

Civilian-based Defense

AN ENVIRONMENTALLY SUSTAINABLE DETERRENT

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Civilian-based Defense (ISSN 0886-6015) is published by the Civilian-based Defense Association (CBDA) to provide information about civilian-based defense (CBD) as an alternative policy for national defense and to make available international news, opinion, and research about CBD. The Association is a nonprofit membership organization founded in 1982 to promote more widespread consideration of CBD and engage in educational activities to bring CBD to public attention. CBD means protecting a nation against invasions or coups d'état by preparing its citizens to resist aggression or usurpation by withholding cooperation and by active noncooperation rather than military force. Tactics include strikes, encouraging invading forces to desert, encouraging other countries to use sanctions against the invader, etc. Citizens would learn how to use CBD before aggression starts, which distinguishes it from spontaneous resistance. Prior preparation and publicity would enhance its effectiveness and also make it a deterrent to attack.

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THE ECOLOGY OF DEFENSE BY CIVILIANS

As the planet's environmental crisis deepens, we examine how civilian-based defense can help stop our destruction of the soil, water, and air on which all life depends. Share your thoughts with us on this issue. We would like to print them.

CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Paul E. Anders

How can defense against foreign aggressors be provided without excessively damaging the environment? Vice-President Al Gore is

an ardent environmentalist and author of a book on environmental preservation, *Earth in the Balance: Ecology and the Human Spirit*, but as a U.S. senator he tended to be promilitary. For example, he voted against the Leahy amendment to the Fiscal 1993 Defense Authorization Bill to halt production of the B-2 stealth bombers at fifteen planes instead of the twenty planes requested by the Bush administration. Gore's environmentalism and advocacy of a huge military establishment are fundamental contradictions, because war and preparation for it are environmental disasters. The United States, for example, by the military's count, has about 20,000 polluted military sites (Shulman, "Toxic," p. 18). Even in peacetime the world's military industrial complex puts enormous strain on the environment. Environmental damage from CBD compared to the military would probably be low, making CBD increasingly attractive as the need grows for environmentally sustainable alternatives.

The World Commission on Environment and Development (Brundtland Commission), set up by the United Nations as an independent body, defined sustainable development in its 1987 report as development "that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (p. 43).

The report noted that "the next few decades are crucial" (p. 22). Realization of

EDITOR'S NOTES

Paul E. Anders

- We are grateful to those who renewed their membership or subscription or sent a special donation. Special thanks to Karen Welch and Guy Curtis through whose help CBDA has received great financial assistance.
- This issue of *Civilian-based Defense* has two articles on civilian-based defense and environmental quality. I hope that readers will share their views with us on this timely subject.
- In February two students from Tufts University spent many hours working on this issue of the magazine. Our thanks to Dean Royer and Patricia Nadler for very helpful writing, editing, and research.
- We have an ongoing need for articles and reviews and also for items for "Recently Received." We particularly need articles by women.
- If you do something related to CBD, send us a note so that we can publicize it in "Association News." We need to share information and encourage each other with such news, so overcome your modesty.

the need to create a sustainable world is growing, and it is becoming harder to dismiss warnings of the seriousness of environmental problems. The Union of Concerned Scientists has, so far, collected over 1600 endorsements from prominent scientists for its "World Scientists' Warning to Humanity." Endorsers include "102 Nobel laureates—a majority of the living recipients of the prize in the sciences". They say:

Human beings and the natural world are on a collision course. Human activities inflict harsh and often irreversible damage on the environment and on critical resources. If not checked, many of our current practices put at serious risk the future that we wish for human society and the plant and animal kingdoms, and may so alter the living world that it will be unable to sustain life in the manner that we know. Fundamental changes are urgent if we are to avoid the collision our present course will bring about.

Although environmental concerns may not by themselves cause many people to espouse CBD, such concerns will help move people in that direction. For example, a more sustainable world would lessen the perceived need for foreign goods and for the military to protect that supply, especially oil (witness the Gulf War).

Among the important factors involved in comparing the environmental advantages of CBD compared to military defense, are military pollution, the need for some decentralization, specific environmental advantages of CBD, and its connection with environmentalists.

War Pollution

Besides CBD's other advantages over military defense, which this magazine has presented for many years, CBD environmental cost could be kept low if it were properly prepared. War causes tremendous environmental damage. Some examples:

1. In the Gulf War, Iraq dumped 240 million gallons of oil into the Persian Gulf. (For comparison the 1989 Exxon Valdez spill in Alaska's Prince William Sound was about eleven million gallons [*Boston Globe*, Jan 6, 1993].) The Associated Press reported that "John H. Robinson, the top US government expert on oil spills, said last summer that Saudi beaches were virtually lifeless, with

sea grasses wasted, marine creatures gone. Kuwait coral reefs were about 90 percent destroyed. Iraq also damaged 730 Kuwaiti oil wells, causing a billion gallons of crude to spill onto the desert, killing plants, birds and insects."

2. Shyam Bhatia, reporter for the *Observer* newspaper, indicates that President Saddam Hussein of Iraq is poisoning the wells and draining the water supplies of Shiite Muslims in southern Iraq. Iraq's forces are attempting to turn the Shiites' marsh land haven into a desert ("New Repression of Iraqi Shiites Reported," *Boston Globe*, Feb. 28, 1993).

3. In the Vietnam War, the U.S. government pursued a conscious program of defoliation with toxic Agent Orange.

Since 1978 the *Convention on the Prohibition of Military or other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques* forbids environmental modifications for military purposes, but not all countries signed, e.g., France (Cramer, p. 13). And international agreements may be disregarded. Witness Iraq's use of chemical weapons against the Kurds.

The existence of nuclear power plants adds a dangerous new element to war. Where they exist they blur the distinction between conventional and nuclear war. In Europe, for example, a conventional war in which nuclear power plants were hit, whether accidentally or intentionally, could render much of the continent uninhabitable, the equivalent of many Chernobyls. In a 1988 speech, former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev said, "If, God forbid, a conventional war breaks out on the continent, who will guarantee that the warring sides will not, deliberately or accidentally, launch a strike against nuclear power stations? And will it take many such strikes to inflict irreparable damage on all the population of Europe and, indeed, other continents?" (*Arms Control Reporter*, Dec. 1988, 703.B.19). (In 1987 France and the Federal Republic of Germany had 70 nuclear power plants [Hungarian Engineers for Peace, p. 17]). CBD would lessen the justification for such intentional targeting. An attack on the nuclear power plants of unarmed opponents would be seen as disproportional and would outrage world opinion. Also, the absence of armed resistance would reduce the danger of accidental targeting. Article 56 of the Geneva convention of 1949 forbids attacks on nuclear power plants (see Cramer, p. 14),

but accidental or intended attacks are clearly possible or even likely in a large-scale war. It would be in the interests of any country, including countries adopting CBD, to eliminate such vulnerable targets and move towards decentralized, renewable sources of power. The recent case in Pennsylvania where an intruder drove through the main gate at the Three Mile Island nuclear power plant, crashed through a fence and into a door, and then hid for four hours (Wald, *N. Y. Times*, Feb. 11, 1993), highlights just how vulnerable nuclear power plants are, even to individual action. When a country builds a nuclear power plant, it is like giving its enemies a nuclear weapon.

Having nuclear power plants helps a country develop the expertise to develop nuclear weapons, although much more is required, such as weapons-grade material. The danger of environmental catastrophe from the production and use of these weapons is clear from the nuclear bombing of Japan, the widespread contamination from the testing and manufacture of nuclear weapons, and the possibility of nuclear winter (Sagan, p. 12) in the event of their large-scale use.

Military Production and Preparedness

The U.S. Nuclear Weapons Complex, under the management of the U.S. Department of Energy (DOE), has produced a horrendous amount of contamination. The book *Facing Reality: A Citizens' Guide to the Future of the U.S. Nuclear Weapons Complex* has catalogued some of the more egregious instances of pollution by the complex. The expected thirty-year job to contain it will cost billions of dollars. Three instances from the the *Guide's* "contamination sampler" illustrate the problem:

- The Fernald Feed Material Production Center in Ohio emitted between 600,000 and 3,000,000 pounds of toxic uranium dust into the air and water. Known contamination of residential well water was kept secret for years during the 1980s...
- Hanford Reservation in Washington has released massive quantities of radioactive isotopes into the air, soil, groundwater and Columbia River. Dozens of huge tanks are filled with waste of unknown composition; some of them have generated compounds that risked causing a disastrous explosion. Thousands of

cubic feet of highly radioactive reactor fuel rods were recently discovered buried in shallow trenches.

- Los Alamos National Laboratory in New Mexico has one of the world's largest radioactive dumps, containing more than 12,000,000 cubic feet of radioactive waste, and is still adding about 180,000 cubic feet per year. More than 2,000 contaminated sites have been identified, with an expected cleanup cost of more than \$2 billion. (p. 2)

Pollution on the 22,000-acre Massachusetts Military Reservation on Cape Cod illustrates the military's insouciance with nonnuclear materials. Women living in Falmouth, just south of the reservation, have cancer at a rate 46 percent higher than women elsewhere in the state. Just west of the Reservation, in Bourne, women have a 37 percent rise in cancer (Shulman, *Threat*, pp. 147-148). Seth Shulman notes that "the military's environmental studies estimate that personnel at the base have dropped as many as 6 million gallons of aviation fuel simply to test planes' automatic fuel release mechanisms. The military has also dumped and burned solvents like benzene and toluene, flammable wastes, lubrication fluid, diesel fluids, hydraulic fluids, transformer oils, and paint thinner... Many people, however believe that elevated disease in the area may be due primarily to the high levels of TCE [trichloroethylene] dumped by the military" (*Threat*, p. 148). As a base commander said at a community hearing in Virginia, "We are in the business of protecting the nation, not the environment" (Renner, p. 152).

Because of its huge size, the military degrades the environment even by its day-to-day operations. The scope of these operations staggers the imagination. For example, in 1991 Serge Schmemmann noted that in the Russian Federation, "according to various official figures, the military absorbed 40 percent of the machinery output, 50 percent of the Russian Federation's industrial output, 40 percent of the national budget, 18 percent of the gross national product." The world's military machines are voracious consumers of energy, land, and natural resources. According to the Center for Defense Information, for example, the U.S. military annually uses enough fuel oil to run the United States' public transit

system for more than ten years (Shulman, "Toxic," p. 23). The military's pollution-producing consumption in most countries dwarfs the pollution that probably would be created by implementing and maintaining CBD.

The military not only damages the environment by its current practices, but also uses many of our scientists and engineers to develop new weapons. We need their expertise to help solve our nonmilitary problems like creating sustainable societies, not to develop new weapons. Military research and development (R&D) siphons off much of the world's total R&D. For example, last year the United States spent 3.3 billion dollars developing the quixotic Strategic Defense Initiative (Star Wars). The world simply cannot address the real problems of environmental degradation and at the same time siphon off a large part of its R&D and economic resources to the military. CBD might free resources to address this degradation.

In the name of national security, the military is often exempt from environmental regulation. The military also tends to demand secrecy. The less known about a military's capability, the less likely it will be successfully attacked. Environmental damage caused by the military is thus insulated from exposure by the media, government regulation, and private whistle blowers. The Soviets, for example, used the ocean around Novaya Zemlya as a nuclear dumping ground, including nuclear reactors and entire submarines (see Cramer, p. 15).

Decentralization

War and preparation for it do not foster environmental sustainability. We need to consider what more sustainable societies would be like and how CBD would suit such societies. The environment is not the main reason for advocating CBD, which stands on its own merits as a defense. However, the need to restructure society in accordance with an environmentally sustainable policy is becoming increasingly clear. The importance of making all activity, including defense, fit the policy will become increasingly clear too.

In the October 1992 issue of this magazine, Normand Beaudet remarked that economic decentralization and self-sufficiency diminish the need for military defense (see also Martin, p. 30; Jean-François Beaudet, p. 126; and Wittig, p. 169). Smaller factories, storage facilities,

etc., provide fewer tempting targets to attack and hence diminish the perceived need for military defense. As Herman E. Daly and John B. Cobb, Jr., have pointed out, "If smaller communities within regions are relatively self-sufficient, the life of the nation can continue despite extensive and widely dispersed attacks on its infrastructure" (p. 348). The plight of Armenia illustrates the consequences of dependence on foreign sources of power. On February 11, 1993 a gas pipeline supplying the only fuel to Armenia was blown up forcing the besieged republic to shiver through a fierce snowstorm without heat or light. Saboteurs trying to tighten a wartime blockade were suspected. The incident prompted Armenia to retaliate with warplanes and heavy artillery, and it was reported that forests and city parks were stripped bare for firewood ("Gas Pipeline to Armenia Explodes for Second Time", *Boston Globe*, February 12, 1993).

Exemplifying the vulnerability of centralized commerce and administration was the bombing of New York's World Trade Center Complex on February 26, idling most of the Center's ten million square feet of office space. New York Governor Mario Cuomo called the bombing an "economic catastrophe" for New York and New Jersey. This raises the complex question, beyond the scope of this article, of how to decentralize such facilities. Suburban sprawl is no solution, but some decentralization within compact urban areas seems desirable.

Decentralization that diminishes the need for the military and creates a favorable situation for CBD also can favor a more environmentally sustainable economy, with small family farms, renewable and other small and local sources of power, smaller manufacturing facilities, cottage industries with good earnings, etc. Such an economy entails less travel and less transport of food and other goods. As E.F. Schumacher said in *Small is Beautiful*, "Small-scale operations, no matter how numerous, are always less likely to be harmful to the natural environment than large-scale ones, simply because their individual force is small in relation to the recuperative forces of nature" (p. 33). Not all decentralization is good for the environment. Large subway systems, for example, may be advantageous. Human-scale cities are probably a key part of a sustainable society; suburban sprawl is probably not.

George Crowell notes that "A great variety of small-scale energy technologies based on the use of widely available sunlight, wind, water, and waste biomass could form the basis for a decentralized energy system. Not only would such a system be difficult for an invader to control, it would also be ecologically sound." In addition Crowell has highlighted the general advantages (including their usefulness for NVCD [nonviolent civilian defense]) of family farms in Canada, as opposed to larger-scale agriculture and food processing. Moreover, "If urban people further developed close, personal working relationships with nearby farmers, sharing the burden of crop failures, and perhaps assisting them at harvest time, a food system supporting effective NVCD would be in place" (Crowell, p. 4-5). Although an invader could spray the defenders' crops with herbicides, it would be a complex operation and probably would outrage world opinion. And defenders could have enough food stored to avoid immediate harm—important if the invader needs victory quickly.

Environmental Advantages of CBD

As we move toward a more sustainable society, conditions may well become more favorable to CBD and the need for it more apparent. Consider, for example, that friendly relations between countries help to resolve international environmental problems, an increasingly important facet of international relations. The acid rain in Canada partly caused by U.S. emissions, for example, has not been eliminated, but the United States has finally agreed to measures designed to lessen it. It's difficult to imagine North and South Korea, still at odds decades after the Korean War, resolving an environmental dispute. A CBD policy would tend to promote the friendly relations that enhance the solution of international problems. A country's military often seems threatening to neighboring countries. A country that relied on CBD would tend to deal with other countries by cultivating positive relations through diplomacy, law, and cultural understanding, for example. Such positive relations will be important as environmental degradation leads to scarcer resources. Wars over resources may become common. The growing shortage of water in the Middle East, for example, poses a threat.

Are there spin-offs from CBD that would enhance a nation's ability to meet environmental threats? CBD is based on

people power. An essential facet of CBD is that people would learn and prepare it before a conflict starts. (This distinguishes CBD from spontaneous resistance to a putsch or invasion.) Some of the tactics of CBD have also been used in environmental causes; for example, demonstrations and boycotts. An attitude is also learned. Resist oppression. Don't suffer passively when you are threatened. That attitude can be useful in insisting that environmental degradation not threaten our welfare.

More commonly the influence has flowed in the other direction: people learned the tactics of nonviolent action as environmentalists, tactics that can be used for CBD. Confrontational tactics may in the future have a diminished role in preserving the environment. Getting to environmental sustainability calls for a cooperative approach that encompasses business interests and all segments of society—an approach, for example, that would also be useful in establishing a policy of CBD.

CBD and the Environmentalists

The anticipated environmental benefits of CBD and the relative lack of environmental damage from it compared to the military should make CBD an attractive method of national defense for at least some environmentalists, and most people consider themselves environmentalists. According to a 1989 CBS-*New York Times* poll, three fourths of the American public endorsed the statement, "Protecting the environment is so important that requirements and standards cannot be too high, and continuing environmental improvements must be made regardless of cost." The number agreeing with the statement rose from 45% in 1981 to 74% in 1989 (William Schneider, "Welcome to the Greening of America", *National Journal*, May 27, 1989). Although people actually seem much less willing to pay for environmental improvement than the survey indicates, the increasing percentage agreeing with the statement is encouraging.

Could CBD be promoted to environmental groups? Invasion scarcely threatens North America, for example. But the environmental threat from the military has concerned people, and proponents of CBD have potential allies among environmentalists.

Various organizations have already shown an interest in both environmentalism and social defense, as, for example, the Föderation Gewaltfreier Aktionsgruppen

(FöGA) *Graswurzelrevolution* in Germany (*Ohne Waffen*, pp. 4,33-35). Some Greens have been in the forefront as proponents of CBD, for example, the late Petra Kelly.

It will do us little good to escape militarism and war if we wreck the environment with nonmilitary pollution. CBD proponents should confront the planet's environmental problems and promote sound public environmental policy and live in an environmentally sustainable way, for example, by using recycled materials, working to make alternative energy sources available, and advocating for a more just and humane society. These changes are not only valuable in themselves, but they will attract environmentalists to CBD.

Countries where CBD becomes part of national defense policy should implement it in an environmentally sound manner. As CBD takes shape, its promotion will require buildings and equipment. Environmental savvy should guide decisions about acquisition and use. Travel should be undertaken in accordance with sound environmental guidelines, favoring, for example, bicycles and public transit (where feasible) rather than cars. Interest is growing in living in a more environmentally sound way.

A sustainable society does not mean deprivation; it would foster a more satisfying life. People with beautiful cities and unspoiled countrysides, social justice, and a sense of empowerment would want to help defend their communities against aggression and perhaps do so with CBD. If attacked, they would more likely use CBD successfully. Although it is beyond the scope of this article to adequately picture a sustainable society, I will mention a few likely features. I rely here on the work of Donella and Dennis Meadows and Jorgen Randers *Beyond the Limits*, where the reader can delve more fully into this:

1. Obviously, constraint of pollution emission and in the use of nonrenewable resources.
2. A stress on "quality development, not physical expansion" (p.210).
3. "Material sufficiency and security for all" (p.211).
4. Acceptance of our need for love, beauty, community, and other nonmaterial values (p.216).

Beyond the Limits barely mentions defense, however; I propose that a sustainable society needs CBD.

Conclusion

The implementation of CBD should not be too drawn out. Indeed, progress toward sustainability will make conditions more favorable to CBD. Although research on CBD must continue, CBD should not be delayed for decades in waiting on research. Policy makers decide what to do based on the available options, one of which is CBD. Although CBD—like other new policies—is not a proven winner, war is a proven loser. Many aspects of CBD can be fruitfully investigated and researched, but the military is an environmental catastrophe and likely to remain so, whereas CBD can be an environmentally sustainable deterrent and defense. The World Scientists' Warning to Humanity about environmental threats to the planet helps us to put decades-long scenarios for implementation of CBD into perspective: "No more than one or a few decades remain before the chance to avert the threats we now confront will be lost and the prospects for humanity immeasurably diminished." The sentiment of the Brundtland Commission was similar: "The next few decades are crucial...Attempts to maintain social and ecological stability through old approaches to development and environmental protection will increase instability. Security must be sought through change" (p. 22).

Finally, it might seem excessive to call for a different way of life, more self-sufficient and with diminished world trade, in the name of replacing armed defense with CBD. But the enormity of military expenditures, its pernicious effect on our values and on the environment suggest the opposite. These changes not only make a better defense, but also are important steps toward averting the global environmental catastrophe in the face of which the "World Scien-

tists" warning to humanity was issued. ■

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SOCIAL DEFENSE AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Brian Martin

Organizing a community for the most effective nonviolent resistance to aggression actually leads to an impressive environmental policy. But before discussing this, it is useful to outline some of the connections

between war and the environment and between the environmental and peace movements.

Editor's Note. Brian Martin's definition of social defense: "Social defense is nonviolent community resistance to aggression as an alternative to military defense. It is based on widespread protest, persuasion, noncooperation and intervention in order to oppose military aggression or political repression. It uses methods such as boycotts, acts of disobedience, strikes, demonstrations and setting up alternative institutions" (Social Defense, Social Change, chapter 2).

Brian Martin teaches in the Department of Science and Technology Studies, University of Wollongong, Australia. He is involved with Schweik Action Wollongong, a group promoting social defense, and has written widely on grass roots strategies against war, among other topics. Our thanks to him for allowing us to print this chapter from his forthcoming book *Social Defense*, Social Change. It will be published by Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX, England. Telephone: +44-71-247-9249. He does not yet know the price.

War and the Environment

War is normally thought of as a violent struggle whose main victims are people. But the environment is also a prime victim (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 1980). The ancient Romans, after defeating Carthage, prevented its resurgence by putting salt on its fields to prevent the growing of crops. The Indochina war involved a full-scale attack on the environment by US technology, with conventional bombs saturating the countryside and napalm stripping leaves from trees. The torching of hundreds of Kuwaiti oil wells was a spectacular consequence of the Gulf war. Nuclear war would have catastrophic effects on the environment through blast, heat, radiation, fires and nuclear winter.

In case this isn't enough, military planners have conceived many "environmental weapons" such as triggering earthquakes and tidal waves. Also waiting in the wings are biological weapons, which could have enormous effects on plants and animals.

Even without war, the military establishments of the world have a major impact on the environment. After all, they take up a significant proportion of the world's economic production, energy use and so forth. Moreover, much of what military forces do involves destruction rather than production: shells are routinely fired against practice landscapes and the occasional nuclear vessel sinks to the bottom of the ocean.

Another connection between military systems and the environment comes through the military imperatives behind certain "commercial" technologies. Nuclear power is the classic case. Nuclear rather than solar power was favoured in part because of military connections. Nuclear research could lead to military applications as well as power production; uranium enrichment plants and nuclear power plants could be used for joint military and civilian purposes (though the anti-nuclear power movement has succeeded in stopping most military use of spent fuel from civilian nuclear power plants); nuclear scientists and engineers who made a name in the nuclear weapons business could continue their careers with nuclear power. Therefore, some of the responsibility for nuclear disasters such as Chernobyl can be attributed to the military. Of course, military nuclear disasters are horrifying enough, especially the 1957 incident at Chelyabinsk in the Soviet Union.

These are nothing compared to what was—and still is—the likely environmental impact of nuclear war.

These connections between military and civilian nuclear developments are replicated in the areas of chemical and biological weapons. The military continues to be a prime influence in scientific research and technological development. Sometimes the environmental consequence of this is not so great, as in the case of computing. In other cases, such as genetic engineering, the potential for environmental destruction is vast.

A final and fundamental connection between the military and the environment lies in the maintenance of inequality in an industrial society. A great deal of the responsibility for environmental destruction can be attributed to policies which serve the interests of the rich and powerful minority in industrialized societies. This includes the automobile industry, the oil industry, the chemical industry, the forest industry, and so forth. The rich and powerful shareholders, executives and managers gain the most from these industries. They would not gain so much from a different pattern of development: cities designed around walking and bicycling, reuse of products (rather than new production or even recycling), production for basic needs rather than creation of new wants, and priority given to satisfying work rather than money to buy consumer products.

This is all very well, but what's the connection with the military? Quite simply, the industrial system based on unequal privilege and power can continue only because the military—and the police—are there to smash challenges to it. In industrialized societies, such as the United States and Western Europe, there is seldom a need these days for the military to be brought in against workers or the community. The processes of persuasion through schooling and the media, the legitimacy of electoral politics, plus the cooption of the middle classes through consumerism, serve to maintain the social order without much overt violence. But in other parts of the world, there are fundamental challenges to the system of organized inequality through industrial capitalism, including radical political parties and people's movements.

To be sure, some of these alternatives are based on just as much inequality as industrial capitalism. But they do offer a challenge to First World exploitation of

Third World economies, usually justified as part of the process of economic "development." Minerals must be available for extracting, forests for cutting, rivers for damming, and fields for monocultures using artificial fertilizers and pesticides. If the local people resist such activities, then out comes the military to maintain a form of "development" that has enormous impacts on the environment.

The Environmental and Peace Movements

Since there are so many connections between the military system and environmental destruction, it is appropriate that there are strong links between environmental and peace movements. The nuclear issue illustrates the connections. In the late 1950s, concern about nuclear weapons became a major social issue, with a special emphasis on fallout. This concern faded in the early 1960s, to be replaced by the growing anti-Vietnam war movement. Meanwhile, the environmental movement came of age in the 1970s. With the peace movement moribund, anti-nuclear power activists kept attention on nuclear war through their concern about nuclear proliferation. Then in the 1980s there was a massive resurgence of concern about nuclear weapons. In the 1990s, attention to environmental issues has expanded while the peace movement has faded away.

So, to some extent, each movement has kept the issues of the other alive, on the agenda, when the other is in a low period. Of course, there are frictions about priorities too. But the tendency is towards cooperation, especially with the increasing emphasis on green thinking and politics.

From the point of view of social defense, a second and crucial connection between the environment and peace movements is the use of nonviolent action. The use of nonviolent action as a deliberate choice, for reasons of both principle and tactics, is increasingly frequent.

This may seem an obvious choice for many peace activists, since they are trying to develop an alternative to war; they have used vigils, fasts, marches, rallies, occupations and camps to challenge wars, shipments of weapons and military bases. Yet nonviolent action seems just as much a feature of environmental activism, with a similar array of methods used against nuclear power, forestry operations and chemical plants.

An awareness and experience of the dynamics of nonviolent action is perhaps the most important factor affecting whether a person supports social defense. The increasing sophistication of environmental nonviolent action is creating a group of people who would readily join a social defense movement—should such a movement ever get off the ground.

A community even partially organized for social defense would have a great capacity for resisting assaults on the environment. Since a much wider fraction of the population would be alert to the possibilities for direct action, companies or governments undertaking environmentally damaging activities would have more employees aware of how to offer resistance. They could provide information to resisters in the field, could directly subvert equipment or plans within the organization, or could organize strikes or work-to-rule campaigns.

Environmental Implications of Social Defense Policy

Developing a “social defense policy for the environment” is simply a matter of spelling out general policies for a society to be most able to nonviolently resist aggression and then noting the implications for the environment. Here are some examples.

Energy. Dependence on central energy supplies, such as oil for vehicles or electricity for dwellings, makes a community vulnerable to attack (Lovins and Lovins, 1982). The alternative is energy efficiency and use of local energy supplies. Solar design of dwellings, for example, means that people will not freeze in winter even if outside energy supplies are cut off.

Using local energy supplies means that an aggressor cannot coerce an entire population by capturing a few strategic points of energy production or distribution. To provide energy self-reliance, local energy supplies would not necessarily be environmentally sound. They could be coal, gas, solar or wind. In practice, local energy self-reliance is much more likely to be based on renewable energy, because deposits of fossil fuels are concentrated in a few locations. Not many suburbs have a coal mine!

It might make sense for communities to have stores of fossil fuels in case of emergency. But stores have a finite lifetime, whereas renewable energy usually lasts longer. (Biofuels such as trees take a while to grow.)

Industry. One obvious target for an aggressor is large-scale industry, such as steel production, automobile production, oil refineries and chemical plants. The production could be diverted to serve the aggressor, or shut down to apply pressure to the community.

Therefore, a community planning for social defense would be wise to replace large-scale industry. There are several options. One is to introduce local small-scale production to produce the same thing. For example, an integrated steel plant can be replaced by numerous minimills in different locations. Minimills rely on local scrap and are much more able to vary the amount of steel produced.

Another option is to accomplish the things done by large-scale industry in a different way. The things done using the electrical output of large fossil fuel, hydroelectric or nuclear power plants can be done instead by a range of small local measures including insulation, solar design, solar hot water, wind power and others. There is not a direct need for every bit of electricity that is produced, since some is used to heat water or air.

A third option for replacing large-scale industry is no longer to consume the thing that was produced. This applies most obviously to planned obsolescence: throw-away containers and products that quickly break down or go out of fashion.

Of these three options for replacing large-scale industry, the latter two lead to a greatly reduced environmental impact. The first option, namely producing the same outputs using local small-scale operations, could have either a larger or smaller environmental impact. Replacing a coal-fired electricity generating station with burning of coal in households will increase local air pollution and perhaps greenhouse emissions. Steel minimills reduce transport costs for some inputs, but depend on electricity and may not be as energy efficient as an integrated plant.

So, local small-scale production does not necessarily lead to reduced environmental impacts, but this is certainly a possibility if the options of doing things a different way or consuming less are taken up.

Goods. To make a society resilient against attack, the goods produced should be designed to be durable, easily repaired and, where relevant, used again or for other purposes. This applies to clothing, building

materials, consumer appliances, vehicles, communications equipment and machinery. If new production is sabotaged by an aggressor, people will need to get by with what they have.

There are in the community quite a number of people who are highly skilled in repairing things. They would have plenty of ideas on how to design things for durability and easy repair.

Design for durability, easy repair and use for different purposes goes against the grain of much current production, which is aimed at increasing sales by getting people to scrap the old and buy the new. The net effect is both increased production and increased environmental impact.

In the short term, a social defense system might require extra production to provide extra tools and goods for communities in case factories were shut down or imports cut off. But in the longer term, with an emphasis on production for durability and easy repair, the environmental impact would be considerably reduced.

Transport. A community's dependence on the automobile is a great vulnerability. There are several groups that can cut off petrol supplies: foreign oil suppliers, oil companies, and workers. Most public transport is also vulnerable to disruption. Rail systems, for example, depend on electricity or diesel; alternatively, a bit of sabotage of the rails can put the system off line.

The most resilient transport system is one based on walking and bicycles, with cheap, simple motorized vehicles for transport of heavy goods. Such a transport system implies a drastic change in town planning. Instead of suburban sprawl, people would need to live close to work, shops and services.

It should be obvious that this prescription for a transport system resilient against aggression and disruption is also one which greatly reduces environmental impacts.

Defense. With entire conversion to social defense, there would be no military production, leading to a reduction in environmental impact. But some of the requirements for social defense would have environmental consequences, as mentioned above: stockpiles of materials and energy supplies, decentralized production (which sometimes would use more materials than centralized manufacture), durable goods (which demand more materials in production, at least in the

short term).

Social defense does not mean no defense spending: it means spending for different things.

Population. The size of a community has no obvious connection with the strength of a social defense system. The keys to nonviolent resistance are things such as morale, unity, the willingness to struggle and the capacity to struggle. A large population can succumb to aggression if it is divided and unprepared. A small population can mount an effective nonviolent defense, especially by establishing links with other groups around the world.

Therefore, social defense considerations don't lead to any particular stance in the debates over population size. Needless to say, a population on the edge of survival because of food or fuel shortages is not in a good position to wage nonviolent struggle—or violent struggle for that matter. A healthy surplus of food and other necessities is an advantage. But this is possible with a large or small population.

Wilderness. One of the standard dilemmas for social defense is how to defend unpopulated areas. The best answer I know is social offense: inform the world about the aggression, taking the struggle for legitimacy to the population from which the attack comes.

Whatever the answer to this question, it seems most unlikely that unpopulated areas are a special advantage to a social defense system. Hence, social defense gives no prescription for setting up wilderness areas, preserving virgin forests or protecting rare species.

This only goes to show that the changes needed for effective social defense are not identical to those arising from a radical environmental policy. It should not be surprising that there are differences; what is surprising is the number of similarities.

A capacity for social defense should not be treated as the paramount goal. If some changes for social defense lead to impacts on the environment, then these need to be weighed against each other. The outline of issues above suggests that conflicts in goals will be less frequent than compatibilities.

The Question of Monkeywrenching

Direct action against operations which threaten or harm ecosystems can be classified into two types. First is direct action

carried out publicly, such as rallies and people chaining themselves to trees. Second is sabotage of tractors, billboards, survey stakes and so forth. This sabotage, commonly called monkeywrenching, is against property and is carried out covertly. As spelled out in the book *Ecodefense* (Foreman and Haywood, 1988), harm to humans is to be avoided at all costs, both for moral and political reasons.

One problem facing monkeywrenching is that sabotage is widely seen as morally reprehensible. In capitalist societies, especially the United States, property is considered sacred. Many people get more upset about violence against property than they do about violence against people. It is important to challenge the sacredness of property but those who do so often must sacrifice support.

A more fundamental problem with much monkeywrenching is that it is inherently negative. It is almost always against the actions of someone else. Protest and sabotage can be powerful tools, especially by small activist groups against powerful forces, but by themselves they don't lay the basis for a positive programme.

The provocative journal *Processed World* [address in references] has had a number of contributions favouring sabotage of computers, office equipment and so forth as a challenge against soul-destroying work. The trouble is that the line between principled attacks on oppressive technology and mindless vandalism is often a thin one for outside observers, and perhaps even for the saboteurs.

The commonalities between monkeywrenching and social defense should be clear. Preparation for social defense implies widespread learning of techniques of nonviolent action (potentially including sabotage) which are already used by monkeywrenchers. More fundamentally, building a self-reliant society would mean stopping many of the capital-intensive, energy-intensive and resource-intensive projects which are the target of monkeywrenching, and replacing them with green social and economic development. Finally, monkeywrenching and social defense would be organized similarly: in a decentralized and locally autonomous way.

Monkeywrenching and social defense potentially provide support for each other. The practice of monkeywrenching develops and exercises skills which would be valuable to a social defense system. Of special

importance is the skill and sensitivity to carry out sabotage without any threat to human life.

Much of the nonviolent action undertaken in both the environmental and peace movements has been reactive: used against initiatives taken by developers and militaries. This is certainly the case for monkeywrenching, which is action against activities by industries and governments. By contrast, social defense includes a positive programme for social reorganization which involves mass participation using nonviolent action. As such, it has the most in common with positive programmes for the development of an environmentally sound society, such as the bioregional movement, that incorporate nonviolent action to promote and sustain them.

The infiltration of the US Earth First! movement by the FBI shows that monkeywrenchers need a wider analysis of power structures. It is simplistic to imagine that isolated individuals and groups can use covert actions against developers without a counterattack. There is a degree of sympathy for monkeywrenchers because environmental perspectives have a large following in society—and this is due to the hard work of environmentalists, both mainstream and radical, in open, public campaigns.

Indeed, it is questionable whether covert violence against property is really such a powerful method of action. It lays the movement open to allegations of "terrorism," however false and misleading they may be. More importantly, the response of monkeywrenchers to government repression is to go even further underground. Dave Foreman, guru of Earth First!, recommends being even more secretive and careful. This is not the way to build a movement for social change. Instead, it encourages action without the benefit of dialogue and debate, and makes it easier to blame environmentalists for irresponsible actions, whether they are carried out by sincere monkeywrenchers or by government agents.

From the point of view of nonviolent struggle, there is much greater potential in public mobilizations like the Redwood Summer campaigns in California which brought together environmentalists and forest workers. The viciousness of the verbal and physical attacks on the leaders of these campaigns—most notably the May 1990 bomb attack on Judi Bari and Daryl Cherney, Earth First! activists committed to a totally open, explicitly nonviolent ap-

proach—shows the seriousness with which these efforts are taken by the forest industries and their supporters in government. ■

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REPLY TO GWYNNE DYER

Phillips P. Moulton

The October 1992 issue of *Civilian-based Defense* contains a clear and cogent essay by Gene Sharp on the relevance of civilian-based defense (CBD) to the 1990's. This is followed by three responses, one of which is by Gwynne Dyer, a Canadian military historian.

Dyer recognizes the possible effectiveness of CBD against coups, internal military uprisings, and oppressive regimes, but he questions its value in resisting most cases of foreign invasion. He doubts that it would solve the security problems of Israel, for example, or of Palestinians in the occupied territories. While granting that CBD has a role to play, he considers it far more important to create a system of international law, and urges peace workers not to neglect the United Nations.

Clearly Dyer is right about the need for a widely accepted code of international law. But CBD and a more effective UN are not mutually exclusive. The likelihood of CBD being adopted and succeeding in deterrence and defense will be greater in proportion as a climate conducive to peace is created through the UN and other channels.

As Dyer indicates, in neither Palestine nor Israel are the citizens now ready to rely on CBD for their security. This is because Israel remains a highly militarized state, and many Palestinians are disappointed that the largely nonviolent intifada has not basically improved their lot. Yet the courage and

persistence of the Palestinians, especially in such instances as the tax revolt in Beit Sahour, warrant the hope that in more favorable circumstances they would gain their legitimate ends by consistently nonviolent means.

As concerns the Israelis, they are no more conditioned to violence than many other ethnic or national groups that have a history of violence but have turned to nonviolent methods effectively. Witness, for example, the Muslim Pathans in the Northwest Frontier Province of India in the 1930's. For centuries tribal violence there has so permeated their history that it has aptly been described as "awash in blood." Yet Badshah Khan, inspired by Gandhi, raised an "army" of 100,000 Pathans, who remained nonviolent in the face of extreme British ruthlessness, such as the slaughter of 250 peaceful demonstrators. In present-day Israel, a hopeful sign is that a significant minority is actively striving for a more humane Israeli policy.

In unlikely situations, the acceptance of CBD would take many years. Even after the groundwork had been laid by study, education and training, its implementation would generally be gradual, beginning with its adoption as a minor component in a total defense program. In the case of the United States, where a violent culture is dominated by the military-industrial complex, adoption of CBD would probably occur only after other major countries had done so. When they no longer posed military threats but were surpassing the United States economically because of greatly reduced defense budgets, the latter would have an incentive to investigate the CBD alternative.

The fact that the situation in certain

countries is currently unfavorable does not mean that CBD must be delayed until better conditions exist. As the research of Gene Sharp demonstrates, nonviolent resistance has been effective in a variety of contexts. Witness the German opposition to the Franco-Belgian invasion of the Ruhr in 1923. The invaders' aims were to force Germany to pay the full reparations imposed by the Versailles Treaty and to establish control of that rich industrial region in order to prevent Germany from waging a war of revenge. With government support, German workers from all walks of life adopted a policy of nonviolent resistance, refusing to cooperate with the invaders. The occupying forces responded brutally. Eventually German morale broke down, they weakened their case by acts of violence, and the noncooperation campaign ended. Meanwhile the French and Belgian will and morale also deteriorated and the occupation forces withdrew.

Although the German resistance was not a stellar example of nonviolent resistance, it was more effective than violence would have been, and its immediate aims were attained. The Ruhr remained an integral part of Germany, and an international settlement, via the Dawes plan, made reparations payments more manageable.

Another case of nonviolent resistance to invasion occurred when Soviet leaders decided the Czechoslovakian government was not subservient enough to the Moscow hierarchy. In August 1968 some 500,000 Warsaw Pact troops invaded Czechoslovakia to force greater compliance. Had the vastly inferior Czech army resisted militarily, the invading forces would have crushed it easily and replaced the progressive Dubcek regime

Phillips P. Moulton, author of *Ammunition for Peacemakers*, was recently a visiting scholar at the University of Michigan, where he was a member of the Military Study Group.

with a puppet government. Instead, the invaders met a unified front of determined nonviolent resistance by President Svoboda and other Czech officials, Communist Party leaders, and masses of people. An underground radio network played a major role coordinating different aspects of the opposition and encouraging strictly nonviolent noncooperation.

In its early stages the resistance was so effective and morale of the invading forces was undermined so seriously that Soviet officials had to abandon attempts at a military takeover. Combining pressure and persuasion, Moscow leaders gradually managed to negotiate compromises with Czech officials that led ultimately to replacing the Dubcek regime with one that hewed to the Moscow line. The resistance was finally defeated.

Several aspects of the Czechoslovakian experience are especially relevant to our present discussion:

1. Because of widespread nonviolent resistance, the takeover required eight months instead of the few days in which it could have defeated the Czech army.
2. The slaughter of a military struggle was avoided.
3. The Soviets finally gained their objective not by defeating the popular nonviolent

opposition, but by manipulating the Czech officials into capitulating.

4. As with the German experience in the Ruhr, nonviolent resistance was relatively effective despite the lack of advance planning, training, and preparation that a country relying on CBD would undertake.

5. In late 1989, in concert with freedom movements elsewhere as Communist control of Eastern Europe collapsed, the people of Czechoslovakia, through nonviolent direct action, gained the self-determination they had lost two decades earlier. Beneficial social change sometimes occurs more rapidly than one would expect. It may be initiated by creative leadership, such as the new direction Gorbachev gave to Soviet foreign policy. Ultimately it depends upon the people as a whole. The nonviolent movements that precipitated rapid changes in Eastern Europe in 1989 and 1990 and that foiled the Russian coup attempt in August 1991 reveal a reservoir of people power that with adequate planning and preparation could be used for CBD.

Sweden and Austria are already developing CBD programs as components of their total defense systems. The Lithuanian parliament has voted to make nonviolent resistance its primary line of defense. Government officials in Latvia and Estonia

are making similar plans. In a meeting in the Latvian parliament, Defense Minister Talavs Jundzis echoed the views of policymakers in all three Baltic states: "An important component of our defense policy will be nonviolent resistance. Obviously we have no way to win militarily over large invaders." Baltic officials are now developing together a Civilian-based Defense Mutual Aid Treaty pledging each nation to assist the others in the event of an attack. This will greatly increase the chance of success.

With the proliferation of nuclear and high tech weaponry, it is increasingly clear that no country can rely on military means for long-term protection. An alternative method of deterrence and defense is imperative. The likelihood of CBD being adopted, and the time it would take to achieve that goal, would vary greatly from country to country. And it might not always succeed. Yet aggressive nonviolent resistance, even with no advance preparation, has been remarkably effective in many types of situations. As the application of that method to national defense may be similarly effective, there is good reason for a country to consider seriously a carefully planned system of CBD. ■

AROUND THE WORLD

Paul E. Anders

Lithuania. Gene Sharp and Bruce Jenkins of the Albert Einstein Institution recently returned from Lithuania. The following report is based on a conversation with Jenkins. Although the party of Audrius Butkevicius lost control of the Lithuanian government in last year's election, the new government has retained Butkevicius, a supporter of CBD, as defense minister. It remains to be seen whether another cabinet will be formed as a result of the February presidential election. Butkevicius indicated that Lithuania's CBD policy has not changed. Lithuania still relies on a mix of the military and CBD. The military would have a role in border and some territorial defense. CBD would be used in conjunction with the military or separated in time. Much remains to be done to implement CBD. Defense policy still has not been codified into law as a country like Lithuania is accustomed to doing. A plan to widely

distribute a book on CBD to the population still has not been carried out.

United States (Nevada). The following are excerpts from *Western Shoshone Defense Project*, January 1993 (Address: General Delivery, Crescent Valley, Nevada 89821, USA:

Incident at Newe Sogobea

On November 19, 1992 the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) invaded the Sovereign Western Shoshone Nation, NEWE SOGOBEA. After nearly two decades of legal battles with Western Shoshone ranchers, Carrie and Mary Dann, the BLM launched an armed military style raid on the sisters...The BLM's expressed intention was to round up "unauthorized horses" found grazing on

"public lands"...

The land referred by the BLM as "public land" is in fact part of the Western Shoshone Nation, recognized as such by the Treaty of Ruby Valley, 1863. Since its ratification in 1869, this document delineates the boundaries of Western Shoshone territory... 269 horses were rounded up by U.S. government officials. Of these 40 were managed by the Dann sisters and 229 were wild... During the raid Clifford Dann protested the theft of the horses. In desperation he doused himself with gasoline, declaring, "By taking away our livestock and our land, you are taking away our lives". When he threatened to ignite himself Clifford was subdued by fire extinguishers...[p. 1]

Spring Gathering at the Dann Ranch

In light of recent events taking place on the Dann sister's ranch, we have begun to organize a spring gathering. The main goal is to mobilize our forces and strengthen the defense within the ranch, as well as with outside supporters. The Spring Gathering will center

around the Spring Equinox; It will not only be a strengthening of forces for the defense but also a spiritual rebirth itself will rebuild our power...

We ask that those coming to the gathering be prepared to join in the struggle. The Dann sisters have made it clear that our resistance is nonviolent. [p. 2] ■

ASSOCIATION NEWS

Paul E. Anders

- Member Philip Taylor, of Glasgow, Scotland, reviewed Howard Horsburgh's *Power Taming: Peace Making Strategies for the World*, published by Gooday, 31 St. Martins Way, Thetford, Norfolk IP24 3PY, U.K. Price: £5.95 plus £1 for postage. The review appeared in *The Gandhi Way*, the newsletter of the Gandhi Foundation in Britain.
- Board member Mubarak Awad, founder of Nonviolence International (NI) passed the executive director's baton of NI to Philip Bogdonoff. Philip is a consulting editor of this magazine and formerly chaired the CBDA board. He worked with Gene Sharp from 1983 to 1987 at Harvard University's Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and served as the program's development officer.
He had been serving as an educator, trainer, and general project coordinator for NI for the past year. "I am very grateful for the opportunity to work with people who have taken the time to help solve the problem of violence," Philip says. "Of course, conflict will remain, but it's exciting to think about changing the way the world looks at conflict so that people can appreciate their values and diversity without the threat of violence."
"I hope to move Nonviolence International from a purely volunteer organization to a professional organization," Philip says. His goals include organizing a trainers database and publishing organizers pamphlets on nonviolent tactics. Already published are *Organizing Marches* and

Organizing Tax Resistance (\$3 each). Near completion are booklets on organizing boycotts, organizing hunger strikes, nonviolent responses to domestic violence, and teaching conflict resolution skills to children. (Adapted from *Frontline*, autumn, 1992)

Frontline's and Philip's address: Nonviolence International, PO Box 39127, Friendship Station NW, Washington, DC 20016, USA; telephone: (202) 244-0951

- Advisory board member Shrikumar Poddar has written the preface for, and contributed an essay to, *My Journey of Self Transformation*, published by Self Transformation Network for a Just World, 35 CC1 Chambers, Bombay 400 020, India. Cost: Rs . 100 for

Third World countries; \$10, all other countries to the above address or to Self Transformation Network for a Just World, 2601 Cochise Lane, Okemos, Michigan 48864, USA.

- Member Michael Nagler has written "From the Board" and coauthored "Medial Breakthrough" for the first issue (Winter 1993) of *Gardenia: A Journal of Peace through Nonviolence*. Address: PO Box 3262, San Rafael, Calif. 94912-3262. Cost: \$20 per year (4 issues); low income: \$10.
- Member David Oaks, editor of the newspaper *Dendron*, is working on creating a nonprofit educational game about issues and nonviolent organizing. ■

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LETTER

In your December 1992 issue, page 9, you mention the Belgian Peace Award for Johan Niezing but not that he shared this with Ms. Naïma Annouri.

She worked in a youth committee and is a symbol of local groups that work on better understanding between people from a different origin in one country.

Her work is part of the work for realizing a society that can be defended by social defence.

Lineke Schakenbos
National Group on Social Defence of
Women for Peace in the Netherlands ■

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Publishers' Addresses

Nonviolent Sanctions, Albert Einstein Institution, 1430 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138, USA.

Difesa Popolare Nonviolenta, comitato scientifico. Piazza D'Acquisto, 13; 80134, Napoli, Italia. Tel.: 081/552.17.28

Thema Editore. Via Todaro, 8; 40216, Bologna, Italia. Tel: 051/24.65.22. ■

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Compiled by Kenneth Haynes
and Paul E. Anders

Delaporte, Jacques, and Antoine Sondag. "Pourquoi les Albanais ont-ils choisi la non-violence?" *Non-violence Actualité*. No. 167 (March 1993), p. 11. Selec-

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