# Civilian-Based Defense: News exploring a nonviolent strategy for deterrence and defense & Opinion

Volume 7 • December 1991 • Number 5 • \$3.00 Single Issue

#### IN THIS ISSUE

Please Note: Our previous issue of this newsletter was incorrectly identified as Volume 7, Number 3.

It was in fact issue Number 4.

Our production person apologizes for any confusion it may have caused the reader.

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

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SUBSCRIPTION RATES: \$15.00 per year.

PUBLISHED January, March, May, July, September and November. Readers are invited to send news, articles and other material for publication. Submission deadlines are the first day of February, April, June, August, October and December.

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

# THE WINDSOR CONFERENCE ON CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE AND PEOPLE POWER

A Report by Mel Beckman

The Civilian-Based Defense Association held its first major conference for education and networking September 6th, 7th and 8th, in Windsor, Ontario. The choice of a location near the border between Canada and the United States made it possible for many citizens of both countries to participate. Conference sessions were held at Holy Redeemer College and Retreat Centre.

Approximately 450 persons attended the first evening's keynote address by Gene Sharp. Conference attendance ranged from 250 to 125 persons during the next two days.

Gene Sharp, well-known author and lecturer on civilian based defense, titled his keynote address: "Relevance of CBD for the 1990s." He remarked that the world would be a very different place today had the oppressed people in places like Poland organized themselves on a terrorist basis instead of using nonviolent people power. He called attention to the tremendous political impact that nonviolent peoples' struggles are having, month-by-month, throughout the world today. He expressed regret that the media have not adequately analyzed these events and have not given proper credit to the important role played by the people in these struggles. In the case of the anti-Stalinist coup in Moscow, for example, Yeltsin was often portrayed as almost solely responsible for the victory, while he himself denied his "white knight" role, responsibly crediting people power with the victory.

Sharp offered several reasons why CBD is relevant in today's world. In the first place, the past improvised nonviolent struggles for defense have revealed a vast power potential available to various crisis situations. Second, crisis situations, including coup attempts and invasions, will undoubtedly persist in the world because of economic and political change, poverty, border disputes, dictatorships, etc. Third, there is a continuing need to seek a substitute for the vast destructiveness of the war system.

Sharp offered some modes in which CBD might be adopted in the future:

- 1. It might be adopted as a component in a country's predominantly military-based system of defense, i.e., a limited defense purpose.
- 2. In countries which have no realistic capacity for military defense it might be adopted as the only defense option. Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia appear to be likely candidates for such adoption. [Ed. Note: See May/July 1991 issue of this publication for an account of action already taked by Lithuania.] Costa Rica and Iceland should be in this category, according to Sharp, but there is a lack of new defense thinking in those countries. Republics departing from the Soviet Union and newly liberated countries of East and Central Europe ought also to give consideration to the policy.
- 3. CBD might be adopted in countries which wish to guard against coup attempts. Sharp suggested that the Soviet Union's experience with the coup and the people's defense against it may focus more attention on this possibility.
- 4. CBD might be supported in those countries which have adopted it totally or partially, by means of a CBD mutual-aid treaty organization. Through the assistance provided by other members of the treaty organization, an attacked country might have continued access to printing and broadcasting facilities, food and medical supplies and outside news and information.
  - 5. CBD might be adopted in nonviolent struggles for liberation from dictatorships and

foreign oppression. Such struggles, Sharp stated, are not specific applications of CBD but are highly important "companions". The struggles in China, Burma, Tibet, Madagascar and Armenia were given as examples. If successful, such struggles "may increase the seriousness with which CBD will be considered and adopted in other societies", Sharp stated.

Sharp expressed the view that the world of the 1990's remains a very dangerous place. But the heroic stance of the people in Moscow, Leningrad, and other Russian cities shows the relevance of people power in addressing the threats which can arise. He stated, "It is now clear that societies can indeed be successfully defended from internal take-overs and foreign aggression by nonviolent noncooperation and defiance. That is a new statement which could not have been responsibly said thirty years ago or fifty years ago."

Sharp's keynote address was followed by comments from a panel of three respondents: Brig. General Don Macnamara (ret. Canadian Armed Forces), president of the Canadian Institute of Strategic Studies; John Brewin, member of Parliament representing Victoria, British Columbia and defense critic for the New Democratic Party of Canada; and Gwynne Dyer, journalist and military historian.

In his response to Sharp's address, General Macnamara suggested that Canada may already be in the stage of "transarmament". He stated, "We have gone from that point of being able to actually provide a full military defense, in what you might call violent terms, to a military defense using other than violent means." Canada, he said, is virtually unconquerable from the outside, and with its democratic system, it would be tailor-made for any kind of civilian-based defense. An attractive feature of CBD for Macnamara was the prospect that many more citizens would be involved in preserving Canada's freedoms. Macnamara endorsed Sharp's call for more research and strategic studies and for being open to partial incorporation of CBD. Far from calling the proposal idealistic, he said, it should be integrated with any Canadian defense policy if at all possible. "It stands to be a means by which more Canadians could be involved in the security of the country and the security of the country may be assured at lower cost, subject of course to all of these studies showing the direction." Macnamara concluded by saying the concept is challenging and worthy of study.

The second respondent, John Brewin, stating that he found Sharp's ideas very timely and stimulating, quoted from a section of Sharp's most recent book, Civilian-Based Defense, in which the author, in 1990, raised the possibility of just such a scenario as occurred in the Soviet Union in August, 1991. Brewin called for a fundamental review, especially by western countries, of defense, military, and security policies during the post-cold-war period. The dramatic changes in the world have completely undercut the assumptions on which defense policy has been based since 1948, he said. Brewin said he had little fear of any intrusion into Canada's space other than in small ways which could be handled by a police or diplomatic response. Nor would he have Canadians prepare any civilian-based defense against the only country which could assault Canada militarily - the United States. The present state of relations between the two countries does not warrant such preparation, he felt. But Brewin did see a relevancy for CBD in Canada's response to the international situation. He felt Canada should be encouraging a more rational security arrangement in Europe and in the world. He said Canada has the vehicle of the CSCE (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe) and should use that forum to encourage the development of the idea of civilian-based defense, and Canada could also use its role in the United Nations to encourage world understanding of the idea.

Gwynne Dyer, the third respondent, attributed less relevance to the concept of CBD than did his two colleagues on the panel. He granted some usefulness for nonviolent struggle in the case of coups and in the past efforts of colonized countries to drive out the powers which were deriving a profit from imperialism. But he saw little evidence that CBD would be effective in repelling modern-day invasions and occupations. These, he explained, are not usually for the sake of financial gain, but rather, are for other reasons, such as paranoid fear for one's own security, leading to pre-emptive occupation of a neighboring country, wanting to distract one's own population by foreign war, or by the

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need simply to save face. In these cases, withdrawal of the defending population's cooperation is not likely to be effective, he said. Also, he thought, subverting the troops of one's own country in the situation of an attempted internal coup is more likely to be successful than trying to subvert the troops of a foreign aggressor. To counter the continuing aggression of one country against another in the world today, Dyer recommended support for the United Nations and the effort to build an international system of law and law enforcement. He accepted that, in this framework, the use of military force will sometimes be necessary.

On the second day of the conference, Gene Sharp made another presentation entitled "Promoting CBD: Lessons from History." He stressed that the present policy of CBD did not happen by chance. He explained how, beginning especially with the 1964 Oxford Conference, he and others began to promote consideration of civilian-based defense on its own merits, because of its potential for defense, and not for reasons of morality or ideology. He urged conference participants to consider ways of promoting the policy which will not make CBD look like it is linked inseparably with some specific group or political point of view. Besides research and policy development, he recommended that participants engage in various educational efforts relating to CBD. Such efforts, when combined with the news about people power which citizens are seeing each month on television, can contribute to very fundamental change in society, he said. People will be able to see that nonviolent ways of fighting oppression exist, and that an alternative defense policy is possible.

After the keynote addresses by Gene Sharp, conference participants were given a choice of seven workshops and panel discussions.

The panel on "Latin America and Civilian-Based Defense" was composed of: Caridad Inda, executive director of the Center for International Resources (CIRIMEX) in Guadalajara, Mexico; Mary Beth Hastings, a staff member of Michigan Interfaith Committee on Human Rights in Latin America; and Richard Cleaver, peace secretary of Michigan American Friends Service Committee. Caridad Inda expressed the conviction that the Christian culture which underlies Latin American national-political cultures is a reality which nonviolent theoreticians, trainers, and activists need to take into consideration when working there. Mary Beth Hastings spoke of her concern that the United States' grip on Latin America is preventing people empowerment - one of the requirements for the development of civilian-based defense. Richard Cleaver urged the audience to learn from nonviolent movements in Latin America about the need for ongoing nonviolent communities in the United States.

Mel Beckman, until recently, a director of the Civilian-Based Defense Association, conducted a workshop entitled "Creating Public Safety Commissions to Propose Nonviolent Alternatives to Publicly Sanctioned Violence: A Step Toward Civilian-Based Defense." (See description of these commissions elsewhere in this issue) While the workshop participants were generally supportive of the idea, some cautions were expressed, especially about the need to ensure that people from all economic levels would be able to serve on the commissions and that the election of commission members should be on a non-partisan basis.

"How To Introduce CBD to Military and Other Traditional Defense-Oriented Audiences" was the title of a two-part workshop conducted by David Yaskulka, codirector of LEAD, USA. Yaskulka told of his experiences in introducing CBD to military students at various colleges, and suggested four points to remember when approaching conservative audiences: 1. Go to them, don't expect them to come to you; 2. Establish some common ground with them before you ask them to consider your message; 3. Admit to not having all the answers, that more study is needed; and 4. Inject some humor into the presentation. Yaskulka explained his reasons for going to traditional defense-oriented audiences, and especially military students. He sees these as people who can change things and people who ask the tough questions. Military students exposed to the idea of CBD during their training might, he hoped, think of a wider range of defense options when they become officers - a range which would include civilian-based defense. In the second part of his workshop, he divided the group into two smaller groups and asked them to play out the scenario of a Soviet military invasion of a transarmed Germany, relying solely on its civilian-based defense plan, in the year 2001.

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## THE WINDSOR CONFERENCE

Another panel was called "Economic Self-Sufficiency as a Preparation for Civilian-Based Defense." Panelists were Brewster Kneen, author of From Land to Mouth: Understanding the Food System, and Normand Beaudet, co-founder of the Resource Center on Nonviolence in Montreal and member of the Canadian Arms Control and Disarmament Consultative Committee. Normand Beaudet encouraged the audience to consider not only the civilian-based defense policy, but also the infrastructure of a country which would or would not allow it to be sustained. When the food, water, and energy delivery systems are very centralized, for example, a country is extremely vulnerable to an aggressor who wished to control the population. Kneen pointed out that citizens have given away their control of resources to the corporate sector. We have become very dependent. To turn this situation around we need to shorten the distance between ourselves and the source of our food, for example.

A panel presented by three nonviolent activists was entitled "Current Nonviolent Action Challenging the Military." Panelists were Molly Rush, a leader in Ploughshares civil disobedience; Sue Breeze of the Alliance for Nonviolent Action; and Liane Norman, founder of the Pittsburgh Peace Institute.

All three panelists spoke of the importance of resisting various forms of violence and injustice which permeate our culture because of our dependence on military means of defense. Liane Norman spoke of society's need to learn a new story to replace the story of war with which it is so familiar and which perhaps made it easier for Americans to be swept along toward war with Iraq. She said the new story about nonviolence must be told in a compelling way and include color, excitement, drama, and courage. Sue Breeze spoke of a war going on in Canada, against women and children and peace. Molly Rush expressed appreciation for Gene Sharp's challenges to peace movement people about the adequacy of personal witness to end war. She saw a need to put civil disobedience in the context of a whole array of things that need to be done in nonviolent struggle.

"Black People and Nonviolence" was the title of a panel featuring Dr. Carlyle Stewart III, pastor of Hope United Methodist Church in Southfield, Michigan, and Mark Watson, from the staff of Congressman John Conyers. Watson stated that he found it hard to relate the two subjects of black people and civilian-based defense. He suggested that the best nonviolence for blacks would be their economic inclusion in the society. He felt we need to talk about the core problems blacks face before talking about CBD. He did see that the technique of noncooperation used in civilian-based defense, and other principles on which the notion relies could be transferred to problems on the local level. Dr. Carlyle, in telling of his own growing - up years, noted that there was a kind of community protection, a looking out for one another, because people knew each other in the neighborhood. The belief in the possibility of transformation of a bad situation, community organization, and good communication - all important requirements for CBD -need to be part of the solution to problems blacks face as well.

A workshop entitled "Nonprovocative (Nonpassive) Defense and Civilian Based Defense" was conducted by Dr. Al Saperstein, Physics Department, Wayne State University and member of the executive committee of the University's Center for Peace and Conflict Studies. (A tape of the workshop was not available at the time this report was being written.)

Mubarak Awad, well-known Palestinian exile and founder of the Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence in Jerusalem, gave a moving account of his experiences among the Palestinians in the mid-1980's. Awad was convinced, as a psychologist, that the solution to their suffering had to come from within, not in dependence on the Arab nations or the churches or the United Nations. While the use of terror made the world more aware of the Palestinians, it did not win the world to support their cause. Awad introduced them to the concept of liberation through nonviolent struggle against the occupation. He helped them to find numerous examples of nonviolent struggle in their own history. He told of his discovery of Gene Sharp's writings and selected from them some 120 methods of nonviolent struggle which he thought useful for the situation of the Palestinians. When the Israelis later found this kind of literature in circulation, they threatened arrest and imprisonment for anyone possessing it.

The Windsor Conference was rich in the variety of experiences made available in addition to the talks and workshops. In a Sunday morning gathering, about a dozen representatives of various religious traditions shared their faith communities' written statements and traditions about civilian-based defense and nonviolence. During the entire

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conference, a bilingual (French and English) exhibit of photographs relating to civilianbased defense and nonviolence was available in the auditorium, thanks to the Montreal Resource Center on Nonviolence, which produced it. Michael Gramlich and Len Wallace nourished the audience with music and song relating to peace and people power. A social hour and refreshments on Saturday evening allowed for dialogue and new friendships. Participants were able purchase relevant literature throughout the conference. And finally, an outstanding rendition of the play "The Eleventh Mayor" was done by the Red Door Players and the Nonviolent Action for National Defense Institute of Detroit. The play, written in 1935, was by Ira France, a Church of the Brethren minister. It represented an attempt to show, in the time frame of a post-World War I era, the possibility of defense by nonviolent resistance against aggression. In the final panel presentation, a number of conference participants expressed their views about future direction for advocates of civilian-based defense. No attempt was made, however, to draw definitive conclusions from the three-day conference or to steer the participants toward a specific agenda. This was appropriate, given the early stage of discussion of civilian-based defense in the United States and Canada. An important goal of the conference must surely have been achieved, however. Those who participated will be able to see beyond present-day examples of people power to a time in the future when nations may rely more completely on it for deterrence and defense. The Civilian-Based Defense Association, and especially its members in the Windsor-Detroit area, deserve credit for organizing a very useful conference.

# SOME PEOPLE YOU SHOULD KNOW



CARIDAD INDA
Newly-elected Board Chairperson of the Civilian-Based
Defense Association.



PAUL ANDERS
Executive Director, Civilian-Based Defense Association



PHILIP BOGDONOFF
Interim Editor, Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion

# FACES OF COURAGE AND HOPE

By David Hartsough.

David is a Board Member of the Civilian-Based Defense Association, a Quaker, and long-time staff member of the American Friends Service Committee.

He recently returned from several weeks in what was the Soviet Union.

Many say Boris Yeltsin was the key figure in the overthrow of the August coup in Moscow. President Bush claims he deserves credit (because he "stood up" to Saddam Hussein). As a result of discussions with many Russian citizens in late August and early September when visiting Russia, I believe that the tens of thousands of courageous Russians who risked their lives standing up for their beliefs in democracy, freedom and human dignity and nonviolently resisting and refusing to cooperate with illegitimate authority, defeated the coup.

Imagine, if you can, waking up on the morning of August 19 and seeing thousands of Soviet tanks occupying Moscow. Let me share with you the stories of some of these courageous people.

Thousands of people all over Moscow gathered their courage and went out into the streets surrounded the tanks and greeted the soldiers in the tanks with cakes, cigarettes and roses and entered into dialogue with them. People knocked on the tanks and said to the soldiers, "Why are you here? Who gave you orders to bring these tanks into Moscow? Why are you going to shoot on people? Who are you going to shoot?"

Mothers and girls gave the soldiers food, kisses and flowers and asked them not to kill

their mothers and brothers and sisters. One friend distributed roses to the soldiers, gave them hugs and told them "Don't shoot! Be kind to the people!" Faced with this kind of interaction with the people they had been ordered to attack, the soldiers became very dispirited.

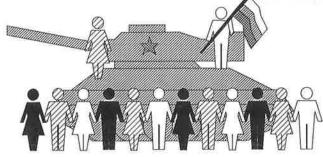


Illustration by Philip Helms. Reprinted with permission.

A friend, Valya, who

had a young daughter, and her mother, felt it was crucial to be at the barricades to nonviolently resist the military attack against the parliament building. They believed that whoever was at the barricades at the time of the military attack would be killed. But they knew that this was a critical moment in history, and they had found something they were willing to die for. Valya and her mother took turns at the "White House" (parliament building) so that if one of them were killed, the other would be left to bring up Valya's daughter.

Between 10,000 and 40,000 people like Valya and her mother surrounded the Russian parliament building for three days and nights, August 19 - 21, much of this time in driving rain. They linked arms, forming a nonviolent human barricade between the parliament building and the thousands of Soviet tanks and tens of thousands of soldiers who had been ordered into Moscow to defend the "new order" of the coup leaders. The people called themselves the "Living Ring, The Defenders of the White House of Russia."

The people build physical barricades of trolley cars, buses, old pieces of metal, and box springs around the White House - not so much because that would stop the tanks more than a few minutes, but to enable them to enter into dialogue with the attacking soldiers about what they were doing, and to convince them to discontinue the attack. The women at the barricades encouraged everyone to keep nonviolent and not to hurt the soldiers because they are our sons nad brothers and we don't want them to wage war with us. Russanna, the Chair of the Russian Peace Society, said to others at the barricades, "We women must be the first to meet the soldiers with words of kindness. We are standing not for struggle, but for peace. Our goal is nonviolence, our arms are words and kindness." Russanna added, "We shouldn't be frightened of anything. Our people are around us. We are defending justice, legality and freedom." The official policy at the Living Ring was to strongly discourage any violence to the soldiers and to try to win them over.

One of the sayings at the Living Ring was, "If we don't stand well, we'll be sitting for a long time." They were organized into groups of a hundred people all around the White House to allow for better organization and to keep their spirits up.

The head of the KGB said that they could destroy and eliminate the opposition at the White House in about 30 minutes. Because there were indications that they could not count on the regular soldiers, the coup leaders ordered one of the most trusted elite KGB tank subdivisions with 50 tanks from Byelorussia to come to Moscow to attack the White House and capture or kill Yeltsin and the Russian parliament leaders. When the parliament members heard about the impending attack, some of them travelled to the edge of Moscow and met with the KGB troops. When the KGB troops heard they would have to kill hundreds or even thousands of civilians to fulfill their mission, they refused orders to carry out the attack.

There were courageous people in the media who refused to obey orders and carry only the news approved by the coup leaders. For example, some of the news stations carried Yeltsin getting on the tank and calling for a general strike. Some newspapers carried blank spaces in the sections which had been censored. Employees of eleven banned newspapers united to publish a "general newspaper" printed on photocopiers, laser

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printers and mimeograph machines. Large quantities of the newspaper and copies of the Russian President's orders and appeals were posted at metros, bus stops, and street corners. This created gathering places where people exchanged opinions about the coup. These unplanned gatherings had a great psychological impact.

Multitudes of people refused to obey the curfew on the crucial night of August 20 - 21. Public transit continued to run. Most of Moscow seemed to be on the streets. This mass disobedience was a tremendous psychological blow to the coup leaders.

In the face of all the fraternization between the people and the soldiers, the widespread lack of cooperation by the broader population, and the elite KGB troops refusing orders to attack the White House with the thousands of civilians surrounding it, the coup was fast becoming a losing cause.

In Leningrad (now St. Petersburg), Mayor Sobchak went on TV the first day of the coup and encouraged people to come out to the Palace Square the next day. Not many people were able to see that on TV, but people spread the word every way they could. One friend, Valodya, made 100 calls and encouraged each person he called to do the same. Four hundred thousand people showed up the next day. At first people were afraid. What would it mean to confront the tanks? But gradually, as people saw how many other people there were, they found courage and gradually come to feel that they had already won. They had lost their fear.

The people defeated the coup because hundreds of thousands of them had decided they would not cooperate with illegitimate authority. They had lost or overcome their fear and the threats by the new government could no longer subdue the people into submission and cooperation. People throughout the society, including elected officials, soldiers, KGB officers, Communist Party leaders, students, transportation workers, and journalists decided to listen to their consciences and their sense of what was right and just rather than to illegitimate authority.

The coup leaders had at their disposal over four million soldiers, hundreds of thousands of tanks, sophisticated military aircraft, and nuclear weapons. They were overcome by a people armed with their courage and their convictions – people who were no longer willing to be scared into submission by threats of death or imprisonment.

The Living Ring has now invited Americans knowledgeable about nonviolent civilian-based defense to come and help train the 10,000 members of Living Ring, so they can even better defend their society against any future coup attempts by the old guard. Under the sponsorship of Nonviolence International we are going to try to meet their request and expect to learn at least as much from them as we will share.

All over the world we need to learn to differentiate between legitimate and illegitimate authority and then find the courage to refuse cooperation with illegitimate authority - even in the face of intimidation and threats. If we can all do what the Russian people seem to have learned so well, dictatorial, oppressive, and imperialistic governments won't have much chance in this world.

# MICHIGAN LABOR UNION CONSIDERS CBD RESOULTION

During the past summer members of Michigan Council '#25 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) were asked to consider a resolution in support of civilian-based defense. The resolution was drafted by Philip Helms, Director of Public Relations for Council #25, who also did the educational work about CBD which prepared the members for a vote on it and obtained the needed preliminary endorsements so that the resolution could be presented at the statewide convention of Council #25 in October.

The resolution called for allocation of federal funds drawn from the military budget, for the "study, development and implementation of methods and systems of civilian-based defense consistent with our nation's civil and legal structures, and the sharing of and training in such methods with nations allied with or client to the United States." The resolution also called for further coverage of news about CBD in the labor union's publication and for submission of the resolution to the 1992 AFSCME International Convention.

When asked why labor unions should be interested in CBD, Helms replied that in war-time it is the children of the working class who do the fighting. Further, in civilian-based defense unions are an asset. They play an important part strategically. The participation of a union like AFSCME, which represents some 60,000 public workers in Michigan, would be especially important because of the members' daily involvement in governmental affairs.

During the summer the resolution gained the co-sponsorship of the union's statewide Women's Committee, the Institutional Unit Coordinating Committee, and the Executive Officers - the President and Secretary-Treasurer. It was also adopted by the Colleges and Universities Coordinating Committee. At the convention itself, in October, the Resolutions Committee voted to recommend adoption.

A fourteen page booklet about civilianbased defense was made available to the delegates by Helms. He entitled it, Minimizing Casualties, Preserving the Infrastructure. The Case for Civilian-Based Defense: A Nonviolent, Economical Adjunctive to Traditional Military Defense.

On October 12th, the 450 or more

(continued on page 9)

# PART II

by Melvin G. Beckman

Part I of this article appeared in the May/July, 1991 issue of Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion. In Part I of this article I expressed the opinion that when "agent" security systems become commonplace, citizens become less involved in their own security arrangements. But when citizens are less involved, their security agents find it more permissible and even necessary to threaten or use violence in their task of providing security. To break this vicious circle we must find some way to reduce our over-dependence on agent security systems while recognizing our at least partial need for them.

One way in which we might support our chosen security agents while at the same time making them less dependent on the capacity to threaten and use violence is by the creation of public safety commissions whose mandate would be to propose and help implement nonviolent solutions to security threats on the local, state, and national levels. In my view, such commissions should be elected on a non-partisan basis, have representation from all economic classes, and be closely joined or attached to the existing agent security structures, not taking an adversarial position in relation to them but rather, working for the same end result, i.e., citizen security.

To more clearly illustrate this proposal I have drafted, in a very preliminary form, three pieces of legislation to create such public safety commissions - one for the city of Omaha, one for the state of Nebraska, and one for the United States. These appear below.

#### **OMAHA**

# AN ORDINANCE TO CREATE A MUNICIPAL PUBLIC SAFETY COMMISSION WITHIN THE OMAHA PUBLIC SAFETY DEPARTMENT

- 1. Mandate: The Omaha Public Safety Commission shall be concerned with the threats to the security of Omaha citizens which do now require an armed presence or use of lethal force by the Omaha Police Division, or which could require such presence or use of force in the future. The Commission shall hear concerns about public safety from both the public safety director and the general public; solicit and evaluate proposals for resolving threats to community security without the use or threat of lethal force; seek to involve various segments of the community, as appropriate, along with departments of City Government, in efforts to make violence unnecessary and enhance community security; discuss and evaluate current Police Division policy regarding the use of lethal force and propose changes or alternatives as deemed useful and practical; issue an annual public report, including the Commission's analysis of current threats to public safety in Omaha and recommendations for public and private action to resolve these threats without the use or threat of lethal force.
- 2. Composition: Fourteen members, with two elected from each City Council district. The public safety director shall also serve on the commission ex officio, without voting, except in case of a tie vote.
- 3. Creation: The first commission shall be elected at the time of the City Council elections in 1994.
- **4. Term of Office:** Commission members shall be elected to four year terms with a maximum service of eight consecutive years.
- 5. Qualifications: Commission members must be at least sixteen years of age and must have resided in Omaha for the previous four years, and in their respective Council district for the previous two years, at the time of their election.
- 6. Meetings: The Commission shall meet monthly.
- **7. Budget:** Commission members shall serve without pay. Operating funds for the Commission shall be included, as needed, in the budget of the Public Safety Department.

#### STATE OF NEBRASKA

# A BILL TO CREATE A STATE PUBLIC SAFETY COMMISSION WITHIN THE NEBRASKA DEPARTMENT OF THE MILITARY

1. Mandate: The Nebraska Public Safety Commission shall be concerned with all threats to the security of the people of Nebraska - whether originating in Nebraska, other states, or outside the United States - which could lead to the deployment of the Nebraska National Guard or the other armed forces of the United States. The Commission shall analyze the root causes of unrest and conflict which do now or could in the future require Nebraska citizens to bear arms in the Guard or the other armed forces of the United States; solicit and evaluate alternative proposals for reducing the unrest and conflict

without the threat or use of military force; seek to involve both the public and private sectors of Nebraska in efforts to resolve the threats to security without the use of military force; discuss and evaluate current Nebraska and U.S. policies relating to activation of the Guard and propose changes if needed and practical; communicate and work cooperatively with municipal public safety commissions in Nebraska, with other states' public safety commissions, and with any public safety commission created at the national level; issue an annual report to the adjutant general and to the people of Nebraska, which report shall contain the Commission's analysis of current threats to public safety on the state and national levels and recommendations for public and private action to resolve those threats without the use of or threat to use military force.

- 2. Composition: Fifty members, with one elected from each of Nebraska's fifty legislative districts. The adjutant general of Nebraska shall also serve on the Commission ex officio, without voting, except in case of a tie vote.
- 3. Creation: The first Nebraska Public Safety Commission shall be elected in 1994.
- 4. Term of Office: Members shall be elected to four-year terms with a maximum service of eight consecutive years.
- 5. Qualifications: Commissions members shall be at least 21 years of age and shall have resided in Nebraska for the previous four years and in their respective legislative district for the previous two years at the time of their election.
- 6. Meetings: The Commission shall meet at least quarterly.
- 7. Budget: Commission members shall serve without pay except that lodging and transportation expenses for meetings shall be reimbursed. Commission operating funds shall be included in the budget of the Nebraska Department of the Military.

#### **UNITED STATES**

# A BILL TO CREATE A NATIONAL PUBLIC SAFETY COMMISSION WITHIN THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

- 1. Mandate: The United States Public Safety Commission shall be concerned with all threats to the security of the people of the United States, whether originating within the country or from abroad, which do now or could lead to the deployment of United States armed forces within the United States or abroad. The Commission shall analyze the root causes of unrest and conflict which do now or could in the future require citizens to be called to constitute a military presence or exercise military force in the armed forces of the United States; solicit and evaluate alternative proposals for reducing the unrest and conflict without the threat or use of military force; seek to involve both the private and public sectors of the nation in efforts to resolve the threats to security without the deployment of armed forces; discuss and evaluate current national policies related to deployment of the United States armed forces and propose changes if needed; communicate and work cooperatively with state-level public safety commissions wherever they exist; issue an annual report to the Secretary of Defense and to the people of the nation, which report shall contain the Commission's analysis of current threats to national security and recommendations for public and private action to resolve those threats without the use of military force.
- 2. Composition: 535 members, with the citizens of each state electing the same number of commission members as the total number of representatives and senators elected from the state. The Secretary of Defense shall serve "ex officio" on the Commission, but without a vote except in case of a tie vote.
- 3. Creation: The first national public safety commission shall be elected in 1994.
- **4. Term of Office:** Members shall be elected to a four-year terms with a maximum service of eight consecutive years.
- 5. Qualifications: Commission members shall be at least 25 years of age and shall have resided in the United States for the previous four years and in their specific states for the previous two years at the time of their election.
- 6. Meetings: The commission shall meet at least quarterly.
- 7. Budget: Commission members shall serve without pay except that costs of transportation and lodging shall be reimbursed to members when attending meetings of the Commission. Commission operating funds shall be included in the budget of the United States Department of Defense.

## MICHIGAN LABOR UNION

(continued from page 7)

delegates, by voice vote declined to adopt the resolution. However, the vote was taken twice because of its closeness. Helms attributed the defeat in part to some phrases in the text which appeared to some to identify the resolution with the Reagan-Bush Administration and the Engler Administration in Michigan. Helms is considering a second attempt at the convention in two years.

Philip Helms can be contacted at Box 253, Highland, MI 48357, USA. Telephone: 313-887-4701 A copy of his booklet can be obtained by sending name, address, and \$1.50 to his Michigan address.



# PAPER ON SOCIAL DEFENSE AVAILABLE

A forty-three page paper entitled, The Strategy of Social Defence: An Introduction and Evaluation (ISBN: 0-7049-0994-4), by Peter Sproat, was published in March of 1991. Inquiries about orders should be addressed to the Department of Politics, University of Reading, P.O. Box 218, Reading RG6 2AA, England. Peter Sproat has been a visiting lecturer in the Department of Politics at Reading University since 1988. He gained his M.A. in International Studies in the University's Graduate School of European and International Studies in 1989.

# 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, P. O. Box 39127, Friendship Station NW, Washington DC 20016. Phone (202) 244-0951. Please do not send membership dues or subscription requests to the Washington DC address. They should be sent to the office in Cambridge.

#### **CONCLUSION**

The creation of official, on-going, elected public safety commissions in the cities and states of the nation could be a first step away from our overdependence on hired agents to provide security. The many thousands of elected commissions members around the country would be in a position to motivate and mobilize additional millions of their fellow citizens to become personally involved in security matters. By adopting a more citizen-based approach to security, at all levels of American society, we may be able to reverse the ever-growing need for more police, more courts, more prisons, and more weapons of mass destruction.

Would the United States have gone to war against Iraq if the fifty states had each had an elected public safety commission in place last winter and if a similar body existed on the national level? If these commissions had been at work during those crucial weeks, studying, analyzing, and reporting their conclusions about the issue of extended non-military sanctions against Iraq versus war, would the same decisions have been made by President Bush and others? Perhaps not. Had they been operational, the democratic process might have been better served in that time of crucial decision. The commissions would not have allowed the manipulation of public opinion or superficial analysis of the problem to go unchallenged.

We should now look toward corrective legislation to break the link between agent security and the use of violence. In municipal, state, and national security matters, too few in the United States are responsible for too much.

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# "HOW TO" ARTICLES REQUESTED

Phil Bogdonoff, the new coordinating editor of this publication, invites readers to submit "how to" articles for future issues. He feels such articles are needed for the development of the policy of civilian-based defense. Some examples: "How to work with (or educate) your legislator"; "How to restore democracy to an occupied country or to a country where the military is in power"; "How to lead an introductory workshop on CBD (including your talk outline)"; How to run a course 'The Nonviolent Defense of Pittsburgh (or some other city)".

# 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 39127, Friendship Station NW, Washington DC 20016, USA.

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#### **CHANGING EDITORS**

The current issue of this newsletter will be my last as editor. Many thanks to all who have helped me and the Association in its composition and distribution during the past nine years!

Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion first appeared in November, 1982. Since then, our readers in many different countries have helped produce twenty-seven more issues, by sending in theoretical articles, news, book reviews, and letters relating to civilian-based defense. As editor it has been my good fortune to have known these wonderful people who are trying to make armies a thing of the past, by advancing a means of defense which doesn't depend on armies.

I leave the editor's position with a good feeling that the newsletter has been useful to many and will continue to be so. I think a change of editors can be beneficial and I look forward to seeing new and creative ideas incorporated in its production.

Phillip Bogdonoff has been a co-editor since the beginning and has agreed to be responsible for the main editing work until a new editor is found next year. "Guest" editors in various countries will assist him. The next issue is to be published in January of 1992. All material for that issue should be sent to Phil by January 15th.

His address is: P.O. Box 39127, Friendship Station NW, Washington, DC 20016.
Phone: 202-244-0951.

Persons interested in being considered for the position of CBDA newsletter editor may write to the Personnel Committee, c/o Civilian-Based Defense Association, 154 Auburn Street, Cambridge, MA 02139, USA. While there is some possibility of financial remuneration in the future, the position is presently an unpaid one.

The editor's task is to solicit news and opinion relating to CBD from a world-wide network of interested persons, edit the material into useable form, write portions of each issue, and work with those responsible for typesetting and design (The Anachronistic Press in Pittsburgh) until a camera-ready copy is completed. The office staff of CBDA continues its production from that point.

While the editor need not be an American, a good command of the English language is needed. Some familiarity with the international literature on civilian-based defense will be essential, if not immediately then soon after taking the position. Computer literacy, the ability to write creatively, and past editing experience will all be helpful to the new editor.

# VIDEOS OF WINDSOR CONFERENCE ARE AVAILABLE

Unedited videos of the September 1991 conference "Civilian-Based Defense and People Power" are available for most of the presentations.

Students from the University of Windsor made the videos. For a description of the presentations listed below, see Mel Beckman's report on the conference that runs from page 1 through page 5 of this issue. Orders must be received by March 15, 1992; videos will be mailed out within six weeks of that date.

			US dollars	Quantity Ordered
	1. Relevance of Civilian-based Defense for the 1990 Gene Sharp with comments by Gen. Donald Macnas John Brewin and Gwynne Dyer (two tapes).		\$30.00	——
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	3. Latin America and Civilian-based Defense.  Caridad Inda, Richard Cleaver and Mary Beth Hass	tings	\$15.00	
	4. Creating Public Safety Commissions to Propose I Alternatives to Publicly Sanctioned Violence: A S Civilian-based Defense. <i>Mel Beckman</i>		\$15.00	
	5. How to Introduce Civilian-based Defense to Milit Other Traditional Defense-oriented Audiences. David Yaskulka	ary and	\$15.00	
	6. Workshop (presupposes having seen his other pr David Yaskulka	esentation).	\$15.00	
	7. Current Nonviolent Action Challenging the Milit Molly Rush, Sue Breeze and Lianne Norman	ary.	\$15.00	<del></del>
	8. Black People and Nonviolence.  Mark Watson and Dr. Carlyle Stewart II (two tapes)	)	\$30.00	
	9. Nonviolent Strategy and Tactics of the Intifada (personal experience).  Mubarak Awad		\$15.00	<del></del>
	10. Economic Self-Sufficiency as a Preparation for Civilian-based Defense.  Normand Beaudet		\$15.00	
	11. Two tapes (extended play) which include all of t above presentations.	he	\$90.00	
Prices above include handling and postage for the Subtotal \$ United States and Canada.				
For other countries, add \$4.00 per video for surface mail and \$6.00 for air mail shipments.		Added mail	\$	Checks must be in Canadian or U.S. dollars. But remember to add
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Third World Resource Centre, 125 Tecumseh Road West, Windsor, Ontario N8X 1ES, CANADA.  Please send me the video tape(s) I have selected above:				
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C	ountry Telephone		_	the conference so that they may be printed.

"If we don't stand well, we'll be sitting for a long time."

Quoted from "Faces of Courage and Hope" an article by David Hartsough, page 6 of this issue.

# CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE: NEWS & OPINION

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