

Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion

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CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE: NEWS & OPINION, ISSN 0886-6015, is published by the Civilian-Based Defense Association to provide information about CBD as a possible alternative policy for national defense and to provide a vehicle for the exchange of international news, opinion and research relating to CBD.

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NONVIOLENT NATIONAL DEFENSE – CANADA

By George Crowell



Ed. Note: This article appeared originally in two parts, in the March and June, 1989 issues of The Ploughshares Monitor, the quarterly newsletter of Project Ploughshares, a working group on disarmament and development sponsored by Canadian religious and civic organizations. It is published at the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies, Conrad Grebel College, Waterloo, ON, N2L 3G6, Canada. Adapted for publication in News & Opinion, omitting some material already familiar to readers of this newsletter, with permission of the author and Ploughshares Monitor. George Crowell teaches social ethics, including a course in the dynamics of nonviolent action, in the Department of Religious Studies at the University of Windsor, Ontario, and has long been active in grassroots peace and justice organizations. Crowell outlines the relevance of civilian-based defense in the Canadian context and suggests that, in Canada, Project Ploughshares is the ideal organization to take up the task of building grassroots support for it. News & Opinion readers in other countries might consider which groups or networks might be most suitable for the same task in their own areas.

PART I: A PROPOSAL FOR PROJECT PLOUGHSHARES

With stimulus from Project Ploughshares, Canada could begin developing a capacity for nonviolent civilian defense (NVCD)¹ against external aggression. We could not reasonably hope to begin promoting NVCD by requesting our government officials to support this unfamiliar notion, without having first developed grassroots support for it. Project Ploughshares, with its standing as a national organization with strong support from the churches, with its network of local groups across the country, and with the respect it has won in the peace movement, is ideally suited for starting to build such grassroots support. Work for NVCD could supplement and strengthen the vital campaign initiated by Project Ploughshares in 1981 to make Canada a Nuclear Weapon Free Zone (NWFZ).

Canada is especially well-suited to innovate NVCD. Canada has well established democratic institutions. It possesses no nuclear weapons of its own, making unnecessary the task of getting rid of them. Indeed, the Canadian military is not sufficiently strong to have any realistic hope of defending our vast territory and scattered population against forceful aggression. If Canada were subjected to invasion, we Canadians, without outside help, would either have to submit, or, lacking alternatives, to improvise NVCD. We would be in a much stronger position if we prepared for NVCD in advance. Any preparations we make for NVCD will strengthen the campaign for a NWFZ in Canada.

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CANADA AND OTHER NATIONS

"Canadian foreign policy in recent decades has reflected the varied influence of historic ties to great Britain, geographical proximity to the United States, and a growing national strength and self-awareness that have made Canada one of the most active and influential "middle powers" of the post-World War II period. Staunch affiliation with the Western democratic bloc and an active role in NATO and other Western organizations have been accompanied by support for international conciliation and extensive participation in United Nations peacekeeping ventures and other constructive international activities.

While maintaining important joint defense arrangements with the United States, Canada has shown independence of US views on a variety of international issues. In addition, anti-US sentiment has been voiced in connection with the extensive US ownership and control of Canadian economic enterprises and the pervasive US influence on Canadian intellectual and cultural life. A general review of Canada's international commitments begun in the late 1960s resulted in diversification of the nation's international relationships. In line with this trend, Canada reduced the number of troops committed to NATO, and Prime Minister Trudeau made state visits to the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. Canada is a member of the Inter-American Development Bank and has Permanent Observer status at the Organization of American States. Its representatives have been active in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and in the mutual and balanced force reduction (MBFR) talks, and in 1976 it approved a major economic cooperation agreement with the European Community which Canadians hoped would provide an economic "Third Option" vis-a-vis the Commonwealth and the United States."

*From Political Handbook of
the World: 1988*

Ed. A.S. Banks. CSA Publications,
State University of New York

NONVIOLENT NATIONAL DEFENSE (continued from page 1)

Project Ploughshares made a remarkable contribution when it initiated the campaign for Canada to become a NWFZ. It seemed a long shot at the time, unlikely to gain much support. Yet the campaign has become an ongoing commitment of the Canadian peace movement, and the wide support it has gained is indicated in the fact that two provinces and dozens of municipalities have declared themselves NWFZs. For Canada to become a NWFZ would be a dramatic stimulus to the worldwide struggle to eliminate nuclear weapons and to create a global form of common security with thoroughly verified arms control.

It appears, however, that many Canadians are willing to support the NWFZ proposal only while it remains merely a symbolic gesture. They appreciate an opportunity to protest against the obvious insanity of the nuclear arms race. But there is an uneasiness about actually implementing the NWFZ. Why? For Canada to become a NWFZ would be a partial form of unilateral disarmament. This is not because we would be giving up any nuclear weapons, of which we have none, but because it would involve repudiating the "US nuclear umbrella." As a NWFZ, Canada would be refusing to collaborate any longer with US nuclear forces — denying them, for example, access to Canadian territory for testing, servicing, transit, and deployment of nuclear weapons and their components.

Among some Canadians, who actually believe that the grossly misnamed "nuclear umbrella" protects us, the prospect of living without it provokes fears that US irritation at Canada's limiting the freedom of its nuclear forces would result in some sort of retaliation against Canada. The fact that a NWFZ is not primarily an end in itself, but a step toward global common security that requires unprecedented international cooperation, presents another difficulty. It provokes fears that, after we take our unilateral step, which many consider risky, cooperation from other nations may not be forthcoming. How can we overcome such fears? We need to enhance significantly our self-confidence. NVCD would enable us to do so by providing an empowering form of self-reliance.

NVCD is far more suitable for developing self-reliance than is military defense. Although motivated by a strong desire for self-reliance, military forms of defense often involve a high degree of dependence on other nations. Even the US, the greatest military power in history, is highly dependent on its NATO and other allies, and reveals considerable anxious insecurity if any ally shows signs of defecting (e.g., its reaction to New Zealand's refusal to allow US nuclear-armed vessels to use its harbors). By relying on nuclear weapons, military defense, and military alliances, Canada is fully enmeshed in this most dangerous form of dependence.

Since the capacity for defense by military means, especially with modern weapons, is scarcely distinguishable from the capacity for offense, defensive measures can readily be transmuted into imperialistic ventures. When democratic societies rely on military systems, which hierarchically organized, are the antitheses of democracy, their democratic institutions are subverted. Military systems require defining some outsider as the enemy, and therefore promote enmity. Allies are seldom sought in genuine friendship, but are often exploited and manipulated in the interest of power elites. Consistent international cooperation is generally assumed to be unrealistic and impossible. Military systems develop symbiotic relationships with the industries which produce military technology, and divert vast economic resources away from meeting human and environmental needs. Reliance on military defense promotes fear, insecurity, mistrust, secrecy, spying, lying, propaganda, ruthlessness, and brutality.

The dynamics of non-military NVCD, however, are radically different. NVCD repudiates the destructive dependencies inherent in military systems, and is totally incompatible with imperialism. It promotes an authentic self-reliance which is fully compatible with profound international cooperation. It requires the intensification of democratic participation. If NVCD should spread, the alliances among transarmed nations which would follow naturally would necessarily be open, voluntary, and mutually supportive. For the transarmed, military spending would be counterproductive. Priority would be given to meeting human needs since the voluntary support of all would be necessary for effective NVCD. Concern for the environment would follow naturally. Through developing a capacity for NVCD, Canadians could set in motion a much needed, radical, paradigm shift.

NVCD requires ordinary people to overcome fears and to develop their inner resources for courage. As seen in the movements led by Gandhi, King, and many others, much experience reveals that people working in solidarity in nonviolent action do indeed

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NONVIOLENT NATIONAL DEFENSE (continued from page 2)

develop the necessary courage, and an extraordinary willingness to make personal sacrifices. Canadians could come to share in this empowering experience.

In order to promote NVCD effectively, Project Ploughshares would probably have to hire someone to work at the issue full time. Expertise in NVCD would be useful, but a commitment to promoting wide discussion of this exciting possibility would probably be more important. With the help of local Project Ploughshares groups, churches, and other grassroots organizations, workshops on NVCD could be held across Canada. But even before a full-time person could begin, local groups could study and discuss *Making Europe Unconquerable* along with other books on nonviolent action, and especially Sharp's classic, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* (Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers, 1973). If NVCD is to have a chance, we need to struggle at the grassroots level with our doubts and questions about it, and to begin nourishing a realistic hope for it.

PART II: SYNERGY FROM NONVIOLENT CIVILIAN DEFENSE

It is my contention that thorough preparation for NVCD would necessarily put to work a creative synergy, a combination of factors whose beneficial effects would greatly exceed the sum of their separate effects. In short, preparing for NVCD would stimulate far-reaching improvements in many areas of life. In order to support this claim I shall first mention some of the key dynamics involved in nonviolent struggle against invasion, and then explore the impact that thorough preparation for NVCD could have in several areas of our daily lives.

People committed to nonviolent action know, as one of their most fundamental insights, that rulers, including invaders, can only dominate people who obey them.² The ruler or invader may have power to inflict suffering and death on fearless people who resist nonviolently, but cannot exact obedience from them without their consent. If the people are able to maintain their nonviolent resistance, and constantly devise creative new tactics even in the face of repression, then a "political jiu jitsu," a weakening of the invader's power, despite his efforts to exert it, is likely to occur.³ As the invader continues to repress nonviolent resisters, he⁴ begins to lose support and to evoke opposition in his own camp, including his own military, and key political supporters at home. Allies and third parties may begin to express opposition. The nonviolent resisters themselves are likely to intensify their determination to defy the invader.

A current example of political jiu jitsu at work can be seen in the Palestinian uprising the intifada. With extraordinary solidarity and discipline, Palestinians have since late 1987 managed to develop an overwhelmingly nonviolent resistance against Israeli occupation of their territories.⁵ Even though there is some violence, limited primarily to stone throwing, the signs of political jiu jitsu are evident. The Israelis are losing support from their own soldiers and citizens, and from their allies, while the Palestinians seem to have intensified their courage and determination.

For political jiu jitsu to begin to work, it is essential that the nonviolent defenders to do everything possible to overcome their fears of repression. A strong sense of solidarity among the nonviolent actionists appears to be the most crucial factor enabling them to overcome their fears. Such solidarity might grow significantly after an invasion has begun, but it would have to be firmly grounded in the defending society long before any invasion. A sense of solidarity, characterized by trust and confidence in each other, could hardly flourish in a society rent by divisions of wealth and power. Solidarity would thrive in a society where everyone had an adequate livelihood with a high degree of economic equality, and where participatory democracy prevailed. Solidarity would thrive in a genuinely caring society, one concerned about the health, welfare, education, opportunities, and contributions of everyone, including men and women, old and young, able and handicapped.

NVCD is not left only to able-bodied young males. The active participation of everyone is needed, and, in so far as possible, the willing cooperation of everyone must be cultivated. Human societies have demonstrated a remarkable ability to evoke and to develop the character traits needed to promote whatever are their dominant values. A society committed to NVCD would develop strong, independent, confident, resourceful personalities, because these traits would be essential. People would grow up learning to face their most deeply rooted fears, and to draw strength from courageous people in their communities. Since NVCD would require widely dispersed, decentralized leadership, daily life in the society, including the world of work, would have to be organized to

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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.

We want to hear from you!

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

Mail News Items to:



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THE RELEVANCE OF WRITINGS OF A DEFENSE THEORIST OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION TO CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE

By Phillips Moulton

Advocates of civilian-based defense are encouraged by the increasing attention given to the concept by present-day military analysts, especially those considering methods of defense which are non-provocative – which do not threaten other nations. As we consider the future, we may find it instructive to study military strategies of the past which bears some relevance to CBD. This has been done in a paper by Antonino Drago, presented at a colloquium at the University of Sorbonne in January, 1988, entitled "Mecanique et defense dans la Pensee de Lazare Carnot."

Carnot (1753-1823) produced several studies dealing with the relationship of mathematics and physics to military defense, culminating in a major work on fortifications. Carnot did not advocate a purely defensive method; the counter-attack was an integral part of his strategy. Nor did unarmed civilian-based defense have a place in his thought. Yet his analysis of the various aspects of a defensive strategy provides insights that are relevant to present-day advocates of CBD.

The goal of defense, according to Carnot, is to minimize the human death toll. Drago notes the relevance of this to Gandhi's strategy, to nonviolent resistance to the Nazis in World War II, and to recent peoples' movements in Poland, Iran, and the Philippines. Drago also shows how Carnot's concepts of strategy and of social organization anticipated some of the theoretical work of Johan Galtung, noted peace researcher, whose *There Are Alternatives* was published in 1984.

Dr. Drago is a physicist engaged in research in science and defense. He would like to contact other researchers interested in historical studies dealing with the relationship of mathematics and physics to defense, and the bearing these may have on CBD. He may be contacted directly at: Universita' Di Napoli, Dipartimento Di Scienze Fisiche, Mostra d'Oltremare, Pad 20, 80125 Napoli, Italy.

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promote creativity and initiative. Blind obedience to authority would be dysfunctional. Economic democracy, with worker-owned and worker-operated businesses, would be needed. Confident participation in decision-making in all areas of life would be fostered because this ability, besides being desirable to enable people to experience fulfilling lives, would be needed for effective NVCD.

In a society committed to NVCD, everyone would need to learn about the world's remarkably rich, but little-known history of nonviolent action. It is an inspiring, humanizing saga. People would need to study the dynamics of nonviolent action, and specific roles they might play under various invasion scenarios. This could hardly be accomplished without their becoming conscious of their power against any government of their own which might become oppressive. A nation relying only on military defense is vulnerable to a military coup. A population prepared for NVCD is prepared to defend against a coup.⁶

Advance planning for NVCD would include strategies for frustrating and obstructing invaders at various stages of invasions. At the onset of an invasion the nonviolent defenders might want to demonstrate their strength and determination through displays of massive resistance, perhaps general strikes and large demonstrations. They might hope for a quick victory, but, to be realistic, would have to recognize the need to conserve their strength for a long struggle against a foe who could be not only resourceful, but also ruthless. The defenders would need to find ways of supporting each other, not only in keeping up their courage, but also in maintaining rapid communication with each other and with potential supporters in the outside world, and in meeting basic needs, such as the provision of food, water, warmth, and shelter.

Any invader could be expected to take advantage of the defending society's weaknesses. Paradoxically, the most centralized institutions in our society, those which we have experienced as most powerful and most resistant to change, could be the most vulnerable to takeover in an invasion. An invader could, for example, relatively easily take control of our radio and television facilities. Their Canadian personnel could refuse nonviolently to serve the purposes of the invader, but he could nevertheless deprive us of access to our centralized means of communication. We would have to rely on many decentralized, clandestine radio transmitters, and on other forms of communication, such as passing messages by word of mouth, or through children as couriers, or by prearranged signals. Our efforts to develop alternative means of communication in preparation for invasion could be one of our best methods for developing solidarity. Such a sense of solidarity would be a valuable asset in our efforts to live and work together even in peacetime.

In our present economy, dominated as it is by a few large economic units, it would be relatively easy for the invader to seize control over such key sectors as food and energy. Our food system is dominated by a few large processing and marketing companies, while most of the electricity for each province comes from a single source, and fuels are provided by a few distributors. In so far as our economy is dependent upon imports and upon income from exports, it is further subject to easy interdiction by an invader. In planning ahead to maximize the strength of defenders against invaders, a society committed to NVCD would want to develop a decentralized and self-sufficient economy not readily vulnerable to takeover. Happily, even apart from national defense, there are compelling reasons for doing so.

In our economy, for example, the family farm is barely surviving as corporations interested in maximizing profits from selling farm products as commodities increasingly dominate our food system. They do not give priority to the welfare of farm families, to the quality and safety of food, to the preservation of soil, or to the ecological soundness of agricultural practices. In order to gain these advantages, we need to restore the strength and independence of the family farm. It is an institution with a long-term outlook, concerned with stability rather than exploitive growth, and could be the foundation of a healthy food system.⁷ If people in the Canadian urban centers would establish cooperative, stable ties with their nearby farming communities, assuring dependable local markets for them, including small, local food processors, the future of our food system would be much more secure. If urban people further developed close, personal working relationships with nearby farmers, sharing the burden of crop failures, and perhaps assisting them at harvest time, a food system supporting effective NVCD would be in place.

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NONVIOLENT NATIONAL DEFENSE (continued from page 4)

Our present wasteful use of non-renewable and polluting sources of energy is fundamentally unsound. Much experience with practices for increasing efficiency, and with the use of renewable, non-polluting energy sources makes it clear that such alternatives are already feasible.⁸ A great variety of small-scale energy technologies based on the use of widely available sunlight, wind, water, and waste biomass could form the basis for a decentralized energy system. Not only would such a system be difficult for an invader to control, but it would also be ecologically sound, and would provide more employment than the present system, primarily in the local communities which consume the energy.

In a brief article such as this, one can only begin to suggest the possibilities for a creative synergy which could flow from serious commitment to NVCD. Thinking synergistically enables us to make a considerably stronger case for NVCD than if we simply compared it with military forms of defense. The requirements for effective NVCD are in striking harmony with the need for participatory democracy, with the need for economically secure and personally fulfilling sources of livelihood, and with the need for ecologically sound energy and food systems. Apart from NVCD, people already have solid reasons for pursuing those advantages. With a commitment to NVCD, however, we could pursue those ends not as separate goals, but as necessary interconnecting components of human welfare and of our national security and, indeed, as patriotic obligations. This could stimulate a potent, creative synergy!

Does all this seem unrealistically utopian? It may seem utopian because most of us do not customarily think along these lines. Few have ever considered the possibility of NVCD. Few know it has already been tried with remarkably promising results. We tend to share a pervasive pessimism about the human predicament. Most of us recognize that global problems are intricately interconnected in what might be called a "destructive synergy." Why not also recognize the creative synergy that can be put to work to reverse the momentum and to overcome the problems? The suggestions for change that I have offered have all been tried with considerable success. In mutually supportive combinations, such changes could build a powerful, creative momentum.

Promoting NVCD could help resolve the global problems that threaten our survival. Project Ploughshares could play a key role in initiating NVCD in Canada.

NOTES

1. The term "civilian-based defense" is commonly used for the same concept. I prefer to make "nonviolent" explicit.
2. See Gene Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, (Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers, 1973), Chapter 1.
3. *Ibid.*, Chapter 12.
4. The masculine pronoun seems suitable for an invader.
5. See the October/November 1988 issue of *Fellowship*.
6. Gene Sharp, *Making Europe Unconquerable*, (Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1986), pp. 70-71, 112-115.
7. See Brewster Kneen, *From Land to Mouth: Understanding the Food System*, (Toronto: NC Press Ltd., 1989).
8. See the works of Amory Lovins, such as *Soft Energy Paths* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1977).

Ed. Note: The office of Project Ploughshares was contacted in early September to determine the response to Professor Crowell's proposal. A spokesperson indicated that some interest has been expressed by mail. He was not aware, however, of any organizational activity in response to the proposal.

**RELEVANCE OF WRITINGS**
(continued from page 4)

Ed. Note: Special thanks are due to Roberta Hardy and Uloma Ijioma, who translated Dr. Drago's paper into English, and to Ms. Hardy, whose abstract of the paper aided Phillips Moulton of the CBDA Board of Directors in preparing the above statement.

CBDA BOARD TO MEET IN OMAHA, NOVEMBER 1989

The Civilian-Based Defense Association's Board of Directors will be meeting in Omaha, Nebraska November 10, 11 and 12. Readers of this newsletter are invited to communicate with the Board before that meeting by mailing their ideas, suggestions, questions and criticisms to: Mel Beckman, CBDA Executive Director, Box 31616, Omaha, NE 68131, USA, or to Philip Bogdonoff, CBDA Chairman, 107 Cayuga Hts. Rd. #2, Ithaca, N.Y. 14850, USA.

The Association has published 22 issues of *Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion* since 1982 and considers this task as its main work for the present time. The newsletter serves as an on-going source of news and opinion about CBD for approximately 600 interested individuals and groups in over thirty countries. Has the newsletter been helpful to you? In what ways? How could it be improved? Who should receive an introductory copy? How can we increase circulation – especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America?

Our members and subscribers are our greatest resource. What can you do with or on behalf of CBDA in the next year? Linkages with other groups, financial help, contribution of skills . . . all are important. Tell us how you can work with us and what kind of help you need. Let us know what you think the Association ought to be doing.

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

WANTED:



**NEWSLETTER
REVIEWS**

If your favorite newspaper or periodical accepts reviews why not write a review of *Civilian-Based Defense: News and Opinion* and send it to the editor? This will give many new people their first introduction to the notion of non-military defense and may help increase newsletter circulation. Be sure to include the Association's address with your review.

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.

EAST GERMANY

Wilhelm Nolte of West Germany recently gave an invited lecture to the Academy of Sciences in Berlin, German Democratic Republic. This lecture represented one of the first discussions of nonviolent defense by a professional soldier from a NATO country to a Warsaw Pact audience. For more information about Nolte and autonomous defense, see *News & Opinion*, June 1987 and July/August 1989.

ITALY

A new book, *Italia e Sicurezza, Materiali e Analisi per una Alternativa* (Italy and Security, Materials and Analyses on an Alternative) is in preparation under the auspices of the Working Group on Alternative Defence, Forum on the Problems of Peace and War, in Florence. Preliminary versions of a number of chapters have already been written, according to a news note in *Non-Offensive Defence*, No. 11, January 1989. Included will be a chapter by P. Farinella & M.C. Spreafico entitled "The Debate on Civilian Defence in Italy." The authors can be reached at Universita' de Pisa, Dipartimento di Matematica, Via Buonarroti 2, I-56100 Pisa, Italy. See also their article on the same topic in *News & Opinion*, May 1988.

NETHERLANDS

Freed From Violence! A Nonviolent Defence, by Evert A. Huisman, is a 76 page English summary of the author's Dutch-language *Freed From Violence: Surviving by Democratizing and Disarmament*. For a review of the latter, see *News & Opinion*, March/May 1989. The summary is available for \$3.00 plus postage from Stichting Voorlichting Aktieve Geweldloosheid, Postbus 137, 8000 Zwolle, Netherlands.

MEXICO

Caridad Inda presented a paper entitled "Between Apathy and Revolution: Nonviolent Action in Contemporary Mexico," at the 1989 Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association in Atlanta. The author gives examples and analysis of the re-discovery of popular nonviolent struggle in Mexico, especially since 1986. Caridad Inda can be reached at CIRIMEX, Fernando De Alba 659 Col. Chapalita, COD Post 45000, Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico. Phone: 21 48 78.

WEST GERMANY

According to a communication received from the Bund fur Soziale Verteidigung (Association for Social Defense) in early September, their Board will meet this month to discuss how they might cooperate with Peace Brigades International in continued efforts to develop social defense in Nicaragua. For more information on that project see *News & Opinion*, Sept/ Nov 1988. The Bund fur Soziale Verteidigung can be reached at Geschäftsstelle Friedensplatz 1a, 4950 Minden, West Germany. Phone: 05 71/2 43 39.

ENGLAND

Planning continues for an international study conference, "Nonviolent Social Defence and Social Struggle," to be held in Bradford, April 2nd to April 7th. It is being organized by War Resisters International (55 Dawes Street, London SE17 1EL, Britain. Phone +44 1 703 7189) with the Bradford School of Peace Studies and possible other co-sponsors.

CANADA

The Centre de Resources sur la Non Violence (Nonviolent Resource Center) in Montreal has received a grant from the Canadian Government's Department of External Affairs for the publication of a book on civilian-based defense. A committee of four persons, including Normand Beaudet, Ann Marie Claret, Ferje Provencher, and Jean Francois Beaudet, will work on the new publication. Special attention will be given to the ways in which decentralization in the political, social and economic spheres can make a country less vulnerable to control by an enemy. According to Normand Beaudet, the Center's travelling photographic exhibit on CBD (see March, 1988 issue of *News & Opinion*) has been used in many of the Montreal-area schools. The Center can be contacted at 5770 Cote Des Neiges, Montreal, Quebec H3S, 1Y9, Canada, Phone: 514-340-9209.

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- ___ *Defence Without the Bomb*. Report of Britain's Alternative Defense Commission. 311 pp. \$7.50.
- ___ Roman Catholic, Presbyterian and United Methodist church statements on CBD. One page, \$0.15.
- ___ *National Security Through Civilian-Based Defense*, by Gene Sharp. An introductory work for individual or classroom use. Paper, 96 pp. \$4.95. Discounts: 5-9 copies \$3.96/ 10-24 copies, \$3.47/ 25 or more, \$2.97.
- ___ *Making Europe Unconquerable – The Potential of Civilian-Based Deterrence and Defense*, by Gene Sharp. Forward by George Kennan. Paper, 190 pp. \$14.95.
- ___ *Social Power and Political Freedom*, by Gene Sharp. Introduction by Senator Mark O. Hatfield. Paper, 456 pp. \$8.95.
- ___ *Gandhi as a Political Strategist*, by Gene Sharp. Introduction by Coretta Scott King. Paper, 384 pp. \$7.95.
- ___ *Making the Abolition of War A Realistic Goal*, by Gene Sharp. Paper, 16 pp. \$2.00.
- The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, by Gene Sharp. Three volumes.
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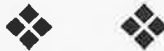
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