 1968, of the Indians under Gandhi, of many others as documented by Gene Sharp⁴---are more suggestive than conclusive: they represent spontaneous rather than well-developed strategies, relying more on ingenuity and courage than preparation and discipline. But that very spontaneity, ingenuity and courage suggest that with preparation and discipline, with advance planning, with reinforcement by education and popular culture, nonviolent strategies can provide defense against both foreign conquest and domestic tyranny.

Nonviolent defense strategies cannot be used against nuclear weapons: but then, neither can violent defense strategies. But a country that ceases to menace others while maintaining its capacity to defend itself can afford to give up its nuclear weapons, which, though expensive, undermine rather than provide security. While nuclear weapons provide a fundamentally incredible deterrent, nonviolent strategies can be used to deter an enemy by making clear in advance that the nonviolently-prepared country will make the task of conquest and governance costly, impossible and unpopular. But nonviolent defense can not be perverted to offense. While a country, region or people can protect themselves using nonviolent means, they cannot invade and intimidate using the same means.

A nonviolent defense strategy does not require that other nations relinquish violence: it can be used against violent, brutal and ruthless enemies. Nonviolent combatants need not be nice, cussedness being more to the point than saintliness. The effectiveness of their strategy does not require the moral conversion of the enemy. However, by depriving enemies of the arguments they rely on to justify otherwise outlawed acts of brutality, non-violence undermines their conditioning. Recognizing that adversaries also have the power to withdraw their consent humanizes them, offering them options they may, as individuals, not have considered. This is what the advice to love one's enemies means in tactical terms.

Young men have to be broken of their humanity to be made soldiers. Nonviolent defense requires no such rupture of human inclinations, but rather a strengthening thereof. Non-violent civilian, or popular defense, does not delegate society's dirty and dangerous work to adolescent boys, but relies on people to defend themselves -- taking their share of casualties. Such strategies do not require temporarily setting aside civilian values, but fortify them. Violent revolutions habitually fail because the arts of war are ill suited to post-revolutionary order: violent revolution spawns counterrevolutionaries eager to avenge their losses, and those who win by violence can rarely be kind. Non-violent defensive and revolutionary strategies are inherently democratic, for those doing the defending learn the skills, develop the stamina and support systems necessary to the

Peace Through Strength continued...

withdrawal of consent not only from foreign tyrants and their agents but from tyrants closer to home as well. Thus nonviolent policies demand legitimacy now rather than eventually. Further, nonviolent strategies promote the continuous renewal of democratic principles, relying on the genius and knowhow of ordinary people and providing them with the means to rectify wrongs long before desperation makes them reckless.

Most societies teach people to be powerless. This is convenient for those who want to wield power over others, but is in the long run self-defeating because it prepares them to submit. The more powerless people think they are, the more easily they can be conquered. The New York Times sees no recourse but courteous petitions to those in power: the same habit of mind might well lead the Times to defer to a conquerer. The cities which defy the federal government in the matter of sanctuary are better prepared to resist foreign or domestic tyranny. Few parents, frustrated by a two-year-old resisting a snowsuit teach the child to note and learn from that exercise of power. Few teachers, faced with students coughing in unison, use the occasion to teach the lesson of resistance and solidarity. It takes confident, secure adults and leaders to teach power and the discernment to use it well. However, violence springs from insecurity and the sense of weakness rather than security and strength: Rambo is a fantasy of power, not the real thing.

Some say there's no evidence that nonviolent strategies for defense would work. It's true that we haven't tested such strategies consciously enough to know for sure whether they would always do the trick: nor does warfare. It's also true, however, that we have tested organized violence, and while wars have won some gains, the price has been terrific. Part of that price has been the failure to develop other means of serious struggle.

And so we find ourselves in a corner: war has become too dangerous to use and we haven't as a civilization developed an alternative. But we have the opportunity, even this late in the day, to work together, hawks and doves, each with our partial understanding of the truth, to develop the means to make peace strong and strength peaceful.

Notes:

1. Recorded history and warfare developed at about the same time. The one has, not surprisingly, set down the story of the other.
2. The feminine pronoun is used generically and does not exclude the masculine of the species.
3. An army or police force must consent to carry out orders. Agammemnon could not prosecute the Trojan war without Achilles and his Myrmidons; commanders in Vietnam often could not get their troops to go into battle; at a certain point in Birmingham, police refused to turn fire hoses and dogs on civil rights activists when ordered to.
4. The Politics of Nonviolent Action, 3 vols. Boston: Porter Sargent, 1973.

YOU CAN HELP

A wider circulation for this newsletter would be desirable. Send us names and addresses of people or groups who might appreciate an introduction to civilian-based defense. Consider also short announcements about A.T.S. in the newsletters of organizations to which you belong. Let people know how they can reach us. Finally, please help us circulate the order form for CBD-related materials, which is enclosed in this issue. Thanks for helping!

DEFENCE CONSULTATION

In the aftermath of last year's confrontation between the United States and New Zealand the latter's government has been engaging the public in a consultation on national defense. An official Government Committee of Enquiry was appointed to receive submissions from the people. A discussion paper was distributed throughout the country in order to provide the people with background information about New Zealand's security interests. After the consultation is over this Spring, the Government will issue a new White Paper on Defence.

One group which responded to the request for ideas is the Association for Transarmament Aotearoa (New Zealand). The Association made its own in-depth submission to the Committee of Enquiry, explaining civilian based defense both in theory and in application to Aotearoa. In addition, the Association supplied study kits on CBD to other groups which wanted to include something about it



IN NEW ZEALAND

in their submissions. Finally, the Association engaged in a broad education process to increase public awareness of the option of CBD so that it would at least be noted when public opinion polls are taken as part of the consultation process.

Spokesperson Allan Cumming states that the Association's efforts were well-received. Public interest in civilian based defense has increased visibly. The Government's consultation process was widely used. Some 5000 written submissions were received. The Association for Transarmament is preparing a second revised printing of its study kit. The Association hopes that CBD will be recognized as an option for New Zealand that is worth studying and that there will be allocation of funds for an initial Government-level study.

The official Government discussion paper treats non-military defense briefly, in

paragraph sixteen, but equates it with "passive resistance" - which it considers a realistic option only when a country has been over-run. The Government assumes also that non-military defense cannot be an option for New Zealand since there is very little evidence that the international community is ready to move into "nonviolent co-existence."

The Association for Transarmament will need to show, then, that CBD can have a deterrent capacity if it is to overcome the Government's erroneous conceptualization of it. The Study Kit produced by the group is of excellent quality overall, but it could be strengthened by the inclusion of material outlining CBD's potential for deterrence of invasions and coups.

The Association for Transarmament, Aotearoa, can be reached at P.O. Box 5629, Dunedin, Aotearoa (New Zealand). Ph. 11-64-24-738-227. An excerpt from the Association's Study Kit is printed elsewhere in this issue.

A SCENARIO: AOTEAROA 1999

The following scenario first appeared in "Civilian-Based Defence: An Alternative for Aotearoa", part of a study kit published by the Association for Transarmament (Aotearoa) in 1985. Reprinted with permission.

It is 1999. In the anticipation of the opening up of Antarctica to exploitation, a foreign government decides to gain control of Aotearoa, thus gaining a foothold in the South Pacific and a stepping stone to the south.

Aotearoa has no standing army. What forces there are are small, and used mainly for coast guard, civil defence and fisheries protection roles. No military opposition to an invasion is considered likely.

Through the buildup of tension prior to the invasion, certain precautions are taken in Aotearoa. Vital computer records are duplicated and copies sent for safe keeping in embassies and offices overseas. Miniature TV and radio transmitters, and small high speed printing presses, are taken from storage and moved to hidden locations. Members of the Department of Civilian Based Defence are briefed, and begin publicity activities in schools, factories and in the media.

When first news of the imminent invasion comes through to Wellington, calls go out to the population to act. Hundreds of people in the main centres drive to the airports, parking on the runways to prevent the landing of the first planes. While this only causes a temporary delay, the act is seen as symbolic of the wider denial of facilities to follow.

Across the country, local groups go out and remove all road signs and all identification from buildings. Banners are hung out explaining (in the invaders' own language) that

while the people of Aotearoa have no personal animosity towards the soldiers, the invasion will be vigorously opposed by nonviolent means.

Radio, TV and newspapers continue to broadcast information on the invasion and the resistance until they are closed. Rather than distribute propaganda for the invader, vital parts are destroyed in the presses and transmitters when independent broadcasts are no longer possible. As they are silenced, the hidden media springs into action, from basements, farms, and the bush.

The High Court, in an emergency sitting, declares the invasion illegal, and announces that it will refuse to try cases of those who resist. The police are instructed not to assist the invader, and the Justice Department computer at Wanganui suddenly develops extreme amnesia, as files are carefully scrambled to prevent the invader getting access to them.

In Government departments, all important files which may help the invader are destroyed. These will be able to be reconstituted after the invasion, from the duplicates stored overseas. All public servants refuse to assist the invaders, and will not obey their instructions.

In schools and churches, teachers and ministers continue to speak against the invasion. When ordered to stop, or to spread propaganda, the schools and churches close, and the staff conduct meetings in people's homes.

In factories across the country, strikes and go-slows disrupt the supply of materials. In some workplaces, where the produce is particularly needed by the invader, machinery is sabotaged. All workers in every occupation participate in national symbolic strikes lasting 30 minutes, and in day-long stay-home protests.

In some factories and departments, this opposition to the invasion is met with violence. A printer in a newspaper office is shot for refusing to print the invader's proclamations, and all the city's printers walk out. Several people are killed in Auckland at a demonstration, and in Christchurch hundreds of teachers are arrested for organizing meetings opposing the invasion. This repression only intensifies the protest, and when the actions of the troops are not met with violence, the soldiers begin to falter.

Protests by the population arise in most towns and cities. Thousands of people take to the streets to show their opposition to the invasion. In every place a soldier is found, there is also a person explaining why the invasion is wrong, and why the people are opposing it. Surprisingly, many of the troops think that they are here at the Government's request, and start to express doubts about their own roles. After a few days, any English speaking troops must be replaced, as they can no longer be relied upon to obey orders.

Overseas too, doubts are being expressed. Several countries announce an immediate em-

bargo on the invader. Radio broadcasts to the invader's homeland tell the population of their Government's oppressive actions. International forums state their opposition to the invasion as a result of pre-arranged lobbying by our officials.

In a matter of days, the invasion begins to waver. Faced with having to bring in all supplies, with falling morale among the troops, and growing opposition at home, the commanders of the invading forces start to question the viability of long term occupation. The troops are withdrawn, and the invasion fails.

What are the consequences of relying on this non-military defence? While some people are killed opposing the invasion, casualties among the population were very low compared to those expected in either a guerrilla or traditional military defence. The economy was severely disrupted, but in a pre-arranged way, and it was possible to repair machinery or recover information once parts arrived from storage overseas - something not possible if the buildings had been destroyed by fire or bombs. People had worked together to defeat an invader far more powerful militarily than us - and they had done it without the intervention of America, Britain or Australia.

WHY AOTEAROA?

We are a small isolated country. This has both disadvantages and advantages for our defence. We are far from potential allies, who may not be able to come to our aid in times of war. Yet for the same reason, invasion of Aotearoa would be extraordinarily difficult, and involve massive problems of logistics. The massive effort needed by Britain to recapture the Falklands/Malvinas illustrates this well.

Apart from the difficulties of actual invasion, the invading forces would be dependant on either a long and potentially insecure supply line, or on the relative cooperation of the local population. It is this which makes civilian based defence an ideal policy for Aotearoa. Civilian based defence denies that cooperation to an invader, rendering the sustained occupation of the country impossible.

PUBLICATIONS OF INTEREST

"Reflections: A Better Today", by Jonathan Schell. New Yorker, Febr. 3, 1986.

In this excellent historical article, Schell focuses on the formula for revolution adopted by Poland's Solidarity movement and by its predecessor, the Workers' Defense Committee (KOR). While most revolutionaries wish to seize state power and then use it to do the good things which they believe in, that order has been reversed in Poland. The people decided to do the good things immediately and then turn their attention to the state. Their attempt has been to restore social bonds without the involvement of official institutions. Schell reviews in particular the ideas of Adam Michnik, the often-jailed Polish historian and author who has illuminated real possibilities for free choice and autonomy within the paralyzing totalitarian situation of his homeland. Michnik, according to Schell, has helped the opposition movement in Poland avoid resembling its opponent and avoid adopting the violent practices of most other revolutions.

How Peace Came To The World, from MIT Press. A collection of the best essays submitted in a recent Christian Science Monitor contest. See especially "Strength Through Peace," by Michael Nagler.

Beyond The Bomb, by Mark Sommers. EXPRO Press.

Sexism and the War System, by Betty A. Reardon. Teachers College Press, Columbia University.

"A New Philosophy of Defense" - a review of Gene Sharp's new book, Making Europe Unconquerable, by George Kennan. His review was the lead article in the New York Review of Books, Febr. 13, 1986.

"If the countries of Western Europe could achieve an effective deterrence and defence capability by their own efforts through the civilian-based defence policy, the United States should respond with relief and gratitude. That shift to self-reliance would significantly reduce the demands on the United States for military equipment, personnel, and financial resources. Simultaneously, the danger of an outbreak of nuclear war on that continent among the people and nations to which many in the United States feel most akin - would be significantly reduced or even virtually eliminated."

- From Making Europe Unconquerable: The Potential of Civilian-based Deterrence and Defence
Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publ. Co., 1985.

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS



covered such topics as the components of a nonviolent defense strategy, sociopolitical requirements for defense by civilian resistance, and strategic options for the development of civilian-based defense. Gene Sharp spoke to the question "How Credible is Civilian Dissuasion?"

The wide diversity of those present, from students, farmers, and priests, to researchers and historians, and government officials, each with extremely varying experiences in the study of nonviolent defense, presented obstacles to constructive discussion which were not always adequately overcome, not to mention the language barriers. However, it was very exciting to see the amount of interest in the topic, as indicated by the caliber of presenters and the magnitude of attendance.

This conference stimulated many in France to think about defense in a different light, and encouraged others to begin thinking about holding similar conferences in their own countries.

General Le Borgne (CR) has written a review of La Dissuasion Civile (Civilian Deterrence/Dissuasion) by Christian Mellon, Jean-Marie Muller, and Jacques Semelin. It appeared in the January 3rd issue of Le Monde.

HAITI AND THE PHILIPPINES

The ouster of Haitian dictator Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier appears to have been plotted a bit more thoroughly than initial news reports may have indicated. U.S. Ambassador to Haiti Clayton McManaway had been defiantly maintaining relations with enemies of the Duvalier regime, and complaining to the authorities when innocent victims were attacked by Duvalier agents. According to an editorial in the Boston Globe, "In January, the Association of Haitian Industry reacted to months of popular protest and government repression by calling for moderation and a move towards democracy." The Wall Street Journal reported that the U.S. embassy sent a cable to the State Department saying that the Haitian business community "was now on record as pushing for change." The Reagan administration's Restricted Inter-agency Group then decided that "Mr. Duvalier must be pressured to leave swiftly, before the largely pro-American opposition could become 'radicalized' by a protracted, bloody fight." According to the Globe editorial, "By late January, Richard Holwill, the Deputy Secretary of State for the Caribbean, was touring European capitals to inform allies that Washington's policy toward Haiti had changed. ... (T)he U.S. had decided to support a change of regime in Haiti and 'wouldn't be surprised' to see Duvalier flee the island by the middle of February."

White House spokesman Larry Speakes announced, a week too soon, that Duvalier had fled, but the premature announcement "helped build the pressure" on Duvalier. Duvalier secretly sent two envoys to the U.S. to plan his departure. In Washington, Elliot Abrams, Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs, told them "the U.S. believed

AUSTRALIA

Social Alternatives is planning a peace issue for the middle of this year and would be interested in receiving original material on CBD. Manuscripts should not exceed 4000 words and should reach the editors no later than May 1st. One of the pieces planned is a revised version of the paper Gene Sharp delivered at the 1984 Alternative Defence Strategy Conference in Brisbane. Contributions to the special International Year of Peace issue should be addressed to:

Professor Ralph Summy
Co-editor, Social Alternatives
Division of External Studies
University of Queensland
ST. LUCIA, Qld.
Australia 4067.

MIDDLE EAST

The Arabic translation of Gene Sharp's Power, Struggle, and Defense (Aluqama Bla-anus) has just been published and now joins the Hebrew edition (Hitnagdut Lo Alima) which was published last year. The last chapter of each edition is on civilian-based defense. These are very likely the first publications in Arabic and Hebrew which discuss the topic. The same is true for the Thai edition which is about to be published.

ITALY

An interview with Gene Sharp was published in the most recent edition of Azione nonviolenta (Nonviolent Action) (Vol. XXIII No. 1, Jan., 1986). Dr. Sharp is called the "Machiavelli of Nonviolence". (If anyone is interested in translating this interview, please contact editor Philip Bogdonoff.)

FRANCE

An international conference on "Civilian Defence Strategies" was held in Strasbourg, France, on November 27, 28, 29 last Fall. It was sponsored by the Research Institute on Nonviolent Conflict Resolution with funds supplied in part by France's National Foundation for Defense Studies. Over 140 scholars, activists, government officials, and interested observers from Europe and the United States participated.

The conference included presentations and panel discussions from over 20 speakers, including Gene Sharp from the U.S.; Christian Mellon, Jean-Marie Muller, and Jacques Semelin from France; Adam Roberts and Michael Randle from England; Theodor Ebert and Wilhelm Nolte from Germany; Alex Schmid, Hylke Tromp, and Jan Zielonka from the Netherlands; Gonzalo Arias from Spain and Ivo Rens from Switzerland. Philip Bogdonoff, Chris Kruegler, and Ron McCarthy were among those attending from the U.S. The sessions

Mr. Duvalier only could remain in office through violent suppression, which the administration couldn't support." Shortly thereafter Mr. Duvalier fled to France on U.S.-arranged transportation.

This episode, and the Philippines, show the speed at which nonviolent coercion, applied from many sources (popular protest to international diplomatic messages), can be successful at removing even longstanding and repressive dictatorships. These cases need intensive documentation and analysis in order to completely reveal the lessons they hold for other similar situations.

UNITED STATES

The groundwork for a Boston chapter of the Association for Transarmament Studies is being laid by A.T.S. members Philip Bogdonoff and Greg Bates. Other members in the New England region who are interested may contact Boston ATS at P.O. Box 31, Cambridge, MA 02238.

Anyone interested in historical research on nonviolent technique or in preserving data associated with recent cases of nonviolent change (e.g., Philippines, Haiti, South Africa) should please contact Connie Grice, Executive Director, Albert Einstein Institution, 60 Brattle Street, #102, Cambridge, MA 02138.

A.T.S. board member Chris Kruegler reports having a very interesting discussion with approximately 60 Maryknollers in Ossining, N.Y., 72 hours before the fall of the Marcos regime in the Philippines (February 20, 1986). Chris would like to acknowledge the astounding prescience of the Maryknoll community, in that they used the discussion period to outline a "hypothetical" comprehensive strategy for his defeat which was subsequently incarnated without the benefit of the plan!

In a project designed to increase the use of published materials on CBD and to make it easier for people to find them, the Association for Transarmament Studies has begun to stock quantities of the relevant books, articles, tapes, etc., and is offering them for resale. An order form is enclosed with this issue. It may be reprinted, posted, included in mailings, etc. Additional materials will be added in the coming months.

Gene Sharp will speak on "National Defense Without War" at Bridgewater College, Bridgewater, VA, April 9th at 7:30 p.m. and at Hampshire College, Amherst, MA, April 16th at 8:00 p.m. For more information, call 703-828-2501 at Bridgewater and 413-549-4600 at Amherst.



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Your answers to the questions below will be appreciated. Use the spaces provided or a separate sheet. Thank you.

1. HOW IS THIS PUBLICATION HELPFUL TO YOU? HOW COULD IT BE IMPROVED?

2. WHAT TOPIC, ISSUE OR PROBLEM WOULD YOU LIKE ADDRESSED IN FUTURE ISSUES?

3. WHAT ACTIVITIES RELATING TO CIVILIAN BASED DEFENSE HAVE YOU OR OTHERS INITIATED IN THE LAST YEAR? ARE THERE ANY CURRENT ACTIVITIES IN YOUR COMMUNITY?

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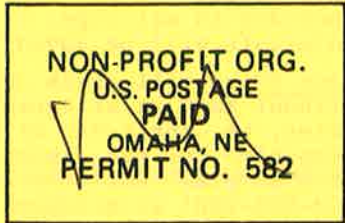
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	QUANTITY	TOTAL
MAKING EUROPE UNCONQUERABLE , by Gene Sharp. Paper, 252 pp. Ballinger Publ. Co., 1985. \$14.95	_____	\$ _____
SOCIAL POWER AND POLITICAL FREEDOM , by Gene Sharp. Paper, 456 pp. Porter Sargent, 1980. \$8.95	_____	\$ _____
GANDHI AS A POLITICAL STRATEGIST, WITH ESSAYS ON ETHICS AND POLITICS , by Gene Sharp. Paper 384 pp. Porter Sargent, 1979 \$7.95	_____	\$ _____
THE POLITICS OF NONVIOLENT ACTION , by Gene Sharp. Paper, 3 volumes. Porter Sargent, 1973		
Part 1 POWER AND STRUGGLE . 144 pp. \$3.95	_____	\$ _____
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NATIONAL SECURITY THROUGH CIVILIAN BASED DEFENSE , by Gene Sharp. Paper, 96 pp. Association for Transarmament Studies, 1985.	_____	\$ _____
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