

# Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion

A PUBLICATION OF THE CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE ASSOCIATION

Volume 5 • August, 1988 • Number 1

## IN THIS ISSUE

Exploring CDB At The Community Level.....	Cover
Letter to the Editor .....	2
For Future Review.....	3
Program Possibilities .....	4
CBD: Relevant For The United States .....	4
Some Possible Models for Adult CBD Education.....	5
Center for New Creation: Study Groups 1983-1988 .....	6
The Coups in Fiji .....	7
<b>NEWS &amp; ANNOUNCEMENTS .....</b>	<b>7</b>

## ***CBDA BOARD OF DIRECTORS TO MEET NOVEMBER 11-13***

Directors of the Civilian-Based Defense Association meet annually. The 1988 meeting will be held in November in Leavenworth, Kansas. Association members and subscribers in any and all countries are invited to communicate their ideas and concerns to the directors. Submissions should be stated concisely and should be typed if possible. *Mail to:* CBDA, P.O. Box 31616, Omaha, NE 68131, USA. All submissions will be sent to the directors for their study prior to the 1988 meeting.

### ***FOCUS ON LATIN AMERICA – STILL TO COME!***

The special focus on CBD in relation to the countries of Latin America was to have been contained in this issue. It has been temporarily delayed. We want to discuss this topic with more people who live in or are involved with the area. Look for it in a future issue.

## ***EXPLORING CBD AT THE COMMUNITY LEVEL***

*By Mel Beckman, Coordinator, Civilian-Based Defense Association*



In a previous issue (December, 1987) we reported the results of a U.S. member-survey regarding study of CBD at the university level. We found that an increasing number of university faculty are introducing their students to the idea of civilian-based defense in the classroom. The Civilian-Based Defense Association is also concerned about community-level study of CBD. In this article we will discuss aspects of study at the *adult popular level*, in the towns and cities of a nation.

Adult education about CBD can usually be done through existing organizations and institutions in a community. Someone who attends church can schedule a study group as part of a church adult education program. Organizations and professional associations frequently have annual meetings or sponsor conferences. A member might suggest that a CBD workshop or lecture be included. A phone call or letter to the editor of an existing newsletter may result in an informational article about CBD which will reach a large group of people. Additional channels are often available in a community.

Informing oneself is an important first task. Not that one should try to “teach” CBD to others (it’s better to present the topic for “exploration”), but a feeling of self-confidence, gained through personal study, is important. This newsletter, and other resources offered by the Civilian-Based Defense Association will be helpful.

In some ways, it is not easy to present the idea of CBD to adults, given the present stage of development of the concept. CBD is still an idea to be explored, not an accomplished reality. Nor is it cast in the form of legislation which one can ask people to support. People differ about what to name the concept and how to implement it. Audio-visuals to assist in presenting the idea are almost non-existent. And finally, the idea runs counter to long-standing tradition about how nations ought to prepare for defense.

On the other hand, people like to think about new ideas and they are intrigued by the novelty of this approach to national defense. They are also not completely satisfied with existing defense policy since it provides deterrence but no real hope of defense if deterrence fails. Many are further dissatisfied with the manner in which the system provides deterrence (threat of nuclear attack), citing moral objections, financial drain, and the terrible risk to life on this planet.

Deficiencies of the present system and the felt need for more security legitimize discussion of an alternative to military defense. We need not be apologetic or defensive about this. There will always be someone who will try to pass off our efforts as impractical or weak. But we must maintain our conviction that we are talking about *real strength, real defense*, when we talk about CBD. Nor are we proposing something impossible to

*(Continued on page 2)*

June 27, 1988

**LETTER TO THE EDITOR**

I believe Steven Huxley and Jack Salmon approached civilian-based defense from the wrong angle in the May issue when they looked for the military decision-makers of nation-states to adopt CBD.

CBD is something that must be adopted by the people of a country. The beauty of CBD is that it gives us a means of defense from foreign governments, while we demand disarmament of the government which happens to rule over us at the moment. Indeed, with CBD, people will soon start to ask, "Why do we need national government at all?"

Support for CBD, coupled with opposition to standing armies, is not the new and far out idea that it may seem to some. Indeed, it was the position of America's founding fathers. The second amendment to the U.S. constitution states, "A well-regulated Militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed." By "free State," the author meant a free state of society, rather than a government free to do as it pleases. "Militia" referred to civilians who organized themselves with their own weapons to defend their families and communities from foreign invasions.

Historian Murray Rothbard points out that it was with the militia-styled means of guerrilla warfare that General Charles Lee saved the American Revolution — which George Washington almost lost by using traditional armies in traditional warfare. Thomas Jefferson made his feelings about standing armies clear in 1799: "I am...not for a standing army in time of peace, which may overawe the public sentiment; nor for a navy, which by its own expenses and the eternal wars which it will implicate us, will grind us with public burthens, and sink us under them."

Salmon makes several related mistakes in his article. He writes, "Modern means of military defense can be immensely destructive of the society they are intended to protect." However, these means of defense are not intended to protect any societies; they are intended simply to protect and expand the power of the governments which use them.

**EXPLORING CBD** (Continued from page 1)

achieve. When Gene Sharp talks about civilian-based defense he often states that we have more reason to think this kind of defense could be implemented than we had reason to believe, in the early 1940's that an atomic bomb could be built. The technique of nonviolent action has a long history of effectiveness. There *is* good reason to think that it could be useful in future national defense. For those who would encourage exploration of CBD, then, a certain amount of self-assuredness (but not dogmatism) is needed. Until the idea is proved unworkable, we should be determined that it receives the consideration it merits.

Like any other good, rational idea, CBD, too, will probably not receive the consideration it deserves "at the top" until a lot of people "at the bottom" give it attention and determine to take it to a higher level. If, for example, in a certain society or institution there are several levels at which discussion of CBD could take place, one would normally expect that decision-makers at the higher levels will not respond until those on the lower levels indicate interest. Discussion could, of course, be initiated at one of the higher levels and be carried higher, but then it would also need to be brought to the lower levels so that the support of the masses can be obtained.

This principle is illustrated in a recent action taken by the U.S. Catholic bishops. In their 1983 pastoral letter on war and peace, *The Challenge of Peace: God's Promise and Our Response* (paragraphs 223-227), they encouraged serious consideration of nonviolent popular defense as an alternative course of action. In this instance, some approval of the concept was given at a rather high level in the world-wide Catholic Church, i.e., at the level of a national hierarchy. But apparently, no plans were made to bring the idea to the Catholic dioceses and parishes of the nation. As a result, discussion of the idea of nonviolent popular defense within the U.S. Catholic church seems to be almost non-existent, even five years after the pastoral. And with no interest expressed from the grassroots church, the bishops have apparently not felt called to advance the concept to any higher level within the church or even to continue the discussion of it on their own level. Still, CBD deserved the consideration given it by the bishops, and the fact that they wrote positively about the idea continues to give it credibility. One can only wish they had pursued the idea a bit more. The bishops, of course, are not the only ones in the church who could be taking action on this.

Hopefully, the idea of civilian-based defense will be inserted into discussions of national security wherever they occur — in political and military circles, in peace groups, in religious and educational institutions, and in every kind of community organization. The milieu in which discussion begins is not as important as what is done afterwards.

CBD study-group participants often ask "what next?" after their sessions are ended. *If a group has reached the conclusion that CBD is a useful idea then an important next step is to take the discussion to some higher level.* For example, if a local chapter of a national organization studies CBD and sees its potential, that chapter should not rest until the state or regional level of the organization takes some action. A simple way to accomplish this is to pass a resolution at the chapter level stating that the chapter has found the idea useful and now wants consideration given to it at the next level up, whatever that is. The written resolution can also be publicized outside the organization — an important step that helps to stimulate discussion in new circles.

An interesting thing often happens when groups study CBD. Someone will say, "I like this idea but we need to use it first against our own government," or, "We need to defend the environment against greedy corporations," or some other such concern. Comments like these indicate a mistaken identification of the technique of nonviolent action with one possible future application of it. CBD, if it were implemented in a country, would be an application of the technique to a particular nation's *defense* needs. Countless other applications of the technique have happened in history, continue to happen daily, and can happen in the future. But it would not be accurate to call all of them "civilian-based defense." What such statements do indicate is that the participants are beginning to grasp the immense potential nonviolent action has in so many different situations of conflict — such as between citizens and a repressive government, between citizens and insensitive but powerful corporations, etc. When this happens one can only be approving and encourage them to use the technique wherever they see the most pressing need. Hopefully at least some study group participants will want to give long-term attention to its applicability for national defense.

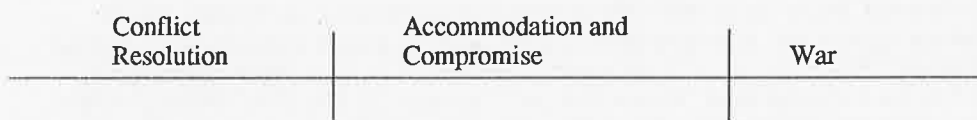
(Continued on page 3)

(Continued on page 3)

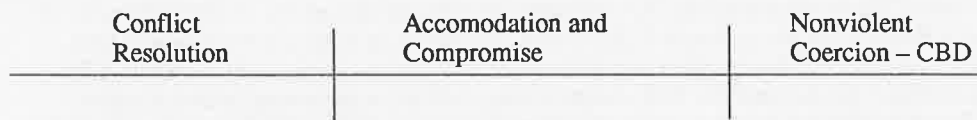
## EXPLORING CBD (Continued from page 2)

Some groups choose to teach nonviolence as a way of life rather than as a technique. They might also emphasize *conflict resolution* and *personal contact with "enemies"* rather than preparations for nonviolent coercion. Their choice is to work in positive ways for peace. Again, one can only affirm their approach. But there is also a need for study of what can be done to protect a society's legitimate interests nonviolently when conflict resolution, diplomacy and mediation break down.

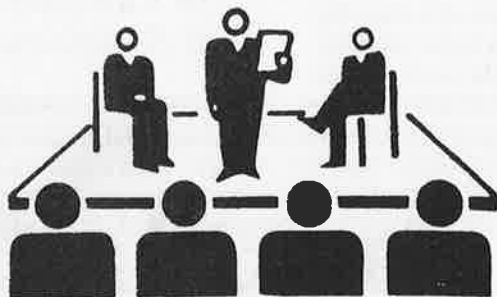
The traditional methods of dealing with disagreements (conflict) between nations might be placed on a continuum. On the left side would be all the *conflict-resolution efforts* such as exchange programs, problem-solving conferences, diplomacy, and the like, which are designed to reduce conflict and create peace between two countries. One can never have enough of this kind of effort. In the middle of the continuum would fall efforts such as summit meetings and treaties, which are aimed at bringing about *compromise or accommodation* when the conflict appears to be unresolvable. Off to the right on the continuum would be war, after conflict resolution and accommodation have failed. War, i.e., violent coercion, has been assumed to be the final solution.



It is up to proponents of CBD to show that war can possibly be replaced on the continuum by the planned *nonviolent coercion* which would be used in civilian-based defense. CBD would be like war in the sense that force is employed, but unlike war in that violent force would be avoided. Given world realities, the subject of *nonviolent coercion* would seem to be a necessary part of education in nonviolence, even for those who teach nonviolence as a way of life or as a necessary part of faith-living. Nonviolent coercion is not necessarily incompatible with love of one's enemy.



Finally, when people become excited about CBD they are anxious to begin implementing it. This desire needs to be affirmed, too, even though a practical strategy for implementation in a given nation would necessarily be the work of an entire generation, or even several generations. One should encourage people to take small calculated steps forward and not lose their interest in implementing CBD. Civilian-based defense can only result from many thousands (millions?) of citizens becoming aware of the concept, talking about it with their friends and associates and, very gradually, discovering how it can be implemented in their country, over an extended period of time. In most countries we have only just begun, but as first steps are taken, second and third and fourth steps become more possible!



## LETTER (Continued from page 2)

The objectives of CBD and the military are opposite. CBD is designed to protect society; the military is designed to protect the government. War is not "an attempt of one society to impose its will upon another." War is an attempt to expand the rule of a particular government over more people, while increasing its control over the people already subjected to its rule.

The distinction between society and the State is important. Societies are spontaneous orderings of individuals who come together to cooperate for mutual benefit. States, on the other hand, are essentially gangs of robbers and murderers who compete in their plunder of society.

The recognition that the interests of society and the State are completely opposite goes back several hundred years in American thought. Those who are interested in this tradition of thought should look into Authur Edirch's book, *The Civilian and the Military*.

—Terry Inman Editor,  
Youth Connection Florissant,  
Missouri USA

## FOR FUTURE REVIEW

*Fateful Visions: Avoiding Nuclear Catastrophe*, ed. by Joseph S. Nye, Jr., Graham T. Allison, and Albert Carnesale. Cambridge: Ballinger, 1988. Chapter 5, entitled "Nonprovocative and Civilian-Based Defenses," examines nonprovocative defense (the current West German models lumped together into a single class), the "global nonintervention, defensive defense" regime advocated by Randall Forsberg, and civilian-based defense as espoused by Gene Sharp. The chapter is written by National Defense University fellow Stephen J. Flanagan. *Defense & Disarmament Alternatives*, (June, 1988) a publication of the Institute for Defense & Disarmament Studies in Brookline, Massachusetts, states that Flanagan sees these kinds of defense as less convincing deterrents to aggression than nuclear weapons or large conventional forces.

**PROGRAM POSSIBILITIES  
FOR GROUPS WISHING  
TO PROMOTE ADDITIONAL  
CONSIDERATION OF CBD  
IN THE COMMUNITY**

**A. EDUCATE WIDELY \***

1. Supply all key people in the target audience with reading materials.
2. Ask editors of publications to carry an article on CBD.
3. Ask local and private libraries to stock the relevant books.
4. Help local educators bring CBD into their classrooms.
5. Get CBD talks and workshops on agendas: local, state, national.
6. Arrange for one or more kinds of study groups.

\* The Association can suggest resources.

**B. HELP PRODUCE AND MARKET  
NEW RESOURCE MATERIALS**

1. Create CBD resources for grade and high school.
2. Plan resources for one's own religious group.
3. Create audio-visuals for nation-wide general use.

**C. HELP GATHER FINANCING**

1. Give funding for local creative programs on CBD.
2. Help find grants for groups working in the field.

**D. HELP WITH NEEDED RESEARCH**

1. Consult with Harvard's Program on Nonviolent Sanctions in Conflict and Defense about CBD research priorities.
2. Organize an on-going research group locally.

**AN INTRODUCTORY BOOK  
FOR STUDY GROUPS**

Purchase five or more copies of the 96 page book, *National Security Through Civilian-Based Defense*, by Gene Sharp, and pay \$2.97 per copy instead of the regular price of \$4.95. Add 15% of purchase total for postage and handling. Order from: Civilian-Based Defense Association, Box 31616, Omaha, NE 68131, U.S.A.



By Robert A. Irwin - from 1983-1987 a member of the Board of the Civilian-Based Defense Association. His latest work, a study guide for groups and individuals entitled *Building a Peace System*, includes material on CBD and will shortly be published by *ExPro*, c/o Sociology Dept., Boston College, Chestnut Hill, MA 02167 (617-552-4198). The following is excerpted from "Civilian-Based Defense," published in the May/June 1988 special issue on "Security without Defenses" of *Creation*, a magazine of earth-centered spirituality (\$3.00 from P.O. Box 19216, Oakland, CA 94619).

The practicality of CBD as a solution to the problem of war and its relation to naive reformism and radical social change have been vigorously debated in Western Europe and to a lesser degree elsewhere. Its relevance to the U.S., with little reason to fear invasion, might seem nil. I will argue here however, that the CBD concept is important in three ways for U.S. peace activists.

First, CBD is relevant to the U.S. *because* it is relevant elsewhere. If West Germany or other NATO countries adopted CBD, costly U.S. troops in those countries would lose their rationale. By being inherently self-reliant and thus available to all countries, CBD undermines the rationale for U.S. overseas bases and anti-communist interventionism.

Second, CBD has an often-neglected aspect that is important even for people who do not share a critique of U.S. foreign policy or of war: its role as a defense against internal take-overs. In the waning months of Watergate in 1973, as Richard Nixon grew more desperate in his desire to retain power, Defense Secretary James Schlesinger (according to an account by Seymour Hersh in the *Atlantic Monthly*) made discreet inquiries into what troops would be available to Nixon should he decide (for example) to take military action against the Supreme Court or the Congress to prevent his removal from office. To counter the possibility of such a presidential coup, Schlesinger ordered the Joint Chiefs of Staff to insure that any unusual White House orders concerning troops in the Washington area be routed through his own office.

No coup attempt occurred in this case. But the integrity shown by the hawkish Schlesinger should not be counted on in all his successors. The episode points up the absence of a national plan for nonviolent resistance and defense of Constitutional government against an executive take-over attempt. Such a plan could be highly legitimate and would strengthen the U.S. public's capacity to resist in any future crisis. How to bring such a plan into existence should become a question on the agenda of the U.S. peace movement.

Third, CBD could play a significant role in transforming U.S. defense debates. By focusing on literal defense by the people of their country's way of life, civilian-based defense challenges prevailing distortions like the "nuclear madness" of deterrence strategy. Because there is strong evidence that it can be effective even against totalitarianism, it undercuts key ideological premises of the Cold War crusade. By providing effective substitute defense, it refutes the charge that anti-militarists offer no realistic alternatives. Changing from a disarmament to a transarmament focus could help concerned citizens drive a wedge between legitimate and illegitimate "defense" spending, thereby helping to halt the arms race.

*CBD could play  
a significant role  
in transforming  
U.S. defense debates.*

## SOME POSSIBLE MODELS FOR ADULT CBD EDUCATION

Many different ways of educating about CBD are possible at the adult popular level. These four might be considered by persons who wish to initiate group-study of civilian-based defense.

**#1 LECTURE AND DISCUSSION FORMAT** In this model someone already knowledgeable about nonviolence and CBD makes presentations on how the technique of nonviolent action has been used in past instances, by groups and societies defending their interests without violence. With this base of understanding about the *power* which groups have and can exercise when they withdraw their support from oppressive governments or institutions the discussion leader goes on to introduce the possibility of extending the use of this technique into the area of national defense. Participants discuss how it may be possible for a whole nation to refuse the cooperation that an enemy would need to rule.

**#2 SIMPLE FEASIBILITY STUDY** In this model it is best that participants share the same profession or work together in a particular business, industry or system. If the group has not yet been exposed to the kind of information presented in model #1 above, some time would be taken to first reach agreement about the historical importance of nonviolence. In order to grasp its potential for application in national defense the participants begin to discuss how they themselves might respond to an enemy's attempt to wield power over them in their particular profession or system. For example, if they work for a railroad and the enemy demands that the railroad move a certain number of box-cars and engines from the country's interior to the coast within a specific amount of time, how could they, as railroad workers, help frustrate this demand of the enemy or slow down its fulfillment? As participants discover the many possibilities for resistance within their own company and railroad system they will begin to sense the possibility that such resistance could be organized in *many* systems and professions. *National* nonviolent defense might no longer seem such a remote possibility.

**#3 BOOK STUDY AND DISCUSSION** This model, because of its simplicity, may be especially appealing to those who do not have time for a series of group sessions. Most of the work is done at home and only one or two group sessions are needed to accomplish one's purpose. A specific book about CBD (perhaps an introductory one like *National Security Through Civilian-Based Defense*, by Gene Sharp) is chosen. Friends, associates, or the general public are invited to take part. Copies for all participants are ordered and a meeting time and place are set for discussion. With one book read and discussed there may be interest in going on to another.

**#4 FORMAL STUDY COMMISSION** Considerably more planning, and possibly also funding, will be needed to initiate study of CBD by a commission. A commission will generally be composed of selected individuals who are entrusted by some group or institution to investigate the relevance of civilian-based defense to their own interests. Commissions could be initiated by churches, by private organizations or groups of them, by a government or some department of government, etc. The commission might gather its information through reading the existing literature on CBD, hearing public opinion, interviewing experts in one or more countries, etc. Because a considerable amount of time and sometimes money are expended on this kind of serious investigation the commission's findings are likely to be given serious attention when they are committed to writing and published. The report of the commission may then become a stimulus and a point of departure for studies and commissions set up by other groups to verify or refute the conclusions of the first commission.

### SPECIAL OFFER...

#### PAST ISSUES OF NEWSLETTER

The seventeen issues of *Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion* published since 1982 – all for \$10.00, postage paid. \$12.00 outside the U.S.). A quick way to review recent developments relating to CBD and to become acquainted with the people and groups throughout the world who are most involved. Write to: Civilian-Based Defense Association, Box 31616, Omaha, NE 68131. U.S.A.

## GRAPHIC REVIEWS

A Book Report by Leonard Rifas

G 68

A basic problem with the idea of disarmament...

...has been this question: if we disarm, then how do we defend ourselves?

For years, Gene Sharp has been writing scholarly books exploring an alternative policy: Civilian-Based Defense.

Ask your librarian!

CBD is a national defense system based on the planned non-cooperation of civilians to deter and/or defend against invaders and usurpers.

CBD ideas are explained, criticized, and developed in the newsletter *Civilian-Based Defense News-Opinion*.

P.O. Box 31616  
Omaha, NE 68131, USA

The style is cautious and sober, but the concepts they're playing with are dynamite!

Escape the traps of the conventional defense assumptions sensibly for just \$8 a year!

\*subscribe!



***A Bibliography of English-Language works on, or related to, Civilian-Based Defense Available***

Ackerman-  
Bond  
Carter  
Erdahl  
Freund  
Galtung  
Gandi  
Gregg  
Hughan  
Keyes  
King-Hall  
Lakey

*In this Issue, we have included a two page resource bibliography of publications on, or relating to, CBD. Additional copies of this document are available for 20 cents each. Please include a self-addressed, stamped envelope with your request for copies.*

***CENTER FOR NEW CREATION:  
STUDY GROUPS, 1983-1988***

*By Margaret Schellenberg, a Director of the Civilian-Based Defense Association, and staff member, Center for New Creation, 845 N. Lincoln St., Arlington, VA 22201 (phone: 703-528-1446). Ms. Schellenberg has experimented with popular CBD education for five years and shares her experience in this article. Many of the publications she mentions will be found in the list of resources printed elsewhere in this issue.*

During the past five years the Center for New Creation has been a resource and education center for CBD. We piloted our first CBD seminar in Fall, 1983, using the macro-analysis seminar of the Movement for a New Society, *U.S. Defense Policy: Mainstream Views and Nonviolent Alternatives*, by Robert Irwin and Beverly Woodward. While the program was a very useful educational process and offered many important resources, most participants felt its nine week commitment to be too long.

The next six to seven seminars were reduced to five sessions. In the first week, participants critiqued present defense strategy using various articles and a review of the book, *The Price of Defense*, by the Boston Study Group. The topic in the second week was nonviolence. Key chapters from the book, *War Without Weapon*, (Boserup and Mack), always stimulated interesting discussions about the differences between nonviolence based on an ideological or religious motivation (pacifism) and nonviolence that is strategically used to accomplish military purposes without using weapons of violence. In the third week participants read Gene Sharp's "Making the Abolition of War a Realistic Goal." Several chapters from Sharp's book, *Social Power and Political Freedom* were also presented. Content for the fourth week was an article by Brigadier General Edward Atkeson, which was a critical analysis from a military perspective about the relevance of CBD to U.S. national interests and defense needs. An unpublished manuscript by Mel Beckman helped participants conceptualize what CBD might look like in the U.S. if our country made the decision to transarm. In the fifth week we used articles from other parts of the world. We concluded with a paper written by Robert Johansen, "Toward an Alternative Security System."

The seminar process has been constantly refined and updated. More recent seminars have emphasized the concept of defensive defense as a useful tool for redefining what we mean by defense. Articles by Johan Galtung, Dietrich Fischer, and Anders Boserup have been extremely useful because they present, from a European perspective, a realistic but alternative assessment of Europe's defense needs, particularly in light of the newly signed INF treaty.

The Center has organized about ten seminars on CBD and one regional conference with Gene Sharp as keynote speaker. Simple advertisements in our newsletter filled the seminars with from eight to ten participants ranging in background from career military to peace activist; from elementary school teachers to college professors; from the religiously motivated to the intensely pragmatic. Such a diversity always makes for lively discussions. Enthusiasm for the seminars was always high at the end and participants usually indicated they were interested in some form of follow-up that would explore CBD strategy rather than theory.

Last year's publication of "Defending America Without War" by the Association for Transarmament Studies (now the Civilian-Based Defense Association) offered the opportunity for an interested group to come together to plan strategy rather than to discuss theory. Following the first meeting a group of 10 to 15 people continued to meet at various times to develop CBD "war games." We divided into Soviet and American teams and planned a Soviet invasion of a transarmed U.S. It was a stimulating exercise, but it needed more imagination and gaming skills than we had to push it further along. It is in this area, however, that much more creative work needs to be done.

The Center has found the concept of CBD to be extremely valuable and important for people who are interested in changing the course of present defense policy. CBD offers an alternative way of thinking and of assessing U.S. and global defense needs. We will continue to seek ways to present and further develop the concept with grassroots people.

## THE COUPS IN FIJI

By Brian Martin, Dept. of Science and Technology Studies, University of Wollongong, Wollongong NSW 2500, Australia.

On 14 May 1987 the elected government of Fiji was toppled by a military coup. The response to the coup within Fiji and overseas holds lessons for the development of social defense.

Fiji, a group of islands in the South Pacific, became a colony of Great Britain in the 1870s. The British brought indentured laborers from India to Fiji, so that today the population of 700,000 is ethnically 50% Indian, 45% Melanesian (native Fijian) and the rest European and other groups. The Indians or Indo-Fijians are completely acculturated to Fiji, most of them having long since lost contact with India. When Fiji gained independence in 1970, its constitution provided a complicated system of representation along ethnic lines.

From 1970 to 1987, the Alliance Party held power under Prime Minister Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara. The Alliance was mainly built around support from Melanesian Fijians and Europeans. In practice it served the interests of the ruling chiefs, who constitute what is in effect a feudal-style aristocracy. The opposition National Federation Party was mainly supported by Indo-Fijians. Fijian politics was built around ethnicity in a way which maintained both the traditional aristocratic hierarchy and the small wealthy capitalist class.

This pattern was challenged by the formation of the Fiji Labour Party in 1985. The Labour Party was multiracial and appealed to the oppressed. After some rapid successes, the Labour Party, in coalition with the Federation Party, won the 1987 national election. It was this government, led by Dr. Timoci Bavadra, which was overthrown six weeks later in a coup led by Colonel Sitiveni Rabuka.

The coup was opposed by many in Fiji, and the resistance was entirely nonviolent. There were protests, closing of shops and refusal to harvest sugar cane. The members of the ousted Bavadra government opposed violent resistance and organized "Operation Sunrise" to tell villagers about the realities of the constitution and the political system.

From the point of view of social defense, the significance of the Fiji events is less in the existence of nonviolent resistance than in the considerable support for the coup. Rabuka justified the coup as necessary to defend the rights of native Fijians and prevent a takeover by Indo-Fijians. By any realistic assessment, this claim had little substance. The Bavadra government had no intention of changing the constitution, which provided extraordinarily strong protection for Melanesian Fijian control over land. The constitution could not have been changed without agreement from the chiefs. Bavadra himself was Melanesian and his cabinet had a substantial Melanesian representation. The coup really served the interests of the aristocracy which was being challenged by the class-based politics of the Labour Party.

Although Rabuka's justification for the coup was weak, many Melanesian Fijians were taken in by the rhetoric, while the Indo-Fijians were mostly too frightened to make strong opposition. Furthermore, key figures of the Alliance Party did not take strong stands against the coup. Former Prime Minister Mara opposed the coup rhetorically but soon accepted a position in a constitutional commission and a replacement civilian government. Governor-General Ratu Sir Penaia Ganilau (a former Alliance Party politician) took a similarly ambiguous position. This has led to widespread belief that the Alliance Party was implicated in the coup.

Vital to social defense is the struggle for legitimacy. Nonviolent actions by themselves do not create a perception of the rightness of one's cause, and the theory of nonviolent action provides relatively little guidance on how best to proceed with the struggle for legitimacy in the face of entrenched beliefs about the roles of ethnicity and hierarchy and in the face of ambiguous actions by key symbolic figures.

The response of groups outside Fiji is also highly significant. Governments initially mouthed great concern and opposition, but did remarkably little in practical terms to oppose the military regime. The Australian government even went to the trouble of changing from the recognizing of governments to the recognizing of states, so that it could recognize the "state" of Fiji. Its double standard was revealed by its failure to recognize the "state" of Kampuchea.

There was much effort by supporters of the Bavadra government to lobby foreign governments, to petition the Queen, and so forth. This effort was largely ineffectual, as the governments were much more concerned about investments and strategic considerations than in acting to end the military regime.

(Continued on Page 8)

## NEWS & ANNOUNCEMENTS

### FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

We have received a report that 1,100 people attended the June 17-19 Congress on Social Defence in Minden. We will publish more information about this as we receive it.

### IRELAND

The "Independent Defence Research Group", formed in 1987 after the North Atlantic Network conference held at University College, Galway, has submitted to the Council of Defence a report entitled "A Defence Policy for Ireland". The researchers see present Irish defense capacity as inadequate to offer effective resistance to either NATO or Warsaw Pact forces. They see Ireland as unlikely to be attacked for the purpose of taking over and occupying the country as a satellite state but her military bases would be strategically important in a crisis. The report calls for a dissuasion policy in which advance preparations would be made for the destruction of the strategically important facilities, thus taking away any advantage an aggressor might gain by invasion. Preparations for nonviolent civilian resistance to occupation should also play a part in the dissuasion policy and a percentage of the annual military budget should go to research into civilian-based defense and peace research. Finally, the report recommends contact with other neutral countries which have similar elements in their defense policies. The Independent Defence Research Group is attached to the Centre for Peace Research, Saor Ollscoil na h-Eireann, 29 Lr. Baggot St., Dublin. (01)611661.

*We want to hear from you!*

**Send us the news about CBD from your country - and we will print it in this column.**

Mail News Items to:



Civilian-Based Defense:  
News & Opinion  
P.O. Box 31616  
Omaha, Nebraska 68131 USA

**COUPS IN FIJI** (Continued from page 7)

Much more effective were non-governmental actions. There were letters to newspapers, public meetings and rallies. Perhaps most important were bans on handling goods to and from Fiji by trade unions in Australia and New Zealand. But after a couple of months the bans were lifted when trade union leaders decided, on dubious evidence, that the rights of Fijian trade unionists were no longer being violated. Again, the struggle for legitimacy was the key to the effectiveness of the nonviolent action.

Short-wave broadcasts from Radio Australia and the British Broadcasting Service's World Service were quite important in getting news into Fiji (where there are numerous short-wave receivers), as the local media were censored.

Also important was tourism, Fiji's second largest export earner after sugar. After the coup, tourists stayed away. The drastic effects for the Fijian economy

have been one of the strongest factors generating internal opposition to Rabuka's regime.

Before the 14 May coup, there was no body organized to respond to coups in the South Pacific, even in a symbolic fashion: there was no social defense equivalent of Amnesty International. Such a body could have made statements which would have been newsworthy, could have promoted short-wave communication, could have counselled Fijians outside Fiji in nonviolent methods, could have sent activists to Fiji posing as tourists while at the same time promoting a tourist boycott, and could have liaised with trade union activists, among other things.

There is great scope for organizing against military coups in other countries. Yet almost all the attention in the study of social defense has been on defending from within the country, and most of this

attention has been on foreign invasion. Worldwide, coups are more frequent than invasions, and there are many more people to mobilize in countries outside where the coup takes place. Of course, it is essential to take any actions with the utmost care, with the maximum consultation with local resisters.

The Fiji events are far from over. After a period of preparation for a civilian government, Rabuka led a second coup in September 1987. A similar process of "normalization" occurred after the second coup. In June 1988 Rabuka brought down a decree which essentially meant martial law. The difficulty for opponents in this drawn-out process has been mobilizing concern after the initial outrage and media interest died down. The struggle for legitimacy continues and the need for support from the outside for democracy in Fiji remains.

---

## Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion

---

P.O. Box 31616  
Omaha, Nebraska 68131 U.S.A.

NON-PROFIT ORG. U.S. POSTAGE PAID OMAHA, NE PERMIT NO. 582
--



## CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE RESOURCES

A bibliography of English-language works on, or related to, civilian-based defense. Publications contained herein have some direct bearing on CBD. General works on nonviolence, with no discussion of CBD, are not included. The conclusions reached by the various authors are their own and may or may not reflect the views of the Civilian-Based Defense Association. Consult your library for books not currently in print. If your library does not have a particular book it can often be obtained through "inter-library loan" if you request this service. In some cases, CBDA might also be able to assist with hard-to-locate materials.

- ACKERMAN, PETER. *Strategic Aspects of Nonviolent Resistance Movements*. Ph.D. dissertation, Tufts University, 1976.
- ALTERNATIVE DEFENCE COMMISSION. *Defence Without the Bomb*. London and New York: Taylor & Francis, 1983. 311 pp.
- AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE. *In Place of War: An Inquiry into Nonviolent National Defense*. New York: Grossman Publishers, 1967. 115 pp.
- ATKESON, BRIGADIER GENERAL EDWARD B. The Relevance of Civilian-Based Defense to U.S. Security Interests. *Military Review* (Fort Leavenworth, Kansas), Vol. 56, No. 5, May 1976, pp. 24-32, and No. 6, June 1976, pp. 45-55.
- BOND, BRIAN. Nuclear-Age Theories of Sir Basil Liddell Hart. *Military Review*, Vol. 50 (August 1970), pp. 10-20.
- BONDURANT, JOAN. Paraguerrilla Strategy: A New Concept in Arms Control. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (1963), pp. 235-245.
- BOSERUP, ANDERS; MACK, ANDREW. *War Without Weapons: Non-Violence in National Defense*. London: Francis Pinter, 1974. 194 pp.; New York: Schocken Books, 1975. 194 pp.
- BOULDING, KENNETH. *Paths of Glory: A New Way With War*. London: Friends Book Centre, 1937. (Pamphlet)
- BRUYN, SEVERYN T. and RAYMAN, PAULA M. (eds.) *Nonviolent Action and Social Change*. New York: Irvington Publishers, 1979.
- BURRITT, ELIHU. *Thoughts and Things at Home and Abroad*. Boston: Philips, Sampson & Co., 1854; New York: J.C. Derby, 1854. (Contains earliest known essay on defense by "passive resistance.")
- CARTER, APRIL; HOGGETT, DAVID; and ROBERTS, ADAM. *Nonviolent Action*. London: Housmans Bookshop, 1970. (Bibliography)
- ERDAHL, LOWELL O. *Pro-Life/Pro-Peace*. Minneapolis, Augsburg Publishing House, 1986. 160 pp.
- FRANK, JEROME D. *Sanity and Survival*. New York: Random House, 1967. Ch. 12.
- FREUND, NORMAN. *Nonviolent National Defense: A Philosophical Inquiry into Applied Nonviolence*. Lanham: University of America Press, 1988.
- GALTUNG, JOHAN. On the Strategy of Non-military Defense: Some Proposals and Problems. In Galtung, Johan. *Essays in Peace Research*. Vol. II, *Peace, War and Defense*. pp. 378-426 and 466-472. Copenhagen: Christian Ejlertsen, 1976. 472 pp.
- GALTUNG, JOHAN. *The True Worlds*. New York: Free Press, 1980.
- GALTUNG, JOHAN. *There are Alternatives!: Four Roads to Peace and Security*. Chester Springs: DuFour Editions, 1984.
- GANDHI, M.K. *Nonviolent Resistance*. Ahmedabad: Navajivan Trust, 1951; reprinted ed., New York: Schocken Books, 1961.
- GEERAERTS, GUSTAAF (ed.) *Possibilities of Civilian Defence in Western Europe*. Amsterdam and Lisse: Swets and Zeitlinger, 1977. 172 pp.
- GREGG, RICHARD B. *The Power of Nonviolence*. n.p. 1935; Second edition, New York: Schocken Books, 1966. 192 pp.
- GREGG, RICHARD B. *The Psychology and Strategy of Gandhi's Nonviolent Resistance*. Madras: S. Ganeson, 1929.
- HALLIE, PHILIP PAUL. *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed*. New York: Harper & Row, 1979.
- HINSHAW, CECIL. *Nonviolent Resistance: A Nation's Way to Peace*. n.p., 1956.
- HUGHAN, JESSIE WALLACE. *Pacifism and Invasion*. New York: War Resisters' League, 1939; reprinted, N.Y.: A.J. Muste Memorial Institute, 1984. (Pamphlet)
- KENNAN, GEORGE. *Russia, the Atom and the West*. London: Oxford University Press, 1958. 120 pp.
- KEYES, GENE SCOTT. Strategic Non-violent Defense: The Construct of an Option. *The Journal of Strategic Studies* (London), Vol. 4, No. 2, June 1981, pp. 125-151.
- KING-HALL, COMMANDER SIR STEPHEN. *Common Sense in Defence*. London: K-H Services, 1960. 48 pp.
- KING-HALL, COMMANDER SIR STEPHEN. *Defence in the Nuclear Age*. London: Gollancz, 1958; Nyack, N.Y.: Fellowship, 1959. 223 pp.
- KING-HALL, COMMANDER SIR STEPHEN. *Power Politics in the Nuclear Age: A Policy for Britain*. London: Gollancz, 1962.
- KING-HALL, COMMANDER SIR STEPHEN. *The Small Countries*. *Free Denmark*, August, 1942, p.1.
- KRITZER, HERBERT. Nonviolent National Defense: Concepts and Implications. *Peace Research Reviews* (Oakville, Ontario: Canadian Peace Research Institute), Vol. 5, No. 5, April, 1974. pp. 1-57.
- KRUEGLER, CHRISTOPHER. *Liddell Hart and the Concept of Civilian-Based Defense*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Syracuse University, 1984.
- LAKEY, GEORGE. *Powerful Peacemaking: A Strategy for a Living Revolution*. Philadelphia and Santa Cruz: New Society Publishers, 1987. 246 pp.
- LIDDEL HART, CAPTAIN SIR BASIL HENRY. *Europe in Arms*. New York: Random House, 1937.
- LIDDEL HART, CAPTAIN SIR BASIL HENRY. *The Revolution in Warfare*. London: Faber & Faber, 1946.
- LIDDEL HART, CAPTAIN SIR BASIL HENRY. *Defence of the West*. London: Cassell & Co., 1950.
- LIDDEL HART, CAPTAIN SIR BASIL HENRY. *Strategy: The Indirect Approach*. 3rd ed., rev. and enl. London: Faber & Faber, 1954.
- LIDDEL HART, CAPTAIN SIR BASIL HENRY. *Deterrent or Defence*. London: Stevens & Sons, 1960.
- LIGT, BARTHELEMY de. *Conquest of Violence*. New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1938.

- MAHADEVAN, T.K.; ROBERTS, ADAM; SHARP, GENE. (eds.) *Civilian Defence: An Introduction*. New Delhi: Gandhi Peace Foundation, and Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1967. 265 pp.
- MARTIN, BRIAN. *Uprooting War*. London: Aldgate Press, 1984. 300 pp.
- MOULTON, PHILLIPS P. *Ammunition for Peacemakers*. New York: The Pilgrim Press, 1986. 137 pp.
- NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC BISHOPS. *The Challenge of Peace: God's Promise and Our Response*. (parag. 221-227) Washington, D.C.: United States Catholic Conference, 1983. 103 pp.
- NYE, JOSEPH S., JR.; ALLISON, GRAHAM T.; CARNESALE, ALBERT. (eds.) *Fateful Visions: Avoiding Nuclear Catastrophe*. Cambridge: Ballinger, 1988.
- QUILTY, JACKI; DICKINS, LYNNE; ANDERSON, PHIL; MARTIN, BRIAN. *Capital Defence: Social Defence for Canberra*. Canberra: Canberra Peacemakers, 1986. 68 pp.
- ROBERTS, ADAM. Civilian Defence Twenty Years On. *Bulletin of Peace Proposals*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (1978). pp. 293-300.
- ROBERTS, ADAM. Civil Resistance as a Technique in International Conflict. *Yearbook of World Affairs*, London: Stevens, 1970.
- ROBERTS, ADAM. Civil Resistance to Military Coups. *Journal of Peace Research* (Oslo) Vol. XII, No. 1, 1975. pp. 19-36.
- ROBERTS, ADAM. *Occupation, Resistance and Law: International Law on Military Occupations and on Resistance*. Stockholm: Forsvarets Forskningsanstalt, 1980. 311 pp. Revised edition: Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1983.
- ROBERTS, ADAM. Ed. *Civilian Resistance as a National Defense: Non-violent Action Against Aggression*. Harrisburg, PA. (USA): Stackpole Books, 1968. (reprint of the Strategy of Civilian Defence) 320 pp.
- ROBERTS, ADAM. Ed. *The Strategy of Civilian Defence: Non-Violent Resistance to Aggression*. London: Faber & Faber, 1967. 320 pp. Paperback edition with new introduction: *Civilian Resistance as a National Defence: Non-Violent Action Against Aggression*. Harmondsworth (England) and Baltimore, Md. (USA): Penguin Books, 1969. 367 pp.
- ROBERTS, ADAM; FRANK, JEROME; NAESS, ARNE; SHARP, GENE. *Civilian Defence*. Forward by the Hon. Alastair Buchan. London: Peace News, 1964. 70 pp.
- ROBERTS, ADAM; WINDSOR, PHILIP. *Czechoslovakia 1968: Reform, Repression and Resistance*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1969.
- RUSSELL, BERTRAND. *War and Non-Resistance*. Atlantic Monthly, August, 1915. pp. 266-274.
- SHARP, GENE. *Strategic Doctrines and Their Alternatives*. Paris: UNESCO, 1983.
- SHARP, GENE. *Exploring Nonviolent Alternatives*. Introduction by David Riesman. Boston: Porter Sargent, 1970. 162 pp.
- SHARP, GENE. Gandhi's Defense Policy. Gandhi as a National Defense Strategist. Both in: Sharp, Gene. *Gandhi as a Political Strategist*, pp. 131-198. Introduction by Coretta Scott King. Boston: Porter Sargent, 1979. 357 pp.
- SHARP, GENE. Investigating New Options in Conflict and Defense. *Teachers College Record* (Columbia University), September 1982, and *Social Alternatives* (Brisbane, Australia), December, 1982.
- SHARP, GENE. *Making Europe Unconquerable: The Potential of Civilian-Based Deterrence and Defense*. New York: Ballinger, 1985, and London: Taylor & Francis, 1985. 190 pp.
- SHARP, GENE. Making the Abolition of War A Realistic Goal. New York: World Policy Institute, 1981. (pamphlet) 16 pp.
- SHARP, GENE. *National Security Through Civilian-Based Defense*. Omaha: Civilian-Based Defense Association (formerly, Association for Transarmament Studies) 1985. 96 pp.
- SHARP, GENE. "The Political Equivalent of War" – Civilian Defense. *International Conciliation* (New York, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace), No. 555 (whole number), November, 1965, pp. 1-67. Revised edition: "The Political Equivalent of War" – Civilian-based Defense. In Sharp, Gene. *Social Power and Political Freedom*, pp. 195-261. Boston: Porter Sargent, 1980. 440 pp.
- SHARP, GENE. *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*. Introduction by Thomas C. Shelling. Boston: Porter Sargent, 1973. 902 pp. Paperback in three Vols.: I, *Power and Struggle*, 105 pp.; II, *The Methods of Nonviolent Action*, 339 pp.; III, *The Dynamics of Nonviolent Action*, 457 pp. Boston: Porter Sargent, 1974.
- SHARP, GENE. "Research Areas on the Nature, Problems and Potentialities of Civilian Defense." In: Biswas, S.C. (ed.). *Gandhi: Theory and Practice, Social Impact and Contemporary Relevance: Proceedings of a Conference*, pp. 393-413. Simla: Indian Institute of Advanced Studies, 1969.
- SHARP, GENE. Research Project on "Totalitarianism and Nonviolent Resistance." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (Ann Arbor, Mich., USA) Vol. III, No. 2, June 1959. pp. 153-161.
- SHARP, GENE. *Social Power and Political Freedom*. Introduction by Senator Mark O. Hatfield. Boston: Porter Sargent, 1980. 440 pp.
- SHRIDHARANI, KRISHNALAL. *War Without Violence*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1939. Reprint of 1939 edition: New York & London: Garland Publishing Co., 1972.
- SIBLEY, MULFORD Q. (ed.) *The Quiet Battle*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1963.
- SIDER, RONALD J.; TAYLOR, RICHARD K. *Nuclear Holocaust and Christian Hope*. Downers Grove, Illinois: Inter-arsity Press, 1982. 368 pp.
- SMOKE, RICHARD and HARMAN, WILLIS. *Paths to Peace*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1987. 114 pp.
- SOMMER, MARK. *Beyond the Bomb*. Expro Press. New York: The Talman Company, 1985. 180 pp.
- STEPHENSON, CAROLINE (ed.). *Alternative Methods for International Security*. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1982.
- STIEHM, JUDITH HICKS. *Contemporary Theories of Nonviolent Resistance*. Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1969.
- SVEICS, VILNIS VIKTORS. *Some Political Elements of Small Nation Defense*. Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1968.
- UNITED METHODIST COUNCIL OF BISHOPS. *In Defense of Creation: The Nuclear Crisis and a Just Peace*. Foundation Document. (p. 80) Nashville: Graded Press, 1986. 96 pp.
- WEHR, PAUL. *Conflict Regulation*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1979.

August, 1988

CBDA, P.O.Box 31616, Omaha, NE 68131 USA