

Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion

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CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE: THE INTELLECTUAL ANTECEDENTS

By Christopher Kruegler

Ed. Note: This article appeared originally as chapter three of *Liddell Hart and the Concept of Civilian-Based Defense* by Christopher Kruegler, Ph.D. Dissertation, Syracuse University, May 1984. Adaptation by Melvin G. Beckman.

Civilian-based defense did not emerge as a well articulated policy in its own right, clearly distinguishable from various strains of pacifism, until the late nineteen fifties. There are several works in the long tradition of pacifism and nonviolent action, however, that allude either to the need for an alternative defense policy, or to the defense potential of nonviolent behavior. These are considered here to be the antecedents of civilian-based defense, even though their principal thrust is normative rather than analytical or strategic.

The earliest, and in some ways the most satisfactory antecedent of civilian-based defense, can be found in the work of Elihu Burritt. Burritt, a Nineteenth Century blacksmith-turned-scholar, was a devout Christian pacifist. He took some trouble to explore the practical dimension of resisting aggression without arms, and used historical examples of passive resistance to support his argument.¹ He believed that a courageous population could not be overcome by military means as long as it maintained unity and morale, and refused to be goaded into acts of violence, thus losing the moral initiative. How, exactly, to ensure the unity of the resistance and nonviolent discipline are central concerns in civilian-based defense literature today, and were correctly anticipated by Burritt over one hundred years ago.

He was also convinced that members of the attacking forces could be expected to be shamed into inaction by the courage and rectitude of the passive resisters, and that, even if repressive slaughter occurred, it would be less costly to all concerned than a conventional battle with both sides using violence.² The first of these assertions has been commonly accepted in pacifist literature, and skepticism regarding it is one of the defining features of the civilian-based defense approach. The second assertion has been made with greater frequency over time, as the scale, and therefore the costs, of modern warfare have grown.

The next explicit treatment of the problems of defense by nonviolent resistance came in 1915, when Bertrand Russell invited the readers of *Atlantic Monthly* to imagine what it would be like if Germany were to succeed in occupying Great Britain, assuming the latter possessed no army or navy and had not mounted any violent resistance. He envisioned a situation in which every institution the occupiers tried to control or exploit became paralyzed by the noncooperation of its members. Acts of reprisal against the resisters would be so obviously unjustified that the aggressor would become isolated in the world community, a condition no modern industrial nation could tolerate, he reasoned. Like Burritt, he imagined that the predominant emotion among the invading forces would be self-disgust.

Russell allowed that there were at least two contingencies that such a policy couldn't meet. These were the forcible dissolution of the British Empire and the total blockade of Britain itself. At this point he probably alienated many readers by suggesting that either of these outcomes might, in fact, be a good thing. Imperialism was an outrage against humanity, and a blockade would only harm the rich, who benefitted the most from trade. If it took an invasion to make Britain egalitarian and self-sufficient, so be it!³

In addition to identifying the policy with anti-imperialist sentiment, Russell made two additional points that were not calculated to encourage people to explore it further. The first was that, while "non-resistance," as he called it, was both reasonable and moral,

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Omaha, Nebraska
January 23, 1988

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

In the early summer of 1987 we sat round the table in Brussels asking the new Director of the Atlantic Assembly questions in response to the briefing he had just given us on the Assembly's issue agenda and the outcomes of recent conferences held in Europe under Assembly auspices. A member of our NATO Discussion Series delegation at one point asked, "What do you find to be West European governments' attitudes toward the utility of civilian-based defense?" The Director looked puzzled. He turned to his aide who is responsible for military affairs and who had briefed us about negotiation of reductions in intermediate nuclear forces. The aide leaned back to him and whispered, "Defensive defense."

We listened politely to the Director's description of the currently popular idea of turning military units on the Western front so that they face each other and form corridors—a gauntlet—through which any attacker from the East would have to go. Advocates of this posture say that it would reduce tension in Europe by removing any Warsaw Pact grounds to claim that NATO represents a threat. (Later in the week we heard a member of the Federal Republic of Germany's Social Democratic Party leadership propound several theses supporting this change of strategy as a way of compensating for the removal of theater nuclear weapons without increasing spending on conventional forces.)

Meanwhile, half of the two dozen of us in the NATO delegation sat in amused silence. The other half nodded in conceptual time with the speaker, as if he were effectively answering the question asked. When he finished, the poser of the original question indicated that "civilian-based defense is not defensive defense," expressed some surprise and exasperation that the Director did not know the difference, but chose not to use that moment to explain CBD. Those of us who knew brought our colleague up to speed later.

As we left the Atlantic Assembly quarters I was walking with Gene Wittkopf, coauthor with Charles Kegley, of a half dozen major textbooks in the areas of world politics and U.S. foreign policy. I said that though I used all of his texts in my classes—they are excellent—I always had to supplement them on

INTELLECTUAL ANTECEDENTS (Continued from page 1)

most human beings were neither. Thus, in his view, the policy could not be relevant until a great transformation of society had taken place. The second was that, given the foregoing assumption, a far more likely path to peace would be the enforcement of international law by a neutral power or world organization.

He put forward one idea, however, that continues to appear in contemporary thought on the problem. That is the idea that the possession or competitive acquisition of conventional arms themselves has often provoked or been a pretext for strife between nations, and that by refusing to arm, a nation may remove a major cause of war and thereby enhance its security without necessarily being put to the test.⁴

The year 1923 was significant in the development of nonviolent theory and practice, not only because it saw a major nonviolent struggle in the Ruhr region of Germany but also because of the publication of *Nonviolent Coercion*, by sociologist Clarence Marsh Case. Case was concerned that the term "passive resistance" did not do justice to the phenomena it was usually used to identify. His study was the first systematic attempt to portray such coercive acts as boycotts and strikes as belonging properly to the field of nonviolent action. Case collected statistical data on a variety of practitioners of nonviolent action, and demonstrated that in physical type and intelligence, they were no different than the populations from which they sprang, except perhaps that they tended to be slightly better educated. Many of his subjects were avowed pacifists and war resisters, and he hoped to dispel the notion that nonviolence was somehow unmanly, by definition.⁵

Gandhi's experiments with nonviolence throughout the first half of this century naturally stimulated much of the modern interest in the technique. Among the many books which attempt to evaluate or interpret Gandhi, a few go on to discuss the relevance of his work in the context of national defense. One of these was Richard Gregg's *The Power of Nonviolence*.

Gregg, an American labor lawyer, went to India to study Gandhi's movement in the nineteen twenties. His book is guided by the belief that love of one's enemies is essential, in order to "lift the conflict onto a higher plane," where it can be resolved to the mutual benefit of both parties. While later editions of the book do consider cases of nonviolent resistance where such loving intent was absent, he views these as imperfect cases. The mechanism by which such resistance triumphs, he argued, is persuasion. The enemy's heart is bound to yield to love, reason and courage at some point in the contest.⁶

Gregg's book is open to a number of criticisms on grounds of logic. For example, in each case of successful nonviolent action, he is inclined to assume that it is the good intent of the resisters that caused the outcome, and fails to consider other factors that might enter into the opponents' calculations, such as the cost of continuing the fight or the relative importance of their objective. He also makes the apparently contradictory assertions that nonviolent resisters must necessarily be more courageous than armed warriors, and that their chances of survival are greater than those of a soldier in battle, since this form of combat is more "economical."⁷

Although it is flawed by a number of such facile assumptions, *The Power of Nonviolence* represents an important stage in the gradual disentanglement of civilian-based defense from pacifism. Gregg utilizes a number of historical examples, albeit more as a basis for speculation than analysis, and these seem to have impressed both Sir Basil Liddell Hart and Gene Sharp. Moreover, he became the first to use the notion of nonviolent resistance as a functional equivalent for war. Earlier writers had, of course, proposed nonviolent action as an alternative to violent action, but no one had explicitly acknowledged that war might actually perform positive functions for which this technique might also be suited. Whereas William James had proposed a "moral equivalent of war," which would be a substitute for the martial virtues, Gregg was proposing a substitute method for actual fighting in cases where negotiation and compromise had failed.⁸

While it might be argued that this was merely a change in language from the more primitive musings of Russell and Burritt, it was a change that suggested the importance of considering war's functions, rather than just its ghastly consequences, thus adding a new dimension of pragmatism to the discussion, despite Gregg's highly normative emphasis. A similar functional-substitute approach had been used by Walter Lippman in 1928, with slightly different results. In Lippman's view, war was "one of the ways by which great human decisions are made."⁹ He felt that disputes between peoples and nations were inevitable, and that "a way of deciding them must be found which is not war."¹⁰ This sentiment led Lippman, as it has so many others, directly to the view that the only cure for war was the formation of an international government, in which the sovereignty of nations would be submerged, and which would have the power to enforce

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its judgements on its subjects. Lippmann's views place him squarely in the middle of the dispute settlement approach to the problem of war, while the "power" to be wielded by his world government would presumably be of the conventional military sort. Civilian-based defense theorists have frequently cited Lippmann on the need for a political equivalent of war, but have argued that the equivalent must include a popular means of combat to serve on occasions when dispute settlement techniques fail.

The next important contribution in this general direction was made a few years later by a Dutch socialist, Barthelemy de Ligt. In *Conquest of Violence*, he extended the traditional pacifist's ends-means critique of war¹¹ to the problem of revolution, citing the dictum "the more violence, the less revolution."¹² While fundamental changes in the structure of human relationships could not be produced violently, he argued, the power of oppressors could be dissolved through mass noncooperation. He traced this view of power back to the Sixteenth Century philosopher Etienne de la Boetie, whose essay "The Discourse of Voluntary Servitude," he claimed, had affected the thinking of Tolstoy, and through him, M. K. Gandhi.¹³

Boetie's basic insight into the nature of politics may well be the most fundamental one for the whole field of nonviolent action and policies based on it, and thus deserves to be quoted at length. Mystified by the fact that, in many societies, millions suffered at the whim of a single ruler, he wrote:

Obviously there is no need of fighting to overcome this single tyrant, for he is automatically defeated if the country refuses consent to its own enslavement: it is not necessary to deprive him of anything, but simply to give him nothing; there is no need that the country make an effort to do anything for itself, provided it does nothing against itself. It is therefore the inhabitants themselves who permit, or rather, bring about, their own subjection, since by ceasing to submit they would put an end to their servitude. ..I do not ask that you put hands upon the tyrant to topple him over, but simply that you support him no longer; then you will behold him, like a great Colossus whose pedestal has been pulled away, fall of his own weight and break into pieces.¹⁴

De Ligt grasped Boetie's idea, that a ruler's power derives from the consent and cooperation of the governed, and sought to apply this principle to the problem of war. He stopped short of proposing nonviolence as an alternative defense for nations, suggesting instead that peace-loving people around the world should prepare nonviolent direct action to thwart their own governments' war preparations. He favored the general strike as a means of doing this, but offered long lists of other less drastic measures. His case was rather over-stated, in that he insisted that such a program would certainly not fail to abolish war. Boetie's conception of power, however, as presented by De Ligt, has since become one of the founding premises of civilian-based defense thinking.¹⁵

In 1939, a veteran of the Gandhian independence movement, Krishnalal Shridharani, published *War Without Violence* in the United States, in an effort to explain the significance of Gandhi's satyagraha¹⁶ technique to westerners. While aware that Gandhi had grown out of a unique cultural context, he was none-the-less careful, in explaining the stages and methods of this technique, to point to analogous experiences, particularly from the history of labor, and to define the technique as being independent from eastern mysticism.

Like Gregg, whom he read, he cited James and discussed the value of nonviolence as a substitute for war. He wrote:

We feel the need for an equivalent of war which is not so bloody in its sorties, so wild in its aim, so barren in its results. We want a substitute for war which might even enable us to stop an invading army, were we strong enough. In short, we want a new form of war which can be waged without inflicting violence in retaliation.¹⁷

One year later, Shridharani wrote to Gandhi, asking him to explain how India would defend herself if invaded. Gandhi's reply was published in *Liberty*, and is one of the few times he ever addressed the subject of national defense per se. Gandhi envisioned "endless rows of men and women" offering themselves unprotestingly as "fodder for the aggressor's cannons."¹⁸ He continued:

The underlying belief in this philosophy of defense is that even a modern Nero is not devoid of a heart. The spectacle – never seen before by him or his soldiers – of endless rows of men and women simply dying, without violent protest, must ultimately affect him...Men can slaughter one another for years in the heat of battle, for then it seems to be a case of kill or be killed. But if there is no danger of being

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the subject of CBD. "Could you tell me about it?" he asked. "Sure, I'll even send you a paragraph or two for your next editions," I said.

I'm not sure how much more we academicians (who were flown by NATO Information Service and the Atlantic Council of the U.S. from the U.S. to Brussels for a week) know about NATO than before our junket. But at least a dozen more professors teaching international relations, and in the future, many of those who use works by Kegley and Wittkopf, will know nearly 100 percent more than they had before about civilian-based defense. So will the new Director of the Atlantic Assembly and, one would suspect, those legislators associating with the Assembly. Here members of the legislative bodies of states in NATO negotiate among themselves quietly on several significant subjects and, covertly, with representatives of Warsaw Pact countries, on the issue of continental integration, including the possibility of a mutual security plan.

Ken Wise
Director, Graduate Program in
International Relations,
Creighton University

SPECIAL OFFER

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The fourteen issues from 1982 to 1987 provide a quick review of developments relating to civilian-based defense during the past five years and an introduction to the people and groups who are most involved with the concept in various parts of the world. Write to: Civilian-Based Defense Association, P.O. Box 31616, Omaha, NE 68131, U.S.A.

THE U.S. CATHOLIC CHURCH AND POPULAR DEFENSE

Ed. Note: In their 1983 Pastoral Letter, *The Challenge of Peace*, paragraph #227, the U.S. Catholic bishops urged that nonviolent popular defense be given serious consideration as an alternative course of action. Early this year we asked a number of Catholics how the Church could or should begin to give popular defense this serious consideration. The replies received appear below:

"Next to war, personal assault is one of the most destructive human experiences we encounter. Today, the frequency of assault is increasing as social and economic conditions continue to deteriorate. Like the threat of war, the possibility of personal assault confronts us with a choice of responses, violent or nonviolent.

For people who want peace, the challenge of an active nonviolent response to an international threat can begin as an active, nonviolent response to a personal threat. If we feel that we can deal creatively and nonviolently with someone who might do a lot of damage to us as individuals, then we will have greater confidence that an active, nonviolent approach to international adversaries will also work.

The Church, through its array of educational efforts, could help people develop a nonviolent response to personal assault — and also to the many lesser conflicts that dot our daily existence. School children could be taught nonviolent games. Parents could be encouraged to practice active nonviolence in family disputes. Teaching nonviolent conflict resolution could be an integral part of the Church's mission.

Nonviolent "popular defense" will not become national policy until it first becomes the personal policy of millions of people, until we know in our hearts that we can meet the challenge of daily conflict nonviolently, including the most fearsome threat of personal assault.

The Church, through its significant moral leadership, could help bring this about."

—GERARD A. VANDERHAAR
Pax Christi USA

"Because I believe that as individuals we are the Church, I think that every Catholic could begin a process of inner personal conversion which would lead to following the nonviolent Jesus. Jesus

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killed yourself by those you slay, you cannot go on killing defenseless and unprotesting people endlessly. You must put down your gun in self-disgust. Thus in the end the invader must be beaten—by new weapons, peaceful weapons, the weapons of civil disobedience and nonviolent resistance.¹⁹

War Without Violence had anticipated this same view, and suggested that if the opponent tried to get around the resisters at India's borders with airplanes, the same tactic could be used at airports. One is tempted to remark that carnage by any other name would be as grim. Both Gandhi and Shridharani believed that the slaughter, if it ensued, would end quickly, because the spectacle would necessarily melt the hardest of hearts. The world was to learn over the next five years just how hard some hearts could be, given the right conditions. It is not surprising that the civilian-based defense proponents of the post-war period have been much more conscious of the reality and likelihood of harsh repression, and quick to dispel this image of defense by gratuitous self-sacrifice.

In the late nineteen thirties and early nineteen forties, a small handful of pacifists in Britain and the United States produced tracts which mainly condemned war, but which also alluded to the possibility of an alternative nonviolent defense. Kenneth Boulding, for example, argued that Britain should "transarm" to a system in which the citizenry would be highly trained in nonviolent resistance. He relied for exemplification on his own Quaker tradition, and did not elaborate on the details of either the training or the proposed defense policy.²⁰ A comparable effort, though from a different perspective, was made by the American socialist war resister, Dr. Jessie Wallace Hughan. Hughan proposed unilateral disarmament and preparations for "unarmed resistance" in the event that the United States should be attacked. Her piece was also very sketchy with respect to the details of such a plan.²¹

While the above antecedents do not examine in much detail the actual problems that a nonviolent defense policy might encounter, they do suggest the possibility of such a defense in very general terms. The most significant idea expressed by this group of writers, from the perspective of contemporary thought on civilian-based defense, is the conception of political power developed by Boetie and later employed by De Ligt, Gandhi and Shridharani.

See future issues of *Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion* for a discussion of later development of the concept of civilian-based defense.

FOOTNOTES

1. One of several examples that Burritt reported was that of the Sandwich Islanders' insistence on their right to impose an import tax on French alcohol, despite threats of armed reprisals. When the French landed an expeditionary force and were met with passive resistance, says Burritt, they were "forced" to withdraw. No date is given. Elihu Burritt, *Thoughts and Things at Home and Abroad* (Boston, New York: Phillips, Sampson & Co., J.C. Derby, 1854), pp. 269-273.
2. *Ibid.*
3. Bertrand Russell, "War and Non-resistance," *Atlantic Monthly*, August, 1915, pp. 266-274.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 268.
5. Clarence Marsh Case, *Nonviolent Coercion* (New York: The Century Co., 1923), chaps. 1, 11, & 21, especially.
6. Richard Gregg, *The Power of Nonviolence* (New York: Shocken, 1966, first published in 1935), pp. 16, 62.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 94-100.
8. Walter Lippmann, "The Political Equivalent of War," *Atlantic Monthly*, August, 1928, p. 181. James's original essay is summarized along with Lippmann's extension of it.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. See for example, Aldous Huxley's *Ends and Means* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1937).
12. Barthelemy de Ligt, *Conquest of Violence* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1938), p. 162.
13. *Ibid.* p. 104.
14. Etienne de la Boetie, *The Discourse of Voluntary Servitude*, trans. Harry Kurz (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1975), pp. 50-52.
15. The most recent exposition of this view of power can be found in Sharp's *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, 3 vols. (Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers, Extending Horizons Books, 1973), vol. 1, pp. 7-48, hereafter cited as Sharp, *Politics*.
16. A form of mass social action based on an absolute commitment to the values of truth, nonviolence or *ahimsa*, and self-suffering. Krishnalal Shridharani, *War Without Violence* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1939), p. 4.
17. *Ibid.*, p. XXV.
18. M.K. Gandhi, "Can India Be Defended?," *Liberty*, 17 August 1949.
19. *Ibid.*
20. Kenneth Boulding, "Paths of Glory," Friends Book Centre, London, 1937, p. 29.
21. Dr. Jessie Wallace Hughan, "Pacifism and Invasion," War Resisters' League, 1939.

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New Zealand (AOTEAROA) UPDATE

Ed. Note: In late 1985 the New Zealand government invited the public to participate in a review of the country's defense policy. (See *Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion*, March issue, 1986, Vol. 3, No. 2) The official government discussion paper which was circulated throughout the country treated non-military defense briefly, but equated it with "passive resistance." The New Zealand Association for Transarmament's "Submission to the Defence Committee of Inquiry" in March of 1986 corrected this and other misperceptions and argued that a civilian-based defense policy would be well-suited to the defense needs of New Zealand. Editor Philip Bogdonoff spoke with Allan Cumming of the New Zealand Association for Transarmament*, recently, to find out what had happened to the recommendations of the Defence Committee of Inquiry and what next steps would be taken by Mr. Cumming's group. His response follows.

"As you know, we submitted the Association for Transarmament's recommendations in March 1986. (Altogether the Committee received some 5000 written submissions.) A lot of energy went into preparing the report and material for the defence review process. In addition, our other efforts to increase public awareness of CBD were very successful.

The Committee of Inquiry's report was received by the government and it did include a favorable review of CBD and its potential, but basically nothing has happened since with regard to the government's consideration of CBD as an alternative defense for New Zealand.

Unfortunately, the Labor Party got into power again and that didn't mix well with the fact that the report more or less supported the status quo on defense questions. In particular, the report favored New Zealand's participation in the ANZUS alliance, and consequently, the Labor government has ignored the report. They weren't prepared to accept foreign warships in New Zealand waters and they were willing to leave ANZUS. And as a result of the antagonism between the defense review committee and the government over the ANZUS question, the contents of the rest of the report have been ignored.

However, one success is that the government has now initiated a program of study of nonviolence in secondary schools in Christchurch. Also on the plus side, we received a lot of good publicity during the review process.

We knew before we started that we were being thrown in too quickly. The public needed some in-depth education, but we couldn't do anything about that; we also couldn't afford to ignore the defence review. We had to go ahead without a lot of the groundwork done. What we expected would happen, happened. We got a favorable report, but not the one we needed. In addition, our ongoing educational work was disrupted. The main lesson we learned is that we need to do a lot of grassroots educational work: 'Don't go too far too fast.'

We intend to put more pressure on the government to do a study of CBD, but right now a huge financial debate within the Labor Party has taken the attention of the MPs. The Labor Party is adopting an extremely right-wing economic policy: flat tax rate, completely free market, etc. It would be like running against a brick wall to try to do anything on CBD. There are a couple of MPs in favor of CBD, but no MP is ready to speak out on it because of the turmoil over finances. So, we are carrying on at a low-key, educational level.

I'm going to talk with our members in Christchurch and Auckland to decide what to do over the next year. I'm not sure what we'll decide, but financially and with respect to resources we are in a good position. Maybe we'll get a smaller group of people committed for the longer term.

Opinion polls showed that our publicity campaign was effective — 20% of the population preferred the CBD option — but the level of understanding was superficial. 'Yeah, it's a good idea' is a far cry from actually getting people to work on it.

It was one of the harder campaigns I've worked on. Stopping nuclear warships was dead easy compared to convincing people of the importance of civilian-based defence.

Best wishes to all of you there. Contact is really appreciated. We still want to hear from people who are working in other countries, especially about any difficulties they've had with their own work."

*The Association for Transarmament, Aotearoa, can be reached at P.O. Box 5629, Dunedin, Aotearoa (New Zealand). Ph. 011-64-24-738-227.

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was never violent nor did he use violence to achieve his kingdom. He taught us to love and to forgive, not to kill. Jesus did stand up to injustice and we must do the same, but with nonviolent means. It is important for us to learn the philosophy and tools of nonviolent struggle. It would be beneficial for all of us to study nonviolent popular defense as an alternative to war. A first step would be to become a member of the Civilian-Based Defense Association and to encourage other Catholics to do the same."

—MARY CARRY

Sylvan Lake, Michigan

"In response to your question...I offer several possible ways, among others, to start.

1. The Church could encourage the pointed inclusion in history classes taught in Catholic high schools, colleges and universities, of the historical material now available, regarding the past use of non-violent forms of resistance.
2. Serious study of the non-violent option for legitimate and even necessary defense in the face of aggression and injustice could take place in appropriate courses in moral theology and ethics conducted in Catholic learning institutions.
3. Academic research and development in the field of non-violent popular defense could be encouraged in graduate programs in Catholic universities. This activity should be done in cooperation with similar work in secular institutions.

These steps and the suggestions of others might provide a foundation on which a broader understanding of the concepts discussed in *The Challenge of Peace* could be built within the U.S. Catholic community."

—THOMAS J. GUMBLETON

Auxiliary Bishop, Detroit

"Who within the Catholic Church in the U.S. might have both the inclination and the means to promote civilian-based defense (CBD) as called for in *The Challenge of Peace*? Peacemaking groups, most especially Pax Christi USA, could do much to foment interest 'from the grassroots up', while the bishops, because of their teaching authority and ability to command national attention

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even beyond the sizeable Catholic population, can do much to legitimize this grass-roots work and foster public debate.

Pax Christi should make promotion of CBD one of its priorities. It should then produce and utilize a popular video on CBD that would be the national defense equivalent of its video 'Nonviolent Response to Personal Assault'. The Civilian-Based Defense Association might offer to collaborate on this grass-roots educational project.

The U.S. bishops have recently created a model for giving further impetus to the issues raised in *The Challenge of Peace*, including CBD. They committed \$500,000 to fund an Office of Implementation for the more recent pastoral letter on economic justice. It is not too late for a similar effort on behalf of their peace letter, especially those questions they themselves said required further consideration. They called for the development of a theology of peace and named CBD as one of its components. An office of implementation for the peace pastoral might fund (or seek funding on behalf of) Catholic theologians and scholars to be about this important work.

But CBD is now very much on the periphery of concerns of Catholic peace activists and their bishops. Activists and bishops alike must be encouraged to discover work toward implementation of CBD as an essential component of their agendas for peace.

Perhaps the question for readers of this journal should be: How can the Civilian-Based Defense Association stimulate these two groups (so that they in turn can stimulate their 53 million fellow U.S. Catholics) toward an awareness of how civilian-based defense, and perhaps CBD alone, meets the demands of "practical reason and spiritual faith" (#227), of national security and Christian conscience?

—ROGER BERGMAN
Omaha, Nebraska

FOR FUTURE REVIEW

Nonviolent National Defense, A Philosophical Inquiry into Applied Nonviolence, by Norman Freund. (Social Philosophy Research Institute Book Series No. 5) University Press of America, 4720 Boston Way, Lanham, MD 20706, 1987. Paper, 75 pages. \$7.50

BOOK REVIEW

Paths to Peace: Exploring the Feasibility of Sustainable Peace, by Richard Smoke and Willis Harmon (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1987) paperback, 114 pages, \$11.95.

Review by Todd Buchanan

Paths to Peace examines civilian-based defense as one of nine means or policies by which peace might be built and sustained among nations. The authors visualize "an evolving combination of most or all" of them. Some will become less relevant, to the relief of most peace advocates, while the applicability of others will grow.

The other eight paths are: 1) removing the source of the threat to peace, 2) military deterrence, 3) diplomacy, 4) disarmament and arms control, 5) eliminating fundamental causes of war, 6) alternative defense (purely defensive military postures), 7) alternative conflict resolution, and 8) changing attitudes and perceptions.

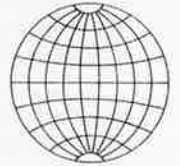
The book is wide-ranging but short, as a primer should be. The greatest strengths are the authors' confidence that sustainable peace is achievable and their willingness to consider many different paths. Clearly, they believe that a will to change attitudes and perceptions is the single most important ingredient. Many peace advocates will be disappointed with their refusal to rule out preventive attack and nuclear deterrence in the short term; others will appreciate the book's broad appeal.

A revised edition will soon be in order, due to recent progress in arms control, the turnabout of fortunes in Afghanistan, and some shortcomings in the coverage of nonviolent defense. Smoke and Harmon make clear that nonviolent resistance is not passive, but active and assertive. They point out that the possibilities of civilian-based defense cannot be assessed from improvised efforts of the past. Considering "notable successes even in primitive applications," they conclude: "Presumably a nation that had adequately prepared itself would be in an enormously stronger position."

The authors limit their discussion of nonviolent tactics to the more dramatic and confrontational ones, with a seeming emphasis on sabotage (non-lethal, we can presume). As both British military officers, Sir Basil Liddell Hart and Sir Stephen King-Hall, believed, more subtle forms of resistance are the most difficult for the invader to deal with.

Another shortcoming is the authors' opinion that civilian-based defense may be irrelevant against a "ruthless, technologically advanced aggressor...content to destroy or severely damage from a distance the military and economic power of all rivals." A number of things need to be considered in this regard. First, a nonviolent nation would, presumably, not be a military rival. Second, a purely sadistic, premeditated nuclear or other "stand-off" attack is only one of four ways a nation might find itself under a nuclear attack; the other three — by accident, pre-emption, or by way of escalation from a conventional conflict — would all seem more likely or only possible against a country which possesses nuclear weapons or is militarily aligned with a nuclear power. Third, the nonviolent nation need not face such an aggressor alone: the prospect of world-wide "bad press" and collective sanctions might well have some deterrent value. In short, no defense policy could guarantee security, but the risks of nuclear deterrence (or any offensive military capability) are more numerable than those of civilian-based defense.

This book is a valuable contribution to building peace, and nonviolent defense is in (some) good company.

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS**THE NETHERLANDS**

Stichting Voorlichting Aktieve Geweldloosheid (Foundation for Information on Active Nonviolence) is planning to publish a special series on civilian-based defense. Wim Robben, Secretary, writes that there is a growing interest in the subject although the number of people involved is still small. Initially, the first five years of Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion will be reprinted, along with an introduction and a table of contents. Wim Robben may be reached at Postbus 90, 5280 AB Boxtel, Netherlands.

CANADA

The Centre de Ressources sur la Non Violence (5770 Cote des Neiges, Montreal, Quebec H3S-1Y9) has a committee on civilian-based defense which meets monthly and involves up to fifteen members, according to Norman Beaudet, Coordinator. The Centre has approached the Canadian Institute for International Peace and Security (a Government institution) to fund a bilingual (French and English) photograph exhibit on CBD.

(Continued on page 8)

NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE IN THE NEWS THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES (WEST BANK AND GAZA)

By Philip Bogdonoff

Mubarak Awad, founder of the Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence, is threatened by Israeli authorities with expulsion from Jerusalem and the West Bank. Since he is one of the few Palestinians in the Occupied Territories working to spread the ideas of nonviolence, his expulsion would seem to be particularly inappropriate.

Mubarak Awad was born in East Jerusalem in 1943, and was given a residence card by the Israelis in 1948. He went to the United States in 1969 to attend college. While in the U.S. he married an American and obtained U.S. citizenship. He returned to East Jerusalem in January 1985 and opened the Palestinian Center for the Study of Non-violence. He entered Israel using his U.S. passport because it was the only travel document he owned.

Last May Mr. Awad went to the Israeli Interior Ministry to renew his Jerusalem residence card. At the same time he asked for an extension of the three-month tourist visa which had been stamped in his passport. In August the ministry informed him that because he had obtained U.S. citizenship, he ceased to be a resident of Jerusalem and his right to remain in Israel was no longer valid. In Mid-November he received a formal expulsion order from the government. Some liberal members of the Knesset believe, however, that Mr. Awad is being expelled because of his advocacy of nonviolent resistance to the Israeli occupation.

U.S. citizens and groups have voiced their support of Mr. Awad's activities and have protested his planned deportation to the Israeli Consulate in Washington. International peace groups both abroad and in Israel have also protested his deportation.

In November, the American Embassy worked concertedly but without success to have the decision reversed. Three diplomats from the U.S. Consulate in Jerusalem attended a news conference where Mr. Awad announced that he would seek asylum in a church, mosque, or synagogue, and force the Israelis to drag him out. The deputy chief of mission, Edwin Cubbison, sat next to Mr. Awad while he spoke to reporters. Mr. Awad said that he would not leave voluntarily, "And if they do get me out I will go to Cyprus and take a sailboat back."

The American Ambassador, Thomas Pickering, argued Mr. Awad's case with the Israeli authorities, saying that holding an American passport was no reason to deprive someone of his Israeli residence and citizenship rights. Thousands of American Jews retain their U.S. passports and live in Israel indefinitely, many with dual citizenship.

International media focus on Mr. Awad has been acute since August; a few headlines tell the story: "A U.S. Arab in West Bank Loses Rights" (*NYT*, Sept. 29); "Enemy #1 on the West Bank" (*Jerusalem Post*, Oct. 22); "Israel Asked Not to Expel Palestinian" (*Washington Post*, Oct. 25); "The Two Men the Israelis Fear the Most <Mubarak Awad & Mehir Kahane>" (*Washington Report on M.E. Affairs*, Nov.); "U.S. and Israel at Odds on Arab's Ouster" (*NYT*, Nov. 19); "A Palestinian Finds Support Among Israeli Jews" (*Washington Post*, Nov. 22).

As of late February, Mr. Awad still has not been expelled, although his case is being actively pursued by the government and pressure is mounting against him. An Israeli activist group opposed to his continued presence in Israel has recently sued the court for failure to uphold its own decision to deport him. Mr. Awad has said, "It doesn't look like it will go on much longer."

The recent unrest and violence in Gaza and the West Bank have brought many foreign dignitaries to the region to observe and mediate. Mr. Awad has been able to meet with many of them and explain his activities and why he feels compelled to stay in the West Bank. Their discussions with the Israeli government may help his case.

In a region filled with increasing frustrations, tension, and the potential for large-scale violence, it would seem that a voice for nonviolent alternatives needs to be recognized now more than ever. There is an opportunity here for those of us who in the past have decried the violence in the Middle East and wondered what to do.

ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE MID-EAST

Gene Sharp, recently returned from two weeks in the Mid-East, states that he had meetings with both Palestinians and Israelis and with Americans working in the Mid-East. On the Israeli side he met with various groups concerned about the situation, including government officials. Sharp reports that there is growing Palestinian understanding of nonviolent methods and a major use of nonviolent struggle, mixed with violence. There is no guarantee that present nonviolence will not give way to violence. The situation is more serious than would appear from newspaper accounts. In regard to Mubarak Awad, Sharp feels that he is coping with his difficulties but is under much stress. His situation is precarious and he may be in physical danger.



OMAHA STUDY PROJECT TO CONTINUE

An experimental project begun in Omaha, Nebraska (USA), during 1987 will be continued this year. An attempt is being made to develop a model for a kind of study-group in which people in a community might understand civilian-based defense better, and "try it out," in a sense, by conceptualizing how citizens in their particular profession, industry, or system might engage in nonviolent resistance. For more information, write to: Civilian-Based Defense Association, P.O. Box 31616, Omaha, NE 68131. USA.

IN UPCOMING ISSUES . . .

Look for a special emphasis on European consideration of civilian-based defense in the May issue. In July our focus will shift to the countries of Central and South America. Submission of material for these two issues is invited.

UNITED STATES

On October 18, 19, and 20, the Albert Einstein Institution sponsored a conference, "Nonviolent Sanctions: The Future," at the Yankee Clipper Inn in Rockport, Massachusetts, to discuss recent uses of nonviolent sanctions, assess the current knowledge of this technique of struggle, and forecast how future needs might be met.

Invited were scholars with significant accomplishments in the fields of nonviolent action, social conflict, conflict resolution, or alternative security; activists with regional expertise and broad knowledge of nonviolent sanctions; and officers of foundations with backgrounds and interest in nonviolent struggle.

The conference was called to explore the present state of nonviolent action and the conditions necessary for its future development in view of the contemporary world situation. An effort was made to assess the growth of nonviolence in many areas and regions. Reports and research summaries were heard from many

corners of the world, for example, from Ximena Bunster, sociologist from Chile and an expert on the Chilean women's resistance; from Caridad Inda, an educator on nonviolent action from Mexico; from Souad Dajani, an American researcher at the University of Jordan studying the potential nonviolent action might have for Palestinians; from Fulvio Manara from the University of Bergamo, and a participant in discussions about social defense alternatives in Italy; from Chaiwat Satha Anand from Thammasat University in Thailand, interested in Muslim nonviolent action; from Jan Zielonka, a Polish political scientist and international representative of Solidarity; from Jacques Semelin, a French scholar of anti-Nazi resistance during WWII; and, of course, from Ron McCarthy, Chris Kruegler, Gene Sharp and others from the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and the Albert Einstein Institution.

Gene Sharp concluded that the evidence of the past 15 years strongly suggests that the world has witnessed a

significant increase in the extent to which nonviolent action is used in struggles, from dissident activities in Eastern Europe, through Solidarity strikes, Palestinian protests in the Occupied Territories, renewed strikes and boycotts against Apartheid in South Africa, demonstrations against Pinochet in Chile and for democratic elections in Brazil and in South Korea, to the ouster of Duvalier in Haiti, and "people power" in the Philippines.

The conference participants also evaluated the current level of popular knowledge about nonviolent action and addressed, in conclusion, the question of what new knowledge and materials are most urgently needed. An extensive, prioritized research agenda will be one of the Albert Einstein Institution's publications and it will be influenced greatly by contributions made at this conference.

(Attendees were only mildly distracted by the stock market turmoil while they met.)

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