

Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion

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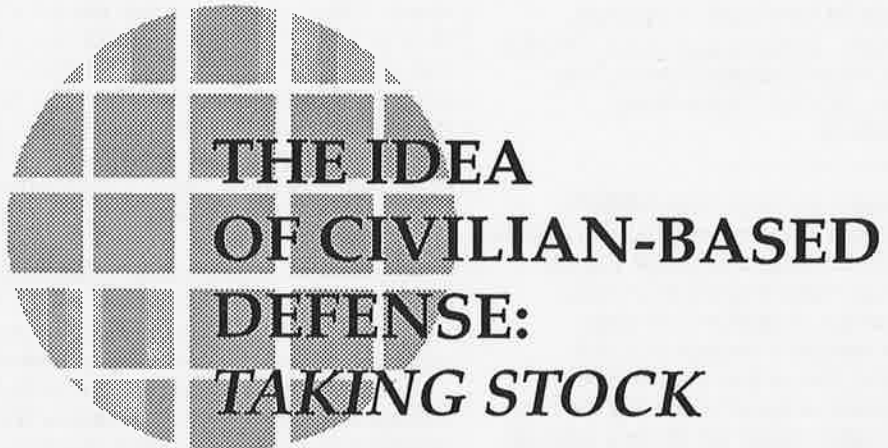
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CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE ASSOCIATION is a non-profit membership organization founded in 1982 to promote more widespread consideration of civilian-based defense as a possible alternative policy for national defense.



Ed. Note: A number of persons who have done writing or speaking on CBD in recent years were asked to respond to the following survey questions:

“In the past five years have you been pleased or discouraged by developments relating to civilian-based defense? Do you expect to see public interest in civilian-based defense grow or decrease during the next five years?”

Here are their replies:

ROBERT IRWIN

If a warless, decent world is our goal, I am convinced that civilian-based defense is one of the elements needed to achieve it. Happily, important progress has been made toward CBD's becoming a recognized policy option. Looking first at the U.S.: in 1982, who would have dared hope that the very next year the U.S. Catholic bishops would refer to CBD in a pastoral letter? Or that George Kennan would discuss it in a review featured on the cover of *The New York Review of Books* (2/13/86)?

We now have institutions for studying and promoting CBD, thanks above all to the persistent efforts of Gene Sharp and Mel Beckman. The many people who have helped create and sustain the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions, the Albert Einstein Institution, and the CBD Association should feel pride in this achievement.

That CBD is progressing onto the intellectual and political map in the U.S. is evidenced by its now often being mentioned in writings on peace or defense. Cf. Christopher Lamb, *How to Think About Arms Control, Disarmament, and Defense* (1988), Duane Cady, *From Warism to Pacifism* (1989), or William E. Griffith et al., *Security Perspectives of the West German Left* (1989). Yet such mentions are too often skimpy (Cady cites only Sharp's Wallach Essay and Walzer), muddled (Lamb obscures whether CBD is resistance or not), or misleading (Griffith characterizes "social defense" as "along Afheldt's lines"). This should not discourage us; rather, it indicates a continuing task.

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CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE FOR AUSTRALIA?

Ed. Note: The following is excerpted from *Choosing Australia's Defence* (Peace Dossier 22, April 1989) by Peter Jones, research assistant in the office of Senator Jo Vallentine, West Perth, Australia. A publication of the Victorian Association for Peace Studies, Ross House, 247/251 Flinders Lane, Melbourne.

"Having withdrawn from ANZUS, developed a strategy of defensive defence and worked over a period of years to promote regional common security guarantees, Australia could begin to move towards a strategy of social defence. Given that there is little likelihood of invasion and that the only foreseeable threats are likely to take the form of low-level harassment, either in maritime areas or in the North of Australia - though it is still hard to envisage quite who might do this or why - there is also the option of a territorial defence strategy in the north and social defence to be utilized in the urban areas of the south.

This is because social defence would operate best in urban areas, Ralph Summy from the University of Queensland has also proposed confining armed defence to the coastlines. The defence strategy would be two-staged. Military defence would be used to resist attack while it was in transit, through the use of the air force and navy equipped with small, advanced missiles. Once an invader actually landed the defence would change to civilian-based defence, with all military activity stopping immediately.

. . . The debate on alternative defence options in Australia really hinges on whether defensive defence within a non-aligned framework is the best option to work for now, or whether we should go straight for social defence - knowing that this alternative would take longer to become acceptable to the Australian community because of the total change of attitude it would require."



CBD - TAKING STOCK (continued from page 1)

Looking outside the U.S.: the advance of the Green parties potentially can aid CBD's progress; but dilution or abandonment of CBD in Green and other party platforms is also possible. Diligent lobbying and education are needed. The recent (March 1989) founding in West Germany of the League for Social Defense, headed by Petra Kelly and Theodor Ebert, is heartening and, given the special prominence of the German Greens, may prove important globally for CBD.

In the next five years I expect growth in public interest in CBD in the U.S. and elsewhere. This may not, however, make the work of the CBD Association much easier. Ecology seems to be replacing war as a top worry; and even among people focused on war, ideas like "non-provocative defense" (see Jack Beatty's June *Atlantic Monthly* article) and "common security" may be advancing as fast as CBD. These ideas, "Green politics," and the still broader "building a peace system" approach I and some others have been developing are all competing with CBD for attention. CBD is consistent with (and often explicitly part of) each of the approaches just mentioned, but this may "only" mean more people favorably aware of CBD, without more necessarily being actively devoted to promoting it.

Nevertheless, the benefits of wider awareness of CBD certainly outweigh any drawbacks, and from the larger pool of people it will be possible (with continuing effort) to recruit stable and perhaps growing numbers of members for CBDA, researchers, funders, etc., even while individuals' shifting interests cause turnover.

The relative salience of "defense" in European politics may decrease as it becomes less and less imaginable that any invasions will ever again occur there; yet during the demilitarization process some military resources and energy seem almost certain to move toward CBD. CBD as a defense against coups, however, may deserve more emphasis, and this is certainly true, as I have argued elsewhere, for the U.S.

The situation is complex and changing, but CBD remains important. Intelligent efforts should bring worthwhile results.

Robert A. Irwin, Belmont, Massachusetts



The last five years have seen more exciting and encouraging news for the future of nonviolent national defense than anything since the civil rights campaigns under King. First, there was the civilian confrontation of the army in the Philippines. A military clash was prevented by unarmed citizens standing in front of tanks. That the high idealism of these actions did not continue under the Aquino regime

in no way detracts from the illustrative value of the street campaign.

Second, there is the continuing "intifada" in Palestine. This is a form of semi-nonviolent resistance where guns and explosives have been carefully excluded by the protesters in favor of rocks, resulting in very few deaths of Israeli soldiers. The nonviolence education work by deported Mubarak Awad has been important. Who knows how much more successful this campaign - with its shop closings by protesters, their tax refusals, etc. - might be if the rocks were discarded and the soldiers did not have even this excuse to shoot and kill.

Third, there is the several-weeks nonviolent protest in Beijing. Tanks and soldiers were confronted, demonstrating exactly how an invading army might be resisted by American civilian defense forces schooled in the ways of King and Gandhi. Even the eventual breakdown of the resistance provides valuable instruction for civilian defense strategies. How were some apparently non-student resisters provoked into violence by fresh soldiers unacquainted with the ongoing weeks of nonviolence? The example of the whole world rising up in indignation and with boycotts against a nation willing to kill 3,400 unarmed (not totally) civilians offers tremendous encouragement to the idea of nonviolent national defense.

If the foregoing three examples are properly explained to the public, I think the public will show lots of interest in civilian-based defense over the next five years.

Franklin Zahn, Pomona, California

CBD - TAKING STOCK (continued from page 2)**WILHELM
NOLTE**

In my personal view as a professional soldier, working privately in the field of combining conventional military defense with civilian-based defense, I have to admit that my expectations about the chances of spreading such ideas must have been much greater than the chances themselves. That is disappointing.

The evidence (creation of a model, "autonomous protection," for the co-functioning of nonviolent resistance with non-nuclear defense, two books on this model, the first of which was written in cooperation with my brother, a historian, the second of which was written in cooperation with a Swiss/U.S. economist and a Danish/Swedish peace-researcher, 20 articles on this model in selected journals, 120 lectures and discussions on the model, at home and abroad, in less than the past five years) would seem to indicate public interest in civilian-based defense. Sorry to say, the interest is still at a minimal level. But if we continue to stress the humane values of our Western societies we may some day have greater interest. But it will take far more than the next five years. My proposal is that we concentrate on the next stage of societal development. Our next aim for defense should be neither all-military nor all-nonviolent but half-nonviolent beside half-military. Let's meet half-way and work together to establish the next platform from which to launch further development of a world of non-violence.

Wilhelm Nolte, Hamburg, West Germany

**BRIAN
MARTIN**

In 1984, the peace movement was at its height. Social defense at best was something raised by a small minority within the movement. Now, five years later, the peace movement is continuing to wane, whereas interest in social defense has increased somewhat, going from very small to small. I expect this trend to continue during the next five years.


In Australia a decade ago, social defense had hardly been heard of except by a handful of people. Due to the efforts of a small number of advocates, it has been put on the agenda of what is called "alternative defense": it is an option to be discussed along with non-alignment, armed neutrality, defensive defense, guerilla warfare, etc. But it is still not all that well-known even among activist groups.

The major encouraging development has been increasing use of nonviolent action by various activists as part of a conscious strategy for social change. Environmentalists, feminists and peace activists have all been prominent in this. It is these people with personal experience of the dynamics of nonviolent action who are most receptive to the idea of social defense.

Some overseas uses of nonviolent action have been cited as inspiration, especially in Poland, the Philippines, Palestine and most recently China. In part (especially in the Philippines and Palestine) proponents of nonviolent action have played a role in the developments. But what has also changed is that more people are now attuned to nonviolent action and so have perceived the struggles in a different light.

I expect this process will continue. As more people are exposed to the idea of social defense they will begin to see the world differently, and obtain inspiration from nonviolent struggles. Some of them will support or join such struggles as the occasion arises, and so the process can grow. But I don't expect this to be a rapid process, because the "social defense movement" is still too weak to do much to mobilize against a direct threat, such as a military coup in an industrialized country. Until it is stronger, many opportunities for quick expansion in public interest and involvement will go begging.

Brian Martin, Wollongong, NSW, Australia



**1948 AN ARMY
IS ABOLISHED**

Costa Rica's army was replaced with a 4000-member Civil Guard in 1948. At a commemorative celebration on December 1, 1987, President Oscar Arias, recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, quoted the words spoken by Interim President Don Jose Figueres on the occasion of the dissolution of the army and the transfer of the national barracks to the educators: "The Regular Army of Costa Rica, which is the successor to the Army of National Liberation, surrenders the key to this barracks to the schools, for which to be converted into a center of culture. The Junta of the Second Republic officially declares the dissolution of the national army, because the security of our country is sufficiently protected by the police force.

We firmly maintain the ideal of a new world in America. To that country of ideals of Washington, Lincoln, Bolivar, and Marti, we wish today to declare: 'O, America! Other countries, your children also offer you their greatness. Little Costa Rica wants to offer forever, as now, along with its heart, its love of civility and democracy.'"

From *Nobel Costa Rica*, by Seth Rolbein. New York, St. Martin's Press, 1989.

**GREEN HEARINGS
ON SOCIAL DEFENSE:
TEXT AVAILABLE**

Under the slogan, "Build down military armaments, build up social defense," the Green Party in June 1984 held a series of hearings on social defense at the Federal Parliament in Bonn, West Germany. Theodor Ebert, Wolfgang Sternstein, Roland Vogt, Gene Sharp, Adam Roberts, Johan Niezing and others made presentations. The German texts of these meetings is now available to order in a special issue of *Gewaltfreie Aktion* available either through Petra Kelly (Bundeshaus, 5300 Bonn 1) or the editorial offices of *Gewaltfreie Aktion* (Postfach 480 409, 1000 Berlin 48).

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THE MINDEN DECLARATION

*Text of the founding document of the
"Bund für Soziale Verteidigung"
(Association for Social Defense) –
West Germany, March 1989.*

The close of the 20th century is marked by unprecedented dangers and suffering. The destruction of nature, the arms race, war and poverty are destroying or threatening the lives of millions of people, or even all life on earth. The exploitation of people by people, the destruction of the natural bases of life, acts of violence committed by men against women, acts of violence against children and the increasing militarization of everyday life are a tangible expression of the structures of violence.

Today people are beginning to protest to a far greater extent than before against violent oppression and discrimination as a result of social conditions, against what we call personal and structural violence. They frequently do this by nonviolent means and achieve considerable success.

The Association for Social Defense (Bund für Soziale Verteidigung) is a group of people who agree that the time has come to gain acceptance for nonviolent ways and means of overcoming conflicts, abolish conditions characterized by violence and develop a demilitarized, ecologically responsible and safe society.

TASKS AND OBJECTIVES

The Association for Social Defense advocates the abolition of arms and armed forces. It wants to develop the methods of nonviolent resistance so that this objective can be achieved, at the same time enabling the demilitarized society which it is aiming to bring about to defend itself without weapons against violent attacks from within and without.

In particular, the Association regards its tasks to be to bring about total disarmament, even unilaterally, actively to try to eliminate enemy stereotypes and to attempt to make realistic analyses of the dangers and threats involved.

It intends to strive to bring about social structures and individual and collective ways of life which make a society worth defending and capable of defending itself. It therefore considers all efforts to achieve greater democracy and the willingness to stand up for one's political

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CBD - TAKING STOCK *(continued from page 3)*

**NORMAN
FREUND**

It is one of my developing convictions that increased interest in, and commitment to, civilian-based defense will parallel other positive steps toward peace. In this regard I'm very pleased by developments of the past few years. In 1988 the United Nations successfully adjudicated a cease-fire in the Iran-Iraq War and the superpowers took the first significant step toward lessening the threat of

nuclear war in signing the INF Treaty. Even more recently Eastern Europe has displayed positive signs in Poland and Hungary, as nonviolent action is making inroads in militarily controlled societies. These and other significant events provide an increasingly stable context for discussion of CBD.

In this regard two examples, one regional and the other international, can be cited. In my home state, the Iowa Peace Institute has recently formed, in conjunction with numerous state colleges and universities, the Iowa Association of Peace and Justice Studies. This provides the organizational opportunity to extend study of nonviolent alternatives to military force from institutes like Clarke College, where it is already taught, to many other places as well. In this way, *awareness of alternatives* to military defense, the first real step toward embracing them, will be made available to increasingly larger groups of students. The second positive point I'd like to cite is the current Palestinian uprising in the Middle East. Although it would be inappropriate to categorize this as a nonviolent struggle, the number of Israeli deaths and injuries which have occurred as a result have indeed been few. Furthermore, the recent presence of Gene Sharp in the region, educating Palestinians to the tools and power of nonviolence, provides encouragement that nonviolent action may yet be a significant part of the solution to the complex political and religious controversies this region faces.

In short, key steps toward peace in the past few years may well be the fertilizer for the seedlings of civilian-based defense. For the first time in decades I look forward to the next several years as a time for accelerated growth of public interest in CBD specifically and nonviolent alternatives to the use of force in general.

Norman C. Freund, Clarke College, Iowa

**PHILLIPS
MOULTON**

Everything considered, I have been pleased. Participants at my workshops and presentations have generally reacted favorably to the concept of CBD. Often they indicated that the discussion gave them grounds for hope because CBD provides a sensible alternative to the war system.

They have been realistic enough to recognize that, in contrast to the near-term objectives of the peace movements, CBD is a long-term goal. It will be adopted by major powers only after decades of progress in creating

conditions conducive to a lasting peace. It has a reciprocal relationship to the pressing concerns of the peace movements: Insofar as the peace groups attain their objectives, they provide the basis for the successful implementation of CBD; only when the war system is replaced by CBD can the achievements of the peace groups remain secure.

Gene Sharp, internationally recognized as the leading authority on this subject, tells me that he has noted increasing interest in CBD among those with whom he consults in the USA and abroad. In the past, CBD was almost totally ignored in foreign policy discussions. But statements issued in recent years by official church bodies – Roman Catholic, United Methodist, Presbyterian, and others – have strongly encouraged giving it further study. In several European nations CBD is being seriously considered by high-level commissions, which in some cases are funded by government agencies. Several books and articles on foreign policy by recognized experts include CBD among options worthy of thoughtful attention by those seeking a more peaceful world.

In recent years, foreign policy analysts, particularly in Western Europe and the Soviet Union, have devoted considerable time and thought to the concept of "non-offensive defense" - defending a country without threatening others. This type of analysis provides

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CBD - TAKING STOCK (continued from page 4)

a context conducive to the recognition of CBD as a method of defense that poses no offensive threat. Several scenarios have been proposed that include CBD as one component, along with military measures, of a total defense policy. In a more peaceful world this could lead to its gradually replacing the war system.

I expect the sort of scholars and activists who comprise the Advisory Committee of the Civilian-Based Defense Association to provide the leadership that will cause interest in CBD to increase during the coming years.

Phillips P. Moulton, Ann Arbor, Michigan



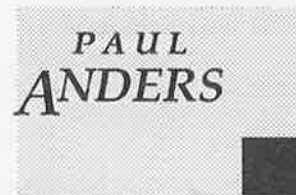
I am moderately satisfied with the progress civilian-based defense has made during the past five years in both theory and practice.

Canada's anti-nuclear movement has become noticeably more interested in alternative defense. Where five years ago there was practically nothing, many projects and events now bill themselves as being concerned with alternative defense. Thus, while alternative defense is on its way to

legitimize itself as a serious subject for discussion and exploration, so is, by implication, civilian-based defense.

I expect the next five years to bring us closer to an understanding of the implications of the emerging realization that individual, unarmed civilians ought to take more responsibility for their own security and that of their children. I am not only hopeful but feel certain that there will be a growing public interest in civilian-based defense. I am less certain about the reaction by the armed forces to the entry of unarmed civilians into a field which armed men have traditionally claimed as their own.

Hans Sinn, Perth, Ontario, Canada



I do research. In the next five years I expect to see public interest grow in civilian-based defense if it is rescued from people like me and shared with people who will make it start happening.

Despite questions about events in places like China and Burma, developments related to civilian-based defense in the last five years greatly encourage me. The success of nonviolent Filipinos against the Marcos regime bodes

well. Advance training there helped. In Korea some violence marred the actions that forced liberalization, but much of the activity was nonviolent. In Europe, Greens are talking about a real pre-planned nonviolent national defense.

It's time to call upon at least some nations to start implementing civilian-based defense and not just to study it. Of course a country with civilian-based defense could fail to successfully resist aggression. We condescend if we think that people don't know that. But we simply need to keep pointing out the comparable risks of violent defense. We must continue study and research, but no longer as preconditions to working for implementation.

If we think that civilian-based defense should no longer be just for study and research, we can ask ourselves how to make it attractive. For example, does it have a name that will help in its promotion? Why not instead "nonviolent national defense?" Perpetual confusion reigns between "civil defense" and "civilian-based defense".

If we use "nonviolent," people know that we are referring to a tactic that had success in India and in the U.S. civil rights movement; "national" would let people know we're not talking about karate.

And why by definition exclude soldiers? In some countries it might be appropriate to train them to nonviolently counter an invasion. If civilians alone do the resisting, the soldiers might lose their jobs. Why encourage a permanent bloc with a vested interest in opposing this defense?

I would like to hear from those who think it's time to start promoting nonviolent national defense to the general public.

My address: 154 Auburn St., Cambridge, MA 02139.

Paul Anders, Cambridge, Massachusetts

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MINDEN (continued from page 4)

convictions by carrying out nonviolent actions to be an exercise in social defense.

In the Association's opinion, there is an urgent need to develop nonviolent forms of defense also because the efforts to achieve greater democracy and to bring about political change with the aim of ensuring a more just distribution of goods in the world and an economically oriented economy are threatened. Armed attacks might prevent social movements from developing further. Even now efforts are being made to restrict social movements and nonviolent forms of action by means of ever more "security laws" and restrictive measures and to make it a crime to participate in such movements. It is important to fight such measures.

The Association for Social Defense seeks to ensure that military intervention in other countries does not start from the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany and to prevent support from being given to such intervention. It is aware of the fact that other methods are also used to assert interests by force. In all such cases the Association will try to support those who are threatened by offering nonviolent resistance.

FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES AND WORKING METHODS

The Association is neither affiliated to any political party nor does it espouse any particular ideology; it is, however, not neutral in the political dispute. It will intervene and participate in nonviolent actions to achieve its aims.

Different forces and groupings work together within the Association. The different views on social defense are discussed and further developed.

The Association promotes the establishment of close links between groups working on a regional basis and seeks cooperation with movements and organizations pursuing the same objectives, also in other countries.

The Association offers all interested parties, associations and public institutions an opportunity to discuss the various ways of practicing social defense.

Within the Association working groups are set up which concentrate on different subjects, including:

- * the role played by social defense in local peace work (throughout the Federal Republic);

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MINDEN (continued from page 5)

- * the role played by social defense in local peace work (in the Minden area);
- * public administration and social defense;
- * women and social defense;
- * the relationship between social defense and defensive military concepts;
- * social defense and conversion;
- * spreading information on and gaining support for social defense;
- * enhancing public awareness and social defense;
- * research into and motivation of target groups of social defense;
- * chances of social defense being practiced and accepted internationally;
- * low intensity warfare/low intensity conflicts;
- * Federal Republic of Germany without an army in the year 2000;
- * Action Group For Social Defense (Marburg).

Ed. Note: The address of the Association for Social Defense is: Friedensplatz 1a, 4950 Minden, Federal Republic of Germany. Phone: 0571/24339. Serving on the Executive Board along with the chairpersons, Theodor Ebert and Petra Kelly, are: Christoph Besemer, Rainer van Heukelum, Barbara Muller, Christine Schweitzer and Roland Vogt. Office manager is Kurt Sudmersen.

HELP WANTED

As *Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion* becomes more and more an international publication there is a growing need for translations of non-English news items and articles. If you are able to translate accurately from some other language to English we invite you to volunteer as one of our translators. Let us know the language(s) in which you are skilled and we will send material to be translated as need arises.

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CBD - TAKING STOCK (continued from page 5)

LOWELL ERDAHL

In general I have been pleased by developments relating to civilian-based defense and expect to see public interest in it grow during the next five years.

More specifically, I believe the unfolding events in Poland and especially in China present a tremendous challenge to the advocates of civilian-based defense. The tragic slaughter and oppression of demonstrators in China does not cancel the basic fact that the power of leaders

comes from the cooperation of their people, but it does provide a powerful antidote to naive optimism concerning the effectiveness of spontaneous expressions of citizen discontent. It serves as a stark reminder that governments in control of military power have great capacity to intimidate their people and that carefully planned strategies are as essential to the success of nonviolent noncooperation as they are to military campaigns. Great armies have been defeated because they have sought to achieve either too much or too little. Similarly, noble motivations and courageous self-sacrifice, while essential, are not sufficient for the success of civilian-based defense. Careful planning, realistic goals and wise strategies are equally essential.

Caught up in the euphoria of global acclaim the Chinese students startled the world and panicked their government but they had no specific strategy to translate their demonstration into attainable political goals. With the wisdom of hindsight it is now clear that their goal of toppling the government was beyond their grasp. Had they been "commanded" by shrewd "generals" of nonviolent warfare they might have gained more by presenting more specific and limited demands and by staging a carefully-timed strategic retreat than by persistently escalating their demonstrations and demands.

The brutal crushing of their demonstrations and the suppression of the democratic spirit among the Chinese people are an immense source of disappointment and grief to me and to millions but it has not shaken my confidence in the power of nonviolent noncooperation. Losing a battle never diminished the general's confidence in the effectiveness of military power but it likely made him more realistic concerning its limitations and the importance of thorough training and wise strategy. So also for us who are clearly aware of the limitations of brute force. This is not a time for discouragement or despair but for rededication to the principles of civilian-based defense and to the importance of the specific training and strategic planning that are essential to its success.

Lowell Erdahl, St. Paul, Minnesota

RALPH SUMMY

My feelings about the past five years are mixed. Achievements have been consolidated and there has been some growth: a few important books on nonviolent action have been published (though far too few); the CBD Association has gotten underway; and the rise of social movements and classic uprisings such as in Poland, the Philippines, and China have brought the subject into the limelight. Yet developments have also been disappointing: the public's

awareness of the theory and dynamics of nonviolent action is only dimly perceived (if at all); too little teaching and researching is occurring in the universities; and the responses of governments (as might be expected) has been none too encouraging.

In the immediate future I think some spectacular gains are possible. The "nineties" are very likely to produce a revolt against the conventional and violent modes of conducting politics. To "seize the opportunity," however, scholars and teachers like ourselves will have to direct more energy into placing the subject in curricula and on the agenda of research and activist conferences. More effort needs to go into analysis of some of the thorny theoretical and practical problems of nonviolent action - e.g., definition of the arena of nonviolent politics; effectiveness of CBD against the extremely brutal opponent; utilisation of CBD where the dependency relationship is minimal or non-existent such as in cases of genocide, imposed migration or lodgement of forces in remote areas; importance of openness toward opponent; and so forth. The CBD Association could organize a conference some time in 1990 to discuss these various issues.

Ralph Summy, St. Lucia, Queensland, Australia

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CBD - TAKING STOCK (continued from page 6)

In the last five years there has been, in my opinion, little development of understanding in the Netherlands of the importance of CBD.

In 1975, it appeared that the Dutch government wished to stimulate the development of CBD. In a memo on disarmament and security, it announced that it wished to do research on the possibility of CBD. A committee was set up that published several reports on subjects that lent

themselves to scientific (i.e., systematic) investigation. In 1985 the government took the stand that investigation into CBD could not be considered part of its task, but rather, that of the universities. There too, however, such research received little attention. In 1989, two books appeared in the Netherlands on CBD: one by Prof. Dr. J. Niezing, a review of which appeared in *Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion* (May 1988), and a book by myself, which was reviewed in *News & Opinion* in the March/May issue, 1989. Although both books have received attention in a number of monthly and quarterly publications, they have not received coverage in either the daily or weekly press, despite repeated attempts to gain it.

CBD is not, or is scarcely, a live issue with politicians and journalists. The number of persons who see armament as a great problem has indeed increased somewhat in the last years, but criticism has continued to be of a predominantly negative tone: non-modernization of nuclear weapons, getting rid of nuclear weapons, or total disarmament.

Only a few come to a positive form of criticism in the form of alternative defense measures such as CBD. Although the cold-war mentality has decreased, many persons get no farther than a naive optimism about the notions of disarmament held by governments. The cold-war mentality that fostered negative thinking for decades requires time to be formed over into positive thinking.

Does this now mean that in the coming five years one may expect little or no impulse toward further development of CBD?

I see two possibilities, that will be realized more quickly in proportion to how many persons become aware of the uselessness of modern weapons and above all according to the degree to which the small left-wing parties – some of which have shown interest in social defense, albeit without having done much about it up to this point – continue to work together with the "Green Left."

The two possibilities are: 1) CBD develops as a complement to military defense; 2) CBD develops as a political instrument of participatory democracy.

The first possibility will make progress if parliamentary or representative democracy continues to be regarded as the best imaginable political system. The authoritarian behavior of the political and economic leaders that fits (such a system) will continue to be practiced. The leaders will continue, first and foremost, to think in terms of defense (of the existing order of their own leadership).

The second possibility will get a chance if the majority (opinion) of the population becomes so great that not only dictatorships, but also representative democracies, develop in the direction of a participatory democracy: a democracy in which the people can co-decide on the important questions that directly impact them. Authoritarian persons would then receive less chance to take over the leadership, both in political and economic life.

In this second possibility, CBD would take on a different character than in the first. It appears to me to be worth the effort to devote attention in *News & Opinion* to those differences, as well as to the chance that the second possibility will only be able to be realized after the first has become a reality.

Evert A. Huisman, Zwolle, Netherlands
(Translation by Phil Webber)

**REVIEWS****AN INTRODUCTION TO CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE: RESOURCES FOR STUDY.**

*Presbyterian Peacemaking Program,
Presbyterian Church USA.*

Review by Jeanne Ertle

At its General Assembly in 1988, the Presbyterian Church (USA) declared that, following the conditions established by its accepted principles of just war, nuclear deterrence could no longer be justified. The Assembly asked that other means of national defense be examined and, in its policy statement, "Christian Obedience in a Nuclear Age," specifically called for the development of resources on civilian-based defense that would lead to the study of this concept by church groups.

"An Introduction to Civilian-Based Defense: Resources for Study," is a response to this call and represents the first attempt by a U.S. church to make available basic information about CBD for use in its churches throughout the country. Developed by the Peacemaking Program of the Presbyterian Church, it includes a background paper on CBD with a related glossary of terms, a comprehensive bibliography and a selection of discussion questions.

The resources are more than adequate to familiarize one with civilian-based defense, from its roots in the tradition of civil disobedience and nonviolent resistance through to the current discussion on CBD, and those who are prepared to study the concept in depth will not be disappointed. However, the average church-goer leads a busy and distracted life that precludes this sort of study. Therefore, these materials would be most useful as the basis for the development of a study guide of several sessions that would relate the concept of CBD to Christian scripture and tradition and which could be used in existing church groups. In such a form it would be far more likely to reach the average Presbyterian.

REVIEW (continued from page 7)

With some minor revisions in the background paper, which includes some references to Presbyterian Church documents, other denominations will find these resources helpful in developing study guides that relate to their own traditions and teachings.

Editors Note: Presbyterian churches and groups may obtain the materials from: Presbyterian Peacemaking Program, 100 Witherspoon Street, Louisville, KY 40202. Others may obtain them from the Civilian-Based Defense Association, Box 31616, Omaha, NE 68131 USA. Send \$2.00 to cover printing and mailing costs.

The Conquest of War: Alternative Strategies for Global Security,

by Harry B. Hollins, Averill L. Powers, and Mark Sommer. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1989. Paperback, 202 pages, \$9.95.

Review by Todd Buchanan

The Conquest of War, as an alternative security primer, combines technical expertise and vision. Ever mindful of what we call political realities, authors Hollins, Powers and Sommer nevertheless warn against incrementalism: "Taking a big step, with unmistakable boldness, strikes an emotional chord that fatally-compromised and technically obscure half-measures like traditional arms control can never inspire."

The book begins with a discussion of the United Nations, its unrealized (and rather militarized) collective security system, its ad hoc and largely nonviolent peacekeeping missions, and the decades old Clark-Sohn proposal to transform the U.N. into an effective peacekeeping federation. Next, minimal deterrence and qualitative disarmament are examined, followed by nonprovocative defense and civilian-based defense. Strategic defense is considered thoroughly and rejected, for its implausibility as a successful defensive shield, its slightly more plausible application offensively, its vulnerability to counter-measures, and, of course, its remarkable cost.

Verification is next examined. The authors stress that substantial arms reductions will make verification all the

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STRATEGIES OF TRANSITION TO SOCIAL DEFENSE

By Wolfgang Sternstein. Translation by Walter Conser. Excerpts from an address given by Sternstein at the June, 1988 conference, "Wege zur Sozialen Verteidigung," held in Minden, West Germany. Sternstein is a long-time researcher into nonviolence and a free-lance journalist in Stuttgart. He served a jail term in 1989 for his participation in resistance to Cruise missiles and Pershing II in 1986 and 1987. His speech shows the diversity of thought about civilian-based defense and about the ways in which one might work toward it.

It seems to me that one can group the numerous concepts of social defense in the following manner: 1) social defense as a supplement to military defense; 2) social defense as a constructive alternative to military defense; 3) social defense as a defense for a particular type of conflict.

The following remarks will be confined to that model of social defense which takes as its goal the replacement of the military with social defense. In saying this, we should note that social defense is not a complete equivalent to military defense, for social defense cannot defend dictatorships. As Theodor Ebert put it, social defense is an appropriate means of defense for democracy, while military defense is an appropriate means of defense for dictatorship.

The first question facing all transition strategies is this: how can we bridge the wide gulf between the present concepts of measured military response and social defense? One group of social defense researchers answers that we must dismantle as quickly as possible the present atomic weapons policy. Therefore, it is necessary to unite with the representatives of alternative military defense policies in order to oppose the NATO strategy of flexible response. In place of a purely military defense policy we should install a combined military and social defense policy. The components of the social defense policy should increasingly be strengthened and the military aspects finally phased out. I call those who take this approach to transition the *bridge builders*, for they wish to overcome the gap between the present situation and what should be by means of a bridge such as "defensive defense," "nonoffensive defense," etc.

The representatives of the second group say we must train humans in the use of nonviolence. This development begins with the daily conflicts of individual life and leads to group, class, and racial conflicts as well as international conflict. So long as humans feel they are weak, powerless, and defenseless and see others (parents, teachers, bureaucrats, etc.) as strong, powerful, and successful, we will never be able to convince anyone of the power of nonviolent action. However, as soon as people learn for themselves that nonviolent action can effectively solve problems, they will be prepared to replace their belief in the power of violence with a belief in the power of nonviolence. I would like to call this group the *dam builders*, for they seek to fill up the gap between the present policy and what should be through the use of nonviolent action.

The representatives of the third type of transition strategy repudiate the present system of nation states together with their military defense. These states ought not to be defended, for they are outmoded. The state is first and foremost an apparatus of power and force for the defense of class interests, both domestic and foreign. Social defense is thus possible only after the abolition of the state as such an apparatus of power and force. Present use of social defense receives no consideration. I call the representatives of this strategy the *tunnel builders* for to some extent they wish to bury themselves in the negation of the present national societies, state organizations and defense concepts in the hope of eventually emerging on the other side, on the surface, through the negation of the negation.

THE BRIDGE BUILDERS

In my opinion, Johan Galtung, Theodor Ebert, and Gene Sharp belong to the bridge builders. Galtung argues that at present only ten percent of the population in the western industrialized nations would vote for a social defense concept. Thus, the majority of the population, and especially their representatives, must be won over to the concept. In order to achieve this goal, an alliance with the advocates of military defense is necessary. According to Galtung, in addition to the present NATO strategy, which in the case of the failure of conventional weapons foresees the use of atomic weapons in Central Europe, one should add a combination of defensive defense, guerilla war, and social defense.

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Galtung himself would participate only in the social defense component. Those who wish to fight with violent weapons could engage in the other components of the defense strategy.

Theodor Ebert also belongs to the bridge-builders. He strives, like Galtung, for the widest possible alliance of parties, institutions, groups, etc. Assume that the Greens remain loyal to their declared interest in social defense and assume further that the Social Democrats unite around a concept of defensive defense, and assume finally that both parties win in the next elections and indicate that they are willing and capable of joining in a coalition. Here, according to Ebert, the Greens should press, at the first discussion of a coalition, for the establishment of social defense. A well-supported research program for social defense should be established, together with a federal office for civilian resistance which could ascertain through an active inquiry the possibilities for social defense in various governing bodies, institutions and groups. Soon after the change of government one could begin the transition to a defense strategy drawn out of defensive defense of territory and social defense of the cities.

Ebert is conscious of the problem of combined defense strategies. Thus he desires a transition phase to social defense as short as possible. The social forces which encourage social defense (the Greens, the churches, the peace movement, nonviolent action groups, conscientious objectors, etc) should press, therefore, for the building up of the components of defensive defense as quickly as possible.

Finally, Gene Sharp also belongs to the bridge-builders. He calls first of all for the building up of social defense before one begins to dismantle the military defense. In his appearance before the Greens in June 1984 he reversed the slogan "build down military defense, build up social defense," by emphasizing the priority of building up social defense and then dismantling the military. Sharp noted that national societies would not give up their military defenses for an alternative that did not yet work, for this too might prove to be suicidal. Thus, the chief task of social defense research is to work out this alternative in a convincing fashion. We must show proof of reliability, Sharp contends, and when we do so, the military will be rejected. In order to demonstrate this reliability three things must be accomplished. First, an alternative concept of defense must be presented in a serious scientific manner. Second, we must apply the general concept of social defense to a particular and typical defense situation. Third, we must adapt this general information to the particular needs of each individual country. The credibility of social defense hangs on the success with which these goals are met. Sharp projects the transition to social defense in three stages: first is public education without ideological indoctrination, second is fundamental discussion of the concept in the institutions of the society (above all in the political parties) and third is the adoption of social defense as a supplement to military defense (though here Sharp seems to contradict other statements of his which warn against a mixed military and social defense).

THE DAM BUILDERS

Mohandas Gandhi, it seems to me, is the best-known example of this position. He was one of the first exponents of social defense. In the center point of his transition strategy we find the statement that if it is possible to free India through the methods of pragmatic and principled nonviolence, then it must also be possible with the same methods to defend against domestic and foreign aggression. The important point for Gandhi is the training in nonviolence through application of nonviolent methods of action in personal, group, and domestic conflict. Like Galtung, Gandhi was realistic enough to realize that at best only ten percent of his fellow countrymen would vote for social defense. Yet, his answer was not to ally with representatives of military defense but rather, to use nonviolent action in concrete social conflicts. Nothing is so successful as success, say the pragmatic Anglo-Saxons. Conversely, nothing is so unsatisfactory as lack of success. The history of Gandhi's "experiments with truth" is a history of struggle against race discrimination (South Africa) and social discrimination (untouchables, women), against the exploitation of workers (textile workers in Ahmedabad), peasants, villagers, and last but not least, colonial exploitation of India by the British. The secret of Gandhi's effectiveness is his combination of theory and practice, religion and politics, economics and morality - in short, his combination of resistance against injustice with his constructive work for the development of a just social system. I have called him a dam builder because he wanted to build social defense up from below and upon this basis fill in a solid foundation for the transition to social defense.

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more important, since the perceived advantage from cheating may increase as overall numbers of offensive weapons decrease. In a guest appearance, Roger Fisher argues that international law can be effective with strengthened collective sanctions in lieu of out-and-out force to compel compliance. Economic conversion is then examined with the same care as strategic defense and verification.

Finally, the authors integrate elements of all these approaches, minus strategic defense, into a proposal for common security. They begin with the reduction and elimination of war-making (offensive) capability through minimal deterrence and qualitative disarmament, accompanied by economic conversion of war-making assets (both personnel and material). Qualitative disarmament would leave in place nonprovocative defense, aided by civilian-based defense and a strengthened U.N. system (principally mechanisms of conflict resolution and a permanent peacekeeping force).

The authors posit that minimal deterrence and qualitative disarmament necessitate agreement; they would not be initiated unilaterally. Whether or not this is true, agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union on steady and substantial offensive weapons reductions seems plausible. Nonprovocative and civilian-based defense, alternatively, would not require prior agreement between potential adversaries, as the defense policies of Switzerland, Sweden and Yugoslavia suggest.

Civilian-based defense enthusiasts may be mildly disappointed with the skepticism the authors show toward such a policy being adopted as the crux of a nation's defense. "Many who deplore the resort to force in political relations," the authors note, "regretfully conclude that violence is an inevitable occurrence and force the final arbiter between nations." The requisite shift in expectations, the authors believe, will likely take generations. However, "Its prospects will be greatly enhanced by two concurrent contemporary trends: the increasing inability of armed force to achieve the ends for which it has traditionally been used, and the increasing effectiveness of nonviolent action in confronting and overcoming armed force." Unfortunately, the recent bloody repression in China may slow considerably that shift in expectations.

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I had hoped for a more optimistic assessment of the possibilities for nonviolent defense, but the authors' reading of popular thinking seems reasonable, especially with developments in China. Society may not be ready to contemplate nonviolent defense, but the case for common security (out of which nonviolent defense may evolve) is becoming ever more clear. Growing environmental and population crises demand international cooperation, while colossal military expenditures leave those crises under-addressed. Convincing the public of this involves no acrobatics.



**NEWSLETTER
AVAILABLE --
ALBERT EINSTEIN
INSTITUTION**

The Albert Einstein Institution (1430 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138, USA) supports work on the strategic uses of nonviolent sanctions in relation to problems of political violence. It's new publication, *Nonviolent Sanctions*, will appear quarterly. Subscriptions are \$5 in the United States and \$8 elsewhere. Contributors receive the newsletter without charge. Gene Sharp is President of the Albert Einstein Institution. Stephen Crawford is Executive Director. Newsletter Editor is Roger Powers.



CBD AND YOUTH

If you are a teacher, parent, or other individual involved in the education of children and youth, we invite you to help the Civilian-Based Defense Association develop materials which can be used in classrooms and homes to communicate the idea of civilian-based defense to young people. Send us your ideas, visual aids, etc., and we will print them in a future issue of this newsletter.

STRATEGIES OF TRANSITION (continued from page 9)

THE TUNNEL BUILDERS

Many anti-military, anti-capitalist, anarchist, grass-roots revolution groups belong to the tunnel-builders. Their shared point is a repudiation of the present order of society – either western capitalist or eastern communist – and a yearning for a classless, nonviolent, democratic and ecologically sound form of government. Nonviolent action in the sense of Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Jr. and others they see as weak, ineffective, masochistic, and martyr-like. They prefer the techniques of nonviolent action which focus on noncooperation through strikes, boycotts, and sabotage. Social defense as a form of national defense is repudiated from the start, for the state as the monopolist of violence can never be defended through nonviolence. As long as the present state exists, social defense will exist only as a supplement to military defense within an overall defense policy. This can only be seen as a total degeneration, perversion, and deformation of social defense. The tunnel-builders say that we should concentrate on the conquest of the state apparatus of repression, the military, and the armament industry. Our goal should be the overcoming of nationalism, capitalism, imperialism, Soviet communism, and patriarchalism; in a word, the abolition of the collected forms of domination, exploitation, and oppression. Once this goal is reached, the new society may socially defend itself against domestic and foreign aggression. Thus, instead of spending time and money in research programs, case studies, scenarios, and reports, we should engage in resistance against the atomic state and the plutonium economy, against the "Big Brother" state and the armaments industry. In short, working on social defense under the present conditions is not only superficial but tragic, for it leads unintentionally to the strengthening of the state monopoly of power.

CRITICISMS OF EACH TRANSITION STRATEGY

One argument against the bridge-builders is this: the pillars of the bridge are not there. For example, consider the concept of defensive defense with its military defense of land and social defense of cities. In a real case this cannot function for it is contradictory and incoherent. Military defense and social defense cannot be mixed together or combined. Military defense promotes hatred of the enemy, for otherwise how could one use violence against him? By contrast, social defense promotes not hating the opponent and not striking back, in order to dramatize the injustice of his ways. One cannot turn it on and off like a light-switch. The concept of defensive defense contains an unresolvable internal contradiction. It cannot work in practice. If I had to choose between a purely military concept of defense and a mixed one, I would prefer the purely military one. Nevertheless, I am convinced that social defense is the one and only defense for freedom, justice, democracy, and human rights. In sum, then, the pillars of the bridge are not there, the distance between the military and social defense concepts are unbridgeable.

The major argument against the dam-builders is this: the process of building up social defense from below through the use of nonviolent methods in all forms of conflicts simply takes too long. In view of the danger of a world-wide atomic holocaust we need successful results now. Yet, as Gandhi retorted, if the way of nonviolent action is the only one to a nonviolent and socially defended society, then it is also the shortest way no matter how long it takes.

In many respects I share the views of the tunnel-builders. The observation that as soon as this state incorporates the concept of social defense it will only deform and pervert it deserves to be taken seriously. What I miss with the tunnel-builders, however, is a constructive program. It is not enough to repudiate the old society, for more importantly one must combine the struggle against the old structures of society with a constructive model of the new. Resistance against the structures of society that we do not want belongs inseparably together with the building of the society that we desire.



LETTERS

Dear Editor:

Last issue (March-May 1989/vol. 5, no.4) had a very interesting front page article by Johan Niezing. He advocated integration of strategies for non-offensive (military) defense and civilian (nonviolent) defense. ". . . Isn't it possible to integrate, to unify both alternatives . . . into a defense structure of a more reliable and credible nature than either of the two is able to furnish by itself?"

Advocates of civilian defense have often argued that such an integration is unrealistic: how can you nonviolently win over invading soldiers while you try to shoot them? Yet I believe that it may be quite realistic. Consider:

(1) Much of the civilian defense literature emphasizes the advantages of popular non-cooperation with the enemy army: strikes, go-slows, misinformation, sabotage, Schweikism, sit-ins, mass demonstrations, and many other forms of passive and active refusal of collaboration. It should be clear that this is all consistent with armed struggle. Whether we think of the European anti-fascist resistance or of various revolutions and civil wars before and after, it was common for such methods to be successfully used together with armed methods.

(2) Similarly, revolutions and civil wars have always relied on appeals to the enemy. These are usually referred to as "propaganda" or "psychological warfare," but much more was involved. A political program was used to appeal to the enemy ranks and to the civilian population behind them (and to shore up morale in its own forces and population). We should study revolutions, from the U.S. revolution to the Vietnamese war to the Central American or Afghan struggle. Winning over large parts of the enemy forces has always been central to such conflicts. Not theory but historical experience demonstrates that it is possible to successfully combine appeals to the enemy forces with popular armed struggle.

In sum, it seems possible to combine the strategies of civilian defense and non-offensive defense. I would personally propose some sort of popular armed militia, prepared for in-depth defense, integrated with tactics of civilian resistance such as have been frequently discussed in your publications. In any case, it would be highly fruitful for the proponents of these two alternate defense strategies to be in dialogue.

Wayne Price, New York, New York

PAPERS REQUESTED

Philosophy and Social Action guest editor, Brian Martin, invites submission of papers on "resisting state violence," i.e. methods which can be used by non-government groups for opposing and preventing state violence. Deadline is June 30, 1990. For more information: Brian Martin, Dept. of Science and Technology Studies, University of Wollongong, PO Box 1144, Wollongong NSW 2500, Australia. *Philosophy and Social Action* is published from New Delhi.

SHARP SPEAKS AT NORWEGIAN DEFENSE MEETING

Gene Sharp was one of two featured speakers at a Norwegian conference on complementary forms of national defense held March 1st in Oslo. The other main speaker was Norway's defense minister, Johan Jorgen Holst. The conference was sponsored by the Norwegian Atlantic Committee, a private organization with close ties to Norway's major political parties, trade unions, and parliament.

— from *Nonviolent Sanctions: News from the Albert Einstein Institution*, the Summer, 1989 issue.

SPECIAL OFFER: PAST ISSUES OF NEWSLETTER

All back issues of *Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion*, from 1982 through May of 1989, may be purchased for \$12.00, postage paid (\$15.00 outside the U.S.). Write to: Civilian-Based Defense Association, Box 31616, Omaha, NE 68131 USA.

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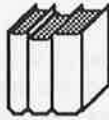
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CBDA Board to Meet in Omaha

Directors of the Civilian-Based Defense Association will meet November 10, 11 & 12 in Omaha, Nebraska.

To discuss agenda for this meeting, call Phil Bogdonoff, Board Chairman, at (607) 257-8404, or write to him at 107 Cayuga Heights Road, Apt. 2, Ithaca, NY 14850 USA.

For Further Reading



The Civilian-Based Defense Association makes available a variety of printed materials about CBD. Also available is an English language bibliography listing approximately seventy books and articles having some direct bearing on civilian-based defense. General works on nonviolence, containing no discussion of CBD, are not included. To obtain an order form, and/or the bibliography, send a self-addressed, stamped envelope to:

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

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