

Civilian - Based Defense: News & Opinion

A PUBLICATION OF THE CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE ASSOCIATION

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Civilian-Based Defense and United States Universities

By Melvin G. Beckman

If an idea like civilian-based defense is to become part of the consciousness of a society it is very important that students in the universities have a chance to study it. Earlier this year we contacted members of the Civilian-Based Defense Association who are associated with universities and asked them how CBD is being considered on their campuses. Their responses have made it possible to put together the following report on the kinds of exposure which some United States university students are receiving to the idea of civilian-based defense.

It appears that civilian-based defense is being introduced on-campus most commonly in one of two ways - in the classroom as part of an already established course - or, as the lecture topic of a guest speaker on campus.

IN THE CLASSROOM

Classroom consideration of CBD is sometimes as short as one lecture or it might be carried on for a week or more. Prof. Neil Katz at Syracuse University includes at least one lecture per semester in introductory courses and makes use of the CBD Introductory Packet produced by CBDA. Prof. Vincent Kavaloski spends a week or two on CBD in his Philosophy courses at University of Wisconsin Centers - Richland, as part of a unit on "Alternatives to Militarism".

CBD is introduced to students in a wide variety of courses offered by various university departments. Professor Norman Freund at Clarke College, Dubuque, Iowa, spends considerable time covering the theory and practice of CBD in his "Philosophy of Peace and War" course. In a course with that same title, Professor Dan Dombrowski at Omaha's Creighton University discusses CBD within the framework of alternatives to the just war theory. Prof. Walter Conser, in the Dept. of Philosophy and Religion at the University of North Carolina at Wilmington, offers a course entitled "Religious Reform in Modern America". His students read NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST AND CHRISTIAN HOPE by Ronald Sider and Mark Taylor. (Section IV deals with non-military defense) He discusses the differences

between Sider's theological and Sharp's pragmatic approach to CBD. He also discusses with them the American Catholic bishops' consideration of "popular defense".

Prof. John Beer, with the History Dept. at the University of Delaware at Newark, teaches a seminar on the Gandhian approach to life, in which CBD is prominently mentioned and critiqued. He also teaches a course on "The Atomic Age" in which CBD is mentioned as a potential alternative to nuclear defense.

Prof. Leonard Gambrell introduces his students to CBD in two Political Science courses at the University of Wisconsin at Eau Claire. One is a survey course entitled "Conditions of War and Peace" and the other is a more analytical course on nonviolent power entitled "Nonviolent Power and Action". A topical outline of the latter course is presented elsewhere in this issue as an example of how the concept of "power" can and should be broadened at the academic level.

At Whitworth College in Spokane, Washington, Prof. John C. Yoder raises the question of civilian-based defense toward the end of his introductory course, "International Relations". He also deals with it, in a religious context, as part of his "History of Nonviolence" course.

Prof. Robert R. Holt, Dept. of Clinical Psychology at New York University, offers an interdisciplinary course entitled "Nuclear War and Its Prevention". The course includes sections on alternatives to war and alternative security systems.

At Ohio State University, Prof. Chadwick Alger offers a Political Science course entitled "Quest for Peace". Non-military defense is considered, along with 22 other approaches to peace. After the survey course, students are asked to design a peace strategy for the next 25 years that employs a number of these approaches.

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CBD is being introduced at a number of other schools. Professor Joe Bock, at William Jewell College in Liberty, Missouri, provides an opportunity for his students to do research on CBD in his "Senior Seminar in International Relations". Week #13 of the Seminar includes a group discussion and lecture on alternatives to war and a bibliography on CBD is recommended as a resource. In a summer course for women offered last year at Saint Mary College, Leavenworth, Kansas, Sister Constance Phelps used National Security Through Civilian-Based Defense as one of the required reading texts. Professor Stephen G. Rabe at the University of Texas, Dallas, also makes the book required reading in his IS 4342 and discusses CBD in the context of alternatives to war, and peace through strength. Finally, at American University, Washington, D.C., Professor Gareth Porter treats CBD in his Peace and Conflict Resolution Seminar, and Professor Abdul Aziz in his Peace Paradigms class.

GUEST SPEAKER

Students in United States universities have also been introduced to CBD by visiting lecturers, and especially by Gene Sharp. Sharp, formerly Professor of Political Science and Sociology at Southeastern Massachusetts University, is currently President of the Albert Einstein Institution and Program Director of the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions in Conflict and Defense at Harvard University's Center for International Affairs. During the 1986 to 1987 academic year Sharp lectured at: California State University at Fresno, Central Michigan University, University of North Carolina at Wilmington, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Hastings College in Nebraska, Rosemont College, Haverford College, Bryn Mawr College, and Oregon State University. The size of Sharp's audiences on campus has risen from an average of 150-200 in earlier years to a current average of about 700 per lecture.

In summary, it appears that many thousands of United States university students have already been introduced to the concept of CBD and many more are currently studying it. Major credit for this is unquestionably due to the pioneering work of Gene Sharp, both as a lecturer and author on CBD. Increasingly, however, CBD is being seen by many other educators as a subject worth considering in their own classrooms.

NEW BOARD MEMBERS TAKE OFFICE

Five new directors were appointed to the Board of the Civilian-Based Defense Association this Fall. They are: Cary Grey (New Hampshire), Robert Holmes (New York), John Mecartney (Michigan), Carol Moore (Washington, DC), and Phillips Moulton (Michigan). Directors continuing on the Board from previous years are: Mel Beckman, Coordinator (Nebraska), Philip Bogdonoff (New York), Walter Conser (North Carolina), Liane Norman (Pennsylvania), Sr. Constance Phelps (Kansas), Margaret Schellenberg (Virginia), and Chet Tchozewski (Colorado).

ASSOCIATION FOR TRANSARMAMENT STUDIES TAKES NEW NAME

Directors of the Association met in Cambridge, Massachusetts during October and chose a new name for the organization - "Civilian-Based Defense Association". Their intention was to allow the purpose of the Association to become more visible in the name itself. Directors declined to limit the organization's boundaries to any one country or region. Membership continues to be open to individuals, groups and institutions throughout the world. The Association for Transarmament Studies was organized in 1982 to encourage and facilitate public attention to the idea of a non-military alternative for defense. This work will now continue and be intensified as the organization begins its second five years with a new name.

NONVIOLENT POLITICAL POWER AND ACTION

Ed. Note: The following topical outline and timetable is taken from Professor Leonard Gambrell's description of his course, Political Science 333, offered at the University of Wisconsin, Eau Claire, in Spring, 1987. It is presented here as one example of how the subjects of nonviolent political power and civilian-based defense can be examined in the university classroom.

I. POLITICAL POWER; NONVIOLENT VS "TRADITIONAL" PERSPECTIVES (Two weeks)

- 1) Read first 36 pages of People Power, David Albert.
- 2) Review Gene Sharp's conceptual view of power in The Politics of Nonviolent Action, 1973. Chapter 1.
- 3) Satyagraha: Its basic ingredients. Conquest of Violence, Joan V. Bondurant (1958) Chs. 1 and 2.
- 4) "Understanding Political Power," Leonard Gambrell.
- 5) World Politics (1981), Bruce Russett and Harvey Starr, Ch. 6.

II. NONVIOLENCE AND POLITICAL THEORY (Two weeks)

- 1) "Rethinking Politics," from Sharp, Social Power, Ch. 1.
- 2) Civil Disobedience in a Democracy: Sharp, Social Power, Ch. 5.
- 3) Gandhian Dialectic and Political Theory: Conquest of Violence, Bondurant (1958), Ch. 6.

III. THE DYNAMICS OF NONVIOLENT POWER (One week)

- 1) "How is Success Achieved?" David Albert, pp. 37-62.
- 2) Political jiu-jitsu: The Politics of Nonviolent Action, Ch. 12.
- 3) Ways Success May be Achieved: The Politics of Nonviolent Action, Ch. 13.

IV. NONVIOLENT POWER: SOCIAL STRUCTURES AND POLITICAL BEHAVIOR (Two weeks)

- 1) Structures of political power: Social Power and Political Freedom, Gene Sharp, Ch. 2.
- 2) Gandhi's Political Significance: Gandhi as a Political Strategist, Gene Sharp (1979), Chs. 1-5.

V. APPLICATIONS I: INTERNAL FOCUS/INSTRUMENT FOR POLITICAL CHANGE (Two weeks)

- 1) "The Druze of the Golan", R. Scott Kennedy from Awad & Kennedy, Nonviolent Struggle in the Middle East, pp. 5-21.
- 2) (A) Facing Dictatorships: Aspects of Totalitarian Systems, E.K. Bramsted in Roberts, pp. 47-84.
(B) Gene Sharp, Social Power and Political Freedom, Ch. 4.
- 3) (A) Overthrowing Oppression: Sharp, Social Power, Ch. 7.
(B) Nonviolent Resistance: "A Strategy for the Occupied Territories", Mubarak Awad, pp. 4-11.
- 4) Radical Change: Sharp, Social Power, Ch. 8.
- 5) Analogy with Guerrilla Strategy: War Without Weapons, Anders Boserup and Andrew Mack (1975), Ch. 4.

VI. APPLICATIONS II. INTERNAL FOCUS/ PREVENTING CHANGE. (One week)

- 1) Preventing the Coup d'etat: D.J. Goodspeed in Civilian Resistance as a National Defense, ed. Adam Roberts (1969), Ch. 2, pp. 31-46.
- 2) "Lessons from Resistance Movements, Guerrilla and Nonviolent", B.H. Liddell Hart in Roberts, Ch.9, pp. 195-211.
- 3) Preventing Genocide: "The Lesson of Eichman", Social Power and Political Freedom, Gene Sharp, Ch. 3.
- 4) Norway & Czechoslovakia: "Nonviolent Resistance to Occupation": Paul Wehr in Bruyn & Rayman, Ch. 10. See also Wehr's analysis of Norway in Conflict Regulation.
- 5) Denmark: "Aggressive Nonviolence", Paul Wehr in In Response to Aggression, Arnold Goldstein, Edward Carr, William Davidson and Paul Wehr (1981), Ch. 11.

VII. APPLICATIONS III: DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONAL NONVIOLENT DEFENSE STRATEGY (Two and a half weeks)

- 1) Preparation for Nonviolent National Defense: Gandhi as a Political Strategist, Ch. 7, 8.
- 2) Gandhi as a National Defense Strategist in Gandhi as a Political Strategist, Ch. 9.
- 3) National Security Through Civilian-Based Defense, Gene Sharp, pp.9-51.
- 4) Nonviolent Defense in Classical Strategic Theory: War Without Weapons, Boserup & Mack, Ch. 10.
- 5) Making Europe Unconquerable.

VIII. IMPLEMENTING NONVIOLENCE THEORY FOR TRANSITION (One week)

- 1) Review Chapters 10,11 and concentrate on Ch. 12 from Gene Sharp's Social Power and Political Freedom.

IX. NEEDED RESEARCH AND PROSPECTS FOR FUTURE (One week)

- 1) Research areas on nonviolent alternatives: National Security Through Civilian-Based Defense, Gene Sharp, pp. 57-92.
- 2) Alex Schmid questionnaire (handout).
- 3) "On the Possibility of Nonviolent Political Science," Glenn D. Paige, Shinshiten (New Viewpoints Toward the 21st Century), Tokyo, Fall, 1982 and "Nonviolent Political Science" paper given at XIth World Congress of the International Political Science Association, 1979.

SMALL GROUP STRUCTURE AND CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE

By Cary Grey

The use of nonviolent tactics and strategy in social change and revolution has seen an upswing in recent years. Along with this increase in activity has come a structural phenomenon that ties together a number of nonviolent movements, i.e., small groups. Whether they are the "affinity groups" of the U.S. social change movement or the "basic Christian communities" of Latin America and the Philippines, they are groups of between three and about twenty, closely knit and cohesive, and connected to one another by an exchange of information and/or representatives. Usually they share a strong moral or spiritual basis and a powerful commitment to their cause, and to one another.

Small groups are a naturally occurring and recurrent theme in human society. People tend to be happier, more productive, and more courageous when working in a group than when alone or as one in a mass. Groups have more skills and flexibility than individuals, and, when joined together by a common purpose and good intercommunication, small groups can have considerable impact beyond their own numbers.

Small groups have for some time had a prominent place in both conventional and guerilla warfare, and in underground movements. The effectiveness of squads and teams working individually or collectively in combat situations has been studied extensively. Most modern armies are now structured deliberately around groups of from three to five men. Underground movements have found small groups to be an aid in keeping security intact. "Cells" of members known only to one another by code name and connected by elaborate communications systems can limit the damage done to a larger body by accidental discovery or infiltration.

In designing a CBD system it will be important to consider the use of small groups in the overall structure. They could be useful in a wide variety of areas. For instance, neighborhood groups could organize sections of cities and towns, acting as communication and information centers for both the population and the CBD leadership. Groups in various industries could coordinate strikes, slowdowns

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and other economic activities. Groups in churches, such as the basic Christian communities, could give moral and spiritual leadership to the community. Groups in the media could provide underground broadcast and communications capacities. Groups in schools and universities could organize resistance among the students and faculty. There are many other areas where small groups could prove very effective in a CBD system. Teams of trainers could organize groups continuously as needed during active engagement. With a body of basic skills in CBD and group operations, small groups can respond as needed to organize demonstrations, print newsletters, collect and distribute food and medical supplies, provide protection and escape for defecting soldiers and targeted individuals, etc. Some groups can be permanent fixtures of the system, others formed and dissolved as needed.

Small groups could also be a powerful tool for maintaining nonviolent discipline during active engagement. Members of groups reinforce one another in commitment to nonviolence, support each other under stress, and when trained in crowd dynamics, can provide control and guidance during mass actions, and can identify and handle provocateurs and infiltrators. Groups, given the kind of support and protection often given guerrilla units by their communities, could organize sanctions against individuals or other groups which advocate violence or collaboration with the opponent.

Small groups organized within existing political districts or boundaries could form the basis for a shadow government. Elections could be run, courts operated, laws enacted and enforced, in spite of the activities of any puppet government installed by an opponent. Bureaucratic resistance to a puppet ruler could also be coordinated by small groups.

Such groups as I have described above will need to be well trained and effectively coordinated. A central training organization will need to be designed which can provide basic skills and materials to groups, specialized and technical training when needed, and problem solving both within and between groups. Leadership training can be provided to all groups, and individuals or groups displaying leadership capacities can be noted and given commensurate responsibilities. Coordinating between and among groups could be handled by a group representative or "spoke". Groups could be organized by geographic area or by function. At certain times it will be more useful to have a meeting of neighborhood groups, or of groups in a certain industry. Rotation of the "spoke" position within a group would make it more difficult for opponents to identify leaders. Continuous leadership training will also provide constant replacement for those who may be arrested or killed during engagement.

Operations of a group will need to be maintained both locally and nationally so that actions can be coordinated and problems handled before they become large. It would be useful to have groups based internationally to build support for the embattled nation and these will also need central

coordination. Whether this central coordination will be handled by government leaders, CBD system officials previously designated, or an individual or group arising from within the system during engagement, will need to be considered more completely (if we in fact have a choice about it).

Whatever form of leadership the CBD system ultimately takes, small groups could be a powerful tool for achieving goals, from the first open displays of resistance to the final re-establishment of a legitimate national government. They could also, through such displays as local and nationwide CBD "drills", provide a measure of deterrence to potential opponents. As with any weapon, the best CBD system will be the one that never needs to be used.

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS



MEXICO

According to Caridad Inda of CIRIMEX (Centro Internacional De Recursos), Gene Sharp's Defense By Societal Power is in the final translation stages and interested publishers in various Latin American countries are being sought. CIRIMEX has created a two-day workshop in Spanish using the key words and ideas presented by Gene Sharp in this book and has given the workshop at two different sites in Mexico on an experimental basis. Caridad Inda and CIRIMEX can be contacted at Fernando De Alba 659 COL. Chapalita, COD. POST. 45000 TEL. 21 48 78, Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico.

The "Comite de Resistencia Civil" in Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua, Mexico has completed and will soon have for sale copies of a Spanish summary translation of Sharp's three-volume The Politics of Nonviolent Action. For more information one may contact Jaime Gonzalez Bernal, Rep. de Chile 184 Sur, Cd. Juarez, Chihuahua, Mexico.

THE NETHERLANDS

Lineke Schakenbos and the Dutch Network on Social Defence can be reached by writing to the address of Women for Peace, Postbus 963 - 3800 AZ Amersfoort, The Netherlands. Phone: 033-622755.

IRELAND

The "Centre for Peace Research and Social Alternatives" has been established in Dublin and attached to the Saor Ollscoil na hEireann (Free University of Ireland). Sean English, Centre Coordinator and a lecturer in the Peace Studies division of the Free University, reports that such topics as "Making Europe Unconquerable" and "Alternative Defence Strategies" are included in lectures and use is being made of materials contained in Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion. To contact Sean English, write to: 2 Poplar Square, Naas, County Kildare, Ireland.

UNITED STATES

According to a July, 1987 progress report from the Albert Einstein Institution, a series of volumes are in preparation under the general editorship of Gene Sharp on the governmental and military consideration of the potential of nonviolent resistance in national defense. Documents have been gathered for several European countries. The aim is to publish the full text of translated official documents, along with descriptive accounts of the development and consideration of the concept of civilian-based defense in each country. The volume closest to completion focuses on Finland. It will include two governmental reports from the 1970s translated by Steven Huxley, an account by Huxley of the political consideration of CBD, and a commentary by a Finnish Army colonel. Other countries from which documents have been obtained include Norway, Sweden, France, Switzerland, and Yugoslavia.

PERSONAL REFLECTIONS On Civilian-Based Defense

"I Would Prefer Not To"

by

Liane Ellison Norman

In graduate school, where I studied English and American literature, I studied Melville's strange and intriguing story, "Bartleby the Scrivener." A nineteenth-century Wall Street lawyer hires a pallid young man as a scrivener, the word processor of the period, to copy legal documents. For a while, Bartleby is an exemplary employee in an office with several eccentrics, but when his employer asks Bartleby to go for stamps, Bartleby unaccountably says "I would prefer not to." From that time on, to every request -- including the request to do the job he was hired to do -- Bartleby responds "I would prefer not to," though his reason is never clear. When the lawyer tries to fire his mild but resistant copyist, Bartleby prefers not to leave: faced with this resistance, the lawyer, Bartleby's boss, feels forced to move his offices. When Bartleby is beseeched to be reasonable, he responds calmly, "I would prefer not to be reasonable." Finally, because he will not leave the vacated place of his former employ, Bartleby is taken to prison where he prefers not to eat and dies. He sleeps, muses the puzzled lawyer, with "Kings and councillors."

It is a disconcerting story. The lawyer tells it and the reader identifies with him, experiencing his frustration that as employer, who should be more powerful than an employee, he finds himself stymied by Bartleby's simple obstinacy. This story has always been part of my interest in nonviolent resistance. It has been echoed and reinforced by mutinous children and students, who have been able to prevent me from exercising my nominally greater power. ("Resist Authority," says a button my daughter sometimes wears.)

As a civil rights and anti-war activist, I have always been impressed by how threatened great institutions -- corporations, universities, the government -- seem by what I know to be small, raggedy acts of opposition. As a Rockwell International shareholder, I have sometimes spoken against the nuclear weapons Rockwell makes. I have spoken briefly, in civil terms, eliciting frantic reactions -- unlike the tolerance toward several habitual speakers who always take issue with predictable details of Rockwell's business -- from the Chief Executive Officer, who chairs the meetings. Local resistance to Westinghouse nuclear weapons production by a small, impecunious group has been regarded as a tremendous threat to the Pittsburgh area's largest employer: at present we are posting small, neat stickers asserting that "Westinghouse makes nuclear weapons," which are instantly taken down all over town, unlike Pittsburgh Steelers stickers, pizza decals, ads for lost kittens and house sales. At Carnegie Mellon University, which has a Defense Department contract to make software appropriate for battle management systems, first-strike nuclear capabilities and Star Wars, merely handing out a well-written leaflet has had the campus administration in such an uproar as to abrogate canons of free speech and academic freedom.

These experiences suggest the fragility of power, however entrenched and monied, and its dependence not only on consent, but on the appearance of consent. I believe that all politics, even the politics of warfare, is largely a matter of theatrics, of signifying. Therefore, visible opposition, since it dramatizes that there are other positions, that opposition is possible, renders the status quo tentative, which those who profit from it find intolerable. Hannah Arendt's superb book, Eichmann in Jerusalem, and Gene Sharp's works have been hugely suggestive, of course, as have Thoreau, Tolstoi, Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Thomas Merton, Barbara Deming, Michael Nagler, Shelley and Jim Douglass, Adam Michnik and others.

I'm in agreement with Brian Martin, who argued in the June, 1987, "News & Opinion" that civilian-based defense should be understood as grass-roots social defense. It makes sense to me to make struggle against internal and external threats a seamless web, requiring the same values and states of mind, and to acknowledge the real threats we Americans face, which have nothing to do with foreign conquest. The idea that the best defense against brutal enemies is to prevent them from taking power in the first place, makes sense to me.

I have always been intrigued by the capacity of nonviolent resistance or initiative (by which I mean not only saying no to what is expected, but doing something that is neither authorized nor expected) to create a new "chemistry." Much violence, I think, springs from acting without what Simone Weil calls "pause for reflection." Her wonderful essay, "The Iliad or the Poem of Force," talks about the terrifying and seductive qualities

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of violence. Violence, which Weil calls "force", reduces all those threatened by it to things, even before they become literal things in death. Weil says:

The strong are, as a matter of fact, never absolutely strong, nor are the weak absolutely weak, but neither is aware of this. They have in common a refusal to believe that they both belong to the same species...The man who is the possessor of force seems to walk through a non-resistant element; in the human substance that surrounds him nothing has the power to interpose, between the impulse and the act, the tiny interval that is reflection. where there is no room for reflection, there is none either for justice or prudence...at the time their own destruction seems impossible to them. ...Since other people do not impose on their movements that halt, that interval of hesitation, wherein lies all our consideration for our brothers in humanity, they conclude that destiny has given complete license to them, and none at all to their inferiors.

I think Weil here describes the psychology that makes soldiers kill on command and Nazis and Khmer Rouge functionaries brutal. Such regimes as engage in brutality are made up largely of people who, under different circumstances, are not brutal, but whose cooperation in effecting brutal policies is crucial. (For a good look at the magnitude of cooperation needed to run Nazi death camps, read Jean Francois Steiner's Treblinka.) Their brutality requires either, passivity, which tells the killer or torturer that the victim is a thing, unlike himself; or reciprocal violence, which tells the killer/torturer that it's him or me. When the person who temporarily possesses force encounters neither passivity nor violence, expectations are thwarted and he has that interval of hesitation, that moment for reflection "wherein lies all our consideration for our brothers [and sisters] in humanity."

I founded the Pittsburgh Peace Institute in 1984 largely to teach civilian-based defense theory and instances, thinking at that time that peace activists had not sufficiently attended to the fear of defenselessness many people had. Very quickly after its founding, we realized that the kind of defense now associated with weapons and soldiers is only a small part of the sense of vulnerability and helplessness many people feel. Pittsburghers want to be defended against unemployment, poverty, racism, rape, being sent to Honduras to fight Nicaraguans, incest, nuclear weapons, corporate policy, bad air and water and so on. And so we have expanded our purview, realizing that the same skills needed to defend against these evils can be developed to fight against potential invaders, that the competence and self-esteem required to take on large, powerful and monied interests in these matters are crucial to giving up fantasies of violence.

Like Brian Martin, I do not think appealing to entrenched authorities is a promising direction. For one thing, those who apparently benefit from a system are least likely to want to change it. For another, to

make social change at the top confirms the feelings of powerlessness below that make conquest and tyranny possible. I think my daughter's button is right in urging resistance to authority. I think Solidarity theorist and activist Adam Michnik is right, not only for Poles but for Americans who also exhibit what he calls "the psychology of captivity." For Michnik, the correct strategy is not to ask government for freedom, but to become free by acting as if one were a free person.

NON-VIOLENT STRUGGLE IN THE NEWS

Omaha World Herald
12-14-87

COUNCIL BLUFFS BUREAU

Non-Omahans who drive to work in Omaha can use brown bags to show their displeasure with Omaha City Councilman Joe Friend's plan to impose an \$18 wheel tax on their vehicles, Bluffs City Councilman David Tobias said Monday.

Tobias suggested that, beginning Tuesday, non-Omahans who usually eat at restaurants or office cafeterias in Omaha bring a sack lunch from home for the rest of the week.

"If the folks from Fremont, Plattsmouth, Bellevue, Glenwood, Missouri Valley, LaVista - all the smaller communities on both sides of the river - join with Bluffs workers in this, it will surely give someone a firm nudge," Tobias said.

Friend is working on a proposal that would require non-residents who work in Omaha to pay the \$18 City of Omaha wheel tax. His object is to require people who earn money by using Omaha streets to help pay for the service.

The plan calls for Omaha businesses to identify non-resident employees and collect the tax for the city. Friend is reviewing his idea with the Greater Omaha Chamber of Commerce and may introduce it to the Omaha City Council in January.

"Mayor Simon and Mayor (Sam) Irwin have worked hard to foster a spirit of cooperation between our two cities, and this proposal is most certainly not in that spirit," Tobias said.

"Apparently there are some people who do not fully realize the profound economic impact non-Omahans have on the Omaha economy. A four-day brown bag demonstration could give them a little signal," he said.

The project also might give non-Omaha food stores a little boost, Tobias said.

Tobias said he mentioned the brown bag plan to Irwin, a detective for Union Pacific Railroad in Omaha.

"He smiled and said he'd go along with it," Tobias said.

Tobias, a teacher at Abraham Lincoln High School, said he carries a sack lunch daily. He said that his wife, Kathleen, works in downtown Omaha, "and she'll be taking her lunch this week."

Tobias said he would formally suggest his brown bag plan at Monday night's City Council meeting.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Hopewell, New Jersey
July 30, 1987

In Brian Martin's discussion of elite reform and grassroots initiatives (News & Opinion, June, 1987) he seems to treat these approaches as opposed to each other. There is not much basis for any belief in this area, but I don't see why - to put it crudely - both Sharp and Martin can't coexist. It may be that "social movements often have come to grief when reliance has been put on 'people in power' to implement policy." But I don't see how Sharp's work with the military and governments can get in any activist's way except, perhaps, to annoy them because this guy is clearly not on their team. That, it seems to me is their problem, not Sharp's, and is probably best solved by deep breathing.

George Lakey's Powerful Peacemaking: A Strategy for a Living Revolution has recently been reissued and somewhat revised by New Society Publishers. It is more than a call for the grassroots initiative that Martin seems to advocate. It is a kind of blueprint for such an initiative, based on the case histories and analyses of many scholars, including Sharp. I think Lakey does the job so well that those who disagree with him should have something very clear and concrete to oppose. (I suppose that the early version of this book is one of the things that Martin had in mind when he mentioned Movement for a New Society.) I recommend the book - which is not to say that I agree with it, nor that I disagree.

It is a good idea to make clear, as Martin does, that CBD (or whatever one calls it), taken as a concept in isolation, is not possible to implement. It must be part of some social or political structure. CBD specialists and researchers who consider themselves neutral and who will, therefore, accept any auspices that offer good working conditions and serious consideration could find themselves in a situation like today's physicists and computer scientists. However, I doubt if their work could ever be anywhere near as dangerous.

- ROGER MAREN

BOOK REVIEWS

A DOOR INTO OCEAN, by Joan Slonczewski,
New York, Arbor House, 1986.

Review By Melvin G. Beckman

This science fiction novel projects us far into the future, to an ocean-covered planet, "Shora". Shora is a satellite of Valedon, inhabited by "Sharers", an all-female race closely in tune with their environment and living on "rafts" which they grow and nurture in the ocean. Sharers know a great deal about healing and life-shaping but have been isolated from the technology of inter-stellar civilization. Sharers on all the far-flung rafts communicate and cooperate.

Shora's peaceful existence is disturbed by the "traders" who exploit resources which are in short supply on Valedon. Armed men and women soon follow the traders and attempt to take over Shora and to investigate their forbidden life-shaping powers. Once Sharers have determined that the intruders are indeed human like themselves they are faced with a dilemma: how are they to protect themselves and co-exist peacefully with these violent creatures without becoming "death-hastenings" themselves?

A great struggle begins, in which the armed might of Valedon is employed to force obedience. The Sharers resist gently, firmly, and with considerable suffering. Some Sharers would have preferred to deny the humanity of the oppressors and "close the door" into Ocean. Merwen, a Sharer elder, urges her sisters to keep the door open and share learning rather than death.

Those who can foresee the someday possibility of a society using prepared nonviolent sanctions in national defense will be fascinated by Slonczewski's novel. The Sharers' dilemma is none other than the one we too face. As we see a need to protect ourselves from certain of our own kind we are inclined to shut doors and to label some as "other" so as to more righteously dispose of them. In so doing, we also begin to be "death-hastenings". We too must develop a way of coping without violence. Slonczewski's science fiction suggests a solution - a defense in which life, not death, is shared.

THE FOUR DAYS OF COURAGE, By Bryan Johnson,
New York, The Free Press, A Division of
Macmillan, Inc., 1987.

Review By Cary Grey

It is now almost two years since the Philippine revolution, and several books are on the shelves purporting to tell the inside story of how it all happened. While no single book will ever totally encompass the complexity of the events leading to Marcos' departure aboard U.S. helicopters, one of them, The Four Days of Courage by Bryan Johnson, is of particular interest to students of the strategy and tactics of nonviolence.

It would be very easy for those of us who support and advocate the use of nonviolence to point to the Philippines and say "See, I told you so!" From the surface it seems like a clear victory for the forces of People Power. There is no doubt at all that Corazon Aquino was brought to power with very little violence or bloodshed. What many people may not realize, and what Johnson's book brings into clear focus, was how very close it came to becoming a bloodbath, and why.

Johnson is a journalist from Canada with a long history in the Philippines. He speaks fluent Tagalog and was in Manila during the critical period of the revolution. He returned later to do a more in depth study of the events he became caught up in and the result is this book. The Four Days of Courage pays special attention to the military

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strategy and maneuverings that were occurring behind the scenes while the attention of the world was focused on the mass action in the streets. He paints a fascinating picture of the key players in the rebel military camp and the government, and the decision processes they went through. This helps tremendously in putting People Power in perspective.

The rebel leaders were psychological warfare experts. People Power became a tool in their hands, but certainly not the only one they had or used. They understood their fellow soldiers in the Marcos camp far better than the people in the street or those in the Aquino camp. They were also well prepared for the confrontation, having planned it secretly for years. Their plan was for a bloody coup, but when the powerful nonviolent movement arose, they took full advantage of it. The story of their plans being discovered by Marcos, with U.S. help, and their quick alliance with the Aquino campaign and the Catholic Church provides a realistic picture of the complexities behind the glossy photos of nuns and tanks.

Johnson also pays close attention to the media and communications that were the link between the Rebel leaders, the Aquino campaign and the people in the streets. The importance and fragility of that link was underscored by the military action around television and radio stations. This was, perhaps, the first true "information era" revolution. Access to the minds and hearts of people turned out to be more important than access to guns and tanks. Access, particularly, to the minds and hearts of military personnel and leaders was critical.

In spite of a certain amount of training in and around the Aquino camp, the Phillipine revolution was by and large an "ad hoc" exercise in nonviolence. That it was successful is wonderful, but it is more useful to look carefully at areas where improvements could be made.

The Four Days of Courage brings such areas to focus. It will be important for students of nonviolence to become more familiar with military matters, particularly in the areas of psychology, intelligence and communications.

MAKING EUROPE UNCONQUERABLE: THE POTENTIAL OF CIVILIAN-BASED DETERRENCE AND DEFENSE, by Gene Sharp. London, Taylor & Francis, 1985.

Review by Adam Roberts, Balliol College, Oxford. Reprinted, with permission of the author, from "The Journal of Strategic Studies", London, Vol. 10, No. 1 March 1987.

Gene Sharp is an American scholar and perhaps the world's leading authority on non-violent forms of action. His huge book on The Politics of Nonviolent Action, published in the USA in 1973, was quickly accepted as the standard work on every known form of peaceful resistance, from protest marches to general strikes. The book's strength was more in its encyclopaedic survey of the armoury of nonviolent action rather than in its

historical assessment of the importance of such methods. But, clearly, this is a subject that cannot be ignored in the contemporary world: witness the significance of strike movements, non-cooperation, and peaceful intervention by citizens in countries as far apart as the Poland of the Solidarity era, Haiti in the last days of the Duvalier era, and the Philippines in the last days of the Marcos era.

Can such methods of struggle be so developed and organized as to constitute a basis - even the basis - of a country's security policy? The present book is an extended claim that they can indeed do so, at least so far as the countries of Western Europe are concerned. It is perhaps the fullest single-author statement of such a case yet to have been published, and certainly the fullest since Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall's Defence in the Nuclear Age appeared in 1958.

It may seem surprising that it is an American, not a European, who writes a book called Making Europe Unconquerable, and the book indeed bears some of the marks of its transatlantic origins. But Gene Sharp has spent long periods studying and working in Europe, mainly in Oslo and Oxford. Indeed, I first met him 25 years ago (gosh!) when he was a doctoral student at Oxford and I was a history undergraduate. He immediately impressed me as a man who was interested in big issues - nothing less than the undermining of the twin social evils of war and dictatorship - and who was keen that other people should be serious about them as well. I seem to remember that he rattled out a reading list for me at our first meeting: we have met often since.

Why advocate a new defense policy at all? Sharp makes a number of criticisms of existing military policies. He argues, in my view rightly, that NATO's strategy of possible first use of nuclear weapons is deeply flawed; it leads to seemingly uncontrollable pressures to equal and even surpass the technology of the other side; it may actually bolster Soviet hegemony in Eastern Europe; and it contributes to a situation in which defence is associated in the public mind with nuclear weaponry to the point where, in an extreme crisis, almost any NATO member in Europe might capitulate somewhat as Denmark did in 1940 in face of certain military defeat.

If Sharp is critical of existing NATO policy, he is also doubtful about some of the proposed remedies. Beefing up conventional forces is, he believes, unlikely to appeal to Europeans, both because of the costs involved and because Europe suffered so badly in the Second World War that conventional warfare can never seem a practicable option. Something more radical is needed.

The option which Sharp proposes - defence by civil resistance - is based on the idea of undermining an aggressor-adversary's power by refusing all collaboration with an occupying power, by appealing to his troops or his own population to rebel, and by isolating him diplomatically. Such processes, Sharp reminds

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us, have taken place in many conflicts in the past 50 years. For example, there is persuasive evidence that one factor serving to dissuade the Soviet leaders from launching an invasion of Poland in 1980-81 was the confusion, disorder and wholesale desertions of reservists. Such political factors - so important in practice, and so often neglected in number-crunching strategic studies - receive due attention in this book.

Underlying Sharp's specific proposals is a view of international politics not as a struggle between two monolithic blocs, each with clearly defined goals, but rather as a clash between two great security systems ('empires' is perhaps too pejorative a term) each of which is nervous not just about the intentions of the other, but also about the extent of its own control among its allies.

Sharp expresses a clear preference for Western democratic systems over the Soviet system, and indeed he sees the latter as especially anxious about its capacity to maintain allies. He quotes approvingly Kennan's interesting observation:

Many Americans seem unable to recognize the technical difficulties involved in the operation of far-flung lines of power - the difficulty of trying to exert power from any given national center, over areas greatly remote from that center. There are, believe me, limits to the effective radius of political power from any center in the world. It is vitally important to remember this, particularly in face of the fears one hears constantly expressed today that the Russians want universal power and will be likely to take over the world if we fail to do this or that.

Even if there is much truth in such a view of the world, one is still left with the practical question: can non-violent forms of resistance actually be so developed as to provide the basis for undermining over-extended empires; and (more important for us in Western Europe) can such forms of resistance have sufficient dissuasive power to discourage a potential adversary from attacking us in the first place?

On points such as these, I must confess to substantial reservations about the views expressed in this book. Put in a nutshell, my criticism is that too great a burden of expectation is placed upon non-violent resistance. It does indeed have an important role to play in international as well as in internal conflicts, but there must be serious doubts as to whether it can be the sole basis of a state's security policy.

Sometimes Sharp presents a less than adequate account of potential alternatives to the policy he advocates. He does indicate in general terms his respect for the territorial defence approach of Switzerland and some other countries, and he notes particularly their recognition (which takes them some way towards defence by civil resistance) that national defence may have to involve, not long-distance retaliation, nor keeping enemies out completely, but rather a protracted struggle against occupation. However, he does

not explicitly recognize the extent to which such systems have proved compatible with the goal of international peace - in the Swiss and Swedish cases for the best part of two centuries. Moreover, there are some grounds for reservation about his conclusion on the conventional defence of European non-aligned countries: 'It is a virtual certainty...that a determined Soviet attack would defeat the military defenders.'

What about the weaknesses of defence by civil resistance? In a table on 'comparative deterrence', Sharp indicates that the worst consequences of a failure to deter attack would be, for a country with civilian-based defence, defeat and life under harsh dictatorial rule - much less terrible, he implies, than the massive destruction and danger of total annihilation which could follow from a failure of nuclear deterrence. However, there are other potential consequences of any defeat of civilian-based defence which are not fully discussed in this book. Three deserve mention: first, the likelihood that parts of the population of the attacked country will resort to violence in some form, whatever instructions they receive from their leaders, and may even seek support from other states. Second, the attacking power may not just dominate the country, but install military bases including missile sites, thus dragging the country into the very game of nuclear power politics which it sought to escape. Third, the attempted domination of a small country by a great power, even if it does not lead to massive destruction and killings, might lead outside powers to conclude that they need their armaments more than ever before - and in greater quantities. Examples of these three consequences can be found in the Indian independence struggle, in the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia, and in the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan respectively.

Despite such problems, civil resistance is often the best available means of responding to foreign occupation. But what about attacks with more limited objectives? Some attackers, after all, have no wish to dominate the civil institutions of a country, but simply want to use its airspace, or naval bases, or transport system; or they may merely want to prevent a rival power from making such use of the country. Against some such attacks with distinctly limited purposes it is not at all easy to see the relevance of civil resistance - especially if they involve uninhabited territory. Sharp indicates that defence by civil resistance is 'the direct defence of society as such...rather than a futile attempt to defend territory...'. But territory does have an important symbolic and practical significance, and the political consequences of an adversary gnawing away at a state's territorial boundaries are likely to be severe.

Sharp indicates that there would probably be some beneficial side-effects in countries relying on defence by civil resistance. For example, violence in general will be 'de-legitimized', and therefore violence and terrorism by dissenting groups is likely to be reduced: a conclusion which depends on the

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assumption, surely fragile, that the level of terrorism within a country is directly related to the extent to which in that country's culture violence, even in a purely defensive or deterrent role, receives approval.

He also indicates that reliance on defence by civil resistance is likely to 'reverse present trends towards economic and political centralization, and to move towards diffusion and devolution of power...'. There is some evidence to support such a contention, but there is also a strong counter-argument. Does not a means of struggle which requires extensive - indeed, almost universal - popular participation not also need strong central direction to ensure that people do in fact take part? The way in which trade unions often use coercive methods to maintain the solidarity of strikes comes immediately to mind.

Despite such criticisms, this is a book of considerable merit. In many ways it is rather cautious. Sharp recognizes frankly that 'a rapid shift from present NATO policies by the alliance as a whole or by individual members to full civilian-based defence is most unlikely'. When confronted with difficult problems, he repeatedly calls for more research, for careful consideration, detailed analysis, specialized attention and so on. Indeed, more research really is needed in this area, but such research is not likely to solve perennial problems about the place of violence and non-violence in human societies.

Civil resistance does in fact, and will no doubt in future, play a significant part in the relations of states. But its relationship with the element of violence in human society is exceedingly complex, and it is probably

mistaken to see it as a complete moral alternative to violence and force in all their manifold forms. Making Europe Unconquerable implies, perhaps more in its title than in its text, a claim that civil resistance can be the basis of a substantially new and extremely effective approach to defence. The book, though a welcome challenge to existing orthodoxies, does not really sustain this implied claim. It may be better to view civil resistance in less hyperbolic terms as a special option for special circumstances.

NEWSLETTER EXPANSION BEGINS

Major newsletter improvements will be made in the next two years as the result of a decision by the directors of the Civilian-Based Defense Association to give the publication additional priority.

Beginning in March, 1988, Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion will be published every second month instead of quarterly. Appearance and readability will be improved. More coverage of world news and opinion regarding CBD will be included and efforts will be made to increase circulation both within the United States and in all parts of the world.

Partial funding for these improvements will be provided by a grant from The Albert Einstein Institution. Additional funding is needed. For more information, or to assist financially, please contact Mel Beckman, Coordinator: CBDA, at 402-558-2085, or write to: P.O. Box 31616, Omaha, NE 68131, U.S.A.

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COMPARING MILITARY DEFENSE AND CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE

CRITERIA FOR AN ACCEPTABLE NATIONAL DEFENSE POLICY	MILITARY DEFENSE	CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE	
Can deter or dissuade enemy attack	-?-	-?-	
Can prevent attack across national boundaries	-No-	-No-	
Can make enemy attack costly	-Yes-	-?-	-Yes-
Can keep violence at low levels after conflict begins	-No-	-?-	Policy meets this criterion
Can induce an enemy-occupier to leave	-Yes-	-?-	-No-
Can prevent over-concentration of power in a society	-No-	-?-	Policy does not meet this criterion
The global environment is safeguarded	-No-	-Yes-	
Use of its weapons is morally conscionable	-No-	-Yes-	-?-
Defense task can be shared evenly in society	-No-	-Yes-	Policy may be able to meet this criterion

“Civilian-based defense is an alternative policy which uses nonmilitary 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. . .

The term ‘civilian-based defense’ indicates defense by civilians (as distinct from military personnel) using civilian means of struggle (as distinct from military and paramilitary means). Civilian-based defense is a policy intended to deter and defeat foreign military invasions, occupations, and internal usurpations. The last includes ‘coups d’etat’ - with or without foreign instigation and aid.

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.”

- Gene Sharp, **National Security Through Civilian-Based Defense**, 1985.
Published by the Civilian-Based Defense Association.

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