

Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion

EXPLORING A NONVIOLENT STRATEGY FOR DETERRENCE AND DEFENSE

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“CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE AND PEOPLE POWER”

WINDSOR, ONTARIO – SEPTEMBER 6-8, 1991

The Civilian-Based Defense Association is preparing for its September, 1991 conference in Windsor, Ontario. The conference will be open to international participation and readers of this publication are invited. Last November, the Association sponsored a national “Consultation on Civilian-Based Defense” in Washington, DC. (See *Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion*, January, 1991 issue, for a report.) The 1991 conference will feature an exciting variety of presentations and workshops. Participants will have ample time to meet one other and share their views on civilian-based defense. It will be geared to people who would like to learn more about civilian-based defense, to those who have worked on promoting such a defense, and to people engaged in various forms of nonviolent direct action.

The conference program and registration information are enclosed with this issue.

A BOLD INITIATIVE IN LITHUANIAN DEFENSE

By Christopher Kruegler, president of the Albert Einstein Institution and a former Board member of the Civilian-Based Defense Association. This article, and the one which follows, appeared originally in *Nonviolent Sanctions*, a publication of the Albert Einstein Institution, 1430 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138. Phone: (617) 876-0311. Reprinted with permission.

Among the under-reported but significant news stories of the past few months is an astonishing development in Lithuania. According to a press release from the Lithuanian Information Center in New York (ed. see text elsewhere in this issue), the Government declared on February 28 that nonviolent direct action by civilians was to be the country's primary line of defense in the event of “active occupation” by forces of the Soviet Union.

Not since the Franco-Belgian occupation of Germany's Ruhr region in 1923 has a government taken this stance, but the current policy is vastly more sophisticated at the outset than was the Weimar Republic's. Coming after the recent heady experiences of “people power” in East-Central Europe and elsewhere, the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania has spelled out the rudiments of a full-scale civilian-based defense operation.

Founded on the recognition that Lithuanians have no realistic military option, but that their collective behavior is not irrelevant to the success or failure of Soviet domination, the policy specifies what to do, and when, to defend society from further encroachments. In the event that the elected Supreme Council is “forcibly constrained from acting as the highest governing body of the state,” organized resistance is to begin, led by a “provisional defense leadership.”

All actions, laws, orders, and decisions of the occupying force are to be considered illegal and confronted with disobedience and noncooperation. All government institutions and officials are legally required to withhold collaboration. Citizens are reminded by the declaration that they have a right to defend themselves and their property, but are enjoined to rely on nonviolent methods as “the primary means of struggle for independence.”

Ironically, the end of the cold war and the “new world order” ensure that the Lithuanians, unlike the Kuwaitis, will not have a coalition of united nations to back them if it comes to a bigger fight with the Soviet Union. They will be lucky to get a few symbolic sanctions wielded on their behalf. Under the circumstances, their option for a self-reliant civilian-based defense is both practical and shrewd.

The question remains, of course, whether it can succeed. The outcome will depend on many factors, but prominent among them will be how an embattled Gorbachev (or his successor?) counts the likely costs of a protracted struggle with a disciplined and nonviolent population, using methods that are not so easily repressed if one cares about one's image abroad. That calculation will in turn depend on how credible the Lithuanian policy in fact is.

Anyone who has been watching the Baltics carefully for the past two years will not underestimate the seriousness of this initiative. It is nothing more or less than “people power” with the force, resources, and planning capabilities of committed government behind it.

**Citizens
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EINSTEIN INSTITUTION DELEGATION DISCUSSES CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE WITH LITHUANIAN OFFICIALS

By Bruce Jenkins, Staff Member, Albert Einstein Institution

In declaring nonviolent struggle to be its primary means of resistance in the event of a Soviet occupation, Lithuania is one of the first states to actively pursue a policy of civilian-based defense. Government officials, social scientists, and political activists are now examining the field of nonviolent action to gain insights for their country's struggle.

As part of their exploration of the nature and potential of nonviolent struggle, the Lithuanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs recently invited representatives of the Albert Einstein Institution to Vilnius, Lithuania's capital. From April 24 to May 1, Gene Sharp, Peter Ackerman, and Bruce Jenkins discussed the Institution's research on nonviolent action and civilian-based defense with several audiences: President Vytautas Landsbergis; the Director-General of the Department of National Defense, Mr. Audrius Butkevicius; representatives of the Lithuanian militia; members of the parliamentary Committee on National Defense and Internal Security; social scientists at the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences; Russian Orthodox Archbishop Khrisostom; and activists of the Lithuanian reform movement *Sajudis*. The Einstein Institution representatives were invited to Vilnius not to advise officials on their struggle for independence, but rather to discuss the nature and the strategic dimensions of nonviolent conflict. In examining how best to organize their society's resources for civilian-based defense, Lithuanians are raising important questions and issues for consideration by scholars of nonviolent sanctions.

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“... can violent
and nonviolent
forms of resistance
be combined?”

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One such issue concerns the conceptualization of nonviolent action as a technique of active struggle, requiring strategic analysis and coordination. From street rallies to the creation of Lithuanian postage stamps, from political boycotts to human barricades, Lithuanians have employed numerous methods of nonviolent action. Yet these actions have generally been isolated or spontaneous events, lacking in coordination.

To each audience, Dr. Sharp outlined the technique approach to nonviolent action, its methods, dynamics, and requirements for effectiveness, repeatedly emphasizing that this was a form of conflict, not inaction or peaceful behavior. To be effective, Dr. Sharp said, nonviolent action required strategic planning.

An issue of central importance to the field of nonviolent sanctions was repeatedly raised in Vilnius: can violent and nonviolent forms of resistance be combined? Although nonviolent resistance has been deemed Lithuania's primary mode of defense, in mid-1990 the Lithuanian government began organizing an armed national militia. Partly as a means to assert national sovereignty and partly as a way to provide an officially-sanctioned structure for the thousands of Lithuanian men who refused to serve in the Red Army

(9,500 in 1990), the “Volunteers” have been assigned the task of defending official buildings and institutions, vowing to give their lives if need be.

At a meeting in the barricaded parliament building, the question was raised whether, in the event of an attack, one could combine nonviolent civilian resistance with limited military or paramilitary resistance by security forces. Dr. Sharp urged caution in considering this question. Even limited violent resistance, he said, could disrupt the dynamics of nonviolent struggle, such as the process of political “jiu-jitsu.” Also, Dr. Sharp continued, military or paramilitary resistance could undermine attempts to weaken the morale of the opponents' forces through specific methods of nonviolent action. “Troops under fire, with friends dying next to them, are not likely to question their own actions,” Dr. Sharp said. In addition, military or paramilitary resistance could also vastly increase civilian casualties as well as reduce the likelihood of third-party support.

Another problem-area raised during our discussions in Vilnius and Kaunas was how best to combat organized terrorist activity directed against nonviolent resisters. The Soviets, we were told, had supplied arms to certain groups in Lithuania opposed to independence. This problem, under different conditions, has been confronted both in South Africa (where the African National Congress has considered forming armed defense units to guard against vigilante violence) and in the Israeli-occupied territories (where Palestinians have been faced with Jewish settler attacks). In Lithuania, the question arose whether normal police functions — with the clearance to use lethal force

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— could be separated from general nonviolent resistance activity. The problem of protecting nonviolent resisters against armed attacks by groups not under the direct formal control of the opponent requires urgent consideration by scholars in the field of nonviolent sanctions.

Another issue of grave concern to Lithuanian defense planners is the threat of a renewed economic blockade. Lithuania imports ninety-seven percent of the fuel it consumes — all from the Soviet Union. Lithuania has few independent sources of foreign currency and is thus unable to purchase its fuel on the world market. Furthermore, foreign oil tankers hoping to deliver oil to the Lithuanian port at Klaipeda would most likely be stopped by the Soviet navy in the event of a blockade. After the 1990 blockade, Lithuania increased oil exploration in its own territory and set up direct barter exchanges with oil-rich Soviet republics. However, these steps are not likely to provide adequate alternatives for energy in the event of a renewed blockade. Lithuanian officials are exploring ways to establish more sources of hard currency and Lithuanian researchers are examining how economic blockades have been circumvented in the past.

Lithuanian officials, academics, and political activists are also concerned with the link between prevailing economic conditions and the population's willingness to mobilize in the event of an attack. Problems in the supply of consumer goods, large price increases, and slow progress in the area of privatization have caused much social dissension in Lithuania. One academic told us that the credibility of the *Sajudis* movement (which comprises an overwhelming majority in the parliament) had hit an all time low due to deteriorating economic conditions and political infighting. He postulated that the population would not respond with much enthusiasm to protect an increasingly unpopular government in the event of a crisis.

The questions and problem-areas presented to the representatives of the Einstein Institution indicate the seriousness with which Lithuanian officials, academics, and activists are examining civilian-based defense. Lithuanian researchers will be intensively exploring the literature on nonviolent resistance in the coming months. Translations of works on nonviolent action are in progress, including Gene Sharp's *Civilian-Based Defense*.

Lithuania could well be the first country to implement a *prepared* policy of nonviolent resistance for defense. Though there is much pressure in the Lithuanian government and Department of National Defense to employ military and paramilitary forces for specific objectives (such as a last show of defiance in protecting the parliament building), President Landsbergis, Director-General Butkevicius, and the Supreme Council have all declared their intent to pursue a policy of civilian-based defense; they are now confronted with translating this intent into practice.

Lithuanians have suffered greatly since declaring independence. The three-month economic blockade in 1990 shut off almost all of Lithuania's fuel supplies and caused the production of consumer goods to fall by half. Goods and materials have been seized. Buildings have been occupied. And on January 13, 1991, Soviet troops opened fire on unarmed civilians surrounding the Vilnius television transmission tower. Fourteen people died.

Despite such Soviet pressure, intimidation, and force, Lithuanians remain defiant in their pursuit of independence. On February 9, 1991, Lithuanians, in a plebiscite, were asked the following question: "Are you in favor of the Lithuanian Republic being an independent democratic state?" More than ninety percent of eligible voters answered "yes." Lithuania then, in turn, boycotted Soviet President Gorbachev's referendum on a renewed Soviet federation. Lithuanian flags and symbols are displayed throughout the country. Employees of Vilnius radio and television stations are conducting a rotating hunger strike directly in front of their bullet-scarred office building, now occupied by Soviet troops. Lithuania has also taken its struggle into the Soviet heartland, where it has established contacts and signed treaties with other independence-minded governments in other Soviet republics. In April of this year, Lithuanian workers shipped food directly to striking workers in Minsk.

With the preparation of a civilian-based defense policy, Lithuanians are examining how to make their country "politically indigestible." In the event of a Soviet attack, concentrated and coordinated forms of mass civilian resistance will be brought to bear on the attackers. Furthermore, international and internal Soviet pressures will be mobilized. In such a scenario, Lithuania may prove too much of a burden for the Soviets to maintain control over.

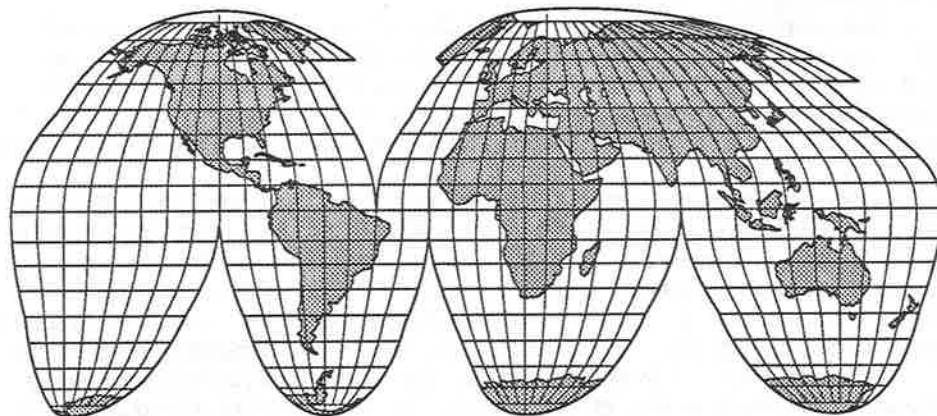
TEXT OF PARLIAMENTARY INFORMATION NEWS BULLETIN, VILNIUS, LITHUANIA

Translated by the Lithuanian Information Center, 351 Highland Blvd., Brooklyn, NY 11207; Telephone: (718) 647-2434. Release No. 145, February 28, 1991.

This evening the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania adopted a resolution "On the Attitude and Actions of Government Agencies and Citizens of the Republic of Lithuania in the Event of Active Occupation by the USSR." The text is as follows:

Given that the USSR is continuing to implement aggressive actions directed against the Republic of Lithuania and that the possibility of active occupation remains, the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania recalls that under any conditions only laws adopted by the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania are valid in the Republic of Lithuania and resolves:

- 1) To consider illegal all governing structures created in Lithuania by the USSR or its collaborators, and invalid all laws, decrees or other acts, court decisions and administrative orders issued by them and directed at Lithuania.
- 2) All government institutions of the Republic of Lithuania and their officials are obligated not to cooperate with the occupying forces and the individuals who serve their regime.
- 3) In the event a regime of active occupation is introduced, citizens of the Republic of Lithuania are asked to adhere to principles of disobedience, non-violent resistance, and political and social non-cooperation as the primary means of struggle for independence.
- 4) Citizens of the Republic of Lithuania have the right by all available methods and means to defend themselves, others and the property of Lithuania from violent and other actions of the illegal occupying regime.
- 5) The beginning of active occupation and general political resistance which it will call forth is defined as the situation in which the legally elected Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania is forcibly constrained from acting as the highest governing body of the state. The beginning of organized resistance is declared, if possible, by the provisional defense leadership of the Republic of Lithuania.



AGENT SECURITY SYSTEMS, THEIR LINK WITH VIOLENCE, AND A POSSIBLE REMEDY

By Melvin G. Beckman

Most societies in the world employ "agents" to provide their security. Agent security systems, developed over centuries of human experience, do indeed provide some protection, but their linkage with violence is a serious problem, one which has become increasingly ominous in this age of technology. A society's almost total dependence on agent-based security may actually be counter-productive to its efforts to protect itself from violence and other threats to its security.

I. AGENT-BASED SECURITY

An agent security system is a package of laws, policies, plans, and traditions which provide that a security agent is to be the protector of an identified client group of people. For example, the agent might be a police force in a city, or the army of a nation. The client groups in those cases would be the residents of the city, and the citizens of the country in question. The two agents are similar in that extensive responsibility for the client's safety is entrusted to them, and each is entrusted with a regulated use of lethal force.

At first glance, agent security systems might appear to be the common-sense answer to our need for security. We entrust our cars to mechanics, our bodies to doctors and dentists, and our money to bankers. Why not also employ agents who specialize in providing security? But hiring people to assume some of our responsibilities is not necessarily a problem-free solution.

When I employ a mechanic to fix my car I have more time to do the things I prefer to do. On the other hand, if I never fix my own car, I remain rather unskilled and powerless in this area. And if my car breaks down when I am lacking money or when a mechanic is not available, I am in trouble.

It is also convenient to hire police to provide security in a city. But citizens can quickly become under-involved and excessively dependent on police protection. They also may not foresee that a very extensive court and prison system become necessary as a result of their preference for agent security. The danger of reliance on agent security at the national level can be seen in the security arrangements which have prevailed since World War II. For forty years hundreds of millions of citizens in the United States, the Soviet Union, and the countries dependent on them, have accepted a grotesque form of agent-planned security based on preparedness to use nuclear weapons against each other. The rest of the world has been forced to hold its breath while the superpowers threatened each other. We have recently begun to back away a little from that bizarre arrangement and are extremely fortunate to have avoided calamity.

For United States citizens, our rush to war in the Gulf represents another example of the problem inherent in agent-based security. Virtually overnight, hundreds of thousands of men and women in this country were called to arms. Even though our agent, President Bush, was urged to attempt a longer-term, less violent course of action, he was nonetheless empowered to go to war after only a few months. Those who disagreed with the decision to use offensive military force against Iraq represented a substantial part of the population but accomplished little in delaying or preventing a military solution. The men and women of the armed forces who wielded the lethal force, even though educated and raised in a democracy, obeyed the nation's chief security agent. The system provided for an agent to be responsible, and empowered him to use violence, and they were simply doing their jobs within the system. In retrospect, it seems clear that the U.S. system of agent security lacked a "brake" during the months leading up to the Gulf War. The missing brake was the personal involvement of many more citizens in the security system of the country. Too few were responsible for too much, both before and during the crisis.

Human security, at any level, cannot be totally provided by an agent. People must be involved in it themselves. In a neighborhood, for example, a resident will not be fully protected simply because his security agent, the police department, patrols the neighborhood. The police can only be there a small part of the time. To be really secure, a resident must know his neighbors by name and spend time with them. He must know the teenagers and children in the neighborhood, treat them fairly, and look out for their needs. He might need to join with other residents to form a problem-solving neighborhood organization. This is security based on good relations with neighbors. The

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**Too few
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**NEWS
AND
ANNOUNCEMENTS**



AGENT SECURITY SYSTEMS (continued from page 5)

FRANCE

Several small groups were organized in the past few years at Chambéry, Grenoble, and Ris-Orangis, to promote consideration of civilian dissuasion in national defense. In April of last year they joined in creating an association called "Collectif Dissuasion Civile" (Collective for Civilian Dissuasion). Much of the impetus for their work has been a book, *La Dissuasion Civile*, by Christian Mellon, Jean Marie-Muller, and Jacques Semmelin (available from MAN 20 rue du Devidet, 45200 Montargis, France, for 60 francs, postage paid).

The Association is launching a new campaign to gain public support in France for civilian dissuasion. There will be several phases: a) identification of individuals and movements interested in development of a nonviolent civilian defense in France; b) inviting them to work together under a common strategy; and c) proposing as an objective that the State finance an important program of research on the issue.

In recent months the Collective sent out five thousand questionnaires to assess public understanding of the concept. The results of that inquiry will be published. In addition, the Collective has printed fifteen thousand copies of a folder explaining the potential of a nonviolent civilian defense in case of military aggression against France.

In explaining the "why" of the new campaign the Collective points out that there now exists (after the events in eastern Europe) the opportunity to more calmly reflect on what is to be defended and on the means to use. The organization of civilian dissuasion is an important and realistic objective. It should be prepared in times of peace.

The above is summarized from an article entitled "Un grand braquet pour la dissuasion civile," which appeared in the May, 1991 issue of *Non-Violence Actualite* (20 rue du Devidet, 45200 Montargis, France. Telephone 38 93 67 22) To contact Collectif Dissuasion Civile, write to: BP 1723, 73017 Chambéry Cedex, France.

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armed presence of the police will seem much less-needed in such a neighborhood. Similarly, we cannot be secure as a nation simply by hiring armed forces to suppress threats from within and from abroad. Security systems should be the concern of and have the involvement of all citizens.

Agent-based security often has a link with violence. In agent security systems, a large body of people hand-over to a smaller group most of the responsibility for resolving or suppressing conflicts, and the smaller group is usually authorized to use lethal force. When a few hundred police in a large city are given the task of ensuring public safety they do so with the right to threaten and use violence against lawbreakers and persons or groups with grievances. Similarly, a few million personnel in a nation's armed forces, to ensure the safety of several hundred million people who don't see the need to be actively involved in their own security, are given the right to threaten and use massive violence against potential enemies. And so, a disturbing linkage exists between agent security systems and the use of lethal force.

The use of lethal force by security agents is usually regulated by law. Even so, the agent frequently has considerable discretion in its use. The agent is also likely to prepare for "worst-case" scenarios and assume that his role is law enforcement and control of disorder. Conflict resolution on the city level and diplomacy on the national level are assigned to other departments. When too few citizens are involved, security preparations are equated with preparedness to suppress disorder. On the darker side, the possibility also exists for governments to coerce their own populations or other societies unjustly. Once the capacity for using lethal force is in place its abuse by those who control it is not unlikely.

The problem with agent security systems, then, is that the more they become the norm, the less involved citizens become in their own security arrangements. But the less citizens involve themselves, the more their security agents find it permissible and even necessary to threaten or use violence in their task of providing security. To avoid this vicious circle we must find ways to change agent security systems so as to affirm the purpose they legitimately serve while loosening their ties to the use of violent coercion.

In this essay I propose one way of changing the main agent-security establishments in the United States. The proposed change would not remedy their deficiencies completely but might improve them over a period of time.

II. PUBLIC SAFETY COMMISSIONS

A security agent needs encouragement (perhaps even public pressure) from its client population to take the extra time needed to identify nonviolent solutions to conflict and disorder. The agent also needs help to involve the "too-busy-to-be-bothered" client population in security matters. To the extent such help is available, the security agent will have less reason to prepare for and use violent kinds of coercion.

This kind of help — while it might be available to some degree, in some cases, through the volunteer efforts of civic-minded individuals or groups — is not generally officially structured into the security systems of U.S. cities, nor is it part of the structure of the security system of the nation. The Public Safety Department of Omaha, Nebraska, for example, which supervises the Omaha Police Division, has no advisory or supportive committee to help look at the security problems of Omaha and to advise how the use of lethal force can be avoided and more citizens involved in prevention of crises. Nor does the Nebraska Military Department, which controls the state's Army and Air National Guard. Nor does the United States Defense Department.

What if each major security agency authorized to use lethal force were to have a "public safety commission" attached to it, by law? What if the enacting legislation provided that the commission's task is to foresee situations in which the use of lethal force might become needed and work to avoid such use by proposing alternative solutions? And not only by proposing alternative solutions but also by stimulating the people's involvement? The creation of public safety commissions would be a step away from the tradition of handing over all the responsibility for security to agents. And by researching and promoting nonviolent solutions to security problems, the commissions would be helping to erode the disturbing linkage between agent security and the use of lethal force.

To illustrate how such commissions could be instituted I will use the city of Omaha and the state of Nebraska as examples. Omaha has a population of about 336,000. The Omaha City council could enact a measure providing for attachment of a public safety commission to the Public Safety Department, which controls the Omaha Police Division.

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AGENT SECURITY SYSTEMS (continued from page 6)

The ordinance might provide that two persons be elected to the commission, for four-year terms, from each of the seven districts which elect City Council members. The fourteen commission members could serve without pay, as is customary with many other elected, public service boards and commissions. Their election campaigns should be non-partisan.

The enacting legislation could provide that the Public Safety Director keep commission members fully advised regarding Omaha-area security concerns. The commission, which might meet monthly, could use the City's facilities for meeting rooms and the secretarial staff of the Public Safety Director. The financial cost of adding a public safety commission should be minimal.

At least the following four questions should be addressed by a public safety commission on the City level:

- 1) What are the current threats to the security of residents of this city?
- 2) How can the commission members involve more citizens in reducing these threats?
- 3) What local policies exist regarding use of lethal force and are they reasonable and needed?
- 4) Can nonviolent approaches and techniques be substituted in certain cases where violent or threatening techniques are now used by the police?

Such a commission, addressing these questions, would be acting in partnership with the armed Police Division while still upholding the public's interest in keeping security arrangements as nonviolent as possible. The enacting legislation should provide that the commission's meetings be open to the public and that its reports also be classified as public information.

The formal status of the commission as a legally-constituted and popularly-elected body would be an important feature. Even now, individual citizens and groups can give input to the Public Safety Director (who is appointed by the mayor), but their advice does not have the weight that would necessarily be given to the input of an elected commission. And in times of heightened tension or unrest in the City the Commission could serve as a stabilizing influence and a very accessible channel of communication between the citizens and the Public Safety Department. The commission might also be able to speak very forcefully to citizens about their need to become involved, in a way that would not be possible for the Public Safety Director alone. For example, the commission might publicly challenge Omaha people and their institutions to become involved with police in efforts to eliminate "gang" formation and drug sales.

The Military Department of the State of Nebraska could also have a public safety commission attached to it. The Department is made up of the Army National Guard, the Air National Guard, and the State Civil Defense Agency. The Army and Air Guard are integrated into national defense planning, along with other active and reserve military component of the nation's armed forces. Heading the Nebraska Military Department is the Adjutant General of Nebraska. Under him are approximately 6000 full and part-time Nebraskans who serve in the Guard.

At the request of the Governor of Nebraska, the Guard personnel and their equipment can be used within the state to provide security. Historically, the Guard has been activated in Nebraska to provide security during times of labor and racial unrest, and to provide assistance in various capacities after tornadoes, floods and blizzards. Since 1880 the Guard has provided help on the State level in over 200 instances.

The Nebraska Legislature could enact legislation creating a public safety commission to assist the Nebraska Department of the Military. A non-partisan, fifty-member commission could be elected from the State's fifty existing legislative districts.

The scope of a state public safety commission would be much broader than that of a city commission. Since the Nebraska Department of the Military is involved with security on both the state and national level it would follow that the state public safety commission would also address security issues on both the state and national level, i.e., identification of current and potential threats to state and national security, discussion of how more citizens and groups can be involved in reducing the threats, evaluation of the reasonableness of policies governing the use of lethal force on the state and national levels, and the study of whether nonviolent techniques and strategies can be substituted in situations where violent or threatening strategies are now commonly used.

The addition of a state public safety commission to the structure of the Nebraska Military Department should not be a significant tax burden. Members of the Commission could be expected to serve without pay, with only actual out-of-pocket expenses reimbursed, and the facilities, office equipment and secretarial staff of the Military Department could be shared with the commission. The budget for the commission should

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NEWS/ANNOUNCEMENTS

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CANADA

The May, 1991 issue of *The ACTivist*, newspaper of the ACT for Disarmament Coalition, carried an article entitled "Defence Without Armies," which gave a brief overview of the concept of social defense. Published by the ACTivist, with the Social Defence Project, the article stated,

"Canada is in many ways an appropriate country for an experiment in social defence. Our defence establishment now exists not to protect the Canadian population, but to be a testing ground, early warning system and forward defence for the United States. We would surely be healthier and more secure if we gave up that role, and prepared ourselves to act nonviolently in the event of invasion or civil disruption."

An editorial in the same issue carried a similar message:

"Canada cannot defend itself the way the United States does — nor would it want to. Given the realities of geography, Canadians could best repel a hypothetical invader using civilian-based defence and non-violent resistance to make the country ungovernable — as the people of Denmark made their country ungovernable under the Nazis, as the people of the Philippines made their country ungovernable by the dictatorship of Ferdinand Marcos, as the peoples of eastern Europe recently made their countries ungovernable by the Soviet empire. And without an army, we would be forced to 'give peace a chance' rather than sending in the army to deal with every crisis. Canada could become a real peace-maker — and help point the way toward a 'new world order' based on peace and not who has the biggest gun."

The ACTivist can be contacted by writing to ACT for Disarmament, 736 Bathurst St., Toronto, Canada, M5S 2R4.

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NEWS/ANNOUNCEMENTS

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UNITED STATES

In Boulder, Colorado, the "Mercy Force Project" advocates strategic nonviolent defense, including civilian-based defense and nonviolent military services. A list of materials and prices is available from the organization by writing to: Mercy Force Project, 1328 17th Street #5, Boulder, CO 80302. Phone: 303-444-4966.

A North Carolina organization, Rural Southern Voice for Peace, has initiated "The Armed Forces Listening Project," in which volunteers survey active-duty soldiers at military bases. Survey topics vary from place to place but may include: solving international conflicts without violence; solutions to racial, religious, and ethnic strife; conscientious objection, civilian-based defense; the effects of military spending; reasons for domestic violence; the value and price of freedom; and, especially, questions generated by previous Listening Projects with the Armed Forces.

Thirty-six active-duty, randomly-selected marines stationed at Camp LeJeune, Jacksonville, North Carolina, were recently interviewed by a dozen volunteers trained by Rural Southern Voice for Peace. The marines were interviewed at the U.S.O., the Jacksonville Mall, and other off-base sites.

At Camp LeJeune, part of the survey dealt with questions of conscience raised by marines who had refused to join the troop movements to Saudi Arabia. More than half the men acknowledged that it took bravery for the conscientious objectors to accept the consequences for their actions — time in the brig and the loss of Marine Corps fraternity. But most also held doubts and suspicions about their motivations.

One of the survey questions at Camp LeJeune dealt with civilian-based defense. A news release summarizing the results of the Listening Project had this to say:

"When presented with the idea of civilian-based defense — a means of engaging in international conflict without violence — the soldiers displayed a strong, though skeptical, interest. Although civilian-based defense has been incorporated into the Swedish military's defense system and has been chosen as the primary means of defense by independent Lithuania, the marines had not heard

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AGENT SECURITY SYSTEMS *(continued from page 7)*

be part of the Military Department's budget.

As in the case of a city-level public safety commission, the members' reports should be made public and their meetings should be open to the people of the state.

On the national level, Congress could authorize a more elaborate public safety commission to be attached to the United States Defense Department. A national commission of 535 members could be created if each state were to elect to the commission the same number of members as it sends to the Senate and House of Representatives. The larger number of commission members at the U.S. Defense Department level would allow for a structure of permanent committees to address specific national security issues.

The work of the national public safety commission would partially overlap that of the state commissions. But this would not necessarily be a bad thing. National security issues are complex and additional people working to resolve them should be a benefit, not a problem. The reports of the national commission could be expected to stimulate discussion in the state public safety commissions, and vice-versa. Individuals who served terms on state-level commissions might be excellent candidates for public service on the national commission. With time, one could expect that the various state public safety commissions and the national commission would find many ways to collaborate. State public safety commissions, for example, might collaborate with committees of the national commission to address security issues arising out of world hunger, limited energy resources, the arms trade, the actions of dictators, etc.

One important task of a national public safety commission would surely be to analyze why the United States armed forces are so often stationed and used abroad and to study what practical, less-threatening alternatives to this practice might be found.

III. SUMMARY

In the United States (and possibly in other countries as well), the creation of elected public safety commissions could provide thousands of citizens an opportunity to use their education and life experience in the task of increasing public security. Their participation would represent a partial reversal of the dangerous trend toward over-reliance on armed "agents" to provide security. Their assignment, by law, to focus on possible nonviolent solutions to security problems, should help ensure that societal tensions and international disagreements are more frequently resolved rather than merely controlled or suppressed by armed might.

The new positions could be expected to attract both persons currently in the work force and those who are retired. People trained in local conflict resolution would have much to offer, as would persons who have lived in other countries, experts in international relations, race and labor relations and many others. Members of peace organizations, church leaders, and scholars, who have had a long-standing interest in nonviolence, would be provided with the opportunity to run for an elected office in which they could make a significant contribution.

Public safety commissions, as conceptualized in this essay, should not be viewed as competing with or adversarial to the existing agent-security establishments. In fact, as described, they would be officially attached to those establishments. Their unique role, however, would be to find the practical nonviolent options available for dealing with threats to public security, so that violence is avoided whenever it can be avoided. It may be that some citizens would see any change in present security arrangements as threatening in some way, but this should not discourage us from attempting to take a small step away from agent-based security and toward a more citizen-based security. The creation of public safety commissions, as described above, should be politically possible in the United States.

It is possible that agent-security arrangements will remain a normal part of U.S. society's structure in generations to come. Americans see it as practical to divide up work to be done and to specialize. But we know we can also over-do a good thing and reach an extreme. Such is now the case with the way in which we have become accustomed to provide for our security. We should consider corrective legislation, at various levels, to ensure that more citizens are officially involved in security matters — and not only involved, but involved in support of nonviolent solutions, for that is one of the essential ingredients of real security.

In a Future Issue: Some possible models for legislation to increase citizen involvement in security agencies. A workshop on such legislation will be offered at the Windsor Conference.

INTERNATIONAL STUDY CONFERENCE ON NONVIOLENCE HELD IN ITALY

Ed. Note: This report is by Alberto Zangheri of the Movimento Internazionale della Riconciliazione, Via Cornaro, 1/A - 35128 Padova, Italy.

In Verona, Italy, on April 12 and 13, 1991, the Veneto branch of Fellowship of Reconciliation and the Veneto Region held an international study conference, "Nonviolence as a Strategy of Social Change."

The conference was organized by the Padua group of F.O.R. and was possible thanks to finances provided by the Veneto Region on the basis of a regional law "for the promotion of a culture of peace." Veneto (a region in north-eastern Italy with Venice as the capital) has been indeed the second region in Italy to issue a law promoting a culture of peace (the first was Friuli-Venezia Giulia). In its first two years of application this law has permitted the realization of some interesting peace programs. The Padua F.O.R. group, which handled the practical organization of the conference, has distributed scientific information on nonviolent action in Italy, in the beginning mainly with translations from foreign authors and afterwards by stimulating independent research in Italy. This conference gave the Italian public a chance to get in touch with some of the most advanced results of the international research.

The first session was devoted to the analysis of the history of nonviolence. This may seem quite a trivial subject but, if we take a more careful look at it, we can see that we still lack a comprehensive history of nonviolence. So we tried to examine the main problems of a history that has not yet been written. After introductory speeches from Luciano Falcier of the Regional Government and Prof. Maurizio Reberschak, a historian from Venice University and member of the Regional Peace Committee, Prof. Pier Cesare Bori, from the Bologna University, analyzed Tolstoy's contribution to nonviolence, with some references to the main historical precedents to his thought, mainly from religious minorities groups. Fulvio Cesare Manara, from Centro Eirene in Bergamo, gave a comprehensive analysis of Gandhi's contribution. I gave a bird's eye view of the broader history of nonviolent action, as it has been investigated by peace researchers: a kind of behavior which includes many historical events, mostly free of a nonviolent ideology or consciousness.

In the evening Alberto L'Abate made a report on the activity of Italian Peace Volunteers in the Gulf, of which he was a member, during the Gulf crisis.

In the second session five working groups analyzed some cases of nonviolent action. These ranged from the nonviolent aspects of the American Revolution (with Prof. Ronald McCarthy from the Albert Einstein Institution in Cambridge, Massachusetts) and the civilian aspects of anti-Nazi resistance (with Prof. Jacques Semelin from French M.A.N.) to three topical cases: the long-term Polish resistance against communist power (with Prof. Vincenzo Pace of Padua University), "people's power" in the Philippines 1986 (with Prof. Sergio Bergami of Padua F.O.R.) and the Czechoslovak uprising of 1989 against the communist regime (with Dr. Jana Svobodova from Charles University in Prague.)

The final session, once more introduced by Prof. Maurizio Reberschak, was the most specialized. Its aim was to develop, from the point of view of different sciences, a framework for the analysis of the phenomenon of nonviolent action. Prof. Christopher Kruegler, from the Center for International Affairs of Harvard University, dealt with the problems of a strategic approach to nonviolent action. Examining historical and current examples, he noticed the general lack of a comprehensive strategic approach and developed six strategic suggestions for movements. Dr. Giliam de Valk, from Dutch Interuniversity Interdisciplinary Foundation for Social-Scientific Research, had a similar task: using the framework of military theorists such as Clausewitz and Liddell-Hart, he analyzed the strategies of some current political movements. Giovanni Salio, from Italian Fellowship of Reconciliation/War Resisters International and from Turin University, made a general analysis of the criteria for the historical approach and the lessons to be taken from the past. In the end, Prof. Alberto L'Abate, sociologist in Florence University and active in Italian W.R.I., presented the results of research made with his students on the analysis of the process of some cases of nonviolent action.

The papers of the conference will be published in a volume, also sponsored by Veneto Region, and it is hoped that public interest in nonviolence will develop further.

During the conference, Beppe Marasso, from Italian F.O.R./W.R.I., held a short commemoration of Jean Goss, honorary president of I.F.O.R., who had died only some days earlier.

NEWS/ANNOUNCEMENTS

(continued from page 8)

of the idea and had a hard time understanding the concept. When told that Mohandas Gandhi had said that the best non-violent "soldiers" would be the ones with the most courage (and often of the most violent backgrounds), the marines mostly responded that they could understand how that could be."

The next Listening Project will involve the Naval Base at Norfolk, Virginia. Rural Southern Voice for Peace is developing it in conjunction with the Richmond Peace Education Center.

David Grant of Rural Southern Voice for Peace invites readers of *Civilian-Based Defense News & Opinion* to be involved with the Listening Projects idea. He can be contacted at 1989 Hannah Branch Road, Burnsville, NC 28714, USA. Telephone: 704-675-5933.

PLEASE NOTE NEW CBDA ADDRESSES/ TELEPHONE NUMBERS

The new address for the Civilian-Based Defense Association is: 154 Auburn Street, Cambridge, MA 02139, USA. The telephone number is 617-868-6058. Please make this change in your records.

For matters related to editing and writing of the newsletter, please contact the Editor, *Civilian-Based Defense News & Opinion*, 3636 Lafayette Avenue, Omaha, NE 68131, USA. The telephone number is 402-558-2085. Please do not send membership dues or subscription requests to the Omaha address. They should be sent to the office in Cambridge.



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Robert Holmes

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CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE AND PEOPLE POWER

AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ORGANIZED BY
THE CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE ASSOCIATION
WITH ASSISTANCE FROM THE STANLEY FOUNDATION

7:00 PM Friday to 12:45 PM Sunday, September 6-8, 1991
at Holy Redeemer College, 925 Cousineau Road
Windsor, Ontario, Canada

Anyone interested in exploring civilian-based defense (a nonviolent national defense) is invited to attend this conference. Civilian-based defense would defend a nation through many forms of creative nonviolent struggle—planned and prepared beforehand—against invasion or coup d'état. Civilian-based defense has the potential to replace war. It could have a profound impact on a world looking for ways to achieve peace.

Today Lithuania is planning to use nonviolent action as its primary means of defense. Sweden will use nonviolent defense if their military is defeated. Historical prototypes include defeat of the Kapp putsch in Germany in 1920, the teachers' resistance to the Nazis in Norway, Czech action against Soviet occupation for eight months in 1968 and 1969, the 1944 overthrow of dictatorships in El Salvador and Guatemala, defeat of Marcos in the Philippines, and others to be presented at the conference.

Consideration of civilian-based defense has been recommended by the U.S. Catholic bishops, the United Methodist bishops, the Presbyterian General Assembly, and the leadership of the World Council of Churches. South African bishop Desmond Tutu is also a supporter of the concept. Military interest has been shown by Dr. Gene Sharp speaking to the Army War College, Air Force Academy, and the National Service Academy. At the latter he is required reading.

The conference will feature an exciting variety of presentations, workshops, and opportunities to talk with other participants in small groups and informally.

KEYNOTE SPEAKER

Dr. Gene Sharp, a leading global authority on civilian-based defense, will give the opening keynote address, "Relevance of Civilian-based Defense for the 1990s," and also another presentation, "Promoting Civilian-based Defense: Lessons from History." Sharp is founder of the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions, Harvard University. Among his many publications are *National Security Through Civilian-based Defense* (1970, 1985), *Making Europe Unconquerable: The Potential of Civilian-based Deterrence and Defense* (1985), *Civilian-based Defense: A Post-Military Weapons System* (1990).

Respondents to Keynote Address

--**Brig. General Don Macnamara** (ret. Canadian Armed Forces) Macnamara is president of the Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies.

--**John Brewin**, member of Parliament (representing Victoria, British Columbia; defense critic for New Democratic Party of Canada).
--**Gwynne Dyer**, journalist and military historian; wrote and narrated the National Film Board of Canada series *War*, widely viewed throughout North America.

Civilian-based
defense has the
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ways to achieve
peace.

EARLY SUPPORTING ORGANIZATIONS

Center for Peace and Conflict Studies, Wayne State University; Midwest Council Peace Foundation, Nonvio-

lent Action for National Defense Institute; Oakland County Peace and National Priorities Center; Stanley Foundation; Third World Resource Centre; Windsor District Labour Council

LOCATION

Holy Redeemer College and Retreat Centre, 925 Cousineau Road, Windsor, Ontario. The centre is six miles south of the Ambassador Bridge, linking Detroit and Windsor. Coming from Detroit take Huron Church Road for six miles and turn left on Cousineau Road (see map).

MEDIA

Media representatives who desire to attend the conference as guests of the Civilian-based Defense Association should phone the association at 617-868-6058.

PROGRAM

Addresses and panels will be followed by questions and comments from the audience.

Friday, Sept. 6, 1991

3:00-7:00 PM Registration and check-in
5:30-6:30 Dinner for conference registrants housed at Holy Redeemer College
7:00 Welcome—Opening comments and announcements

7:15-9:30 Evening session--keynote address:
"Relevance of Civilian-based Defense for the 1990s," Gene Sharp
Responses by Don Macnamara, Gwynne Dyer, and John Brewin

Saturday, Sept. 7

7:45-8:40 Breakfast
8:45-9:00 Announcements
9:00-10:15 **"Promoting Civilian-based Defense: Lessons from History,"** Gene Sharp
10:15-10:45 Break
10:45-12:00 CONCURRENT SESSION--Participants may attend one of the following:
1. "Latin America and Civilian-based Defense"
Panelists:
Caridad Inda, executive director of the Center for International Resources (CIRIMEX), in Guadalajara, Mexico; translated Gene Sharp's *Defense Without War* into Spanish and has been contributor/researcher/editor of two recent publications in Spanish: *La Lucha Politica Noviolenta* and *La Resistencia Noviolenta y Activa*.
Other possible participants:
Richard Cleaver, peace secretary, Michigan American Friends Service Committee; expert on history of nonviolent action in Latin America
Mary Beth Hastings, on staff of MICAH (Michigan Interfaith Committee on Human Rights in Latin America)
2. "Nonprovocative (Nonpassive) Defense and Civilian-based Defense"
Dr. Al Saperstein, Physics Dept., Wayne State University and member of executive committee of the University's Center for Peace and Conflict Studies
3. "Creating Public Safety Commissions to Propose Nonviolent Alternatives to Publicly Sanctioned Violence: A Step toward Civilian-based Defense"
Workshop by *Melvin Beckman*, founder of the Civilian-Based Defense Association and editor of *Civilian-based Defense: News and Opinion*.
12:15-1:15 Lunch
1:30-2:45 **"How to Introduce CBD to Military and Other Traditional Defense-Oriented Audiences"**
David Yaskulka, Codirector, LEAD, USA, of Williamstown, Mass.

2:45-3:00 Break
3:00-4:15 **Concurrent Session**
1. "Current Nonviolent Action Challenging the Military"
Molly Rush, leader in Poughshares civil disobedience
Sue Breeze, Alliance for Nonviolent Action (ANVA)
Liane Norman, founder, Pittsburgh Peace Institute
2. "Black People and Nonviolence" (with reference to Martin Luther King, sanctions against South Africa, and to half of blacks in United States still opposing the Gulf War after it had started)
Dr. Carlyle Stewart III, pastor of Hope United Methodist Church, Southfield, Mich.; author of *God, Being, and Liberation: A Comparative Analysis of the Theologies and Ethics of James H. Cone and Howard Thurman*. He will be joined by a member of U.S. Rep. John Conyers's staff.
4:15-4:30 Break
4:30-5:45 **"Nonviolent Strategy and Tactics of the Intifada"**
Mubarak Awad, director, Nonviolence International; director in exile, Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence, in Jerusalem
6:15-7:30 Dinner
7:45-9:30 **"The Eleventh Mayor"** and discussion; this 1935 play by Ira France, a Church of the Brethren minister, illustrates how the United States might be defended by civilian nonviolent action against invasion. Presented by Red Door Players and Nonviolent Action for National Defense Institute.
Videos about nonviolence and civilian-based defense are also available for viewing during the conference: "People Power" with Gene Sharp; also video of dialogue with military on civilian-based defense; and video on World War II story of Le Chambon in France, where nonviolent villagers helped 6,000 Jews to escape.
9:30 A party! Refreshments; conversation; celebration

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 8

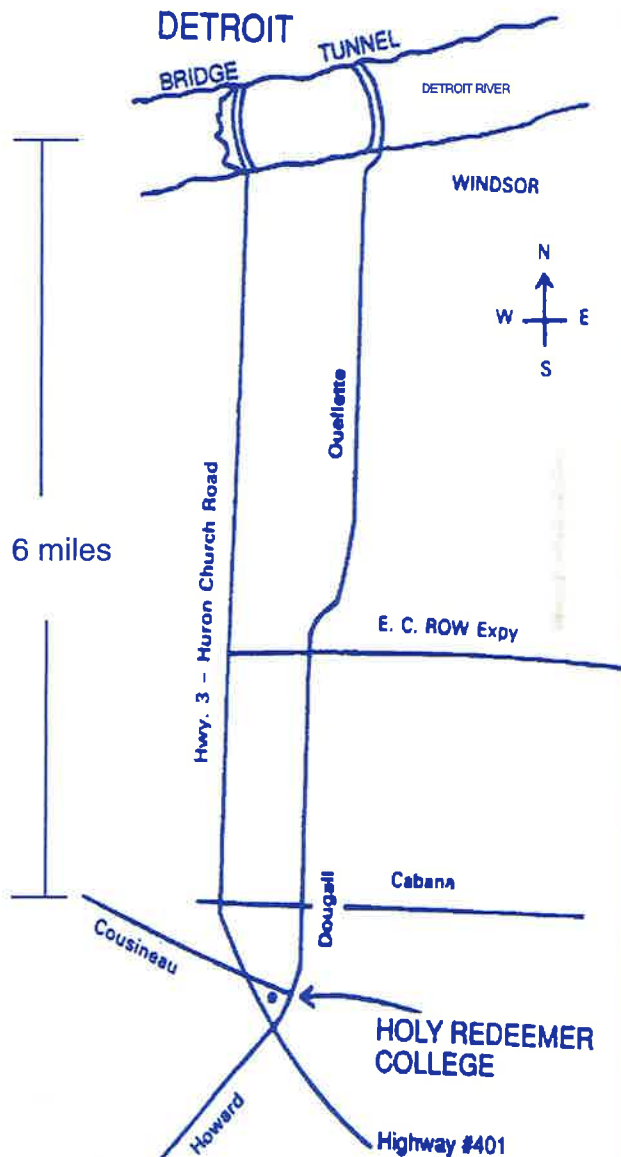
7:15-8:00 Gathering of people of various religious orientations presenting statements on Civilian-based defense
8:00 Breakfast
9:00-10:15 CONCURRENT SESSION
1. "Economic Self-sufficiency as a Preparation for Civilian-based Defense." A panel discussion with
Brewster Kneen, coeditor of *Ram's Horn*. Author of *From Land to Mouth: Understanding the Food System*, and *Trading Up* (on the grain trading company Cargill). Kneen was a farmer in Nova Scotia for fourteen years.
Normand Beaudet, cofounder of the Resource Center on Nonviolence in Montreal; member of the Canadian Arms Control and Disarmament Consultative Committee

2. Workshop by David Yaskulka (This workshop will give additional exposure to Yaskulka's methodology for working with the military and with other traditional, defense-oriented groups.)
10:15-10:45 Break
10:45-12:00 **Panel discussion on future directions for advocates of civilian-based defense.** Panelists to be announced.
12:15-12:45 Parting comments
Len Wallace, folk artist and coordinator of Windsor Network for Peace, will offer songs of people power occasionally throughout the conference.
Bilingual exhibit of photographs of civilian-based defense by Resource Center on Nonviolence (Montreal)

CONFERENCE SITE

Holy Redeemer College and Retreat Centre, the conference site, is in Windsor, Ontario, six miles south of the Ambassador Bridge from Detroit, Michigan. It can provide housing and meals for a maximum of 115 people, although meeting rooms can accommodate up to 600. A dining room is located on the lower floor. There are 37 double rooms and 40 single rooms. All rooms have single beds, closets, desks, sinks, and are provided with linens (sheets, towels, etc.), blankets and pillows. There are common washrooms on each floor with wheelchair accessibility. There will be a Mass in the chapel at 9:30 AM, Saturday and Sunday, for those interested. Most areas of the centre are accessible to those in wheelchairs.

**HOW TO GET TO
HOLY REDEEMER COLLEGE**
925 Cousineau Road
Windsor, Ont N9G 1V8



Registration Form

Name _____
 Phone number _____ Date _____
 Street Address _____
 City _____ State/Province _____
 Postal Zone _____

Section one: Reservations for Friday Keynote Presentation Only

Canadian currency [] \$10 [] \$5 for low income/student
 U.S. currency [] \$8.50 [] \$4.25 for low income/student

Section Two: Other Registrants

Organizational affiliations _____

To help us plan: Why are you interested in this conference, what do you hope to get out of it, and what sort of workshops would you like to have? (Please write answer on the back of this form.)

- [] SEND ME MORE INFORMATION.
 [] I CANNOT ATTEND, BUT I ENCLOSE A CONTRIBUTION TO HELP WITH THE CONFERENCE.
 [] I PLAN TO ATTEND. CHECK FOR MY PARTICIPATION IS ENCLOSED.

1. Registration only
 [] \$60 Canadian [] \$50 U.S.
 Low income/Student
 [] \$30 Canadian [] \$25 U.S.
2. Registration, single room, and meals option
 [] \$160 Canadian [] \$140 U.S.
3. Registration, double room, and meals option—cost per person
 [] \$145 Canadian [] \$125 U.S.
 Low income/student
 [] \$125 Canadian [] \$100 U.S.
4. High roller: I add [] \$50 [] Other amount _____ to my check to help give scholarships to this conference.
 [] I would like the vegetarian option.

**AFTER AUGUST 20, THOSE ATTENDING THE WHOLE
CONFERENCE SHOULD ADD \$10 TO THEIR CHECK.**

Meals for registrants who do not have room and board at Holy Redeemer College:

- [] The CBDA special lunch crew should provide a brown bag Saturday lunch for me for which I add \$5 (Canadian) \$4.25 (U.S.) to my check.
 [] Arrange Saturday dinner for me at a nearby facility, for which I add to my check [] \$10 (Canadian) [] \$8.50 (U.S.).
 [] I need care for my child (children): name(s) _____
 _____ age(s) _____, so please send me the child care form. For further information on child care, phone Kimberly Bezaire in Windsor, 519-971-7343.

To inquire by phone about staying in someone's home, call Kimberly Bezaire. _____

Written Information. For written information about staying in someone's home and alternative meals and housing, write **CBDA Conference, c/o Third World Resource Center, 125 Tecumseh Rd. West, Windsor, Ontario N8X 1E8, Canada.** _____

Transportation. Although Windsor airport is close to the conference site, most air travellers from the United States and some from Canada will arrive at Detroit Metropolitan Airport. Approximate taxi fares: from Windsor, \$10 Canadian; from Detroit, \$40 U.S. For information on alternatives and on transportation from bus and train terminals, including assistance from volunteer local drivers, check here [].

For phone information about transportation from the airport, you may call John Mecartney after August 15 at 313-531-5461 or 313-592-6254.

For air travellers: I will arrive on _____ (date) at _____ (time) on flight number _____ on _____ airline.

Networking. At the conference, I am interested in meeting with others who would like to discuss promoting civilian-based defense in the following geographic/interest areas (rank your selections—1, 2, 3, etc.):

- Ann Arbor Windsor Detroit Quebec
 Canada United States Religious Labor
 Education Other [specify] _____

Scholarships. There may be some scholarships available. To apply, write to the Association and explain your need.

For the Record. If they become available, please send me information about ordering audio and video tapes of the conference book on conference's proceedings.

Registration forms with checks in Canadian money should be sent to
Civilian-based Defense Association
c/o Third World Resource Centre (address above)

To register with a check in U.S. currency, send the check and form to
CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE ASSOCIATION

154 Auburn St.

Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139 USA

The Association's phone number: 617-868-6058; FAX 617-864-9025 (c/o Classic Copy). (Checks payable to Civilian-based Defense Association. Please try to have your check arrive no later than August 30.)

To Help Us Plan (comments):

7/30/91