

Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion

EXPLORING A NONVIOLENT STRATEGY FOR DETERRENCE AND DEFENSE

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TRANSITIONS TO CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE

by Gene Sharp
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A REPORT ON THE BRADFORD CONFERENCE

By Mel Beckman

The Study Conference on Nonviolent Struggle and Social Defence was held April 3-7, 1990 at Bradford University in England. Organized by War Resisters International, in collaboration with International Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Bradford School of Peace Studies, the conference attracted 107 participants from 28 different countries. Several young linguists volunteered their services so that simultaneous translations were available in English, French and German.

Britain had the largest number of participants, with 24 attending. West Germany had the next largest delegation with 13 participants. Other representations included: United States (4); France (4); Netherlands (10); Belgium (6); India (2); East Germany (8); South Africa (4); Spain (5); Switzerland (3); Austria (2); Australia (2); Czechoslovakia (3); Sweden (3), and one each from: Italy, Philippines,

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WHY HAVEN'T DISARMAMENT MOVEMENTS TAKEN SOCIAL DEFENCE SERIOUSLY? WHY SHOULD THEY?

By Petra Kelly, member of the Bundestag, the Green Party, Federal Republic of Germany. An address to the Study Conference on Nonviolent Struggle and Social Defence at Bradford University, April 1990.



I have just been, together with Gert Bastian, at our Green Party Conference in Hagen this past weekend—and while the Green Party was in its usual stage of fighting and quarreling we forgot as usual to debate the question of social defence, the question of the present military situation in Lithuania, and we didn't even bother asking the question why we have at the present time so little support for a movement called "Federal Republic of Germany Without an Army" (BoA—Bundesrepublik ohne Arme). It was one of those typical and usual Green Party conferences—one of many that I have gotten to know in the past eleven years of Green politics and one which again has made so dramatically clear that we end up missing out on the questions of the century by being so busy with ourselves and our own quarrels. I say this three days later with melancholy and with some bitterness because these coming years—the Nineties—will be either an age of social ugly Germans creating a super-Germany within a super-militarized-Europe, perhaps even an age when new national conflicts, like those between Hungary and Rumania, or those between Czechs and Slovaks, begin all over again.

On the one hand, we had much hope when the campaign "Switzerland without an Army" (Schweiz ohne Arme) had gained so much popular support during the campaign concerning the referendum. Over 36% of the Swiss population voted against the Army and this was one very important and strategic signal in Western Europe—in a small neutral country, ruled by bank capital and by the investment houses of Europe and yet brave enough to at least pose the most important question—should we or should we not live with an army! I was also so hopeful when, only a few weeks ago, Gert Bastian and I had the privilege of accompanying the Dalai Lama on his first private and personal visit to Prague, Czechoslovakia, at the invitation of Vaclav Havel. During that trip, the Dalai Lama was asked what type of defence he thinks would be suitable for the future of Eastern Europe, for the future of Czechoslovakia. The Dalai Lama answered, in his usual very deep wisdom, that there was no need for any military defence, that in fact, military defence made no sense and that the only type of defence that is necessary should be civil-

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ian-based—nonviolent, non-military defence. The fourteenth Dalai Lama of Tibet, who stands prominently among Buddhist leaders of the world who are far-sighted, has repeatedly pointed out that the most important thing is to be able to have a peaceful heart. The Tibetans have, together with His Highness, the Dalai Lama in exile, exercised nonviolent resistance against China's military occupation for forty years and the world has nearly forgotten this struggle! From the Tibetans I learned that only when we understand the true nature lying within can we live harmoniously with the rest of the natural world. And it was E.F. Schumacher who pointed out that a nonviolent and gentle attitude towards nature and towards all living things can be the solution to our crisis. The violent and aggressive approach to the natural world is fed by human greed for short-term material gain without care for the long-term ill-effects on other generations. I also believe that when we talk about nonviolent forms of defence, nonviolent struggle, and social defence, we must look at the thoughts of Erich Fromm and his work entitled *To Have or To Be?*.

The "having" mode expresses our basic acquisitiveness, desire for power, and aggressiveness. This mode easily generates greed, envy, militarism, violence, etc. The "being" mode is an expression of our desire to care for others, to give to others, to share and to sacrifice. This encourages conservation, nonviolence, and a holistic attitude. This nonviolent and ecological ethic I am talking about is, for example, reflected in the speech of Chief Seattle, leader of an Indian tribe, who, in 1854, delivered a prophetic speech to mark the transferral of ancestral Indian lands to the Federal Government. It was A.J. Muste who called for a nonviolent revolutionary movement which would include both changes in external relationships and inner transformations of the individual. I believe this is a necessary combination. The roots which I have found in nonviolence reach back to my period of study in the United States in the 1960s but they also date back to what was once known as the "Prague Spring" in 1968 when I had been, together with my grandmother, in Prague during those dramatic August days—in fact five days under house arrest in a hotel near the St. Wenzel Square. What I saw in those five days was the beginning of social or nonviolent defence. Even after Dubcek and his closest associates were arrested, Svoboda held firm. Czechoslovakia and its leaders remained steadfast in passive resistance, storing up, through sacrifice and suffering, the kind of positive patriotism which the country had never had before, and from which it will profit greatly in the future—for we have witnessed those special days this past November and December in Prague. The spirit to which its people so nobly responded was fittingly put into words in the August 22, 1968 resolution:

"... let us lift our heads against raised gun barrels. With the calm and prudence of a dignified and free people...let us stand proudly as our fathers stood and so that our children will not be ashamed of us. We are adopting this standpoint to the sound of the occupation forces shooting, but we do so freely, and with an awareness of our historic responsibility . . ."

We know that the Soviets then reversed their tactics. They decided to extract from Dubcek in Moscow, by threat of indefinite military occupation, the concessions they had not gained by force in Prague: re-imposition of censorship and banning of opposition parties, renewed security police activity, the return of Soviet "advisers," continued Soviet military occupation, and thereafter, the permanent stationing of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia. In those August weeks after the "Prague Spring" I saw so many signs of social and nonviolent defence which I will never forget. And also I remember the tragedy of the self-immolation of the student Jan Palach.

Since the "Prague Spring" of 1968 so much has occurred—the phases of the Cold War, the arms race and the so-called modernization of the various weapons systems, the psychological war between the super-powers and the rest of the nuclear-powers, the upsurge of the various independent peace and human-rights movements across the globe, as well as those peace movements that were, in fact, run by the State in the old Eastern European Communist regimes. The mass movements against the Vietnam War in the United States in the sixties and seventies, and then against the NATO decision to deploy Pershing II and Cruise missiles in Western Europe in the 1980s, had an impact on public opinion, on public consciousness, and even on some of the political leaders. The nonviolent struggle of the West European peace movements as well as the civil disobedience actions and campaigns, were, in comparison to the "grass roots democracy and human rights movements" in Eastern Europe in the past months, very modest strategies and actions. The West European peace movement first had a phase of massive mobilization in the capitals

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of Europe and once a year 500,000 or 300,000 of us came to our parks and meadows and demonstrated nonviolently, but often with little creativity to dare more. Some of us in the peace movement moved on to make individual or collective civil disobedience actions in front of military bases and other military installations. I believe that the CND/UK was in the forefront of mobilizing people for such actions, for example for massive "die-ins." The brave women of Greenham Common were one hopeful sign of moving further with our civil disobedience and nonviolent resistance. Gert Bastian and I, who had participated in many nonviolent blockades in front of military bases and were also accordingly pulled into the court rooms and given very high fines, found ourselves more and more alone with such nonviolent actions. In other areas of the world, like in New Zealand and Australia, we were able to witness powerful demonstrations and civil disobedience campaigns with the aim of social defence often included in the platform of the peace groups. In Germany, the debate in the eighties concentrated on getting rid of Pershing II and Cruise missiles, even though we also tried so hard to include the SS20s and other weapons of mass destruction on the agenda. We also attempted to add social, non-military defence to the platforms but were often opposed by dogmatic left-wing Marxist groups who tried to keep the debate restricted to arguing the case against American missiles in Western Europe. It was the strategy of the "lowest common denominator," which I very much rejected.

We also tried hard to include the question of "human rights," for human rights are indivisible, in the platform and appeals of our different peace demonstrations—and there were endless debates about whether or not to include, for example, the case of Solidarnosc, or whether or not to include the names of such dissidents as J. Dienstbier, Vaclav Havel, or Barbel Bohley in the demands of the Western peace movements. Unfortunately, there was far too much cooperation between segments of the West European peace movements and the State-run peace councils in Eastern Europe in the early eighties! Gert Bastian and I, and our friends, had many bitter struggles and quarrels on that issue because we always felt that our brave independent friends in Eastern Europe, who were suppressed and discriminated against in the seventies and eighties, needed our help; not the State-run Peace Councils in Eastern Europe! We were always and still are of the belief that we do not want a peace that suppresses. For us it was clear that if we want to move toward a nonviolent society, toward a nonviolent world, we must not only take up the question of militarism, the question of arms export, arms production and arms deployment, but also the question of human rights and nonviolent forms of defence! The Western European peace movements failed to develop a coherent strategy for a future civil society! We have learned that only now from our friends in the Civic Forum in Prague and from the Neues Forum in the GDR!

This was a very difficult process because for many years internal debates within the peace movement took place as to how much military one should accept, how defensive defence should become, how small or large armies should be, and what transitional steps are possible on the way to living without armies! As early as 1984, the Greens (having entered the German Parliament in 1983) tried to raise the question of alternative forms of defence, including social defence, in the German Parliament. Those friends who attended the Hearing within the Parliamentary Defence Committee, or within the Green Fraction later on, know very well how difficult it was to get any consensus. Gene Sharp, a very good friend of all of us, remained steadfast in his insistence that nonviolence is, above all, a practical strategy applicable to ordinary mortals and requiring no special phase in a higher order of being. The theoretical and operative basis of civilian-based defence is the insight that power derives not, as so many people believe, from the barrel of a gun, but from the consent of the governed. Civilian-based defence, we argued in the peace movement, cannot defend geographical borders in the sense to which we are accustomed to believe military defence is designed to do. The strength of nonviolent defence inheres in its capacity for ceaseless resistance, spoiling the spoils of war, depriving the aggressor of his anticipated fruits of victory. What had occurred in the streets in October and November 1989 in the GDR and what we saw in the St. Wenzel Square in Prague in December 1989 was a form of social defence. Citizen movements, citizen committees, not political parties, bravely dismantled the State security systems, toppled East European regimes, and are throwing out the Soviet armies! Social defence in actual practice!

While the West European peace movements tried to concentrate on the lowest common denominator in the eighties, something which I believe was very wrong, we did at least



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have a hopeful growth of European studies in the area of social defence—in Sweden, Denmark, and Holland small feasibility studies had been sponsored—but always with funding far below the requested sums. The Green Party in my own country and a number of other green and alternative parties in European parliaments have endorsed a policy of social defence—nonviolent defence—to replace conventional armed defence, but we have done very little to concretize those aims! As far as I know even the French and Austrian governments commissioned limited studies of the possible usefulness of nonviolent defence. What has been missing are the regional centres for nonviolent training, public campaigns, educational materials, etc.

In the peace movement years of the eighties, I found that more and more feminists, more and more women, demanded that the psychological, physical and economic violence perpetrated by men against women be recognized and ended, and that social institutions be changed so as to no longer reflect the pattern of dominance and submission. These women have also been in the forefront in demanding that social defence be included in the aims and demands of the peace movement. Women in the peace movement turned towards encouraging a more humane and loving standard of behaviour instead of relationships steeped in aggression and competition, but the peace movements and also peace research centres across Europe, became more and more dominated by men. Some of those men still think in most traditional ways and categories.

In the eighties we had tried a series of different direct action projects to try to halt the deployment of new weapons; we tried to resist paying war taxes and we tried to encourage “conversion”—moving toward a peacetime economy! But these direct action projects represented only a small segment of the peace movement. I regret that we did not have enough courage, for example, to blockade the German Defence Ministry over and over again, not only with fifty or a hundred people, but with 100,000 or 200,000 people. We also were in need of more dialogue with police and with soldiers, to convince them that they too should become allies in nonviolence! Social defence must include all sectors of society and this means to mobilize also among police and soldiers.

What had been taking place in Eastern Europe and up to a certain point in East Germany until the elections took place was the nonviolent preparation for peace. If anything has given me hope in the past few years it has been that nonviolent revolution of the hearts and minds of the people of Eastern Europe. At the same time I also realize how quickly and how brutally the Ten-Point-Reunification-Plan of Chancellor Kohl snuffed out all visions and dreams of a truly new, nonviolent and radically democratic East Germany. The mothers and fathers of that GDR revolution were eaten up by the revolution on Election Day. They had no fair chance against the West German interventionist policies of CSU/CDU/FDP/SPD in the GDR election campaign! The new Basic Law Draft of the Round Table was and is a document of hope, but the election results in the GDR show that no one now in power is willing to respect those visions and concrete utopias!

The twentieth century has been far bloodier than the preceding one—and especially because this century has been so bloody these coming ten years are the last hope for a truly nonviolent and peaceful new world order. Just as nuclear power plant opponents like myself in the 1970s realized that we needed not only to oppose nuclear power but also to offer a concrete alternative energy policy, so too have many critics of the arms race only now realized that they must promote an alternative defence policy, and that the only way to a nonviolent end is by nonviolent means. We must reject a mix of military and social defence concepts—but that again has been at the root of our debate within our newly-founded Federation for Social Defence (Bund für Soziale Verteidigung) founded in Minden last year. Civilian-based defence cannot be mixed or compromised if it is to provide a true nonviolent alternative to conventional means of defence. Military means must be phased out as training of the population progresses and public confidence in social defence increases.

Three further issues I would like to see discussed at this Conference are the issues of nonviolent resistance in Tibet over the past thirty to forty years against the Chinese military occupation, all that which happened last June on the Square of Heavenly Peace in Peking, and the present situation in Lithuania. What we need, and this I feel very deeply, is not so much to continually exchange our negative experiences in trying to get social defence to become acceptable, but rather, practical work in the area of social defence. This means for me building up regional and local centres for social defence and nonviolent training, trying to increase support for the Peace Brigades, and collecting our courage to intervene nonviolently in situations of conflict, for example in Cambodia and



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Lithuania. It also means supporting the nonviolent struggle of the Tibetan and Chinese people in exile and, of course, also those who are struggling inside these countries. Social defence cannot end up as a study project or a study programme if it is to have any real hope and if it is to become a true and credible alternative. The many discussions I have had with Tibetan and Chinese friends from the democracy and independence movements have shown me that they have been aware of the chances and possibilities for civilian-based defence and that far too many of us here in Western Europe have tried to tell them how to make their resistance work. Nonviolent struggle and social defence—these are the key questions for the nineties!

At a time when NATO has decided to continue its arms build-up, its nuclear and chemical and conventional war strategies—at a time when the Warsaw Pact is about to completely crumble—at a time when NATO is about to move its borders toward the East German-Polish border in Europe—at a time when NATO has more or less won the Cold War with other means—exactly at this time civilian-based defence/social defence must be counterposed to NATO policies. Social defence is pragmatic rather than ideological and thus it requires efficient organization, detailed preparation and very, very good training. It is here, I believe, where peace movements and also Green parties, including my own Green Party in the Federal Republic of Germany, have failed. The German Green Party, for example, has the largest amount of resources available—they run into millions of Deutsche Marks—and yet it has been incapable of instituting practical work in the area of social defence. A nonviolent strategy to prepare societies to become unrulable by aggressors, from within or without, must become a key goal of the peace movements.

In the past year I have been several times to India and was amazed to hear of and see the many nonviolent civil disobedience campaigns led by women, children, and men—for example in front of the Orissa Missile Base. Or I think of the Chipko Movement (the “hug-the-tree” movement) of the Indian women. And I think about the nonviolent strategies which the Dalai Lama and the Tibetan people have always believed in and tried to live by, and the ignorance that exists within public opinion and the media about these nonviolent campaigns. Yet, bombing oneself into history like the IRA, ETA, etc., have done has been rewarded by the attention given them by public opinion. What an irony!

We should not forget that the United Nations could play a constructive role if civilian-based defence were adopted simultaneously by several countries in a coordinated programme of transarmament. Practical preparations in civilian-based defence can also help stimulate liberation groups around the world to apply similar methods and strategies against their own internal, oppressive regimes. But of all movements which have the freedom and the resources and the possibilities to do so, it is the West European Peace and Disarmament Movement which must really take up the issue of social defence as a main priority as soon as is possible. We must learn “self-liberation” from our East European friends! More than ever the words of Mahatma Gandhi are correct when he stated:


“The future will depend on what we do in the present.”

And he also stated:


“All nonviolence is as yet a mixed affair. It limps. Nevertheless, it is there and it continues to work like a leaven in a silent and invisible way, least understood by most. It is the only way.”

But let me add a quote of Theodore Roszak:

“People try nonviolence for a week, and when it ‘doesn’t work’ they go back to violence, which hasn’t worked for centuries.”

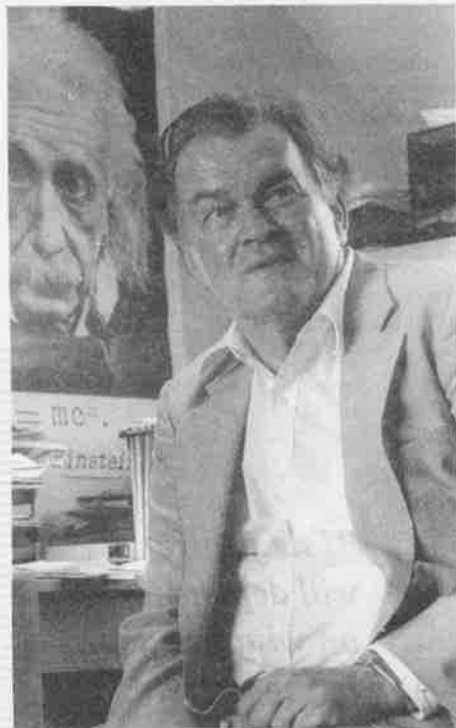


*"The future
will depend
on what we do
in the present."*




TRANSITIONS TO CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE

By Gene Sharp, Albert Einstein Institution



A presentation to the conference on "Nonviolent Struggle and Social Defence," University of Bradford, England, April 3-7, 1990. This text is not to be reproduced in any way without written permission of Gene Sharp, the Albert Einstein Institution, 1430 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138. The latter part of this presentation draws heavily on Chapter Five of the author's book *Civilian-Based Defense: A Post-Military Weapons System*, Princeton University Press (41 William Street, Princeton, New Jersey 08540, USA), October 1990, hardback provisionally \$19.95. Reprinted with permission.

What are the more likely ways by which a shift from military-based defense to a civilian-based defense system might be actually implemented? That question is the focus of this paper.

By "civilian-based defense" is meant here a national defense policy to deter and defeat aggression, both internal (such as coups d'état) and external (such as invasions). This capacity is to be achieved by preparing the population and institutions for massive nonviolent resistance and defiance. Civilian-based defense is one specific application, out of various uses, of the general technique of nonviolent action, or nonviolent struggle.

"Transarmament" is the process of change-over from military-based defense to civilian-based defense. This is projected as usually occurring by incrementally building up a nation's civilian-based defense capacity and then gradually phasing out its military defense capacity. "Transarmament" is contrasted to "disarmament" which involves a simple reduction or abandonment of military capacity without providing a substitute means for national defense.

An examination of how transitions from military-based defense to civilian-based defense might be possible is necessarily based on certain assumptions. These should be made explicit to make possible reasoned evaluation.

The assumptions underlying this paper include the following fifteen points:

- 1) It is more important to achieve a transition from military-based defense to civilian-based defense than either a) to witness against the violence and oppression of the world without making an impact on it, or b) to present a doctrinally-driven schema for comprehensive social change which is most likely going to remain only that.
- 2) Society and the world cannot be changed both comprehensively and rapidly. Time and strategic steps are required.
- 3) Political violence, including war for defense, is not going to be abandoned without the *prior* development of an effective substitute form of struggle and means of defense. Therefore "disarmament" or repudiation of military means will *not* precede transarmament to civilian-based defense. Instead, military means can only be abandoned *after* civilian-based defense capacities and abilities to wage nonviolent struggle for other purposes are in place.
- 4) Civilian-based defense and nonviolent struggle can be effectively practiced without a principled commitment to ethical or religious "nonviolence" or even without an acceptance of the view that substitute nonviolent sanctions are universally applicable.

REPORT ON CONFERENCE *(continued from front page)*

Norway, Ireland, Fiji, Denmark, Yugoslavia, Costa Rica, Palestine, Mexico, Canada, Hong Kong, Finland, and Poland.

True to its title, the conference was about the phenomenon of "people power," the use of nonviolent struggle throughout the world—from South Africa to East Germany and from Costa Rica to India, and about the need to develop social defense/civilian-based defense instead of pursuing the path of military power.

In many ways the Bradford Conference was much like another conference held

two months earlier on the other side of the Atlantic, i.e., the "National Conference on Nonviolent Sanctions in Conflict and Defense," sponsored by the Albert Einstein Institution. While the specific mix of participants and the physical surroundings differed (at the Cambridge Conference sixteen nations and twenty-seven states of the United States were represented), the subject matter and approach were much the same. Both conferences emphasized presentation of information and people meeting people to

learn from each other. At both conferences many participants were able to give first-person accounts of nonviolent struggle in their regions. At neither conference were resolutions adopted or statements issued. *Nonviolent Sanctions: News from The Albert Einstein Institution* (available for \$5 per year in the U.S. and for \$8 outside the U.S., from the Albert Einstein Institution, 1430 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138, USA.) is carrying highlights of the February Conference in the Spring/Summer issue.

- 5) The separation of nonviolent struggle from assertions that a certain ethical, religious, or political position is a requirement for its sincere or effective practice is a prerequisite for the widespread adoption of nonviolent struggle and for transarmament to a civilian-based defense. Nonviolent struggle has begun to escape from the ideological ghetto in which it has wrongly been placed by many critics and advocates alike. That separation of nonviolent struggle and civilian-based defense from identification with doctrinaire positions is already well underway, and attempts to restore a presumed connection between them could be disastrous.
- 6) "Human nature" does not need to be changed as a precondition for civilian-based defense.
- 7) A prior transformation of the international system is not required before adoption of civilian-based defense by individual countries or groups of countries.
- 8) A prior transformation or revolution of the social system is not a prerequisite for the acceptance of civilian-based defense or a requirement for its viability.
- 9) The use of nonviolent struggle for liberation from a foreign yoke or a domestic dictatorship, or for other purposes, does not lead to an easy, "natural" adoption of civilian-based defense. Instead, specific consideration, adoption, and preparations for civilian-based defense are required.
- 10) Civilian-based defense requires widespread acceptance and support from the society before it can be adopted and implemented effectively.
- 11) An identification of civilian-based defense as only related to, or compatible with, a particular political perspective or doctrine will seriously inhibit the policy's wider acceptance. However, there is nothing wrong with any political or cause group claiming that civilian-based defense is compatible with its own views, while allowing that the policy may also be compatible with the perspectives of other groups.
- 12) An identification of civilian-based defense with pacifism and anti-militarism will serve to alienate important potential support. Such identification will instead serve to cause the policy to be dismissed or opposed without fair evaluation. Specifically, no peace or pacifist group or radical political body should identify itself as the prime advocate of, or authority on, civilian-based defense.
- 13) A "transpartisan" approach—which seeks to achieve careful evaluation of civilian-based defense by people and groups of widely differing political views and attitudes to defense and past wars—has the greatest opportunity to produce widespread acceptance of the potential viability of this policy and agreement to initiate steps toward its adoption. A transpartisan approach would also aim at incorporating people holding various perspectives in support of the development and adoption of civilian-based defense.
- 14) If the substance of a possible civilian-based defense policy is presented on the basis of its potential utility, such a policy might well receive widespread support across the political spectrum in a democratic society.
- 15) Effective civilian-based defense requires advance planning and preparations, and cannot be responsibly left to simple spontaneity. This is not to deny the usefulness of appropriate types of initiative and spontaneity within the context of clear strategic conceptions and planning.

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The Bradford Conference was covered by KINK Video Produkties, Postbus 567, 3800 AH Amersfoort, Netherlands. A videotape is available.

As a "reporter" for this publication, I went to Bradford with ears attuned for the social defense part of the conference. Social defense was discussed all week but in a somewhat confused way. The meaning to be assigned to the term was an issue throughout the conference. Also at issue was the desirability (or even possibility) of participation by government in

social defense preparations. With hindsight and in the interests of saving time it might have been beneficial for the organizers of the conference to have had someone outline these long-standing divergent views early in the conference. Be that as it may, I think the conference did present a good "window" on the present state of discussion of civilian-based defense/social defense. It is a discussion that gets bogged down in terminology. Many are confused about what next steps to plan. A lack of consensus

about the possibility and desirability of working with politicians and military strategists *does* make it hard to move ahead in one direction or the other.

Despite all this the conference was a success. Over shared meals in the dining hall, during coffee and tea breaks, in the pubs at night, the one hundred plus participants dialogued with each other. They went away understanding better the different situations for social defense in

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TRANSITIONS TO CBD *(continued from page 7)*

On the basis of these assumptions and insights, one can conclude that in most cases (but not all), civilian-based defense could not be adopted quickly as a full substitute for military defense, however desirable that might be. This is in part because of the time required for preparing the new policy, organizing the transition, and achieving the needed popular and organizational support.

Therefore, in most situations consideration of civilian-based defense and transarmament to it will necessarily be an incremental process consisting of limited steps. These will move toward increasing the role, importance, and scale of the civilian-based defense preparations. Indeed, excessively rapid, ill-prepared change-overs could result in unnecessary failures of civilian-based defense when it is applied. Those failures would unjustifiably help to discredit the whole policy.

In this incremental approach to transarmament, civilian-based defense would be adopted in a series of limited steps, and preparations and training would begin on a relatively modest basis, while the existing military policy is still in place. The civilian-based "components" could then be expanded in stages. Instead, therefore, of a single all-or-nothing decision on adopting the policy, there would be a series of sequential decisions on whether to take the next immediate step. This process would differ significantly from the more traditional "campaigns" or "movements" for or against policies.

The emphasis in the transarmament period ought *not* responsibly to be on abandoning military means but instead primarily on the *increase in effective defense capacity* through the development of the new civilian-based policy.

In all countries not subject to imminent attack, time is available for reasoned evaluation and decision about the new policy, and to research its capacities, dynamics, requirements, and strategic principles.

The steps in the incremental adoption of civilian-based defense will be of varying substance and duration. There is no blueprint of steps and time scale that is applicable to all countries and situations. In general, however, the following elements will be included in the process of transarmament:



- research;
- public education;
- policy and feasibility studies;
- evaluation by the public, private organizations, official institutions, defense departments and ministries, and the legislatures;
- introduction of a modest civilian-based component (perhaps for specific purposes);
- preparing and training of the populace;
- consideration of adding other purposes for which civilian-based defense may be utilized;
- legislative and administrative action on these decisions;
- strengthening the capacities of civilian-based defense;
- and
- unification of the defense policy.

Major attention must be given to comparative analyses of the advantages and disadvantages, the capacities and incapacities, of military-based and civilian-based defenses to meet security needs for the present and the foreseeable future.

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REPORT ON CONFERENCE *(continued from page 7)*

such places as the Philippines, Europe, South Africa, the South Pacific, and Latin America. Those who can visualize a co-existence of civilian-based defense with military defense met daily with those who cannot. Those who see the world as very dangerous and want a well-planned nonviolent defense had opportunity to meet with those who distrust almost all preparation for national defense. Another good effort was made to clarify the terminology surrounding social defense and

the concept itself. Perhaps most importantly, the idea of social defense/civilian-based defense was *included* at the Bradford Conference. Many, perhaps most serious conferences on nonviolence, still do not provide a place on the agenda for this important idea (a deficiency which we should not fail to point out to conference planners).

WRI, IFOR, and the Bradford School of Peace Studies deserve credit for organizing a very useful conference.

Other kinds of conferences on civilian-based defense, such as conferences for scholars, national conferences, and problem-solving conferences, are also needed. Perhaps some of the participants at Bradford and Cambridge will become the planners for these other needed gatherings in the months ahead.



No single model of policy consideration and partial or full transarmament can be created that will be applicable to all countries and situations. There are at least four general models:

- 1) Full, relatively rapid, adoption of civilian-based defense as the country's defense policy by small countries that at present have, or when independent will have, no viable military or alliance alternative because of some special situation or condition. Such existing countries might include Iceland and Costa Rica. Possible future such countries might include Palestine, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Armenia, Hong Kong, and Tibet. The initiatives for adopting civilian-based defense might come from the government or from the population and independent institutions of the society.
- 2) The addition of a civilian-based defense component to a predominantly military defense policy to serve one or more specific purposes, with no intention to expand that component to play wider roles within the overall policy. Examples where this has already occurred include Sweden, Switzerland, Austria, and Yugoslavia. Countries which may add such a policy in the future include Norway and Finland, and the many countries which are vulnerable to coups d'état, such as Thailand, Chile, and Zambia. The Civilian-based components might be intended for use (a) where military resistance is futile or suicidal; (b) where military resistance has failed; or (c) where internal usurpations are possible.
- 3) The phased introduction and gradual expansion of civilian-based defense elements with the objective of full transarmament. This is especially likely in countries whose military capacity, when compared to potential attackers, is so limited that they are incapable of serious military defense. Countries in such situations which also require effective external or internal defense include Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Mexico, and Taiwan.
- 4) The negotiated, phased, multilateral transarmament of several neighboring countries, simultaneously introducing civilian-based defense components, perhaps followed by a phased reduction of military weaponry. Transarmament by international negotiation might be arranged in Central Europe and Central America, for example.

Very little attention has been given to the applicability of civilian-based defense to present and potential superstates compared to the defense problems of small and medium-size countries. These superstates include the United States, the Soviet Union, China, India, and potentially Brazil. The applicability of civilian-based defense to them depends in part on the assessment of the nature of these regimes and their objectives.

Most of the superstates have been clear aggressors against other countries, but that does not eliminate their own need for defense, externally and internally. Their own security problems are much simplified if their own militarily dependent allies (as NATO partners and Japan for the U.S.) could become self-reliant in defense through civilian-based defense.

All superstates would need defense against internal usurpations, such as executive usurpations, coups d'état, "secret governments," and the like. Political democratization and decentralization in superstates would also be facilitated by a civilian-based defense policy.

Attention to the potential of civilian-based defense for very large countries is required, including the models of transarmament and corollary structural changes which might be required for maximum effectiveness.

In assessing how the change-over from military-based to civilian-based defense might best be handled, it is most important to recognize that the problem requires serious analysis and policy development. We are now at a stage of the development of nonviolent struggle and civilian-based defense where such analyses and policy studies are possible. We are also at a point internationally where we can project the policy relevance of civilian-based defense for various countries. Rigorous attention is now required to the possibilities and models of transarmament for a considerable variety of countries and security situations.



NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

AUSTRALIA

Schweik Action Wollongong, a small group devoted to the study and promotion of social defense, has produced an eight-page account of a recent study they undertook. The report is entitled "The Australian Post Office and Social Defence." Considering communications crucial in crisis situations such as invasions, coups, and struggles against repressive governments, the group decided to examine one channel of communication—Australia Post—to learn how suppression of communication could be resisted within it. Schweik Action Wollongong looks forward to hearing from others about historical examples or present prospects for the use of communications against repressive regimes. They hope to broaden their project to deal with electronic communications and to link with people involved with issues such as privacy and social justice. Schweik Action Wollongong can be contacted at P.O. Box 492, Wollongong East NSW 2520, Australia. Phone: (042)287860.

The New Australian Militarism, edited by Graham Cheesman & St. John Kettle, is now available from Pluto Press Australia, P.O. Box 199, Leichardt 2040. 220 pages, illustrated with cartoons. \$14.95, post free. Included in the contents is an entry entitled "Transarmament: a Proposal to Widen the Defence Debate," by Peter D. Jones and Senator Jo Vallentine.

SWEDEN

A preliminary program has been announced for the "Nordic Conference on Social Defence" to be held in Kiruna, Sweden, October 4-7, 1990. Topics for speakers and panelists will include the development of social defence in the last decades, the threats to be faced, social defence in practice (focus on a wide variety of current nonviolent struggles against repression), the historical development from aggressive defense to defensive defense to non-military defense and "Weltinnen-politics," and a comparison of different defense models in respect to organizing, recruitment and democracy. The conference will end with a roleplay using the scenario of a conflict in Kiruna. For more information one may write to: Nordisk Kongress, Kiruna 1990, Miljopartiet de Grona, Skomakaregatan 50, S-951 36 Lulea, Sweden.

(continued on page 10)

NEWS & ANNOUNCEMENTS
(continued from page 9)

UNITED STATES

Video and audio tapes of talks and panels at the National Conference on Nonviolent Sanctions in Conflict and Defense (sponsored by the Albert Einstein Institution Febr. 8-11, 1990 in Cambridge, Massachusetts) are now available. For a complete listing of titles and prices, write to: Roger Powers, Albert Einstein Institution, 1430 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138.

An essay on the theme of America's role in the 21st century, by Kurtis Paul Kelly, received a prize in *The World & I* Article Contest. One of the five ideas put forth in the essay was civilian-based defense. At the magazine's awards dinner in Washington, D.C. this past March CBD was described to the audience as one of the constructive ideas proposed in the essay, particularly meaningful at a time when fresh ideas are needed to bring progress in Eastern Europe and to avoid nuclear arsenal development in nations like Iraq. Mr. Kelly's article is to be published in *The World & I* this summer.

CANADA

An article entitled "Nonviolent Defence, the Road Not Taken: The Case of India," by John M. Mecartney, was published in the April/May 1990 issue of *Peace Magazine* (736 Bathurst Street, Toronto M5S 2R4, Canada). The article outlines a scenario of what might have happened if India had adopted nonviolent defense when it became free.

KOREA

The World Council of Churches held its "Convocation on Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation" in Seoul this past March. The approved document to be sent out to all the member churches will contain a reference, in the Covenant section, to nonviolent defence. It states, "We commit ourselves to work and engage our churches to work for the demilitarization of international relations and for the promotion of nonviolent forms of defence."

WEST GERMANY

Members of the Bund fur Soziale Verteidigung (Association for Social Defense) approved a resolution this Spring calling for creation, within the Government, of a new "Ministry for Disarmament, Conversion, and Social Defense." The Bund can be contacted at Friedensplatz 1a, 4950 Minden, West Germany.

MILITARY STUDENTS AND CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE

By David Yaskulka, Executive Director of the Center for Common Security, P.O. Box 275, Williamstown, MA 01267.

Ed. Note: Because efforts to promote study of CBD do not often reach out to include those involved in military training, we asked Mr. Yaskulka to share how he has attempted to do that.

The Colonel introduced me, and I stepped in front of these hundred or so Air Force ROTC cadets and explained, "When I was in college, I used to protest the ROTC."

Now I appear as an invited component of their military education program, introducing them to concepts of alternative security and nonviolent civilian-based defense. The visit is part of the Center for Common Security's new seminar program for military students, entitled "National Security in the 90's: Changing Threats, New Proposals."

The Program's Advisory Committee includes Major General Edward Atkeson (ret.), Col. John Barr (ret., President, Veterans for Peace), Ambassador Jonathan Dean (former chief of the U.S. delegation to the conventional arms negotiations), Col. Robert Helvey and Dr. Gene Sharp.

I've learned that these young men and women training to become tomorrow's military leaders are as dedicated to a more peaceful world as I am, and that we have a lot to learn from each other. In fact, Dr. Sharp's kind influence on my undergraduate years demanded my recognition of these facts.

Further, if we're going to train our next generation of American leaders to forge effective solutions to changing national security threats, we desperately need this sort of dialogue in our universities. We need to cut across traditional ideological positions to foster good thinking and creativity.

Early in the seminar I explain that we need to design defense postures that send two very clear messages to potential adversaries. First, if you attack us, you have absolutely nothing to gain. Second, if you do not attack us, you have absolutely nothing to fear.

The military has been effective in sending the first message; luckily, emerging strategies and technologies are making it possible to send both at once. That's where CBD (civilian-based defense) fits in.

Importantly, I place CBD within a context of national defense that is readily understood by the audience. Although Dr. Sharp and others would disagree, I find it extremely useful to present transarmament as a continuum from present policies, to non-offensive conventional postures, to CBD. CBD is more interesting to military students when presented as a *component* of a broader alternative defense agenda (focused, for example, on the defense of cities, as suggested by Wilhelm Nolte). I invite the reader to explore non-offensive defense, and consider how it might complement CBD in practice, and/or how it might promote CBD in the near future. (A good place to begin is the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* special September 1988 issue, available free from the Center for Common Security [CCS]).

Cadets across the country have been remarkably capable of figuring out what it will take to make these policies *more* effective. One bright young Captain even had us "war-gaming," with one side being an invading WTO force and the other NATO's new civilian-based defense force. Shrewd, strategic, and innovative thinking was the result.

When I finished speaking, the Colonel told the cadets not to be afraid of new ideas. He said that their military records wouldn't be contaminated by paying attention to someone who challenges their thinking. In fact, he challenged them to become better officers by considering the widest range of defense options.

Some early (unscientific) findings of the program:

- most ROTC students are in the military for economic, rather than militaristic reasons.
- military students strongly believe in national defense and in the United States, and deeply distrust the peace movement.
- many officers were deeply scarred by peace movement condemnation campaigns when they returned from the horrors of Vietnam.
- with rare exception, these students *really* don't want to go to war, although they will clearly perform if called upon.
- they openly encourage civilians to do everything they can to prevent war.

(continued on page 11)

MILITARY STUDENTS AND CBD *(continued from page 10)*

- their perceptions of the most serious threats to U.S. security correlate quite closely with "Americans Talk Security" national polls, and do not correlate at all with actual U.S. spending priorities.
- this is most acutely the case with respect to the Soviet conventional threat in Europe (where we spend over \$160 billion).
- CBD has been easier to convey since the nonviolent upheavals in Europe.

Some early results of the program:

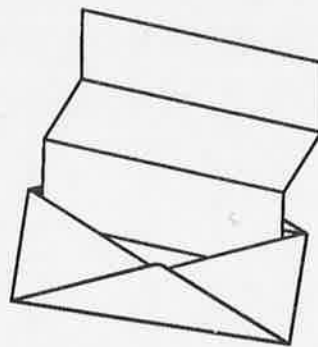
- Most of the military students attending a workshop were convinced of their duty to wear two distinct hats with equal pride and responsibility: one as a soldier who takes orders from the Commander-in-Chief; the other as a U.S. citizen who elected the President and pays his salary. They were even convinced that they bore a special responsibility to participate actively in the security debate as their training affords them information that is important to other citizens.
- Most of these students were convinced that current nuclear and conventional postures could not be indefinitely maintained at the expense of environmental, educational, and other social programs that they believe in. They were open to and interested in CCS alternative security proposals.
- CCS notions of alternative defense were strengthened (both in terms of strategic effectiveness and popular appeal) by the strong tests given us by military students and officers.
- Perhaps most importantly, other very conservative (civilian) students are extremely impressed with our work with military students. It is now very clear that CCS work with conservative and mainstream students throughout the country will benefit greatly (in substance and credibility) by our work with military students. My hope for this Program is best described in Lt. Santistevan's post-seminar comment, "You made us all realize that common security would be easier if military and civilians worked together to achieve it."

I invite anyone interested in expanding the audience of civilian-based defense, or in getting more information on our Seminar Program, to call or write me at CCS.

CBD INFORMATION-SHARING NETWORK TO BE DEVELOPED

At the end of the April 1990 Bradford Conference on Nonviolent Struggle and Social Defense a workshop was held to discuss the need for an expanded sharing of information about social defense/civilian-based defense (variations exist in terminology and meaning). The eight participants agreed that, while *Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion* has been a very useful source of information, an additional effort is needed. Workshop participants agreed to develop an information-sharing network. The network is not to replace *News & Opinion*, but rather, to assist and supplement it.

It is hoped that the network will include several dozen countries in the next year or two. Individuals who are well-acquainted with the discussion of civilian-based defense/social defense in their own countries will be asked to collect information about new developments (publications, events, decisions, conferences, etc.) in their countries several times a year and send it to the Editor of *Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion*. This information will then be sent back out to all members of the network (who will be expected to pass it on to others in their own countries). Some of the information will also be published in *News & Opinion*. It is expected that the information-sharing network will not exclude any approach to nonviolent defense, nor any way of defining civilian-based defense/social defense, but will be as broadly inclusive as possible so that all can learn from the different viewpoints and the ways of proceeding that lead from them.



SUPPORT FOR NONVIOLENT FORMS OF DEFENSE CALLED FOR BY WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

By Mary Link (Ms. Link, a member of the board of CBDA and International Secretary of Peace Brigades International, attended the JPIC Convocation as a U.S.A. Quaker representative/delegate from Friends General Conference)

Several hundred of us from around the planet sitting at tables on the floor of an Olympic stadium, our challenges were not athletic though perhaps of Olympic magnitude.

From March 5-12, 1990 in Seoul, Korea, the world Council of Churches held its World Convocation on Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation (JPIC). Our task: to come up with shared affirmations and covenants regarding economic justice, the greenhouse effect, demilitarization, and development of a culture of nonviolence out of our diverse theological and cultural perspectives.

Having just attended the Conference on Nonviolent Sanctions in Conflict and Defense sponsored by The Albert Einstein Institution in February, and realizing the omission of civilian-based defense as a positive alternative in the JPIC document, I spoke to get support for nonviolent forms of defense added.

My first proposal, supported by a Norwegian delegate, was voted down. I tried again. This time the proposal to add "and the promotion of nonviolent forms of defense" was passed by a unanimous vote. The demilitarization section, then, contained the following words: "... we commit ourselves to work and engage our churches to work ... for the demilitarization of international relations and the promotion of non-violent forms of defense ..."

What will it mean? How the delegates who were introduced to the idea and the member churches who receive the document will respond remains to be seen. This presents an opening for CBDA to reach out through the churches to educate and gain support.



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.

CO-EDITORS: Melvin G. Beckman
Philip D. Bogdonoff
Robert Holmes

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

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

CONSULTATION ON CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE TO BE HELD IN WASHINGTON DC, NOVEMBER 8-9, 1990

The Civilian-Based Defense Association has invited its own members, subscribers to the newsletter, and representatives of other interested U.S. organizations to "consult" together about a plan for civilian-based defense education in the United States. The Consultation will begin with dinner on Thursday evening, November 8th, and end at about 5 p.m. on Friday, November 9th. The meeting site will be the Best Western Skyline Inn, 10 "I" Street S.W., Washington, DC. The expected cost per participant is \$125. This will include registration, consultation materials, room, and meals. A reduced fee will be available for those not requiring overnight accommodations.

To receive registration information and pre-Consultation reading materials one may send name, address and \$10 to the Association. This amount will apply toward one's registration fee but is otherwise not refundable.

SPECIAL OFFER

Past issues of *Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion* are available. Volumes 1, 2, 3 (November 1982 to March 1987) \$10.00, postage paid. Volumes 4, 5, 6 (June 1987 to July, 1990) \$10.00 postage paid. Civilian-Based Defense Association, P.O. Box 31616, Omaha, NE 68131, USA.

TRANSLATORS NEEDED

If you can volunteer to translate articles and letters into English from another language please write to the Editor, *Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion*, P.O. Box 31616, Omaha, NE 68131, USA.

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The top line of the mailing label on this newsletter will tell you when your membership or subscription is/was renewable. Renewing during the month before expiration will save time and postage for the Association. Thank you.

Civilian-Based Defense Association

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August 5, 1990

DEAR FRIENDS OF CBDA,

This letter is our 1990 appeal for financial support. It is being sent to our U.S. members, to newsletter subscribers, and to members and friends in other countries. We very much need your support, for the following reasons:

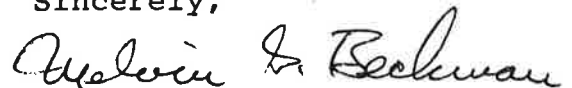
1) Like many other groups, our organization has suffered a decline in paid memberships since the thaw in East-West relations, even though the need to develop nonviolent options for defense remains urgent. Contributions are needed to simply continue normal operations.

2) We are initiating a new program - our first "Consultation" on Civilian-Based Defense, to be held in Washington DC in November. We need funds to pay unexpected expenses and to follow up adequately on decisions which will be made there.

3) Even though some of our directors pay all or part of their plane fares and lodging costs for the annual Board Meeting, not all are able to do so. This year it is especially important that our directors be present in Washington DC for the Consultation and for the post-Consultation Board meeting. We will need to map out a strategy for introducing public discussion of civilian-based defense in the United States, based on the results of the Consultation.

Thank you for your generous support of our organization in the past. We have reached a kind of organizational crossroads. Both your ideas and your financial support are needed at this time. Thank you.

Sincerely,



Melvin G. Beckman

CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE: NEWS & OPINION
P.O. Box 31616
Omaha, NE 68131 USA

August 1, 1990

DEAR

This letter is to ask you to serve as a contact person for your country in a new information-sharing network on civilian-based defense and social defense.

In April of this year War Resisters International and International Fellowship of Reconciliation sponsored a study conference entitled "Nonviolent Struggle and Social Defence", at Bradford University in England. After the conference a need was felt by some of us to improve the level of international communication about nonviolent defense. Eight conference participants met to outline a plan: David Atwood and Gilliam DeValk (Netherlands), Christine Schweitzer (Federal Republic of Germany), Brian Martin (Australia), Albert Beale (Britain), Jorgen Johansen (Sweden), and Doug Bond and I (United States).

Our intention and hope is to achieve, within a year or two, a network involving 25 to 40 countries. Through the network we hope that new information about civilian-based defense and social defence can be shared more quickly. In the past we have sometimes not become aware of important publications, conferences or other events until long after they have taken place in another part of the world. The danger is that we work in isolation, unaware of new developments elsewhere and perhaps duplicating the efforts others have already made. We want to provide a way of sharing information that will be inexpensive and not require a great amount of time.

We would like you to consider being the network's contact person in your country. As a network contact person you would collect information about developments in your area and then send this information three times each year to me, as editor of Civilian-Based Defense: News and Opinion. I will gather the information received from the various countries and mail it back to all contact persons, in the form of an information packet on civilian-based defense and social defense. When the contact persons receive their packets they will further distribute the information within their own countries.

As editor of Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion I will also publish in that newsletter some of the material received from the various countries. This new project is not intended to replace News & Opinion, but rather, to assist and

supplement it. The eight of us at the workshop agreed that News & Opinion has been and continues to be a worthwhile publication on this subject.

Contact persons in the various countries will send in what they consider to be relevant news relating to civilian-based defense and social defense. You are aware, I am sure, that differences of opinion exist regarding terminology and about what activity should be included within the meaning of "civilian-based defense" and "social defense". We do not consider it our role to define any of this or to screen out information which we might consider not relevant. We will ask our contacts to be the ones to decide what should be shared with people in other countries, based on their own unique approaches to nonviolent defense. No doubt we will learn much from each other!

Enclosed is a standard form which will be used in the collection-of-information process. I will send each contact person a copy of this form every four months as a reminder that it is time to activate the network. The completed form, with any attachments contact persons wish to include, should be returned within four weeks. The form is not meant to limit contributions but to ensure that each contribution includes essential information (key dates, names, addresses, etc.), and is as concise as possible. The cost of postage is necessarily a consideration in all this.

What I have described above is our initial concept of the network. Your ideas for improvement are invited. In particular, this first version of the reporting form can be changed if necessary.

If you are willing to serve as our contact person in your country, please complete the enclosed form and send it back to me, with whatever attachments you wish, within four weeks from the time you receive it. You will then receive the first information packet from me shortly thereafter.

Sincerely,

Melvin G. Beckman

A G R E E M E N T - C O N T A C T P E R S O N S

Civilian-Based Defense/Social Defense Information Network

NAME _____

Please type
or print
clearly

ADDRESS _____

WORK PHONE _____

HOME PHONE _____

----- I am willing to serve as a volunteer in my country to provide the network with information about new books, publications, meetings, and other relevant happenings relating to civilian-based defense. I understand I will be requested to do this three times each year.

MAIL TO: Mel Beckman, Editor
 Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion
 P.O. Box 31616
 Omaha, NE 68131 USA

CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE/SOCIAL DEFENSE INFORMATION NETWORK

REPORTER _____
COUNTRY _____
DATE _____

Please print or type
when filling out this
form. Thank you!

1. RECENTLY PUBLISHED/ SOON-TO-BE-PUBLISHED BOOK

Title _____
Author _____
Publishing Company _____
City _____ Year _____ Pages _____
Price _____ (USE OTHER SIDE FOR MORE BOOKS)

2. RECENTLY PUBLISHED/ SOON-TO-BE-PUBLISHED ARTICLE

Title _____
Author _____
Name of Journal _____
Issue Date _____ (USE OTHER SIDE FOR MORE ARTICLES)

3. UPCOMING CONFERENCES/ MEETINGS/ OTHER EVENTS RELATING TO CBD.

Name of Event _____
Responsible Group/Agency _____
Date(s) _____
Location _____
Purpose or Agenda _____
Who May Participate _____
Cost To Participant _____
Name of Person To Contact _____
His/Her Address _____
His/Her Phone Number _____

4) NEW DEVELOPMENTS IN PUBLIC OR PRIVATE SECTORS (Who did what, for what reason, when, and what is the significance of this?)

_____ (USE OTHER SIDE TO FINISH)

REPORTERS: Please make more copies of this form, as needed, to provide additional information. Send to: CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE: NEWS & OPINION, P.O. Box 31616, Omaha, NE 68131 USA. We also invite you to send book reviews, letters to the editor, information about audio-visuals, and anything else that would be of interest to other members of the network.

POSSIBLE "REPORTERS" IN THE CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE/SOCIAL DEFENSE INFORMATION NETWORK
As Proposed By: (B) Mel Beckman, (A) David Atwood, or (S) Christine Schweitzer.

NETHERLANDS: Lineke Schakenbos [Network for Social Defense](S)/ Normapad 4, 3816 EZ Amersfoort. Evert Huisman (A)/ Hardesteinstraat 6, 8012 ET Zwolle.

BELGIUM: Kris Vanhoek [I.O.T.] (S)/ Robiestraat 44/3, 1060 Brussels.

FRANCE: Jean-Marie Muller (S)/ 508 rue du Moulin, 45400 Chateau. Christian Mellon (S)/ 14 Rue d'Assas, 75006 Paris.

SWITZERLAND: Andreas Gross [Gruppe fur eine Schweiz ohne Armeel](S)/ Freistr 168, 8032 Zurich. Rene Wadlow [IFOR representative at the UN in Geneva] (A)/ Case Postale 161, CH-1211 Geneva 16.

GDR: Gerold Hildebrand [?] (S)/ Metzger Str 23, DDR -Berlin 1055.

ITALY: Antonino Drago (S)/ Dept of Physical Science, Mostra 19, 80125 Naples.

SPAIN: Someone from MOC (S)/. Vicenc Fisas (B)/ Piscina, 13 (La Floresta), 0819 Sant Cugat.

SWEDEN: Jorgen Johansen (S)/ Krossekarr 6822, 45081 Grebbestad. Lennart Bergfeldt (B)/ Araby, S-352 60 VAXJO.

NORWAY: Jorgen Johansen (S)/ Krossekarr 6822, 45081 Grebbestad.

DENMARK: Finn Held (S)/ Aprilvej 24, 2730 Herlev.

ENGLAND: Howard Clark (S)/ WRI Office, 55 Dawes Street, London SE 17 1EL.

AUSTRIA: Andreas Rabl (S)/ AK fur Soziale Verteidigung, c/o Friedenswerkstatt, Paulustorgasse 3/1, A-8010 Graz, Tel: 316/82 54 88. Klaus Pfoser (B)/ From 1984-1989, Bureau for the Coordination of Comprehensive Defense, Ministry of the Federal Chancellor. Presently at Univ. of Colorado but returning to Austria. Max Deul (A)/ Schweizertalstr. 8 -10/5, A-1130 Vienna. Encouraged IFOR to get involved in the social defense area over the last couple of years.

AUSTRALIA: Brian Martin (S)/ HPS Wollongong University, P.O. Box 1144, Wollongong, NSW 2500.

USA: Mel Beckman (S)/ P.O. Box 31616, Omaha, NE 68131.k

LATIN AMERICA: Julio Guan (S)/ U.N. Univ for Peace, Conflic Resolution Program, Apdo 199-1250, Escazu, Costa Rica. Caridad Inda (B)/ Fernando de Alba 659, Colonia Chapalita 45000, Guadalajara, Jalisco.

INDIA: Narayan Desai (S)/ Inst for Total Revolution, Vedchhi 394 461, Dt Surat, Gujrat.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS: Christine Schweitzer suggests that they be included as well: David Atwood for IFOR, Howard Clark for WRI, and perhaps Uerli Wildberger for PBI.

ISRAEL: Amos Gvirts (A)/ Kibbutz Shefayim, 60990 . Has limited English.

CANADA: George Crowell (B)/ 235 Rossini Blvd, Windsor, Ontario N8Y 2Y9.

FRG: Christoph Besemer (Guenther Schoenegg)/ Werkstatt fur Gewaltfreie Aktion, Baden Am Dorfbach 11, D-7800 Freiburg. Theodor Ebert (B)/ Frei Univ Berlin, 1 Berlin 33 (Dahlem), Ihnestrasse 21.

THAILAND: Dr. C.S. Anand (B)/ Peace Information Center, Thammasat Univ Tapsaeham, Faculty of Pol. Sc., Bangkok 10200.

IRELAND: Rob Fairmichael (B)/ 16 Ravensdene Park, Belfast BT6 ODA.

USSR: Vladimir Mshvenieradze (B)/ USSR Academy of Sciences, Inst/Phil., 14 Volkhonka St., Moscow 121019.

BELGIUM: Johan Niezing (B)/ Vrije Universiteit Brussel, Pleinlaan 2, B-1050 Brussel.

FINLAND: Steven Huxley (B)/ Metsapurontie 18 B 18, 00630 Helsinki 63.

NEW ZEALAND: Kevin Clements (B)/ Presently at Dept of Sociology, Univ of Colorado, Boulder, Campus Box 327, Boulder, CO 80309. In New Zealand after September.

Any additional suggestions?