

Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion

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

Address: P.O. Box 31616, Omaha, NE 68131, USA. Telephone (402) 558-2085

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CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE ASSOCIATION is a non-profit membership organization founded in 1982 to promote more widespread consideration of civilian-based defense as a possible alternative policy for national defense.

SUPPOSITIONS ABOUT THE TRANSITION TO SOCIAL DEFENSE



By Theodor Ebert, Frei Univ. Berlin, 1 Berlin 33 (Dahlem), Ihnestrasse 21, Fed. Rep. of Germany. Translated and reprinted with permission of the author, from Graswurzelrevolution, special issue on Social Defense, Number 123/124, 1988. Translation assistance by Conrad Kaserer, Uta Triplett and Walter Conser.

Ed. Note: In this article, Theodor Ebert, a leading peace researcher in West Germany, presents his views regarding the possibility of social defense through an alliance of German political parties. The article is the concluding section of a lecture on social defense delivered by Ebert at the Free University of Berlin in the Winter semester, 1987/88.

Thus far, historical experiences of popular resistance used against military interventions have not produced evidence of a shift from military to social defense, for this resistance came about without much planning in advance. After the resolution of the conflict, state authorities gave no further thought to social defense, nor to how it could have been prepared prior to the military intervention.

Following World War II, several neutral countries which had had experience with civilian resistance and which had played important roles in developing a conceptual framework for social defense, became members of a military pact. Instead of developing further their capacity for civilian resistance, they undertook great efforts to build up military strength. I am thinking here of states like Norway, Denmark, and the Benelux countries.

There are no historical examples of successful or unsuccessful transition to social defense - only theories of transition. I am convinced that such a transition will not come suddenly or all at once, but will develop as a gradual process. The supporters of social defense were initially cautious, conceiving of a country-by-country transition to social defense rather than a world-wide transformation. Moreover, they feared any form of world government. Two models emerged for the development of social defense in an

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

January, 1989

Nonviolent resistance is commonly portrayed as a means of defense with no capacity for foreign intervention. I suppose that many CBD advocates envision a withering away of the military to a level where defense forces exist only to plan strategy, provide education and training for citizens, and orchestrate resistance campaigns.

Gene Keyes addresses the question of what the military could accomplish if it were nonviolent and employed to do good. In his article "Force Without Firepower: A Doctrine of Unarmed Military Service" (Co-Evolution Quarterly 34, Summer, 1982, pp. 4-25), Keyes proposes to transform the military into a dynamic agent of positive social change.

Imagine an army of soldiers versed in nonviolent discipline, committed to saving lives, never to kill – a mercy force in service to humanity – courageous defenders of freedom and justice! Keyes outlines ten categories of missions for such a nonviolent service organization to pursue.

Military personnel and materiel could be deployed for *rescue action*, "saving lives and setting up disaster relief in times of natural or man-made catastrophe." An air, sea and land rescue command would help victims of earthquakes, hurricanes, wars and hunger.

Civic action would include "social service projects such as local construction, farming, public health, transportation, education, communication, conservation, community development, and the like." The Peace Corps, the Civilian Conservation Corps, and Volunteers in Service to America offer models.

Colossal action would be construction projects of enormous magnitude such as building the Panama Canal or reforesting the Sahara Desert.

Friendly persuasion is defined as "The use or display of nonviolent military force during normal or crisis periods for such purposes as goodwill, deterrence, show of strength, propaganda, hostage deployment, and political, psychological or economic warfare; by means such as goodwill visits, public and joint maneuvers, and the delivery of messages, food, equipment, gifts, or hostages..."

Nonviolent guerilla action is "Aggressive and unconventional initiatives by irregular but disciplined unarmed forces waging a revolutionary and/or defensive

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Suppositions . . . (Continued from page 1)

individual country. One, put forward by peace researchers in Sweden, emphasized a smooth, planned transition to social defense. The other, advocated especially by activists in Germany, expected more polarization and conflict within society before social defense would be accepted. I consider both models as important steps towards developing conceptions and creating the strategies for further research on the transition to social defense. One must, of course, consider carefully which factors in an actual case may cause a deviation from the model.

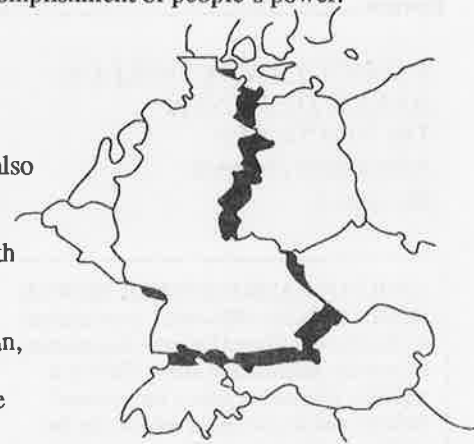
PEOPLE'S POWER IN THE PHILIPPINES

This can be clearly shown through the development of the nonviolent insurrection against the Marcos regime in the Philippines. A vision of a nonviolent revolt existed in the Philippines, one which built up people's power through an extensive and intensive campaign, stretching over years, and which was able - in the process of revolution and the overthrow of the Marcos regime - to exercise nonviolent political actions at all political and social levels. Nonviolent groups, who supported the presidential election campaign of Mrs. Cory Aquino in the beginning of 1986, counted on such a long and tedious grass-roots campaign of civil disobedience. Mrs. Aquino was prepared to begin such a campaign when, in February 1986, an attempted overthrow of Marcos by some reform-minded military officers and politicians failed. Some of those responsible, e.g., Enrile (Defense Minister) and Ramos (General Staff), together with the help of Roman Catholic Cardinal Sin, mobilized "peoples' power" in their defense and so brought about the early fall of the Marcos regime.

According to the model of the nonviolent revolution, the fall of Marcos was too early, just as the departure of the English from India occurred too early according to Gandhi's model of Satyagraha. Nevertheless, the fall of Marcos was a great victory and it would be useless to mourn the missed campaign of civil disobedience against Marcos and to give no credit to the really spontaneous accomplishment of people's power.

GRASS-ROOTS REVOLUTION IN WEST GERMANY?

The vision of a grass-roots revolution is also alive in West Germany, and I am proud to play my part in this vision. I feel, therefore, obliged to connect this important model with those relevant and intervening factors in German society. What may be seen in the model-maker's eyes as a negative factor, can, on the other hand, turn into successful possibilities in bringing about an alternative type of state.



For many supporters of a grass-roots revolution the founding of the "Green Party" as a political party came too early, and its success in the election polls did not cause them to forget the weak points and internal conflicts of this enterprise. Today, the Green Party is an intervening factor – and the model-builders must be aware of that – but it is surely also a source of hope. The Green Party wants to progress from the state's monopoly of physical violence towards a violence-free state organization, and they have explicitly declared social defense to be their specific concept of defense. Therefore, in view of the hoped-for changes regarding the type of state and method of defense, the question may be asked; what role are the Greens playing in bringing this about? The problem is this: what can a minority, which is for social defense, successfully achieve in a situation where it is necessary to build a government as a coalition member? As far as I can judge, an authentic Green Party can achieve much more than an isolated left-wing inside the Social Democratic Party (SPD) – and the left-wing of the SPD has the greatest chances of success if their allies within the SPD rely upon a Green coalition partner to displace a conservative government.

The demands of the Greens and of the left-wing of the SPD can only reach the level required for a change if a consensus coalition does not become necessary for the Right-wing of the SPD, and if there is no other small coalition ally available. Such a constellation could emerge, however, during the next Federal and state elections.

In view of the Federal elections of 1987, it has already been necessary to study the fundamental problems of a change in the defense policy.

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SOCIAL DEFENSE – A DISCUSSION BETWEEN THE SPD AND GREEN COALITION

So far, the different models for a change-over to social defense have always started from the proposition that such a transition could only be successful after the majority of the population was convinced by it. This "winning over" of the majority was always thought to emerge through a process of popular education, i.e., through a mixture of one's own experience with nonviolent resistance in the field of domestic politics and through an informational campaign concerning macro-political perspectives. Although there has been a very rapidly-growing body of literature about nonviolent action in West Germany over the last thirty years, nevertheless, several decades may still pass before a substantial majority is convinced in favor of a nonviolent government policy.

If the Greens build a coalition with the SPD before the time is ripe they may fall into the danger of accepting the traditional idea of the state as bearing the monopoly of legitimate violence. This danger is very real. The Greens will fall into that danger very quickly if, during coalition debates, they show interest only in popular and small ministries, leaving the Interior Ministry and Defense Ministry "naturally" to the SPD.

Such false modesty would stagnate the social defense question within the SPD-Green coalition, and, at the very best, the social defense alternative would be recognized only in research-spending issues. If one does not want to be content merely with minimal concessions, then one has to be prepared for a situation of negotiating between SPD and the Green Party, even if it does not accord with one's vision of a nonviolent movement or a grass-roots revolution.

It is a necessary step in conceptual preparation that one first put forward one's own analyses of likely threats and corresponding deterrence strategies, and then reflect upon their relationship to the SPD-sponsored concept of structured defense, and to social defense.

It is part of the preparation for organizing that, from within and from outside the party, the supporters of social defense unite, in order to press the issue. It is not important whether they be called "network" or "federal union" for social defense.

SPD: DEFENSIVE DEFENSE

Experts on defense and disarmament inside the SPD hold to a structural non-attack policy, based on the ideas of Horst Afheldts. But there are substantial differences between the concept of smooth transition held by the SPD and the more radical model of Afheldts. Therefore, some Greens see their task in pushing hard towards a quick and radical realization of Afheldts' ideas. This process I see as problematic, because, even though "defensive defense" is more rational than the existing atomic deterrence strategy, in practice it would bring catastrophic results. It would be possible that an aggressor, stopped by defensive measures, would still oppress centers of population. Beyond that, the calculated upper limit of damages is not well-defined. An important weakness in the analysis of threats is the fact that "defensive defense" responds only to the dangers of military threat by the Warsaw Pact, but not to potentially more dangerous military interventions by allies, or even against possible coup d'états.

Most SPD politicians would recognize these problems but they would still assert that their approach would eliminate the dangers. Nevertheless, some democratic states with experience in coup d'états should warn the SPD and press for appropriate preparations. It is widely known that the secret services of some of our allies within NATO do not observe state laws. If even today, under a conservative government, there exists an armed, extreme-right movement, then even more, one would have to expect violent actions under a SPD-Green coalition. It would be the task of the police force and law-enforcement agents to act against such dangers, but in a crisis situation such forces could soon be overwhelmed, or could even cause more escalations through their repressive measures. In the past, such forces were recruited from within the conservative spectrum, and so a government challenged by the Right-wing would not be able to fall back exclusively upon the efforts of such forces. In this case, the concept of social defense would offer an important perspective, because in such situations, popular movements could respond with their own actions.

INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF SOCIAL DEFENSE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONCEPT

Social defense was first proposed by pacifists, peace activists, and members of the ecology movement. The continuation of such a democratic start calls for training of an autonomous network of groups interested in the issues, and the formation of a federal union representing the issue of social defense.

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Letter (Continued from page 2)

struggle against a more powerful opponent." Greenpeace and Earth First are examples of what guerilla forces might look like.

Police action is "The use of unarmed military units for law enforcement, peace observation, and peacekeeping duties, in situations beyond the control of local authority."

Buffer action is "The deployment of unarmed military force between belligerents before, during, or after active hostilities."

In their **defense role**, nonviolent troops would be "assigned to cause the systematic dysfunction of an invading army: by occupying chokepoints; fraternizing with and demoralizing the opposing soldiers whenever possible; guarding strategic or symbolic sites with their lives; detaining quislings; operating or stalling transportation; restoring or disrupting communications; bivouacking on runways, railroads and highways; and so forth." Civilian-based defense would be incorporated as part of a larger strategy.

Expeditionary action would be "An unarmed military mission across national boundaries with a comparatively limited objective or duration...defense of another nation on its own territory, or temporary intervention in restraint of flagrant injustice, oppression, invasion or genocide."

Invasion would be intervention of a greater duration or scope than expeditionary action (for example, an invasion of South Africa to eliminate apartheid). Nonviolent military forces could make a just war a realistic possibility.

Foreign advisory is an eleventh function which I would propose adding to this list. Defense strategists and advisors could be sent to other countries to facilitate transarmament and to assist in nonviolent action training programs.

The potential of nonviolent military forces merits further exploration. Foreign policy aspects of nonviolent defense have been largely neglected. I propose that the Civilian-Based Defense Association reprint *Force Without Firepower* and distribute it with the same prominence as Gene Sharp's essay *Making the Abolition of War a Realistic Goal*. Keyes' unpublished 1971 thesis, *Force Without Firepower: A Survey of Ideas for a Doctrine of Unarmed Military Service* (Southern Illinois University), might be also be reviewed in *CBD: News & Opinion*.

- Gary W. Swing
545 Cooper Street
Woodbury, NJ 08096

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The idea of nonviolent, civilian-based defense can "take root" anywhere, but first it must be communicated in some way. *Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion* is now being received by one or more persons in 33 countries of the world. *With the help of our present readers, perhaps we can achieve global circulation by this time next year.* Please consider giving a gift subscription (\$12) to someone you know in a country which we are not yet reaching. Ask that person to share it with others there. Our newsletter is currently being mailed to the following nations: AUSTRALIA, AUSTRIA, BELGIUM, BRAZIL, BRITAIN, CANADA, CHILE, COSTA RICA, DENMARK, FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, FINLAND, FRANCE, GREAT BRITAIN, INDIA, IRELAND, ISRAEL, ITALY, JAPAN, KENYA, KOREA, MALTA, MEXICO, NETHERLANDS, NORWAY, PANAMA, SPAIN, SWEDEN, SWITZERLAND, THAILAND, UNITED STATES, VENEZUELA, ZAIRE, and ZAMBIA.

Institutionalization of Social Defense (continued from page 3)

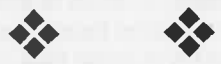
Social defense cannot be only a concern of civic groups and unions but has to be a form of democratic self-determination by state authority, and so there must be found, on that level, a dynamic form for institutionalization. This is a new social invention and has to be developed further. For that we need a new institution, investigation, active questioning, experimenting and systematic exercise.

I recommended to the Green Party in 1984 that it demand a federal ministry of social defense, which would be involved in the popular phase of defensive defense, and in civilian resistance to all armed intrusions. The federal ministry would first stimulate research and explore possibilities for resistance to specific threats within state organizations and associations. The point is not to dominate such resistance, but actively to question and counsel, to organize aid and to coordinate proposals under one strategy. Such a ministry could be assigned to the Federal Chancellor or to the Ministry of Defense. I would recommend such a ministry to the Defense Ministry, in order to cause a change of orientation within it and in order that war and military opponents could be trained to become instructors in social defense issues.

Because the public awareness of social defense stands at an all-time high, I expect an historic advance - one resulting from the institutional acceptance of the social defense concept and including the establishment of a state ministry for social defense.

I hope that, in the not too distant future, the characteristic of a modern democratic state will be that government and civilians are capable of social defense and no longer need physical violence - even in case of a military menace - to hold one's own ground.

It won't be easy to build up such a civilian authority, but it is a valid goal for the grass-roots project.



The Defense Shopper's Dilemma!
(Or, What To Purchase This Year?)

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Civilian-Based Defense Association
P.O. Box 31616
Omaha, NE 68131 USA
Telephone: (402) 558-2085

EDUCATION \$ per capita?

CBD AWARENESS

ALTERNATIVES FOR THE ECONOMIES



The NEW STEALTH \$516 Million+

SALE F15 Fighters \$38 Million*

F 14D TOMCATS \$75.2 Million*

\$2.4 Million* M1A1 TANKS

SIDEWINDER Air-To-Air Missile \$49,000 Each

BLACK HAWK HELICOPTER \$6 Million Each*

+ Source: A.F. Sec'y Edward D. Aldridge

* Source: D.O.D. Budget Fiscal Years 1990 and 1991 Jan. 9, 1989



CHURCH LEADERS CALL ATTENTION TO CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE

Editors' Note: Since 1983, leaders of several churches have encouraged their followers to consider the concept of nonviolent resistance within the framework of national defense. Their short but significant statements are printed below so that they can be compared and given wider circulation. Readers are invited to send us similar statements from other countries for printing in future issues of this newsletter.

ROMAN CATHOLIC

223. "Non-violent resistance, like war, can take many forms depending upon the demands of a given situation. There is, for instance, organized popular defense instituted by government as part of its contingency planning. Citizens would be trained in the techniques of peaceable non-compliance and non-cooperation as a means of hindering an invading force or non-democratic government from imposing its will. Effective non-violent resistance requires the united will of a people and may demand as much patience and sacrifice from those who practice it as is now demanded by war and preparation for war. It may not always succeed. Nevertheless, before the possibility is dismissed as impractical or unrealistic, we urge that it be measured against the almost certain effects of a major war.

224. b) Non-violent resistance offers a common ground of agreement for those individuals who choose the option of Christian pacifism even to the point of accepting the need to die rather than to kill, and those who choose the option of lethal force allowed by the theology of just war. Non-violent resistance makes clear that both are able to be committed to the same objective: defense of their country.

225. c) Popular defense would go beyond conflict resolution and compromise to a basic synthesis of beliefs and values. In its practice, the objective is not only to avoid causing harm or injury to another creature, but, more positively, to seek the good of the other. Blunting the aggression of an adversary or oppressor would not be enough. The goal is winning the other over, making the adversary a friend.

226. It is useful to point out that these principles are thoroughly compatible with - and to some extent derived from - Christian teachings and must be part of any Christian theology of peace. Spiritual writers have helped trace the theory of non-violence to its roots in scripture and tradition and have illustrated its practice and success in their studies of the church fathers and the age of the martyrs. Christ's own teachings and example

PRESBYTERIAN

"A strategy of civilian-based defense, grounded in nonviolent resistance, is now a matter of serious study at several major universities. Civilian-based defense involves work stoppages, strikes, slow-downs, boycotts, demonstrations, disabling key components of the infrastructures and other nonviolent means as ways of refusing to consent to be governed by an invading power. There is risk of failure in such an alternative, as there has always been in conventional military defense. For civilian-based defense to have a chance at success would require a degree of national consensus, discipline, and devotion which we do not believe exists in this country at the present time. We do believe, however, that the church needs to give careful study to the growing literature in this field."

(From *Christian Obedience in a Nuclear Age*, a 1988 policy statement adopted by the 200th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.). Available from Presbyterian Distribution Services, 1-800-524-2612.)



Catholic - continued

provide a model way of life incorporating the truth, and a refusal to return evil for evil.

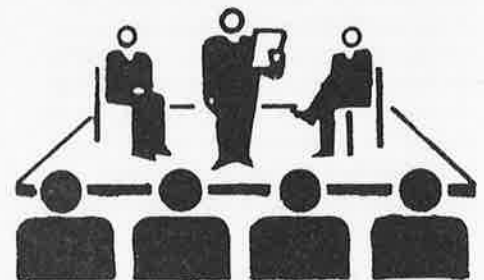
227. Non-violent popular defense does not insure that lives would not be lost. Nevertheless, once we recognize that the almost certain consequences of existing policies and strategies of war carry with them a very real threat to the future existence of humankind itself, practical reason as well as spiritual faith demand that it be given serious consideration as an alternative course of action."

(From *The Challenge of Peace: God's Promise and Our Response*, 1983 pastoral letter of the U.S. National Conference of Catholic Bishops. Available from U.S. Catholic Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005)

UNITED METHODIST

"We encourage special study of non-violent defense and peacemaking forces. In testimony to our hearing panel, Gene Sharp of Harvard University reported: "A vast - but neglected - history exists of people who have nonviolently defied foreign conquerors, domestic tyrants, oppressive systems, internal usurpers, and economic masters." Among notable examples are Gandhi's "satyagraha" (soul force) in India, Norway's resistance during Nazi occupation to keep schools free of fascist control, Martin Luther King's civil rights movement, and Solidarity in Poland. Every prospect that either military establishments or revolutionary movements might effectively replace armed force with nonviolent methods deserves Christian support."

(From *In Defense of Creation: The Nuclear Crisis and a Just Peace*, 1986 Foundation Document of the United Methodist Council of Bishops. Available from Graded Press, 201 Eighth Avenue, P.O. Box 801, Nashville, TN 37202.)



NON-OFFENSIVE DEFENSE (NOD) AND SOCIAL DEFENSE (SD): THEIR CONVERGENCE IN SPACE AND TIME

Summary, by Prof. Dr. Johan Niezing, Free University of Brussels, of his contribution to the International Symposium on Nonviolent Solutions of International Crises and Regional Conflicts, Frankfurt, February 1989.

The idea of a civilian-based defense (Social Defense, SD) as a complete alternative to military defense has been considered as something utopian. At best, politicians are willing to add a number of SD elements to a conventional type of military defense. The advocates of SD have become politically isolated during recent years, more than they ever were after the second world war. However, in the long run their "unrealistic" proposals are to be considered as the only way in which nuclear armament can be made obsolete.

On the other hand, the proponents of Non-offensive Defense (NOD) may furnish some "realistic" middle-term measures to diminish the risks of nuclear confrontations: however, in the long run such confrontations remain possible, even in case of a complete NOD structure.

SD and NOD are often considered incompatible and even conflicting. However, by expanding our defense models in space and time, some convergences occur that may enable us to unify them into one "alternative masterplan": SD as an ultimate aim, NOD as a temporary measure; SD (as a complete alternative) at the fringe areas, NOD at the zones of direct confrontation. Peace researchers from East and West should work together in constructing such unified masterplans for both sides of the European theatre.

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NONVIOLENT CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE The Next Step for Alternative Defense

By David Yaskulka, Center for Common Security, P.O. Box 275, 35 Spring Street, Williamstown, MA 01267. (413) 458-2159. Reprinted with permission of the author from COMSEC, newsletter of the Center for Common Security, Fall, 1988.

Since the founding of our Center for Common Security we have advocated providing for a strong defense *without* provoking potential adversaries. The first assumption of "common security"¹ is that, in the nuclear age, threatening our adversaries dangerously undermines our own security. We propose "transarming" from an offensive to a strictly *non-offensive, non-provocative* defense system, emphasizing weapons that protect but cannot reach others' borders.

Five years ago, these concepts were virtually unheard of. Only one year ago, non-offensive defense seemed like a visionary step toward more sustainable global security, advocated mostly by West-European peace researchers and retired military officials.

Now, non-offensive defense is being discussed at every level of the current security debate – on the front page of the New York Times², in Gorbachev's speeches³, in an op-ed piece by Secretary of Defense Carlucci⁴, in a special issue of *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*⁵, and in most major scholarly journals in the field⁶.

So where does pragmatic vision lead us next? The path to more peaceful models of resolving conflict must lead to ever more clearly *defensive* means of deterring attack. Nonviolent civilian-based defense (CBD) could be a logical next step. CBD can be considered as a component of, or even as an alternative to, a non-offensive military defense.

WHAT IS CBD?

CBD is a proposed policy of prepared civilian (rather than military) resistance to foreign attack, utilizing the techniques of nonviolent action. The intent is to deter and defeat military invasion by denying potential aggressors any benefits of attack, and by maximizing the costs of aggression. This is accomplished by defending social, economic and political institutions via strategic resistance and non-cooperation, by demoralizing invading troops, and by turning international opinion strongly against the aggressors. In short, the civilian population is prepared to make domination and control impossible.

What would such a defense look like? If an aggressor sought economic gain, workers would slow down or strike, consumers would boycott, officials would not cooperate. If indoctrination were sought, school children, teachers, media workers and government officials would resist. Attacking troops would not be physically threatened but would be psychologically tormented, unwelcomed, or even convinced of their wrongdoing.

No nation has ever implemented a civilian-based defense - that is, a *prepared* policy of defense by civilian resistance. There are, however, many historical cases of *improvised* use of civilian resistance (although these are *not* actual examples of CBD)⁷.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA, 1968

The most interesting historical indication of the promise of CBD is the Czech resistance to the Warsaw Pact invasion in August 1968.⁸ Military strategists generally agree that the Czech army would have been defeated in two days to a week. But instead of waging an obviously futile military struggle, Czech Communist Party leader Alexander Dubcek called for a popular nonviolent resistance which effectively denied Soviet objectives for eight months.

Government officials publicly declared that they did *not* invite the invasion (as the Soviets claimed). Citizens shouted "Go home!" to confused tank drivers and physically blocked their paths. An underground radio broadcasted the call to resist. Prague street signs disappeared, confounding military objectives. Railroad workers "accidentally" rerouted Soviet jamming equipment to Poland. Demoralized Warsaw Pact troops were rotated out roughly every three days.

Of course, this was no victory for the Czechs, or for nonviolent resistance. Yet it is important to note that they waged this struggle with absolutely *no* popular preparation, no particular understanding of the history or range of techniques available, and no strategic planning. Even without these fundamental prerequisites to successful struggle, the Czechs fared far better than they would have using their prepared military means.

Three questions arise: First, what would have happened if the Czechs had had a prepared, strategically developed CBD policy rather than a haphazard improvisation? While it's not at all clear that they would have been successful (in fact, the Warsaw Pact was a

(Continued on page 7)

Czechoslovakia (Continued from page 6)

formidable opponent, far superior in manpower, economic and material resources), they certainly would have been much *more* successful. Second, would the Soviets have invaded at all if they had anticipated an eight month (or longer) struggle rather than the three-day fight they expected? Again, they might well have, but there would be a greater probability of their exercising caution. Finally, what can we learn from this case?

NEXT STEPS

Gene Sharp accurately describes the necessary condition for the implementation of such a policy: "that today's elementary idea of CBD can be refined and developed to produce a new kind of defense policy at least as effective as military means."

Developing truly functional defense alternatives has become vital, given the decreasing utility of armed force for providing national and global security and the increasing precariousness of nuclear deterrence. The historically-indicated potential of CBD (a potential, as Sharp points out, far greater than that of nuclear power in 1940) merits greatly increased research and development by scholars, military strategists, and policy planners. CBD may not prove to be a viable alternative, but prudence dictates that its potential not be overlooked.

Three other points compel us to intensify efforts toward CBD: 1) it offers defensive capabilities unavailable to military force (especially in the defense of cities), 2) it clearly demonstrates non-interventionist and non-provocative intentions, and 3) it fosters precisely the type of citizen participation necessary to keep a democracy secure.

Already, governmental and scholarly analysis of the potential of CBD is underway in such nations as Britain, Ireland, Finland, Belgium, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Sweden, Austria, Denmark, Italy, and West Germany.⁹ In the United States, a growing number of scholars and organizations are active in research and development, led by Sharp's Program on Nonviolent Sanctions in Conflict and Defense at Harvard University. Even Harvard's mainstream "Project on Avoiding Nuclear War" considers the prospects of CBD in their new book *Fateful Visions* (see review by Leonard Gambrell in *Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion*, Sept/Nov 1988, Ed.).

Many questions remain to be answered. What is the potential deterrent or dissuasive value of CBD? How would CBD respond to nuclear threats? Could CBD stand up to the most ruthless totalitarian regimes? How would CBD respond to terrorism? What is CBD's particular relevance to NATO, and the Warsaw Pact? Of course, these questions must also be asked of every form of defense, including the present systems.

The most intriguing questions about such a policy concern its social, economic and political implications. The military is our most centralized, costly, secretive and undemocratically-controlled institution. Perhaps this is necessary. But assuming that CBD could someday provide an effective deterrent and defense, what would such a decentralized, economical, open and participatory policy mean for our society?

Even CBD's strongest proponents (notably Sharp) emphasize that it will require rigorous research and policy studies. Most compelling is developing the potential for adding a nonviolent civilian-based defense component to a non-offensive conventional posture – especially for our European allies. This could be the most logical next step toward ever safer, ever more defensive security systems.

Footnotes:

1. The Independent Commission on Disarmament and Security Issues ("the Palme Commission"), *Common Security: A Blueprint for Survival*, 1982.
2. Bernard Trainor, "Soviet Arms Doctrine in Flux: An Emphasis on the Defense," *New York Times*, March 7, 1988. See also John J. Fialka, "Europe Ponders Shift in Military Strategy," *Wall Street Journal*, March 8, 1988.
3. For example, see Mikhail Gorbachev, "The Reality and Guarantees of a Secure World," *Pravda and Ivestia*, September 17, 1987.
4. Frank Carlucci, "Is Moscow Really Tilting To Defense?," *New York Times*, May 6, 1988.
5. *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, September, 1988, special twelve-part section "Nonoffensive Defense", guest-edited by Hal Harvey.
6. See, for example, Jack Snyder, "Limiting Offensive Conventional Forces: Soviet Proposals and Western Options," in *International Security*, Spring, 1988, and Stephen Larrabee, "Gorbachev and the Soviet Military," *Foreign Affairs*, Summer 1988.
7. Other important historic uses of improvised civilian resistance to invasion or internal usurpation include: the 1923 German fight against French and Belgian occupation, major aspects of Norwegian, Dutch and Danish resistance to the Nazis, and the 1920 German Government-led non-cooperation with the Kapp Putsch.
8. See Gene Sharp, *Making Europe Unconquerable*, pgs. 47-50, Robert Littell, ed., *The Czech Black Book*, Adam Roberts' introduction to his *Civilian Resistance as a National Defense*, and Roberts, "Czechoslovakia 1968: Reform, Repression, and Resistance."
9. *Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion*, May 1988.

TRANSLATORS NEEDED

If you can translate from a foreign language into English and are willing to occasionally volunteer your services to help with a translation, please write to the Civilian-Based Defense Association, Box 31616, Omaha, NE 68131. U.S.A.

**SPEAKERS LIST
AVAILABLE SOON**

A U.S. list of individuals who are able to give talks or conduct workshops on the subject of civilian-based defense is being prepared at this time. It can be obtained without charge after March 1, 1989, by sending a stamped, self-addressed envelope to: CBDA, Box 31616, Omaha, NE 68131 USA. For referrals to speakers before March 1, please call CBDA at 402-558-2085.



We want to hear from you!

**Send us the news about CBD
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Mail News Items to:



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The Civilian-Based Defense Association

A Brief History

ORIGIN

The Association traces its beginning to an Omaha, Nebraska organization – the Metro Omaha Peace Association. In the late

70's that group began to investigate the notion of "transarmament" and nonviolent defense. Two public conferences on transarmament were organized in Omaha, in 1978 and 1982, with help from the Nebraska Committee for the Humanities. After the 1982 conference, the Association moved to transform itself into a national organization to promote public understanding of this kind of defense. Its name was changed to "Association for Transarmament Studies" and a national newsletter, *Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion*, was initiated.

1982-1988

A national Board of Directors met in Omaha for the first time in April of 1983 and again the following year.

Subsequent annual meetings of the directors have been held in Washington DC, Detroit, Cambridge and Leavenworth. Since 1982, the Association has published a book by Gene Sharp; (*National Security Through Civilian-Based Defense*), several other pieces of literature, and nineteen issues of the newsletter. The Association has also provided speakers and made CBD-related material easier to obtain by the public. The Association's name was changed to "Civilian-Based Defense Association" in 1987 and priority was given to improving the content, format and circulation of the newsletter. In 1988, a two-year grant was received from the Albert Einstein Institution to support development of the newsletter.

NEWS & ANNOUNCEMENTS

UNITED STATES

In November, 1988, Dr. Stephen Crawford was appointed Executive Director of the Albert Einstein Institution (1430 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138. [617] 876-0311). The Einstein Institution also released last Fall a very informative report on its research and publishing activities relating to nonviolent sanctions, covering the period from its beginning in 1983 until the present. It is entitled, *The First Five Years-1983-1988 and Plans for the Future*.

CHILE

An 86 page summary of essential points of *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, by Gene Sharp (prepared originally in Mexico), was published in Spanish last Fall in Chile, as *La Lucha Politica Noviolenta*.

CANADA

An introductory sociology text is in use in Canada which includes an application of sociological principles to war and peace and also some material on civilian-based defense. Metta Spencer's *Foundations of Modern Sociology* (Prentice Hall) is in its fourth edition and there are both Canadian and American versions of the text. According to John Mecartney (Sociology Dept., Mercy College in Detroit), Spencer, in a comprehensive chapter on war and peace, shows how current deterrence strategies do not work but appeasement is no solution. She refers to Gandhi's methods and Sharp's work. Making clear that simply being nonviolent is not enough she shows how refusal to cooperate with an oppressor is essential. Spencer also edits *Peace Magazine*, published by the Canadian Disarmament Information Service, 736 Bathurst St., Toronto, Canada M5S 2R4.

BRITAIN

"Just Defence", an organization advocating non-provocative defense, issues *Just Defence Report*. For subscription information, write to: Robin Fennell, 14a Homelands, Ball Lane, Wolverhampton WV 10 7EZ. Dr. Frank Barnaby is Chairman of the group and Dr. Pat Craig is International Secretary. Just Defence recently issued a discussion paper entitled *Nine Theses On Defusing Central Europe as a Potential Source and Theatre of Military Conflict*. It contains the text of an address by Dr. Lutz Unterseher, Chairman of the European Study Group on Alternative Security Policy in Bonn. The address was given to a Just Defence invitation meeting at the House of Commons. In his eighth thesis, Unterseher states, "People who do not trust 'defensive defense' and ask for extra safety have to make their choice: between adding retaliatory elements to the posture (thereby creating stability problems) on the one hand, and incorporating rather demanding recipes of non-military defense (civil resistance schemes) on the other." In his commentary, Unterseher states that he would personally feel sufficiently safe with the introduction of a defensive defense. For skeptics, "Maybe the idea of civil resistance, though hard to sell to the wider public, could provide a future non-provocative defense with a political fall-back position – a kind of 'redundant' security adequate for free societies."

BELGIUM

According to a letter from Prof. Dr. Johan Niezing, the government has decided to lay the groundwork for a national institute for the study of peace and security. Some political parties insisted that social defense be included as a substantial part of its research program. The Centrum voor Polemologie (Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Pleinlaan 2, B-1050 BRUSSEL. Tel. 641.20.24), which is directed by Dr. Niezing, received a one-year mandate to write a feasibility study. Some students in Belgium are writing theses on social defense matters and European Green parties are becoming more and more interested in social defense. Niezing sees social defense becoming a logical choice – an unavoidable option, sooner or later. The Belgian Green Party (Agalev, 12 members in parliament) has adopted this vision, as did the Dutch PPR somewhat earlier. This month (January, 1989), Niezing is scheduled to speak in the European parliament on social defense, for representatives of all European Green parties. In February he is to speak on the convergence of non-offensive defense and social defense (see summary elsewhere in this issue).

FRANCE

According to an article, "Nouvelles De L'I.R.N.C.", in *Alternatives Non Violentes* (issue 69), the IRNC (Research Institute on Nonviolent Conflict Resolution) has been entrusted with an important research contract by the Foundation for National Defense Studies. The research is about "prospects for communal action on civilian strategies for defense in several West European countries, with a view to increased European security." Financial support is also provided by the EEC. The research, which started in the Spring of 1988, is directed by Jean-Marie Muller. On the French side, the work is entrusted mainly to Hugues Colle. In Belgium, Robert Polet is responsible, with financial help from the Centre for Defense Studies. In the Federal Republic of Germany this role is held by Roland Vogt and the "Hessische Stiftung Friedens und Konfliktforschung." The research is based on the idea that the working together of the various non-military resistances in Europe should encounter fewer obstacles than the idea of an integration of national military defenses. Such preparations would not appear to be a destabilizing factor or present any obstacles for improving East-West relations. *Alternatives Non Violentes* can be reached at 16, rue Paul-Appell, 4200 Saint- Etienne. To contact IRNC, write to: BP 19 - 94121, Fontenay- sous-Bois, France. Tel. (1) 48.75.44.46.

REVIEW

Graswurzelrevolution, special issue on "Soziale Verteidigung" (Social Defense), 1988, Nr. 123/124. Address: Verlag Graswurzelrevolution e.V., Nernstweg 32, 2000 Hamburg 50, Fed. Rep. of Germany.

By Walter Conser, Department of Philosophy and Religion, University of North Carolina at Wilmington.

Recently, the West German magazine, *Graswurzelrevolution* (Grassroots Revolution), devoted a special issue to the topic of social defense. This was the third time that this publication had chosen this topic as the focus for a whole issue. The reason for the choice was the upcoming convocation, "Approaches to Social Defense," which was held in the West German town of Minden in June 1988. Thus the editors hoped to contribute to the proceedings by focusing discussion, raising questions, and indicating profitable directions for further thought and action.

Roland Vogt, a member of the German Green Party, provided a short introduction to the concept of social defense. Other introductory essays reviewed the use of social defense against the Kapp Putsch in 1920, in defense of German Jews during WWII, and in the 1968 case of Czech resistance against Russian occupation.

A second set of essays examined questions such as social defense initiated by popular demands versus that inaugurated by governmental proclamation. This concern reflected the long-standing discussion whether social defense will more probably be introduced "from above," that is, through governmental or parliamentary/congressional efforts or "from below" in response to social revolution and popular demands. Though many advocates of alternative defense systems have long argued that such systems could only arise out of social revolution, the recent interest on the part of several European governments in these alternatives raises this question with a new urgency.

A final set of essays discussed other contemporary topics. For example, one article explored whether social defense had a relevance for preventing one's own country from committing acts of aggression and oppression in a Third World country in the name of "national interest." Could economic imperialism and military adventurism be stopped by social defense within the aggressor country? Another author emphasized that social defense is designed to protect the lives, traditions, and values of a people and not to maintain the ruling elites, parties, or governmental structures of that people. A final contribution provided a feminist perspective on the discussion and concluded that since patriarchal structures are obstacles to human freedom, if social defense is nothing more than the preservation of governments which perpetuate patriarchalism, then feminists should have nothing to do with this defense.

This issue of *Graswurzelrevolution* displayed many of the specific issues as well as the level of involvement characteristic of the discussion of social defense in West Germany. Members of Parliament and local activists, libertarians and governmental consultants participated in a wide-ranging consideration of the topic. Noticeably lacking were contributions from the major political parties in Germany as well as recognition of the interest among military officials in Europe. Nonetheless, the overall discussion attests to the wide level of concern among persons of differing political persuasions in issues of common security and alternative defense systems.

A Brief History

(Continued from page 8)

1989

The Association is an international network of approximately 750 members, subscribers and other interested persons. Its newsletter carries news and opinion about CBD from contributors throughout the world and about eighty copies of each issue are sent abroad (to 32 nations). In the United States, members and subscribers from 48 of the 50 states receive the newsletter. An international advisory committee is being formed to ensure that the Association is accurately informed about CBD-related developments world-wide. The Board of Directors is also being expanded. Invitations to participate are being sent to certain national groups known to be interested in CBD, such as AFSC, WRL, Pax Christi, and the Catholic, Methodist and Presbyterian churches.

FUTURE

The Association will publish the first edition of a *CBD Primer* later on in 1989. The *Primer* will be written in easy language, show how CBD is relevant generally, and more specifically to the United States, and take a position on what steps should be taken in the U.S. In 1990, the Association plans to hold a conference for invited representatives of about fifty U.S. organizations and Institutions, to discuss the relevance of CBD in this country and actions that are needed. The Association will do what it can to encourage such planning in other countries as well. Through its newsletter and other efforts the Association hopes to be of help to people in many parts of the world as they begin to consider the practicality of nonviolent, civilian-based defense.

**Civilian-Based Defense: News
& Opinion**

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