

Civilian - Based Defense: News & Opinion

A PUBLICATION OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR TRANSARMAMENT STUDIES

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Volume 3 • March, 1987 • Number 4

TRUTH-FORCE: THE ROOTS OF NONVIOLENT POWER

By Vincent Kavaloski*

"Strength is not in force, but in truth"
Leo Tolstoy

On February 26, 1986, Corazon Aquino made the following statement at her first news conference since the departure of Ferdinand Marcos:

"The world saw and recorded a people who knelt in the path of oncoming tanks and subdued with embraces of friendship the battle hardened troops sent out to disperse them and annihilate the military rebels".

True, the world marveled out of genuine admiration for the courage of civilians facing-down fully armed troops, but the world also marveled because it simply didn't seem possible: it was called a "miracle". This latter reaction indicates the profound ignorance that exists about the power of nonviolence in history. For there are literally hundreds of recorded instances, from diverse times and places, of ordinary people, armed only with the deep inward conviction which Gandhi called "Truth Force", confronting and overcoming brutal armed repression. Gandhi claimed that this nonviolent "Truth Force" was the "greatest power at the disposal of humankind". He might have added that it is also the most misunderstood.

Today our popular culture continues the terrible lie that only the hard-eyed man with the gun is powerful: Rambo, Clint Eastwood, Chuck Norris. Nonviolence is widely misunderstood as passive and weak. Even among its proponents, there is often a lack of understanding concerning the diverse philosophical, spiritual and historical roots of nonviolent power.

What is power? Where does it come from? How can people confront the growing structures of institutionalized violence, such as war, racism, economic exploitation and terrorism without replicating those very structures? At a time in our history when organized violence in the form of nuclear and biological weapons poses a threat to the survival of humanity, these questions pose an unavoidable challenge to all thinking people. What are the nonviolent alternatives?

The first step in understanding is to distinguish accidental non-violence from intentional nonviolence. The coward who runs away from conflict is non-violent but not nonviolent. Genuine nonviolence is based on a deliberate decision to choose - for whatever

reasons - to confront violence without reciprocating in kind. There is an intention to end the "spiral of violence" where violence is reciprocated by more violence until one or both sides are destroyed. Nonviolence changes the "rules" of conflict, and thus acts as a kind of "moral ju-jitsu": it plunges the attacker into a new world of moral values that can throw him "off balance" in the same way that the use of physical ju-jitsu does. In such a situation, the more violent the attacker becomes, the weaker their position becomes, both in terms of outside support as well as internal morale.

But there appears to be different ways in which intentional nonviolence acquires its unique social and personal power. These ways are rooted in at least six different philosophical traditions.

I. NONVIOLENT NONRESISTANCE. For the first few centuries after Christ, early Christians, on the whole, refused service in the Roman army. Their pacifism grew out of an understanding of Christ's "Sermon on the Mount," especially: "You have heard it said 'An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth', But I say to you, do not resist one who is evil, but if any one strikes you on the right cheek, turn to him also the other..."

Early Fathers of the Church such as Origen argued that Christians could not "learn war any more having become children of peace, for the sake of Jesus..."

In 295 A.D., for example, a young Roman convert named Maximilian was called up for military service. He steadfastly refused, saying repeatedly, "I am a Christian and cannot fight." He was tried, executed and subsequently declared a saint of the church.

Indeed, the stance of all early Christian martyrs was one of nonviolence and nonresistance. Not only did they refuse to resort to arms, but they would not resist arrest, trial, persecution or death. This "nonresistance to evil," however courageous and pure, strikes us today as personal and otherworldly, in the sense that it was not designed to overthrow Roman rule or reform Roman law. The aim of early Christians was not social change, but rather the maintenance of their own religious integrity. The conviction that the Second Coming was close at hand undoubtedly contributed to this "other worldly" focus. Nevertheless, the fact that Christianity flourished not only despite, but because of the violent persecution of the mighty Roman Empire - the most powerful military and political structure the world had ever known - says something profound about the nature of nonviolent power. Today, pacifist groups like the Amish and Old-Order Menonites,

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CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE: NEWS & OPINION ISSN 0886-6015, is the quarterly newsletter of the Association for Transarmament Studies.

CO-EDITORS: Melvin G. Beckman, Phillip D. Bogdonoff and Liane Ellison Norman.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES: \$5.00 per year in the United States. \$7.50 outside the U.S. Past issues available @ .30 each.

MAILING ADDRESS AND TELEPHONE: 3636 Lafayette Avenue, Omaha, NE 68131. U.S.A. Phone: 402-558-2085.

ASSOCIATION FOR TRANSARMAMENT STUDIES: A non-profit membership organization founded in 1982 to promote more widespread consideration of civilian-based defense. A 501 (c) (3) Organization. DUES: Basic-\$5.00. Students & Low-Income - \$3.00. Household -\$8.00. Organizations and Institutions -\$25.00. Sustaining - \$100.00. Dues outside the United States: \$7.50 per year. COORDINATOR: Melvin G. Beckman. DIRECTORS: Melvin G. Beckman, Phillip Bogdonoff, Mary Carry, Walter Conser, Robert Irwin, Mary Evelyn Jegen SND, Christopher Kruegler, Rachel MacNair, Liane Ellison Norman, Sr. Constance Phelps, Margaret Schellenberg, Chet Tchozewski. MAILING ADDRESS: 3636 Lafayette Avenue, Omaha, NE 68131. U.S.A. TELEPHONE: 402-558-2085.

as well as some (not all) military and war-tax refusers, continue the tradition of nonviolent nonresistance: their goal is not to eliminate militarism, but to "remain faithful" to individual conscience and religious conviction.

II. PRAGMATIC NONVIOLENCE. An equally ancient, but philosophically very different nonviolent stance, is represented by the women in Aristophanes' anti-war play, "Lysistrata". Outraged by the bloody war between Sparta and Athens, the women of the two cities refuse sexual relations with their husbands because they (rightly) believe it to be a practically effective way to get them to stop fighting. This is, of course, a literary and (hilariously) imaginative representation. But actual historical cases of nonviolent noncooperation based on practical strategies are quite common. Sometimes they fail or are only partially successful. But given that they are usually not organized and planned ahead of time (as is military resistance) the surprising fact is the social strength they do exhibit.

In the mid-nineteenth century, for example, the Hungarians under the leadership of a Catholic nobleman, Ferenc Deak, engaged in a

massive campaign of economic and social noncooperation against the occupying Austrian army. They chose nonviolent means, not because they were pacifists (indeed, many had fought previously in the Hungarian army against Austria and been defeated) but because they rightly saw that nonviolent resistance was their most effective and powerful strategy under the circumstances. Hungarians refused to obey Austrian laws, to pay Austrian taxes, or to participate in the Imperial Parliament. Austrian soldiers, billeted in Hungarian homes were subjected to verbal harassment to the point of demoralization. The nonviolent resistance cost the Austrian emperor so much in expense and in public opinion throughout Europe that finally the occupation became politically untenable. In 1867 Emperor Franz Josef withdrew his troops, recognized Hungary's Constitution, and conceded all of the demands of Deak's movement.

Campaigns of nonviolent noncooperation were successfully utilized by the Norwegian school teachers in 1942 in opposition to the attempted Nazification of their schools; by the American colonists in their struggle against Britain, through mass refusal to pay taxes and debts or import British goods; by massive strikes of the Russian Revolution of 1905, in forcing the Tsar to grant reforms; by the Berliners of 1920 in defeating an attempted coup by the militarist Kapp forces. The full history of pragmatic nonviolent resistance remains to be written. But underlying all these diverse tactics and situations is a common insight: the power of any governing authority rests on the consent and cooperation of the governed. This consent and cooperation may be secured by fear, lies, rewards, or blind habit. But if enough people can withdraw their consent and cooperation "en masse", then the governing authority is rendered powerless. They may still be capable of violence, but not of control.

III. MORAL RESISTANCE. In 1846 Henry David Thoreau was jailed overnight for refusing to pay a tax which went to support the Mexican-American War. Out of this experience came the justly famous essay "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience". Thoreau combined - not entirely consistently - the personal refusal to participate in evil characteristic of

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LOCAL CONTACTS NEEDED

The Association for Transarmament Studies would like to identify more persons who are willing to serve as ATS links with specific cities and towns or with specific organizations.

The local contact receives four special mailings each year, containing ideas and materials for outreach. The local contact also keeps ATS informed about local activities and concerns relating to CBD.

If you are willing to serve as a local contact for your community or for a specific organization, or if you would like more information about it, please write to ATS, 3636 Lafayette, Omaha, NE 68131.

"nonviolent nonresistance" (#1), together with the practical aim of thereby eliminating unjust social structures characteristic of "pragmatic noncooperation" (#2). Thoreau argued that those opposed to slavery and unjust wars had a moral obligation to refuse to support them, even indirectly, by paying taxes. Such civil disobedience would, of course, mean imprisonment, but such imprisonment of innocent people creates a social crisis which becomes a step toward the "peaceable revolution". Thoreau also saw that effective civil disobedience could only be practiced by those willing to have their property seized by the state. Thus he recommended voluntary poverty as necessary to a moral life.

IV. ACTIVE RECONCILIATION. Some groups, such as the Society of Friends (Quakers) believe that there is an irreducible element of truth or goodness within every human, even the most degraded (sometimes called the "Inner Light" or "that of God"). This assumption not only rules out the use of violence against individuals, but opens the possibility of appealing to this inner spirit to resolve conflict or to change the person. A dramatic example of active reconciliation is that of Lincoln who responded to the hatred of a prominent official named Stanton by appointing him to his Cabinet. Lincoln claimed he had thereby "destroyed an enemy" by "creating a friend". Gene Sharp has critiqued this position by pointing out cases, such as Hitler's campaign to eradicate the Jews, where anything other than outright opposition would be immoral. In reply it should be noted that reconciliation is not the same as compromise but involves moral transformation.

V. SOCIAL AND PERSONAL REGENERATION. The great philosopher and novelist Leo Tolstoy came later in his life, after a prolonged and agonizing "conversion experience", to believe that fundamental transformation of both the individual and society was necessary. It was not enough to say "No" to injustice and violence and hatred. One must say "Yes" to the fundamental truth of universal human love, by living it out in daily life. He attempted to transform his ancestral estate, Yasnaya Polyana, into a community based on simple labor, non-coercive education and harmony with nature. One of Tolstoy's most enduring insights was that the greatest violence is structural: it is built into, and disguised in, the basic institutions of all hierarchical societies: "Our entire social existence is based on violence." Indeed, his greatest novel, WAR AND PEACE, tries to show how the overt violence of warfare is grounded in the covert violence of so-called "peace".

VI. THE GANDHIAN SYNTHESIS. Gandhi once claimed that nonviolence was "as old as the hills". At another time he stated that his method was "unique". Both claims are true. Gandhi drew creatively from each of the earlier traditions of nonviolence, and through the experience of the Indian civil rights movements in South Africa, a new synthesis came into being: "satyagraha" - "soul force" or "truth force". Gandhi studied the "Sermon on the Mount" in his youth and was deeply moved by its ethic of love and nonresistance. He later studied the pragmatic noncooperation campaigns of the Russian Revolution of 1905,

the early American colonies' tax resistance, and the 1905 Chinese boycott of American goods. He carefully read the writings of Thoreau and Tolstoy on nonviolence, and indeed had a correspondence with Tolstoy at the end of the Russian philosopher's life, where Tolstoy describes nonviolent resistance as "nothing but the law of love". Gandhi later called his own intentional community, modeled on principles of constructive nonviolence "Tolstoy Farm." From his own tradition, Gandhi drew on the Hindu holy book, the BAGHAVID GITA, to develop his vision of a "nonviolent warrior" who acts totally out of a sense of duty and not out of desire for the "fruits" of the action.

Gandhi's synthesis was thus not only creative, but universal, in the sense that it drew from such diverse cultures and traditions and yet was bound by none of them. It is a philosophy "for all seasons" and all peoples.

Satyagraha is unique in successfully combining two elements which on the surface seem contradictory: confrontation and reconciliation. In its use of mass civil disobedience, strikes and boycotts, Gandhian nonviolence actively confronts unjust laws and powers. Yet it assumes that "human nature in its essence is one" and therefore seeks not to defeat or humiliate, but ultimately to convert the opponent. Reconciliation is consistently held out, both as a means and as an end.

Satyagraha is also unique in being simultaneously visionary and practical. It holds up the ultimate mystical goal of a just and peaceful human community. At the same time it embodies concrete strategies and tactics which are not only effective in moving toward that goal, but also morally consistent with it. Gandhi in fact, defined "means" as the "ends-in-process". The goal of a peaceful world requires peaceful means.

The concept of a "Gandhian synthesis" explains why so many apparently diverse groups today look to his example: war resisters and personal pacifists; advocates of decentralized economics and appropriate technology; defenders of human rights; proponents of conflict resolution and transnational reconciliation; social change activists; and advocates of civilian-based defense. The Gandhian synthesis embodies the central strands of all these traditions.

Yet at the same time, the Gandhian synthesis, insofar as it is a genuine synthesis, "transcends" (i.e., goes beyond) each of the nonviolent traditions which preceded it. In this sense, it provides a challenge to each of them considered singly. In particular, the Gandhian synthesis poses a challenge to advocates of transarmament who generally understand themselves to be arguing solely out of the pragmatic tradition. Should we continue to emphasize only the techniques of nonviolent resistance? Or should we try to include the ethical and philosophical elements which Gandhi saw to be integral to the "satyagraha of the strong"?

Gene Sharp has persuasively argued (in GANDHI AS A POLITICAL STRATEGIST) that Gandhi never wished to make any particular religion or creed a prerequisite for satyagraha. Rather,

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he grounded the Indian and South African mass movements squarely in the theory of political power drawn from the pragmatic tradition: "no government can exist for a single moment without the cooperation of the people, willing or forced; and if people suddenly withdraw their cooperation in every detail, the government...will come to a standstill." Sharp shows, furthermore, that despite impressions to the contrary, Gandhi never really retreated from this pragmatic emphasis on "nonviolence as policy" as a ground for mass social movements.

On the other hand, it is clear that Gandhi firmly believed that the highest form of nonviolence was "satyagraha as a creed", and that this was essential for the leaders of the movement. Of course, by "creed" he did not mean any particular religious or theological doctrine, or even personal pacifism.

What was essential to this "nonviolence as a creed" was a commitment to the "conscious struggle toward truth". Thus not only theist of all stripes, but atheists and agnostics as well could accept "satyagraha as a creed" so long as they committed themselves to struggle in thought and action toward the moral and metaphysical absolute Gandhi called "Truth". For Gandhi this commitment involved some elements which also characterize the best of the pragmatic tradition: 1) creativity and resourcefulness in designing strategy; 2) reasoned analysis and self-reflection before and after nonviolent campaigns; 3) relentless adherence to nonviolence even under attack or provocation; 4) courage and self-sacrifice. But it also included two important elements which are absent from the pragmatic tradition: 5) nonviolence as a complete way of life: "it is not like a garment to be put on and off at will. Its seat is in the heart, and it must be an inseparable part of our very being." 6) the "law of love" which precludes hatred and anger against one's opponent.

Advocates of transarmament may well balk at these last two requirements as asking too much of people. Moreover, some writers on transarmament such as Boserup and Mack (WAR WITHOUT WEAPONS: NONVIOLENCE IN NATIONAL DEFENSE) argue that "psychological polarization (which requires anger and hatred against the opponent) may actually be necessary to an effective civilian-based defense, since it discourages collaboration, strengthens the cohesion of the defenders, and demoralizes invading troops. Does this suggest an unbridgeable chasm between pragmatic advocates of transarmament and Gandhian satyagraha?

Gene Sharp, at one point ("Nonviolence: Moral Principle or Political Technique", chapter 13 in GANDHI AS A POLITICAL STRATEGIST) suggests a possible resolution. Since Gandhi held that there was ultimately an identity of the ethical and the practical, one ought to be able to get from one to the other. In other words, if one begins a satyagraha campaign and painstakingly explores strategies most practically effective in bringing about movement toward Truth of Justice, then these will turn out in the final analysis to be also the most ethical. The reverse should hold true also. On this analysis, proponents of pragmatic and the various ethical and

religious traditions can all start from different points on the philosophical compass, and assume that they are moving in a common direction.

The unspoken assumption behind this most promising resolution, however, is that all parties are "experimenting" with nonviolence both intellectually as well as practically. Ethical and religious traditions must thus employ not only faith, but hardheaded analysis and study.

Conversely, proponents of transarmament would engage, not only in scholarly research and discussion, but also in experiential "experiments with Truth". Given the present lack of any fully deployed civilian-based defense system, this presents a problem. How can proponents of transarmament engage in a reflective social praxis with something that does not yet exist? The full rapprochement between the pragmatically-based transarmament movement, and the other ethically and religiously based traditions awaits an answer to this question.

* * * * *

Vincent Kavaloski is a member of the Association for Transarmament Studies and is Co-Director of the Ecumenical Partnership for Peace and Justice sponsored by the Wisconsin Conference of Churches. Parts of the above article appeared in the September, 1986 issue of METANOIA, published by the Ecumenical Partnership for Peace and Justice.



CBD VIDEOTAPE AVAILABLE

"Civilian-Based Defense: A Current Assessment" was filmed at the October, 1985 conference on CBD in Arlington, Virginia. The film presupposes some familiarity with the concept of CBD. An excellent follow-up to a group or classroom study of NATIONAL SECURITY THROUGH CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE, by Gene Sharp. The tape runs nearly two hours but can be used in segments.

- Part I GENE SHARP - The Need for Defense and CBD...17 minutes.
- Part II CHRISTOPHER KRUEGLER - The Relevance of CBD to Various Areas of the World ...23 minutes.
- Part III ROBERT IRWIN - CBD and Its Relevance to the U.S. ...15 minutes.
- Part IV GENE SHARP - A Strategy for CBD ...49 minutes.
- Part V GENE SHARP - CBD and the Peace Movement...11 minutes.

AVAILABLE FROM: The Center for New Creation, 845 N. Lincoln St., Arlington, VA 22201. Telephone: 703-528-1446. Rent, \$25. Purchase, \$75. Specify BETA or VHS.

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS



THE NETHERLANDS

The Dutch "Network on Social Defense" has been mobilizing support for continuation of Dutch Government subsidizing of research in the field of alternative defense. For more information contact Lineke Schakenbos, National Group on Social Defense, Women For Peace, c/o Postbus 963, 3800 AZ AMERSFOORT, the Netherlands.

UNITED STATES

Professor Gene Sharp spoke to about 600 students on "National Defense Without War" at Central Michigan University on Jan. 19, 1987. From Febr. 2 -4 he was on the campus of Oregon State University as the Dubach Distinguished Visiting Professor in Political Science. His public lecture there, on "Defense Without War", was attended by 900. He also spoke to classes in political science, military science (NROTC) and sociology.

MIDDLE EAST

Translations of Gene Sharp's writings have been made in Arabic and Hebrew. In Arabic, ALMUQAWAMA BILA OUNF (Nonviolent Resistance). 377 pages. Introductions by Daniel Amit and Jonathan Kuttub. Jerusalem: Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence, 1986. In Hebrew, HITNAGDUT LO ALIMA (Nonviolent Resistance). 256 pages. Introductions by Daniel Amit and Jonathan Kuttub. Jerusalem: Mifras, 1985.

ATS BOARD MEETING HELD IN DETROIT

ATS directors gathered in Detroit last Fall on the weekend of October 24th to 26th. Arrangements for the meeting were made by Bill and Mary Carry, at the Romero Center. A meeting of the newsletter editors preceded the Board meeting.

The directors agreed that the Association should continue to provide a first exposure to the idea of civilian-based defense for as many persons as possible. We will do this by means of the quarterly newsletter, by stocking and selling CBD-related literature and by producing new resources as needed. We must continue this informational work because the concept of CBD has not yet entered the consciousness of most people. ATS must provide the resources which our members need for self-education, teaching, organization of study groups, etc. \$10,000 was assigned for development of new CBD-related resources.

One new resource approved was a discussion piece to be linked to the television mini-series "AMERIKA". (see sample copy mailed with this newsletter) It is to be distributed nation-wide this Spring. As people are turning over in their minds the Hollywood conception of a U.S. "takeover" they will have an opportunity to consider a non-military means of deterring and defending against attack.

During 1987 Director Philip Bogdonoff will be working in the Boston area reaching out to key people in various groups and organizations. His contacts will be individually supplied with information about the idea of CBD over a period of time and then brought together in a CBD "round table" to plan how they individually and collectively might take further action. Phil's model for local organizing will be evaluated at the 1987 Board meeting.

In Omaha, and in possibly one or two other communities an experiment will be conducted with discussion groups in which participants initially examine the overall concept of CBD and then go on to study its feasibility for their own locale and for themselves. They will be asked to define the defense tasks which might exist locally in the context of a transarming nation. Then they will try to discover how those defense tasks could be accomplished by citizens like themselves, without recourse to arms or the threat to use violence. Hopefully, members of the groups will come away with a feeling of empowerment, realizing that they themselves have the capacity to engage in effective defense by nonviolent civilian resistance...that they themselves can defend what they value in their own communities. This model for local transarmament studies will also be evaluated at the 1987 Board meeting.

Also approved was a plan to establish a network of local contacts. Both current and new members were to be asked to serve as ATS contact persons for their own communities. (Since the October meeting, contact persons have been identified in some fifty cities and towns. They are being supplied with additional materials for outreach and with suggestions as to how they might spread the idea of civilian-based defense in their areas.)

ATS, like many groups, must accomplish its goals with inadequate funding and with much volunteer effort. While accepting this handicap we are nonetheless determined to gather as much funding as we can to enable the idea of civilian-based defense to be disseminated more widely. Each director at the Detroit meeting made a personal commitment to fund-raising. Additionally, it was decided that our members would be approached twice each year, in November and in May. ATS income in 1986 totalled \$10,526.16. In 1987, our goal is \$30,000.

Much discussion at the 1986 Board meeting centered around our purpose as an organization in relation to what other groups are doing. ATS directors are involved citizens, acutely aware of defects and injustices in our own society, many of which virtually cry out for attention. It was recognized that efforts to correct these societal defects and injustices have a close relationship to our own purpose, especially since nonviolent sanctions are often employed as part of an overall strategy by groups attempting to address these problems. Directors discussed whether any harm might result from using the term "civilian-based defense" to describe such efforts. They do seem to be "defensive" in nature, even though

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they are directed against established, legitimate government. Should ATS consider these diverse efforts to be true civilian-based defense? If so, would we not then be able to identify with a vast number of citizens who are working for societal justice according to their own insights?

In the end the directors decided to reaffirm the importance of these other struggles for justice while declining to call any one of them "civilian-based defense". They preferred to use the words "social defense" to describe such activities, or also, "nonviolent struggle for social defense". The idea of civilian-based defense could then be more easily preserved from possible confusion with sometimes conflicting movements and ideologies - a confusion which could prevent it being considered on its own merits. The Association will use the phrase "civilian-based defense" to refer only to a pre-arranged policy providing for national defense against external aggression or internal coup d'etat, and using civilian means of struggle. Our organization's resources will be devoted to advancing the consideration of CBD, all the while recognizing the validity of our members' personal involvement in many different kinds of nonviolent struggle for social defense.

The next meeting of the ATS Board is scheduled for the weekend of October 16th to 18th, in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

WRITE A LETTER...DESIGN A STAMP

We want to hear from our readers. Write a letter to the editor, and to add something interesting how about designing a stamp? We would like to head each letter to the editor with a commemorative stamp celebrating and/or demonstrating civilian-based defense.

We'll collect all the designs you submit and, who knows? Maybe one day the United States Post Office will ask for our unique collection of stamp ideas - from the early days, before CBD was national policy...



NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE IN THE NEWS

In this new section of our newsletter we will print some of the best stories of present-day nonviolent struggle that we receive from our readers or glean from the newspapers. When we read about the ability of common people to wield power and control the abusive power of others, without violence, we begin to grasp the great potential of the technique of nonviolent struggle, even in terms of future national defense.

The following article is our first selection for this column.

Practicing Nonviolence on the West Bank

NORTHWEST of Jerusalem, on the West Bank, stands the Palestinian village of Qatanna. Last January, when residents decided to stage a protest against the Israelis' encroachment, they first familiarized themselves with an unusual set of instructions: no throwing stones, no bringing farm implements that the Israelis might mistake for makeshift weapons, no running away, no resisting arrest. If the soldiers arrest you, the protesters were told, just sit there and let yourselves be carried off.

Stirring up these echoes of Gandhian nonviolence on the West Bank is Dr. Mubarak Awad, a husky, amiable, Palestinian psychologist who in 1985 founded the Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence in Jerusalem. Born in that city in 1943, he credits his mother, a poor, widowed Greek Orthodox Christian, with being his first teacher of nonviolence.

"Don't take another man's life," he remembers her saying to him. "Don't make widows and orphans who will have to suffer like us." Later in his youth, he came under other influences. "I was impressed by the drive of the Mennonites and Quakers to do good, and I was interested in knowing about that drive."

In 1969, after being jailed by the Israelis, he left for America and enrolled in Bluffton College, a Mennonite school in Bluffton, Ohio. During the years of protest against the Vietnam war, Awad joined the Mennonites in their dissent and found himself thinking, Why can't the Palestinians rise up nonviolently, without guns, against oppression?

In 1983 he returned to the West Bank, took a job as a counselor of schoolchildren, and began putting his ideas into action. Predictably, many Palestinians thought he was mad. Nevertheless, handfuls of villagers have suppressed their doubts, deciding that nonviolent action is at least better than no action, safer than violent action and more gratifying than legal action.

WHEN THE Israeli settlers of Tekoa, near Bethlehem, moved a fence onto their neighbors' land, the aggrieved villagers sought out Awad and talked the matter over with him. It was decided that the

fence should be torn down and moved back. This was accomplished in the presence of armed settlers, who, perhaps taken aback by the boldness of the action, did nothing. It marked the first time any West Bank villagers had recovered land that was taken from them.

The action at Qatanna, however, was triggered not by the taking of land but by the taking of trees. Palestinian farmers had discovered a group of Israelis from the Nature Preservation Authority uprooting their olive trees. The farmers went immediately to Jerusalem and returned with Awad to the grove where the uprooting continued. Confronted by the group, the Israelis drove off with the trees, which they replanted inside Israel.

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PERSONAL REFLECTIONS on Civilian-Based Defense

By Mel Beckman
Coordinator, A.T.S.

When I first became socially conscious I elected to become a peace educator and sometimes-activist. I was involved at the Omaha peace center in a long list of causes over a period of ten years. I and others there supported an end to U.S. military involvement in Vietnam, counselled conscientious objectors and worked on amnesty for draft evaders. Later we opposed the B-1 bomber and discouraged capital punishment for criminals, JROTC for teens and televised violence for all. We gave considerable time and energy to support native Americans, the United Nations, UNICEF, community-based corrections, non-competitive games and university-level peace studies. I think all of these involvements were worthwhile.

My interest in civilian-based defense began with a chance reading of WAR WITHOUT WEAPONS: NON-VIOLENCE IN NATIONAL DEFENSE, by Boserup and Mack. It was a surprise to me to learn that a substantial body of literature existed on the subject and that defense by nonviolent resistance was being taken seriously in some quarters. I had heard of the idea once before, in the late fifties, but at that time the idea did not seem plausible to me. Now I was ready for it, and anxious to learn more about it, probably because in the meantime I had become familiar with the writings of Gene Sharp. I understood better the practicality of nonviolent struggle in general and could now grasp its potential for use in national defense. I was relieved to have found an idea for national defense which I could recommend to others who, like myself, were concerned both about adequate defense and about morality.

Our first CBD-related activity in Omaha was a year-long "Inquiry Into Transarmament". This was done under the sponsorship of the Metro Omaha Peace Association (the organization from which A.T.S. evolved) and with the help of a grant from the Roman Catholic Sisters of Mercy Community. This effort culminated in a 1978

public conference on transarmament. With the help of funding from the Nebraska Committee for the Humanities, we were able to invite Gene Sharp and Anders Boserup to be with us. Another public conference on the subject was held four years later, in 1982, and soon afterwards a decision was made to have the Metro Omaha Peace Association become the Association for Transarmament Studies - a national organization.

Today I see myself as primarily a defense educator and give as much time as I can to advancing the concept of civilian-based defense. I miss peace education, however, and sometimes envy those who are doing it. In the short term, positive work for peace and justice is personally very satisfying. On the other hand, I remember that it could be frustrating too. We always seemed to be at odds with the majority of good people who were, admittedly, too willing to accept violence and close their eyes to injustice, but who had a genuine concern for security. We peace educators did not have a proposal which the majority of citizens could accept as supportive of both peace and security.

I think civilian-based defense is such a proposal and that is why I give time to it. In A.T.S. we talk less about peace and more about defense. It remains to be seen whether we can do something for world peace by promoting non-military defense but I am confident that we can and we will.

* * * * *

TELL US YOUR STORY...how did you come to be interested in CBD? What are you thinking about it now? Thousand words maximum. Send to: Liane Norman, 1139 Wightman St., Pittsburgh, PA 15217. If your story is chosen for publication you will receive \$50.

NEWS FROM THE PROGRAM ON NONVIOLENT SANCTIONS IN CONFLICT AND DEFENSE - HARVARD

Since its origin several years ago, the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions has undergone considerable expansion. The Program's most recent report, covering the period from August of 1985 to December of 1986, describes the research of numerous scholars who are affiliated in various ways with the Program. Alex Schmid of the Netherlands, Ralph Summy from Australia and Jacques Semelin from France are among those whose work is described.

Alex Schmid's work is supported by a grant from the Albert Einstein Institution and by the NATO Fellowship Program. While at the Program he is analysing terrorist strategies and looking into the feasibility of nonviolent counter-strategies.

Ralph Summy is a visiting Scholar at the Program. His work involves the development of a political strategy to promote serious discussion of the notion of CBD among Australian defense elites as well as the public at large.

Jacques Semelin, a Post-doctoral Fellow, co-authored LA DISSUASION CIVILE (Fondation pour les Etudes de Defense Nationale, 1985) with Christian Mellon and Jean-Marie Muller. He is continuing his work on comparative resistance from the World War II period, looking at forty cases of mass nonviolent resistance in Europe. He will produce a book elucidating the strategic implications for civilian-based defense arising from this body of resistance experiences.

A book by Peter Ackerman and Christopher Kruegler is scheduled for completion this year. Entitled NONVIOLENT SANCTIONS: THEIR STRATEGIC USE IN CONFLICT AND DEFENSE, the book will present a comparative analysis of six cases of nonviolent struggle, resulting in a comprehensive strategic model for the use of nonviolent sanctions, and will conclude with a discussion of the policy implications of that model in various theaters of conflict.

Another book due to go to the publisher very soon is Patricia Parkman's NONVIOLENT INSURRECTION IN EL SALVADOR: THE CIVIC STRIKE OF 1944. It is a case history of the nonviolent struggle which dissolved the long-standing dictatorship of General Hernandez Martinez.

Visiting Scholar Ronald McCarthy will be trying to complete the Program's annotated bibliography project by this Fall. This project involves production of a comprehensive guide to the published books in English on nonviolent struggle. A large body of literature on the subject is not being used because there is no guide to its existence or content. The annotated bibliography should correct this situation by providing a much needed research and reference tool for the field.

The Program on Nonviolent Sanctions is seeking funding for a new effort called the INSTITUTIONAL TERROR PROJECT. If funded, this project will examine how nonviolent struggle might offer an alternative to guerrilla warfare and civil war for democratic forces in Latin America which seek to oppose dictatorships using terror to maintain their rule.

The Albert Einstein Institution, an independent tax-exempt foundation founded in 1983 to support research, policy studies, etc., concerning nonviolent alternatives, is now Gene Sharp's primary affiliation. One of his responsibilities as its President is to direct the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions at Harvard. This arrangement relieves him of the necessity to travel twice a week to teach for a living, and allows more time for developing new work in the field of nonviolent sanctions.

In the immediate short term, according to the Program's recent report, Sharp will be giving attention to completion of THE VOCABULARY OF CIVILIAN STRUGGLE. This volume will carry an essay on politics and language. It will provide a technical vocabulary to solve the problems of conceptualization, terminology and definition in the field. The present draft includes 706 definitions related to civilian-based defense, nonviolent action, strategy, social change, political theory, social movements, guerrilla war, repression,

dictatorship, principled nonviolence, political ideology, and domestic and international conflict resolution.

For more information one may write to: Program on Nonviolent Sanctions, Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, 1737 Cambridge Street, Cambridge, MA 02138. Telephone: 617-495-5580

FOREIGN NEWSLETTER SUBSCRIPTIONS

The Association for Transarmament Studies would like to plant the idea of civilian-based defense all over the world. One way in which we can spread the idea is by sending our newsletter abroad, to English-speaking individuals in other countries. We presently send mail to nineteen other nations: Canada, New Zealand, Malta, Australia, Costa Rica, Ireland, Great Britain, Norway, France, Italy, Austria, Switzerland, Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, Belgium, West Germany, Finland and Hungary. We would like to do more of this.

Please consider giving gift subscriptions (\$7.50 per year) to institutions, individuals or organizations you know in other countries.

Admittedly, this project is a little like planting acorns and hoping for large oak trees. Some of us may never see the oaks but it would be a great thrill to watch some seedlings sprout! We think the idea of civilian-based defense, if once planted, could take root in many places in the world.

If you would like to help please take these steps: send \$7.50 to A.T.S., together with the name and address of the foreign recipient, plus a little information about the recipient for our files. Then send a note to the recipient (or ask us to do it) advising him/her of the gift. If you have no contacts abroad but would like to see this project spread, send a contribution to A.T.S. earmarked for foreign subscriptions. Thank you.

ATTENTION ARTISTS

We need more visual images to convey the idea of civilian-based defense. Very little creative illustration has been done for this subject. ATS will pay \$20 (more if we can) for illustrations, cartoons and other art work used in this newsletter. Send your work to: ATS, 3636 Lafayette Avenue, Omaha, NE 68131. Unused submissions will be returned.

BOOK REVIEWS

AMMUNITION FOR PEACEMAKERS: ANSWERS FOR
ACTIVISTS By Phillips P. Moulton.
New York, Pilgrim Press, 1986. Paper, 152 pages.

Review by Liane Ellison Norman

AMMUNITION FOR PEACEMAKERS, which won the Pilgrim Press Book Competition for 1986, is a lucid, good-tempered, useful look at all of the major justifications for the nuclear arms race. It reminds me somewhat of Robert W. Malcolmsen's NUCLEAR FALLACIES: HOW WE HAVE BEEN MISGUIDED SINCE HIROSHIMA (1985, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal, Canada). Each -- using the English language beautifully -- scrutinizes the arguments that peace advocates hear with the monotonous regularity that signifies orthodoxy challenged. Each does the bellicose position the honor of taking it seriously, thinking through its arguments, responding rationally, lucidly and without scorn. Malcolmsen is interested in the scientific history of the bomb, but is vague with regard to positive steps beyond the mutual recognition by Cold War adversaries that they have a common interest in preventing mutual annihilation. Moulton is particularly strong in his discussion of the ethical dimensions of nuclear weaponry and of civilian-based defense as a realistic substitute for warfare. Taken together, these volumes, each with nice bibliographies, would make excellent material for classroom and/or study-group use.

Moulton examines the war system in both pragmatic and moral terms, both done well, but particularly the latter. "Let us think further about what killing people means," he invites his reader. The quality of kindness toward his reader, I think, stems from an assumption, made explicit. "I believe that a moral law operates in the universe." He wants his reader to think hard and carefully, but he does not try to terrify the reader nor does he hector. For example he looks at the argument that "...to defend freedom we should be willing to die, if necessary, for death is not the worst evil." He goes on to explain that,

"This appears reasonable until we examine it more closely. Then we note its false assumptions and serious perversion of values. First, look at the assertion that the loss of life is preferable to the loss of freedom. Whether or not that is true, it obscures the fact that voluntary exposure to death is not a goal of war. The real aim is not to die, but to kill. The ethical difference between being willing to sacrifice one's own life and being ready to kill is expressed sharply by Edna St. Vincent Millay: 'I shall die, but that is all that I shall do for Death. I am not on his pay-roll.'

Moulton's clarity, the cleanness of his prose, and his care to keep the reader nearby as he reasons are significant virtues, as is his presentation of civilian-based defense, which he begins with a look at the inadequacy of violence, a rare practice. The same

evidence that leads many to despair -- that knowledge of nuclear weapons cannot be expunged -- leads Moulton to "...the opposite conclusion. [that] Whether we approach the issue from a moral, biblical, or practical perspective, it seems to me that we must come up with the same answer: Eventually we need to abandon war as our method of defense."

Civilian-based defense, mistakenly rejected as passive and inactive by many whose concern is national defense, is also rejected by some pacifists who worry about the coercive power of CBD. Moulton argues that,

"...when one makes a decision on ethical grounds, such as to reject violence, added insight, power, and creativity are gained for the employment of appropriate methods...This is akin to the Christian faith that after a radical moral decision is made, further light is granted and the decision validated. In this way, such an ethical basis for a nonviolent defense system, although not essential to its practical effectiveness, would probably contribute to it."

Thus, whether or not CBD were to be undertaken for moral reasons, its practice would not impose the ethical strain on either individuals or societies that the practice of violent defense creates.

The one caveat I have about Moulton's book is the title. What peacemakers need is not ammunition: it doesn't matter whether we win arguments or not. What matters is whether we understand our power -- and are able to empower others -- to resist the war system, using the same strategies as would be used to resist other impositions of illegitimate government.

At the October meeting of ATS directors there was much discussion of terms: should resistance to war be called "civilian-based defense" or should that term be reserved to name national defense policy? It was decided to designate national defense "civilian-based defense" and to call the struggle against other unacceptable policies and practices "social defense." (Thus, Poland's Solidarity, I should think, qualifies for the latter term, and perhaps even the popular overthrow of Ferdinand Marcos.)

The advantage of using social defense for the eventual institution and practice of civilian-based defense, I think, are two. First, the struggle against, say, nuclear weapons or male violence against women or other forms of oppression, is good "basic training" for CBD. Second, that being the case, there is no need for the moral inversion that exists now between methods for domestic struggle and those required for defensive fighting where warfare is the means of defense: as it is now, young men are expected to turn civic values on their heads in order to defend them by military means. I should add that the reason I would expect governments to be reluctant to adopt CBD as national policy, is their awareness that the same methods could be used with regard to other policies, because CBD is inherently democratic.

My objection to the title of Moulton's book,

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which is itself admirable, is not small. I find that many people who think of themselves as peacemakers see their task as primarily intellectual -- answering the arguments of orthodoxy, rather than hearing the deep and irrational distresses that underly them. Warfare has been seen as the only manifestation of power; the virtues of warfare have been equated with manhood, the roles of victim or executioner (as Camus put it) have been seen as the only roles available for too long for alternatives to be easy to discern. While it is extremely useful to think through the arguments that buttress warfare, even in nuclear circumstances, it may be that practicing social defense is the best way to advocate civilian-based defense.

* * * * *

Practicing Nonviolence on the West Bank

The simplicity and practicality of Awad's response is reminiscent of Gandhi's famous march to the sea, where he made salt to protest the British monopoly on making it. Awad chose to plant trees to protest the piracy of trees. In planting new trees where the old ones had stood, he demonstrated how a wantonly destructive act can be superseded by a defiantly creative one. Like the making of salt by the sea, the replanting of trees at Qatanna showed the absurdity of treating as subversive the natural and the essential.

Perhaps even stranger than the act of nonviolence was the presence among the protesters of an Israeli support group. Awad accepts Israelis' participation in Palestinian actions as long as the villagers approve, and as long as only one Israeli group participates in each action. "Israelis tend to take over," Awad observes.

The Israelis at Qatanna consisted of members and friends of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, an organization dedicated to nonviolence. When Awad first mentioned to the villagers that some Israelis were interested in joining them, they were skeptical. Some said that in that case they would be too afraid to participate (Israelis expressed similar fears); others simply didn't want them to come. "In the village," said Awad, "the only time they see Israelis is when soldiers come with machine guns to destroy a house or to take someone to jail. They never even see them with their hats off, always in full army dress." In the end, most villagers agreed to accept the Israelis.

In the early '80s, Israeli students and teachers crossed over to the West Bank to demonstrate on behalf of their Palestinian counterparts at Bir Zeit University, which had been closed down by the military authorities. But at Qatanna, there was no such peer-to-peer bridge for the two sides to cross. Israelis and Palestinians had to leap into the void together.

To the Israeli soldiers who met Awad's group at the olive grove, the event must have been terribly confusing: a West Bank protest without stones or curses. And with Israelis. Perhaps because of the Israelis, and perhaps also because of the peaceful nature of the protest, the soldiers made no arrests, nor did they harass the group.

The harassment was done by the Nature Preservation Society. When members of the group planted a tree, someone from Nature Preservation promptly uprooted it and threw it aside. The villagers would then try to plant it again, with the same result. With one tree, this process was repeated ten or 11 times. To defuse the situation, which had begun to grow tense, the army stepped in to arrange a truce, directing everyone to leave the area, and saying that the trees should be left standing and the matter settled in court. As a conciliatory gesture—one as uncommon on the West Bank as summer snow—the villagers invited the soldiers to eat with them. A few actually did.

The nonviolent dissenters may have had the strength to penetrate momentarily the hardened wall of hostility separating Palestinian from Israeli, but they were not able to work miracles. The next day, when an Israeli TV man who had been part of the support group went to Qatanna with a camera crew to film the trees, he discovered that they were gone. The army's assurances had meant nothing. Awad's group had been betrayed.

But for West Bankers, it was betrayal with a difference: this time, Palestinians *and* Israelis had been betrayed. When the TV man made this betrayal—and his own anger—known in the media, many Israelis voiced their disapproval at what the military had allowed to happen. Thus, for Awad and the cause of Palestinian nonviolence, the Qatanna action was a partial victory wrapped inside a partial defeat. Underscoring both aspects was a final, ironic fact: some of the stolen olive trees wound up in the soil of the Martin Luther King, Jr., Memorial in Jerusalem.

Robert Hirschfield.

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1986 issue of The Christian Century.

OUTREACH

Think of the person in your community who seems to be most concerned about defense matters - no matter whether the person is Republican or Democrat, "hawk" or "dove". Give him/her a copy of NATIONAL SECURITY THROUGH CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE. Send along a personal note affirming the person's concern and urge attention to CBD as an alternative to be considered.



MEMO TO LIBRARIANS

SUBJECT: MATERIALS RELATING TO CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE AND NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE

The potential of nonviolent civilian-based defense as a future substitute for military defense has been discussed for several decades in Europe. More recently, this discussion has spread to other parts of the world, including the United States, Canada, Latin America, Australia, New Zealand and the Mideast. Assemblies of Roman Catholic and United Methodist bishops have urged their churches to study the concept. At Harvard University's Center for International Affairs the "Program on Nonviolent Sanctions in Conflict and Defense" was instituted some years ago to examine civilian-based defense and the technique of nonviolent struggle in general. Please consider making material on this subject available to library users in your city or school.

MAKING EUROPE UNCONQUERABLE by Gene Sharp. Paper, 252 pages, 1985. \$14.95, from Ballinger Publishing Co., 54 Church Street, Harvard Square, Cambridge, MA 02138.

SOCIAL POWER AND POLITICAL FREEDOM by Gene Sharp. 456 pages. 1980. \$15.95 Cloth/ \$8.95 Paper, from Porter Sargent Publishers, 11 Beacon Street, Boston, MA 02108.

GANDHI AS A POLITICAL STRATEGIST by Gene Sharp. 384 pages. 1979. \$14.95 Cloth/ \$7.95 Paper, from Porter Sargent Publ.

POLITICS OF NONVIOLENT ACTION by Gene Sharp. 3 Volumes, 1973. Paper. Porter Sargent Publ.
Part I - \$3.95. Part II - \$4.95. Part III - \$5.95.

NATIONAL SECURITY THROUGH CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE by Gene Sharp. Paper, 96 pages. 1985. \$4.95 from the Association for Transarmament Studies, 3636 Lafayette Avenue, Omaha, NE 68131.

"CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE: NEWS & OPINION" - Quarterly ten-page newsletter of the Association for Transarmament Studies. ISSN 0886-6015. Contains world news, opinion, announcements, book reviews and other material relating to civilian-based defense. Subscription: \$5.00 per year. \$7.50 outside the United States.

FOR MORE INFORMATION: A.T.S., 3636 Lafayette, Omaha, NE
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