

Civilian-based Defense

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IN THIS ISSUE

How to Introduce Civilian-based Defense to Military and Other Traditional Defense-Oriented Audiences <i>David Yaskulka</i>	1
Learning Nonviolence in Lithuania <i>Merelyn McKnight</i>	3
A Tool for Feminists? <i>Brian Martin</i>	4
Exploring Nonviolent Struggle in Thailand and Burma <i>Gene Sharp</i>	7
Cesar Chavez, CBDA Advisory Committee Member, Dies <i>John M. Mecartney</i>	9
Association News	9
Around the World	10
New Study on Civilian-based Defense <i>Giliam de Valk</i>	10
Recently Received	11
Editor's Notes	11

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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HOW TO INTRODUCE CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE TO MILITARY AND OTHER TRADITIONAL DEFENSE-ORIENTED AUDIENCES

David Yaskulka

I want to begin by acknowledging the man who has influenced my work the most, Gene Sharp. He is in the audience today, and I want to offer him my thanks.

I usually begin by asking the audience some questions about their knowledge of and commitment to civilian-based defense. In particular I want to ask you in which group you would place yourself, if you had to be categorized: on the left, a liberal, of the peace-through-disarmament school or on the right, the peace-through-strength school? How many on the left, who believe in peace through disarmament? [Most raise their hands.]

The right, the conservatives who believe in peace through strength? [Laughter. Very few raise their hands.]

At LEAD USA, we work mainly with college students throughout the United States. We have four main programs designed to reach college students with the goal of improving the ability of the next generation of leaders to solve global problems more creatively and more effectively. So we lead seminars and offer participatory educational models to help students and universities with that goal. Of the four programs, one is for students of Afri-

can descent, one is called Women LEAD, another is called LEAD for Our Environment. The fourth program, for which I have been mostly responsible and the main subject of my talk today, is the Military Leadership Education And Development Program. I go to ROTC students, the Reserve Officer Training Corps, the young adults in the United States who will become military officers after they graduate from college, and I talk to them about alternatives for national defense and about global security issues.

As young adults at LEAD USA we do not have many credentials, other than being young and willing to work really hard, so we decided to focus on young adults. We then considered which groups we should focus on. We asked who was being excluded from debates about domestic and foreign policy. That included quite a lot of people, and we decided to focus on women and students of African descent. We also realized that in general conservatives and military students do not talk very much with students in the peace movement. That was the beginning of what is now the Military LEAD Program. I de-

This is the edited transcript of a talk by David Yaskulka at the conference "Civilian-based Defense and People Power" in Windsor, Ontario, Canada in September 1991. He cofounded LEAD USA in 1987 and spearheaded its Military LEAD Program. (LEAD is an acronym for "Leadership, Education And Development.") LEAD has conducted over five hundred seminars, many on college campuses. He is currently cofounder and CEO of Take the Lead and Step Into a Better World, Inc.



David Yaskulka

vised a program for military students, "National Security in the 90's." So with a nifty brochure and after some phone calls, I began to be invited to speak with some of these military students. One of the first seminars I led was at New Mexico Highlands University. After leading the seminar, I went out to a local bar with some officers who said: "OK, I have to admit that I invited you in here because we wanted the cadets to have a chance to blow away some flower-toting pacifists." [Laughter.] "But, you know, the cadets thought what you said was interesting and believed most of it, and what they didn't believe was at least presented in a way that they could consider." That was the main goal of the seminar, and I considered it a success.

Why should we focus on military people or conservatives or the very few people here who raised their hands earlier? Why focus on them? Dr. Sharp spoke eloquently of some of the reasons. For me the first reason is that if military students were interested and enthusiastic about civilian-based defense, we would have credibility before a wide range of audiences. They are levers of change. It is not that we expect that governments and military leaders will themselves change the world. But credibility and acknowledgement from these people help us to reach out to those citizens who may be dubious about civilian-based defense. Those levers of influence help in every audience. A second reason, in my opinion, is also important: we will learn from them. There is a lot of important research about civilian-based defense, but I think that even the most enthusiastic proponents will acknowledge that many questions remain to be answered. In my own experience the people in the peace movement have not been the best at asking the toughest questions. "What do you do when the troops come to your town, take your little girl, put a gun to her head and say, 'We'll kill her unless you do what we say?'" Military students ask these questions, and so do conservatives. It has strengthened my own knowledge—that is the second reason that I would like to suggest you consider that audience.

[Question from the audience: "How do you answer the question: 'What do you

do when the troops come into town, put a gun to your girl's head and threaten to shoot?"]

The first thing to say is "Good question." In civilian-based defense, just like in any other form of defense, people will be killed. The thing to emphasize is the relative chances of success with violent and nonviolent strategies. If you lunge at the soldiers who are holding the gun, if you attack them violently, if you do the natural and noble thing and fight them, what will the result be? Will you in fact incur more violence upon yourself, upon the girl, upon everyone, will you ultimately undermine the struggle of the defenders? What is the best strategy? Are there alternatives? Can you talk the soldier out of it, or bluff him? Can you, in some situations, accept that loss?

[Question from the audience: "Where is civilian-based defense most relevant to the security interests of the United States?"] Do you know how much the United States spends on NATO? It is over a hundred fifty billion dollars a year, roughly one-half of the United States' military budget. Even many military students and conservatives, when they hear that figure, think that we are spending too much in the defense of Europe for the security interests of the U.S. Civilian-based defense is perhaps most relevant here, especially since the current rationale for nuclear weapons in Europe is to repel a conventional invasion.

[Question from the audience: "Do the career goals of military officers make them reluctant to consider civilian-based defense?"]

We should also consider the many civilians workers involved in defense who would be profoundly affected by a shift to civilian-based defense. In my experience, military officers and students are the most willing to think directly about the national security and defense issues and not to argue on the basis of career. It is true that the tour in Europe is one of the nicest and there wouldn't be so many of them if we didn't spend a hundred and fifty billion in Europe; but I have found military students to be patriotic, to believe in doing what is best for the country rather than merely for their own self-interest. The first thing is to

go to them. I heard that there was excellent outreach for this conference, but very few conservatives are here. We must learn how to speak on their turf.

The second point is to find common ground. Before founding LEAD USA, I bicycled a ten-thousand mile loop around the U.S., leading seminars for students on nonviolence. It was a year of meeting people I would not otherwise have met. After the year I decided that I love this country; I love the people of this country. Already this establishes a lot of common ground with conservatives and military students. I love this country, I believe in national defense, and I consider myself a patriot.

The third point is to be objective, pragmatic, to be agnostic in a lot of ways. To say that we have seen potential, we have seen some things work, but that there is a lot we don't know yet, that remains to be investigated. Civilian-based defense is a lot easier to defend before a hostile audience if you maintain a certain agnostic attitude. You ought to make assertions like "This deserves more attention" or "This is worthy of study" rather than "I believe in this philosophy." Invite tough questions and be grateful for them. I once sat in on a class in California taught by an authority on civilian-based defense whom I've admired since I was an undergraduate. After the class a student asked a tough question and the professor began his answer by saying "Gandhi said..." and explained how Gandhi had shown that the criticism was incorrect. It was the end of the dialogue. This "Gandhi said" sort of answer is not helpful. You shouldn't appeal to authority or even think you have the definitive answers. You should recognize questions as legitimate concerns that need to be thought through together.

The fourth point I would like to make about speaking to conservative audiences is that you should try to make the talk interesting and try to involve the audience. One thing I do is lead a war game, a simulation of civilian-based defense. One side is the civilian defense, and the other side are the invaders. Put them into the position where they need to think creatively about how to implement a civilian-based defense so that they all won't automatically criticize it. Half the class will criticize it and try to overcome it effectively. But the

other half will try to make it work somehow. And they loved it. I set up the scenario of a Soviet invasion of Germany in the year 2000. The invaders were allowed to use every military means at the disposal of the Soviets in order to accomplish certain strategic objectives. The other side had to use strictly nonviolent means. At the start the invaders usually believed that the defense had no chance, but after an hour of fighting, they didn't know who won. They knew only that the battle was going to continue. This was a surprise to them, and it was a far more effective lesson than any description or theory about nonviolence.

I have led some of these games around the country. At Holy Cross College, I invited both the peace studies program and the Navy ROTC to play the

game together, and put half the peace studies students and half the ROTC cadets on each side so they had to learn from each other. I called three students to be judges to resolve disputes ("They moved" vs "We didn't move," etc.). Only once in my experience, at Princeton University with the Army ROTC right after Desert Storm, did the invading force totally topple the civilian-based defense. They killed a few people, and the defense gave up. I attribute this to my failure in not describing civilian-based defense well enough; the defenders felt helpless. But at Holy Cross it was a dead draw, and everyone believed that the battle would last for a long time.

More recently we had a really raucous battle at Cornell with sixty participants (forty air force and twenty army), and at

the end the military judges gave a split decision in favor of the CBD side. So here we have air force and army ROTC cadets demonstrating for themselves the effectiveness of a strictly nonviolent defense against the full force of a Soviet invasion.

My goal is to enable future military officers to think a little more flexibly, to have a wider range of policy options. If they will have heard of civilian-based defense and even better have considered it or simulated it in a workshop, they may be more flexible. I have been most successful among conservatives by respecting their views and not putting them on the defensive. Finding common ground helps us both, in challenging our assumptions and views about defense. ■

LEARNING NONVIOLENCE IN LITHUANIA

Herb Walters and I (Merelyn McKnight) spent New Year's Eve and New Year's Day with peace workers in Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania. They told us their stories about what had happened there barely two years before; and together we visited others who had also been there, those shot or crushed by Red Army tanks at the Vilnius television tower. They lie in a silent row, beneath 13 long heavy grey stone slabs in the Vilnius cemetery. Fir trees, straight, still, tall and black in the early-falling darkness of Baltic winter, stand over a large carved-wood cross there, and sentinel candles light the snow.

Merelyn McKnight

Lithuanians call January 13, 1991, "the rehearsal for the putsch." While world attention focused on the "count-down" in the Persian Gulf, Red Army tanks moved into Vilnius to end the Lithuanians' self-declared independence and to take possession of the communications centers so that the news would not get out. At the Press Palace where newspapers are published and at the television transmitting tower, however, they found thousands of determined citizens surrounding their targets, refusing to disperse, blocking the tanks. This massive and sustained nonviolent resistance delayed, though it did not prevent, the soldiers' occupation of the buildings; and the news did get out. Seven

months later, the citizens of Moscow replicated the nonviolent mass action, successfully holding their ground. Freedom then came to the Baltic States after more than 50 years of foreign rule.

Lithuanians thus know from their own experience that nonviolent methods are practical and effective. The Centre for Nonviolent Action in Vilnius is dedicated not only to spreading this message elsewhere (for example, through a proposed conference under NATO sponsorship) but to working closely with the country's small army, incorporating nonviolent techniques in the official defense policy and practice. The Centre, the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation, with funding from the government of Sweden, invited RSVP to conduct five days of training in nonviolence, listening skills, and community organizing for people from the Nordic and Baltic countries. Lithuania's Ministry of Defense would provide the place and all local

transportation. To me, at least, this was a most amazing combination of circumstances. I kept thinking, "Can you imagine the Pentagon...?"

On New Year's night a Ministry of Defense van and driver brought us from Vilnius to Nemencine, a village about 15 miles into the countryside. Here in the forest, the Soviets had built a complex of classrooms and dormitories to serve as the entire Soviet Union's training center for defense against chemical, biological and nuclear warfare. It still has bizarre stained glass windows depicting heroic figures in camouflage fatigues and gas masks or anti-radiation suits and masks. Now it belongs to Lithuania. Classes in nonviolent civilian-based defense meet here in rooms with photos of Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr. on the walls, along with scenes from January 13.

We gathered there from six countries: Lithuania, Norway, Sweden, Estonia, Russia and the United States. We spoke six languages and surely repre-

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sented more than six cultural backgrounds. A few of us had grown up in affluent democratic societies, but most had not. A few of us had suffered no personal hardships due to wars fought in our homelands, but most had and still do. Among us were army officers, journalists, economists, teachers, university students, managers, scientists, full-time peace educators, government officials, linguists, and a prize fighter!

Despite our differences in circumstances and history, the problems our countries face are remarkably similar:

- *Economic hardship and insecurity*
- *Unemployment*
- *Environmental peril (we were about 300 miles from Chernobyl)*
- *Crime in the streets*
- *Ethnic conflict, often concerning refugees (In this part of the world, the refugees are Iraqis, Kurds, and former Yugoslavians)*
- *Inadequate public transport*

• *Inadequate housing (Here, many homeless people are former political prisoners whose identities were officially erased so that their names do not appear on the lists of those entitled to state housing)*

• *Breakdown in public services (Lithuania is suffering a severe energy shortage because the only oil pipeline that now exists comes from another former Soviet Republic which raised the price and cut the supply several months ago, making drastic conservation necessary. The systems for heating buildings and water use oil, so all of us personally and painfully experienced the results of this national dilemma)*

Of course, the east Europeans face other problems different from our "western" ones. They told us that it is hard to change from what they termed "collective thinking" to individual thinking. Most, until recently, had known life only under communist domination. Transition from

collective to private ownership of land and businesses is no easy process either. One teacher explained sadly that bookstores are disappearing from the villages because new private owners want to sell things that bring more profits than books do. People fear that they are losing their culture to commercialism.

Three dozen people in a frigid building in a remote forest in a small country in an oft-ignored part of the world spent five days learning from one another. We practiced really hearing what others were saying, identifying problems, setting reachable goals, organizing for effective action, making decisions by democratic process. When it was time to go, snow was falling, softly like kisses, out of a gentle gray sky; and it seemed all wrong to be saying goodbye. Our pledge and our promise, though, is to keep on getting the good news out; and so we spread across the world again to sow this truth in our own springtime fields wherever home may be: Nonviolence does work! ■

A TOOL FOR FEMINISTS?

Brian Martin

Even a brief examination shows that the military is a mainstay of male domination. Military personnel are predominantly men, and the hostility of many soldiers to women is notorious. Women joining the armed forces commonly encounter discrimination, harassment and rape.¹ But there is more than this to the connection between patriarchy and the military.

The military is the ultimate defender of the institutions of the state and capitalism, which are key mechanisms for male domination. The existence of political and administrative hierarchies provides an avenue for implementing male-oriented policies, and of course the politicians and top-level bureaucrats who implement these

policies are mostly men. Similarly, in the economic sphere, corporate hierarchies provide a channel for male advancement, male power and male-oriented policies. A key feature of this system is a highly competitive, career-oriented public sphere which is highly valued, largely separate from the nurturing private sphere which is not an official part of the economic system. Policies characteristic of this system include the "family wage," single-track career advancement, lack of child care and a privatized home life.

The military and the police are the two institutions officially licensed to use violence. This generally is done in defense of the state and the most powerful social

groups. Any other use of violence is officially considered criminal—except by men against women in their family, which is widely ignored, tolerated and, in many places, legal. This suggests the existence of a connection between patriarchy and the military at the level of a cultural acceptance of violence.

What strategies have a chance of undermining the mutually reinforcing systems of patriarchy and the military? Getting more women into the military is certainly not the answer. The connections between violence and masculinity are fundamental to patriarchy. More women in the military may help to reduce some of the worst exploitation of female soldiers,

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Brian Martin's defines social defense as "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, p. 4).

but it also will make those women subordinate to the masculine system of social control through violence. The liberal feminist solution of equal opportunity and equal representation of women in existing social institutions is doomed to failure. The military as a system must be challenged and abolished rather than joined.

For women to become guerrilla fighters is no better. In some liberation struggles, women have played an important combat role—though never have they approached an equal role at the top levels of command. In any case, those few guerrilla armies that have helped capture state power have been transformed, after “liberation,” into orthodox military structures. The evidence shows that “national liberation” by armed struggle is not a promising road to liberation for women in the military nor, indeed, for those in civilian life.

Only the pressure of desperate struggle permits, sometimes, significant entry of women into combat roles. (The Israeli military is a good example here.) But when the pressure to survive is removed, women are quickly relegated to their usual subordinate positions.

The same applied to the prominent role of women in industry during World War II, when large numbers of men were in the armed forces. Women are allowed into men’s jobs in times of necessity. Later, a roll-back to the status quo takes place.

Social defense, by contrast, provides a friendly framework both for an equal women’s role and a feminist agenda—but only a social defense which is linked to challenges to the patriarchal structures of the state, capitalism and bureaucracy. In this model, women are empowered for nonviolent struggle in a nonhierarchical social system. They are empowered both to defend against aggression and to oppose male domination.² This is a scenario compatible with radical feminism and anarchist feminism.

Feminism and social defense

The fact that social defense allows participation by everyone is a dramatic contrast with military combat troops, which are composed almost entirely of young fit men. So in this simple sense of potential participation, social defense is much more egalitarian and, among other things, open

to women.

(A complicating factor in this analysis is the declining role of front-line combat troops in warfare and the increasing importance of technology. Women are just as capable as men of servicing a jet fighter or pressing a button to launch a nuclear missile. Modern technological warfare could just as easily be carried out by women. The continued predominance of men in traditional occupations within the military shows that male power is the key, not any special strength or skill of men. For that matter, it would be straightforward to design rifles or tanks so that women could operate on the front lines as effectively as men.)

Empowering women against male violence. There is more to women’s participation in social defense than equal opportunity. One of the radical elements of participation in nonviolent struggle against aggression is that it requires and develops skills which can be used in other struggles. For women, that means struggles against male violence and patriarchal institutions.

Some of the methods of nonviolent action useful in social defense include persuading opponents to change their behavior, applying psychological pressure by embarrassment or social ostracism, and applying economic or political pressure through adverse publicity or boycotts. If these and other methods can be used against enemy soldiers or collaborators, they can also be used, today, against male behaviors that oppress women.

For example, the usual action taken against a known rapist is either (1) nothing at all or, occasionally, (2) a court case and sometimes a jail sentence. Given that prisons seldom rehabilitate individuals and commonly teach them crime, neither (1) nor (2) is satisfactory.

A group of women (and perhaps some men), experienced in nonviolent action, could choose from a wide array of methods to confront a rapist. They might go to him in a group and demand an apology. They might publicize the man’s actions through graffiti, leaflets and letters. They might talk to the man’s family, friends and work colleagues. They might boycott his business. They might recommend counselling by groups such as “Men Against Rape.” (This approach may sound

ineffectual. But I don’t think so, especially after reading how women in an Indian community organized against a rapist.³)

The besieged man might protest that he is innocent and demand a hearing in court, knowing full well that court cases involve trauma for women who testify and seldom lead to a just solution to the problem. The women might instead develop their own procedure for hearing the different sides to the story, a procedure that is sensitive to all concerned.

Courts are systems for maintaining the social order. They rest on the power of the state to arrest and imprison. A society without the military would have to have nonviolent systems for dealing with crimes. Since men are responsible for most crime in today’s society, systems based on feminist methods of empowerment and nonviolent social control seem an obvious way to proceed.

Social defense is concerned with collective nonviolent struggle. It is, after all, proposed as an alternative to military defense. But many women are primarily concerned with the violence of individual men, sometimes strangers but more commonly husbands, lovers, fathers and friends. Social defense does not say what to do about sexual assault, beatings and harassment.

Feminism and social defense can gain from each other. A message from women’s struggles against male violence is that policies for social defense need to be extended to deal with interpersonal violence. What social defense can provide in this connection is skills and understanding of collective means of confronting violence.

Social offense for female emancipation.

Feminists have many reasons to take up techniques of social offense to intervene in various parts of the world against oppression of women. There are many societies in which women are severely and systematically oppressed, for example by being sold into prostitution, forced to work long hours in dangerous factories, exploited and abused by husbands and male relatives, and subjected to genital mutilation.⁴

Women elsewhere can intervene against such practices by visits, publicity, boycotts, and a host of other techniques. Indeed, most of the methods of social of-

fense against repressive regimes can be used against severe male oppression, and some new ones added.

One retort to such action is frequently heard: "we have no right to intervene in another society; we must respect other cultures." Intervention from white, wealthy countries seems uncomfortably like the old days of imperialism, colonialism and missionaries, all justified by "white men's burden" to save benighted natives from backwardness and sin. Are today's interventions really any different?

Respecting other cultures certainly is a good principle to keep in mind, but it should not override other more important principles, such as opposing exploitation, torture and killings. After all, some other "culture" might engage in ritual torture and execution. Few would tolerate such a cultural prerogative. Genocide is not acceptable just because it's happening within a single country. Intervention is justified in such cases.

does exploitation of women become serious enough to justify outside intervention? This is not easy to answer. There have been vigorous debates over female genital mutilation.⁵ Opponents of Western intervention against the practice offer a number of arguments. They say that Western intervention is a cultural imposition, that it may be counterproductive, and that it is more appropriate to act against Western women's deformations of their own bodies, such as through cosmetic surgery. Supporters of intervention cite the adverse health consequences of female genital mutilation and the lack of informed consent by the females, most of whom are children.

A heavy-handed approach—such as passing laws and prosecuting offenders—could well be counterproductive. A more effective approach is grassroots educational campaigns, relying as much as possible on local opponents of female genital mutilation. Such an approach is also more compatible with the principles of nonviolent action.

Direct action for women's liberation. Much of the public struggle for women's liberation has been to change oppressive laws and policies. For example, the struggle for reproductive rights—includ-

ing the choice of different methods of contraception, and abortion—has been waged through courts and legislatures. The keys to ensuring women's reproductive choices are seen as supportive laws and policies.

Ironically, this means relying on male-dominated institutions: the medical profession, politicians, government bureaucracies. Women are placed in the position of being clients, petitioners and lobbyists. Their own skills in taking action directly are left undeveloped.

Another approach is for women to develop and practice the skills to control reproduction. Women's health groups have shown that women who are not physicians are quite capable of carrying out safe abortions. Women might decide to develop networks for production and distribution of the "abortion pill" RU-486. In other words, women should be ready to take direct action to control their fertility, rather than relying entirely on laws and policies.⁶ Such a strategy is quite in keeping with the "alternative institutions" strand of nonviolent action.

It is impossible, in this context, to avoid mentioning the struggles over abortion, including major confrontations at abortion clinics, especially in the United States. Many opponents of abortion consider it to be murder and believe that extreme means are justified to stop it. Proponents of having a choice of abortion do not see it as murder. They believe that a foetus is not yet a human or not yet a "life worth living."

The conflict is complicated by connections with other attitudes and stands. A large fraction of opponents of abortion fully support military preparedness and wars, and also oppose measures such as sex education and free contraceptives which, arguably, would reduce the demand for abortion. Antiwar activists are more likely to support the availability of abortion, and refer to the oppression of women and the blighted lives of children that are associated with lack of reproductive choice. There are a few groups which combine an antiwar and antiabortion stance.

The periodical *The Nuclear Resister* is produced to document and support those who have been arrested for opposing nuclear power and nuclear weapons. In one issue the editors included annual fig-

ures for those arrested for opposing abortion—a figure greater than all nuclear-related arrests—for the purpose of comparison, not advocacy. This caused an outpouring of passionate letters, some criticizing the editors for even mentioning antiabortionists in the same context as antinuclear activists, others pointing to the covert use of violent methods by antiabortionists.⁷

It is certainly true that both sides in the dispute primarily use nonviolent methods.⁸ But both sides also look to the state as an actual or potential ally in their cause. They would like to have the law on their side and have the police arrest and, if necessary, imprison those who resist laws supporting their own position.

In a society without formal violent sanctions, the struggle over abortion would be waged almost entirely with nonviolent methods. It could still be vehement! I don't know how the struggle would be resolved. I'd like to imagine that abortion could be minimized while women gained maximum control over their own lives, including sexual activity and reproduction. Or, perhaps, different communities would arrive at different decisions; those strongly disagreeing would be free to move away.

Could social defense be patriarchal? In theory, a strong system of social defense would mean that women were trained in skills of nonviolent action and, therefore, that these skills could be used in struggles to liberate women from male oppression. But practice is often quite different from theory. Capitalism, representative democracy and state socialism are each gender-neutral—in theory. In practice, these systems have been patriarchal: dominated by men and operating to oppress women. Why should social defense be any different?

It is quite possible to imagine a social defense system in which:

- most of the key planners and decision-makers are men;
- there are experts who are crucial to the resistance, such as skilled factory workers, computer programmers and gifted communicators, most of whom are men;
- most of those on the "front line" in confrontations are men, while most

women stay at home with the children.

With government-implemented social defense, Sharp-style, this pattern would be inevitable: one male-dominated defense establishment would be replaced by another. But it's also possible with a

grassroots approach to social defense. After all, many anti-establishment groups are just as patriarchal as the organizations they hope to replace.

All this points to a simple conclusion. Social defense groups must incorpo-

rate a feminist agenda and social defense should be taken up by feminist groups. Although this is a "simple conclusion," doing it in practice is an enormous challenge.

Surely you wouldn't just sit and do nothing while soldiers raped your mother or your wife?" Questions such as this are often tossed at supporters of nonviolence.

Response 1. I would do my best to use nonviolent methods to prevent and stop rape. Using violence might make the situation worse (see John H. Yoder, *What Would You Do?*, Scottdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1983).

Response 2. That isn't the real issue. Social defense is about the collective defense of a society, and whether nonviolence is a better way to do this.

Response 3. Military systems are a major contributor to rape, not a solution. Armies are commonly involved in rape of civilians as well as killing and looting. Many female soldiers and wives are raped in "peacetime." Anything that helps to remove or replace military systems also helps to reduce rape.

Response 4. Most rapes in our society are by people known to the woman—especially husbands. There is also a much higher rate of child sexual abuse—by male relatives, especially fathers—than most people realize. Scare-mongering about rape by strangers, including enemy soldiers, diverts attention from the most important issue, male domination. Armies are male dominated, and can only contribute to the problem.

Response 5. Almost all combat soldiers are men, and armies are masculine institutions. Associated with this, women are often expected to be passive and are not encouraged to develop their skills at resistance.

Social defense challenges this pattern. It involves both men and women developing skills for nonviolent struggle. Many of the things involved in developing social defense—including developing support networks, nonviolent action skills and individual and community self-reliance—can also be used to act against rape.

It is a challenge for us to develop campaigns against rape that are linked with campaigns towards social defense. There are some positive connections, unlike the situation with military defense.

Response 6. If there's a military coup, what are you going to do to stop rape by soldiers—especially when they threaten to shoot the woman if you resist?

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2. Pam McAllister (ed.), *Reweaving the Web of Life: Feminism and Nonviolence* (Philadelphia: New Society Publishers, 1982).
3. Ila Pathak and Amina Amin, "How women dealt with a rapist," *Third World Resurgence*, no. 10, June 1991, pp. 39-40.
4. Mary Daly, *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1978); Maria Mies, *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale:*

Women in the International Division of Labour (London: Zed Books, 1986).

5. See, for example, Alison T. Slack, "Female circumcision: a critical appraisal," *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 10, 1988, pp. 437-486.

6. Liz A. Hightleyman, "Reproductive freedom in everyday life," *Love & Rage*, vol. 3, no. 2, February 1992, p. 6; Lisa Loving, "The abortion underground," *Kick It Over*, #29, Summer 1992, pp. 15-18; Julius A. Roth, "A sour note on Roe vs. Wade," *Research in the Sociology of Health Care*, vol. 9, 1991, pp. 3-8.

7. *The Nuclear Resister* (PO Box 43383, Tucson, AZ 85733, USA), no. 60, 15 February 1989, p. 2 and no. 61/62, 2 May 1989, pp. 2-3, 12-13.

8. Victoria Johnson, in an unpublished paper, argues that the approach used by Operation Rescue systematically differs from both principled and pragmatic nonviolence, and calls it "quasi-nonviolence." She can be contacted at the Department of Sociology, University of California, Davis, CA 95616, USA. ■

The following excerpts, including the editor's note, are reprinted from a much longer article in *Nonviolent Sanctions: News from the Albert Einstein Institution*, vol. 4, no. 2 (fall 1992). We have not reprinted most of the section on Burma. *Nonviolent Sanctions* is published by the Albert Einstein Institution, 1430 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138, USA

Exploring Nonviolent Struggle in Thailand and Burma

Gene Sharp

Editor's Note: In two Southeast Asian countries, the same means—nonviolent action—is being considered for two very

different objectives. In Burma, prodemocracy groups are studying ways nonviolent struggle could be used to bring

down a brutal dictatorship. In Thailand, the government is debating the use of nonviolent civilian resistance to prevent future

military coups.

Gene Sharp traveled to Thailand and Burma in the fall, October 20-November 8, 1992, in response to two invitations. The American Friends of Democracy in Burma (headquartered in Alexandria, Virginia) asked him to help evaluate a course on "Political Defiance" that had been taught in Mannerplaw by Robert Helvey for the Democratic Alliance of Burma. In addition, Professor Chaiwat Satha-Anand of the Political Science Department of Thammasat University invited Sharp to lecture at the university and to meet with officials and journalists in Thaiber 8, 1992, in response to two invitations. The American Friends of Democracy in Burma (headquartered in Alexandria, Virginia) asked him to help evaluate a course on "Political Defiance" that had been taught in Mannerplaw by Robert Helvey for the Democratic Alliance of Burma. In addition, Professor Chaiwat Satha-Anand of the Political Science Department of Thammasat University invited Sharp to lecture at the university and to meet with officials and journalists in Thailand. Excerpts from his report follow:

Mannerplaw, Burma

After two days rest and orientation in Bangkok, I traveled to Mannerplaw, a base camp for the Burmese democratic opposition located along the Thai-Burma border. It was about a ten-hour trip from Bangkok, involving two airplanes, private car, four-wheel-drive truck, and boat.

During my four days in Mannerplaw I participated in a variety of meetings and discussions about nonviolent struggle (or political defiance as it is more often called there). These included meetings with top political officials, military officers, and leaders of the All Burma Students' Democratic Front, the National League for Democracy, the Karen Youth Organization Leadership Seminar, the Democratic Alliance of Burma, and the Political Defiance Committee.

Bangkok, Thailand

Following my stay in Mannerplaw, I returned to Bangkok, where there is growing interest in civilian-based defense as a

means of preventing military coups, of which Thailand has had a long history. Interest was heightened in May 1992 when predominantly nonviolent demonstrations against military control of the government led to the resignation of the unelected prime minister, General Suchinda Kraprayoon. The conflict also resulted in many casualties, and over two hundred persons are still missing.

In Bangkok, Professor Chaiwat Satha-Anand of Thammasat University arranged for me to speak to a variety of audiences about nonviolent struggle, civilian-based defense, and the problem of defending against coups d'état.

I had the opportunity to address officers and faculty of the Command and General Staff College of the Royal Thai Army, faculty and students of the Faculty of Political Science of Thammasat University, and Buddhist monks at the Maha Chulalongkorn Buddhist University. I also met with members of the Local Development Institution, the United States Information Service, and the Asia Foundation, as well as with retired General Saiyud Kerdphol, formerly supreme commander-in-chief of the Thai military forces, and now vice president of the Poll Watch Committee that helps to ensure honest elections. In addition, I had several individual interviews with journalists and private meetings with Burmese students.

At Thammasat University, I attended a gathering of about fifty participants and leaders of the May 1992 uprising against the appointment of Suchinda as Prime Minister. I also attended a meeting of individuals from various nonviolent social change groups held at Ashram Wongsamit in Pathum Thani, north of Bangkok. In both meetings, I noted the apparent absence of either strategic planning or strategic analysis. Neither the May 1992 events nor the current activities of the social change groups seemed to have a grand plan or strategic conception underlying them. There was clearly a need to develop this skill.

Additionally, a luncheon was ar-

ranged with a sympathetic military officer who ably explained the self-image of the military officers and their responsibilities and duties. They see themselves as a special group with duties to support the revered monarchy and at times to save the nation from grave problems and from the perceived incompetence and corruption of the politicians. Hence, despite the desirability of greater democracy, there were said to be times when military officers had a duty to conduct a coup in order to put an end to harmful developments occurring because of the parliamentary system. The oath of office taken by military officers currently does not include a pledge to support the constitution, as it once did.

On November 4, I met at the Parliament building with Dr. Charoen Kanthawongs, chair of the Parliamentary Affairs Committee, to discuss anti-coup d'état legislation. Professor Chaiwat Satha-Anand also participated in the discussions. Dr. Charoen expressed great interest in the proposals which I had prepared for legislation on preparations for defending constitutional government against attacks by coups d'état. After our meeting, Dr. Charoen repeated to the press what he had told us during the meeting: that he intended to appoint a sub-committee to examine the desirability of such legislation.

Since my return to the United States, reports from Bangkok indicate that newspaper articles on the anti-coup defense proposal continue to be published, and the Parliamentary Affairs Committee is proceeding with its consideration of the anti-coup defense proposal. A sub-committee is being formed that will include politicians, military officers, jurists, and members of the media. Dr. Charoen will chair the sub-committee and Professor Chaiwat Satha-Anand is being employed as staff person for the sub-committee. This is an extremely encouraging development. ■

CESAR CHAVEZ, CBDA ADVISORY COMMITTEE MEMBER, DIES

John M. Mecartney

The last of the three great men of nonviolence of this century has died. All three included nonviolent defense in their program. There was Mahatma Gandhi. Then Martin Luther King, Jr., and now Cesar Chavez, president of the United Farm Workers (UFW). Will the next century produce more great leaders who show the power of nonviolent action for social change and defense?

Cesar Chavez died on April 23 of this year at 66. He was the first person to successfully organize the migrant farm workers, though others had tried before. (My friend Hank Hasiwar of the CIO tried and failed in 1948.) Cesar did not give in when the workers struck and the growers replaced them with strikebreakers. He called a national boycott of grapes that eventually brought the growers to the bargaining table. Later these growers cancelled their contracts, but the current grape boycott offers hope for the future, especially for halting the spraying of five

cancer causing pesticides on grapes. (The UFW previously had ended DDT spraying of grapes before the U.S. government banned it.)

Cesar helped change Mexican-American culture, which upheld fighting as evidence of manliness. Cesar said that to be a real man was to be nonviolent. The farm workers upheld that ethic even when attacked by Teamster Union thugs or growers. A number of martyrs gave their lives for the farm worker's goals. They fought back only with nonviolent action. The farm workers' button reads, "Nonviolence is our strength."

Cesar demonstrated his commitment to nonviolence not only in his struggle for justice for the exploited farm workers but also in his support for nonviolent civilian-based defense. He served on the advisory board of my Nonviolent Action for National Defense Institute and on the advisory committee of our Civilian-based Defense Association.

Years ago when I discussed civilian-based defense with Cesar, he said, "John, keep it simple, so everyone including farm

workers can understand." I decided to write something accessible to people who haven't had a chance to get much formal education and began a comic book on nonviolent defense, dedicated to Cesar. As yet only four pages are written and illustrated, but his death will spur me to action.

In the summer of 1992 when I was visiting the United Farm Workers headquarters in Keene, California (I have two daughters who work there) I asked if they would like to act out *The Eleventh Mayor*, a play illustrating how the United States can defend itself by nonviolent action. The UFW staff was enthusiastic and Cesar concurred. We used UFW staff in the staged reading of the play. The production was dedicated to the three great men of nonviolence of this century.

Cesar's son-in-law, Arthur Rodriguez, who is the new president of the UFW, and the board have reiterated their support for nonviolent action. ■

John M. Mecartney is on the CBDA board of directors.

ASSOCIATION NEWS

Paul E. Anders

• The CBDA directors will have their annual meeting in Cambridge, Massachusetts, September 11-12, 1993. Items for the agenda follow:

- Director's report, including finances
 - Evaluation of the past year
 - Plans for the coming year
 - Discussion of projects to promote CBD at the United Nations and to environmentalists and Native Americans.
- CBDA members are welcome to submit suggestions to the directors about these and other issues.

On September 9 and 10 staff members of the Albert Einstein Institution will host a workshop on CBD, which CBDA board members will attend. Christopher Kruegler will present the historical framework. Board members will discuss current policy with Gene Sharp and research developments in nonviolence and CBD with

Doug Bond of Harvard's Program on Nonviolent Sanctions and/or Christopher Kruegler. Roger Powers will provide a literature update.

- Member Paul Walker, a founder of the Institute for Peace and International Security, has been named policy director of the House Armed Services Committee of the U.S. Congress.
- Member Klaus Heidegger has published several articles in the February issue of *ZAM: Zeitschrift für Antimilitarismus*: 1. On Somalia: "Kein Kommando der Vereinten Nationen: Bedenkliche Aspekte der 'Operation restore hope'"; 2. Opposing Austrian membership in the Western European Union: "Neun Gründe gegen eine Mitarbeit und Mitgliedschaft Österreichs in der WestEuropäischen Union und für Friedenspolitische Phantasie"; humanitarian campaigns by the military: "Eingreiftruppen im Dienste

der Humanität."

- Advisory committee member Philip Bogdonoff's article "Where Does Nonviolence International Fit in the Scheme of Things?" has appeared in *Frontline* for winter 1993 (PO Box 39127; Friendship Station, NW; Washington, DC 20016, USA). He is the executive director of Nonviolence International.
- Advisory committee member Archbishop Desmond Tutu persuaded political rivals Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi and Nelson Mandela to meet to diminish political violence in South Africa. Archbishop Tutu has also participated in efforts by Nobel Peace laureates to free Aung San Suu Kyi, Burmese winner of the Nobel Peace Prize.
- Board member Carol Paulson, who lives in Corvallis, Oregon, USA, writes (via e-mail, appropriately), "I recently returned from two weeks in Ukraine. I was there to set up e-mail communications for the

Corvallis Sister Cities Association and help with a medical needs analysis. Our Sister City, Uzhhorod, is in Transcarpathia. It was part of Czechoslovakia before World War II and only became part of Ukraine/USSR after the war. I am returning to Ukraine in July."

• Member Elise Boulding served as editor for the recently published *Peace and Justice for the Peoples of the Middle East: Perspectives of the Peace Research Community* (see "Recently Received" for more details). She is also editing *Building Peace in the Middle East: Challenges for States and Civil Society*, expected in October 1993, which, she indicates, will contain both the first book "and a series of background papers spelling out possible action scenarios in greater detail."

• Member Mary Evelyn Jegen, who is on

the staff of Pax Christi International, has written "Toward a Global Peace Service." The text of this paper is available from World Peacemakers, 11427 Scottsbury Terrace, Germantown, Maryland 20876, USA. (Phillips P. Moulton published a report on Global Peace Service in the December 1992 issue of this magazine.)

• Two new members join our board of directors, Albert Jer-Fu Lin and Philip W. Helms. Lin, who was born in Taiwan, is a professor of physics at Ryerson Polytechnical Institute, Toronto, Canada. Helms is an official of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) and editor of *Michigan AFSCME News*.

• Board member John Mecartney distributed CBD literature at the Peace Action (formerly SANE/FREEZE) convention in

Detroit in July and also at appearances of Archbishop Desmond Tutu in Detroit and at Albion College. He has also been active in defeating referendums that would have allowed casino gambling in Detroit and Port Huron. He says, "Casino gambling takes money from the poor and gives it to the greedy rich."

• Thanks to volunteers Charlotte Lee, Rosalie Anders and to International Peace Camp volunteer Pawel Jesionek for great help and to the Cambridge Peace Commission and its director, Cathy Hoffman. ■

AROUND THE WORLD

Paul E. Anders

Guatemala. A combination of resistance by Guatemalans and outside pressure defeated the May coup d'état of president Jorge Serrano. Whether this was an instance of civilian-based defense (CBD) depends on the degree to which the resistance was prepared beforehand.

United States. Proponents of civilian-based defense might eventually get some support from a new quarter. Extended to defense policy, the social movement known as communitarianism, which is increasing in the United States, including the White House, could contribute to greater acceptance of CBD. Reporter Michael Kranish notes that communitarianism's "basic philosophy is that individual rights come with civic responsibilities." Aides say that President Clinton believes that communitarianism is the overall philosophy that is needed. Communitarians say that the public should place more emphasis on assuming responsibility. For proponents of CBD, this

could include national defense by the community at large, i.e., CBD. (See Michael Kranish, "Communitarianism: Is Clinton a Convert?" *Boston Globe*, May 22, 1993.)

Estonia. On June 25 Moscow cut off Estonia's natural gas, which comes entirely from Russia. A policy of CBD, in which Estonia has taken an interest, would suggest independence from foreign fuel.

Other news from Estonia: on May 4 the Estonian Parliament appointed a retired U.S. military officer, Colonel Aleksander Einsele as commander-in-chief of Estonia's armed forces. He fled Estonia in 1944 with his family as the Soviet army overran the country (Sources: "Estonia Appoints a Retired US Officer as Its Military Chief," *Boston Globe*, May 5, 1993; on the June 25 cut-off, see "World Briefs," *Boston Globe*, June 26, 1993.)

Kosovo (in Former Yugoslavia). The peaceful resistance to Serbia by the ethnic Albanians in Kosovo continues to receive scant media attention. Ibrahim Rugova, whom the Albanians of Kosovo recognize as their elected president, said, "Peaceful resistance is our contribution to the crisis in the Balkans." Is this an instance of CBD? Gene Sharp has written, "Civilian-based defense is a policy intended to deter and defeat foreign military invasions, occupations, and internal usurpation." The situation of Kosovo might be an instance of the second, i.e., occupation. The tragic war in Bosnia compels our sad attention, but the strategy of Kosovo's Albanians should give us hope for more widespread implementation of nonviolent national defense. (Rugova is quoted by Craig R. Whitney, "Balkan Powder Keg Watches the Fuse," *New York Times*, May 25, 1993; Sharp quote from *National Security Through Civilian-based Defense*, Omaha: 1985, p. 47.) ■

NEW STUDY ON CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE

Giliam de Valk

Giliam de Valk wrote this description of his book *Research on Civilian-based Defense*, published in 1993 in Amsterdam.

In March 1993 the SISWO, a government-sponsored interuniversity research foundation, published its proposals on civilian-based defense (85 pages). It was written by Giliam de Valk, in close collaboration with Professor Johan Niezing of the Free University of Brussels, Belgium.

Giliam de Valk wrote his master's thesis on *Strategy and Civilian-based Defense* (University of Leyden, Netherlands), where he stressed the importance of developing a strategic framework for civilian-based defense (CBD). Johan Niezing is

professor of peace research at the Free University of Brussels. He has published several studies on CBD as a system of deterrence. His main book in this field (*Sociale verdediging als logisch alternatief*, Belgium/The Netherlands, 1987) will also be published in the course of 1993 in Russian and German.

According to Niezing, CBD has to be viewed primarily as a system of deterrence. His view stems from a formula originally developed by J.D. Singer: deterrence is the estimated capability times the estimated intention (estimated by the opponent). Combining de Valk's strategic elements with Niezing's insights on deterrence leads to the following components

for de Valk's study:

- 1a. Instrumental capabilities (fixed and added): sources independent of people cooperating.
- 1b. Instrumental capabilities (variable): sources dependent on people cooperating.
2. Psychological capabilities (existing and variable): sources dependent on people cooperating.
3. Interaction of instrumental and psychological capabilities: processes for the making of CBD.
4. Strategy and its relation to an overall security policy.
5. Security policy and its setting.

In the strategic approach, all the different elements are combined and directed

toward the goal of the conflict. The purpose of my study is to determine the different elements of CBD and their overall interaction. Recent developments in research on CBD are taken into account. I mention, as an example, proposals concerning intelligence services. At Harvard University Christopher Kruegler's research on a comprehensive strategic approach addresses such issues as clarifying the objective, the unity of command, and making an operational plan. My study recognizes the importance of Kruegler's approach, and I want to contribute to it by making supplementary proposals. Accurate intelligence is of the utmost importance for the issues mentioned by Kruegler. Reliable intelligence not only leads to a more efficient deploying of means, but also creates new possibilities of anticipating escalations, and so may enable civilian defenders to avoid unnecessary violence. The study of the role of organizations that gather intelligence in a CBD security policy has been totally neglected, probably because of the delicate position of intelligence services in today's security policy. In my view the study of issues that are both so important and touchy must be a primary aim of research. Research proposals like these are therefore essential.

In its 1975 Memorandum on Disarmament, the Dutch government acknowledged the desirability of research into non-violent conflict resolution in general and CBD in particular. This has led to the appointment of the "Begeleidingsgroep inzake het onderzoek op het gebied van de geweldloze conflictoplossing" ("The Advisory Group for Nonviolent Conflict Resolution"), normally named after its chairman, Johan Niezing. The members of the Niezing committee were scientists and members of the administration. Because of changes in the political climate at the beginning of the 1980s, the Niezing committee ceased to operate. Out of the ten proposals the Committee suggested, only one was carried out. The budget was cut from approximately Dfl 3,500,000 to a mere tenth.

The SISWO/CBD group was created in part to continue the work of the Niezing committee. The SISWO/CBD group studied the research proposals of the previous period. On May 13, 1987, a meeting was held to evaluate its work, to discuss and formulate new proposals, and to consider how to obtain financial support. The basic question was which types of research should be given priority, given the new political situation in Europe, if funding were available.

Research in CBD is still going on. Now, even though the Cold War is over, politicians still think only within traditional frameworks instead of making use of this unique historical opportunity to begin a CBD system of security. Nuclear weapons still exist. Of all the proposed alternatives to military defense, only CBD could make nuclear weapons obsolete.

Ordering the Report

To order a copy of the report, please make a payment of Dfl 30 (inside the Netherlands: Dfl 15) to the Postbank, account number 75083. Payment should be made out to SISWO Amsterdam. Please indicate clearly your name, address, and the publication number of the report: 368.

SISWO

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For further information, contact

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NL - Netherlands
Tel.: 31-20-675-6197 ■

RECENTLY RECEIVED

Compiled by Paul E. Anders

- Aldridge, Bob. "Question Deaths of Kelly/Bastian." *Nonviolent Activist*, May-June 1993, p. 2. A letter questioning the official version of the deaths of Petra Kelly and Gert Bastian.
- Bond, Doug, Joe Bond, and Yong-Joo Kim. *Nonviolent Sanctions Seminars: Synopses, Fall 1993*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Program on Nonviolent Sanctions in Conflict and Defense, pp. 58.
- Boulding, Elise, editor. *Peace and Justice for the Peoples of the Middle East: Perspectives of the Peace Reserach Community*. Boulder, Colorado: International Peace Research Association's Peace Building in the Middle East Commission, 1993, 58 pages. On page 39 there is a brief discussion on nonoffensive defense and civilian-based defense. U.S., Canada, Mexico: \$3.15; international surface rate: \$3.50; checks payable to IPRA Foundation.
- de Valk, Giliam. *Research on Civilian-based Defense: Proposals for Research Projects by the Netherlands 'Steering Committee Social Defense.'* Amsterdam: SISWO, 1993, 85 pages. See de Valk's article in this issue; publisher's address there.
- Le Meut, Christian. "Quelles armes pour la démocratie?" *Non-violence Actualité*, no. 168 (April 1993), pp. 10-11. A report on Gene Sharp's trip to Burma and Thailand, based on Sharp's article that we have excerpted in this issue.
- Martin, Brian. *Social Defence, Social*

Change. London: Freedom Press, 1993. References; index; 157 pages. £4.95. We reprint chapter 8 in this issue.

- Niemi, John. "Nonviolent Rapid Response." *Gardenia*, vol. 1, no. 2 (spring 1993), pages 1 & 4.
- Sternberg, Jill. "Sharing Nonviolence: A Nordic-Baltic Seminar." *Reconciliation International*, vol. 8, no. 2 (summer 1992), page 12. Also see Merelyn McKnight's article that we reprint in this issue.
- Vital, Roland. "Tod einer Felsin—Petra Karin Kelly." *Rundbrief: Bund für Soziale Verteidigung*. Third Quarter, 1992, pp. 6-7. An appreciation of Petra Kelly.

Publishers' Addresses

- Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High St., London E1 7QX, UK. Phone 01-247-9249
- *Gardenia: A Journal for Peace Through Nonviolence*, PO Box 3262, San Rafael, California 94912-3262. Telephone: 415-456-4183 (office and FAX)
- IPRA Peace Building in the Middle East Commission (Elise Boulding, Project Director), Dept. of Sociology, Univ. of Colorado, Campus Box 327, Boulder, CO 8309-0327, USA.
- *Non-violence Actualité*, 20, rue de Devidet, 45200 Montargis, France.
- *Nonviolent Activist*, War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012, USA. Telephone: 212-228-0450.
- Program on Nonviolent Sanctions in Conflict and Defense, Center for International Af-

fairs, Harvard University, 1737 Cambridge St., Cambridge, MA 02138, USA. Telephone: 617-495-5580.

- *Reconciliation International*, IFOR, Spoorstraat 38, 1815 BK Alkmaar, The Netherlands. Telephone: 31-72-123014. FAX: 31-72-151102. E-mail: ifor@gn.apc.org
- *Rundbrief: Bund für Soziale Verteidigung*, Friedensplatz 1a, 4950 Minden, Germany. ■

EDITOR'S NOTES

Paul E. Anders

- We keep reminding ourselves that any nation could use civilian-based defense (CBD). However, less violent societies are probably likelier to adopt CBD. Espousing nonviolent solutions to deal with violent situations helps pave the way for CBD. After a conflict starts to deteriorate and moves toward violence, the nonviolent solution becomes more difficult. In places like Bosnia and Somalia, where military force seems to many to be required, we should ask what we could have done to prevent the situation from becoming violent in the first place. CBD will move closer to realization if advocates of peace stop approving military operations and develop timely alternatives.

Countries engaged in far-away military operations are still adversely affected by them. The gamut of state-approved

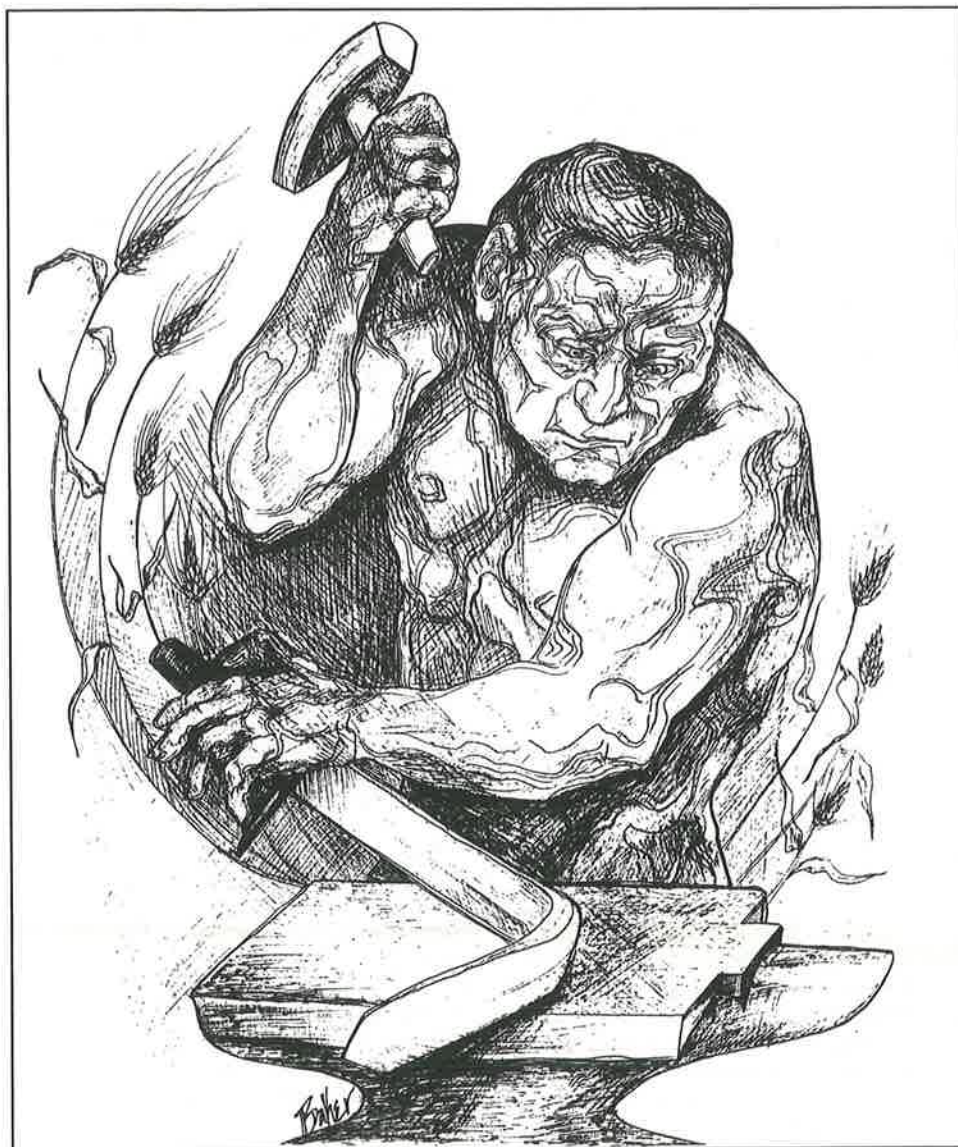
violence—from executions to military operations—provides a model for some private citizens with a grievance. Muggings, gang wars, drive-by shootings, and other violent crimes thrive in the atmosphere of state-approved violence. Distinctions between legal and illegal violence frequently go out the window.

- The worldwide movement toward democracy portends advantages for CBD. Even Paraguay, long the bailiwick of former strongman General Alfredo Stroessner, is groping its way toward democracy. If a government lacks legitimacy, we would not expect it to adopt CBD. Empowered citizens might turn the government out. A recent survey of South America since 1983 adds Argentina, Paraguay, Chile, Guyana, and Surinam to the 1983 democracies (Venezuela, Ecuador, and Bolivia). And as R.J. Rummel points out, democracies tend not to war with one another. The synopsis of a presentation last year by Rummel notes that “the number of democracies now number around 65, or about 39% of the world’s population.” If this trend continues, there may be less perceived need for the military and less opposition to CBD. Or is that too facile?

- With this issue we return to third-class mail for our readers in the United States.

- The magazine *Peacework*, a good friend of the Civilian-based Defense Association (CBDA), has published *Peacework: 20 Years of Nonviolent Social Change*, an anthology of selected articles from the magazine. Topics include personal nonviolence, domestic struggles, and international concerns; forward by Grace Paley; afterword by Jeanne Gallo; introduction by *Peacework*'s editor, Pat Farren. Price: \$20, which includes postage and handling. *Peacework* is a New England peace and social justice newsletter published eleven times a year by the New England Regional Office of the American Friends Service Committee. A one-year subscription is \$10 (third-class mail) or \$15 (first-class mail). Send checks to *Peacework*, AFSC, 2161 Mass. Ave., Cambridge, MA 02140, USA. Telephone: 617-661-6130.

Sources: The survey of democracy in South America is Aryeh Neier's "A Continent Transformed," *Boston Globe*, May 16, 1993. R.J. Rummel's views appear in the synopsis of his "Behind the Global Movement Toward Democracy: Power, War, Revolution, and Democide," April 8, 1992, in *Nonviolent Sanctions Seminars, Synopses*, Spring 1992, edited by Doug Bond and others, Program on Nonviolent Sanctions in Conflict and Defense, Harvard University, 1992, pp. 19-24. ■



Drawing by Linda Baker, Pittsfield, Massachusetts

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Paul E. Anders, Executive Director

August 1993

Dear Friend,

Most mornings over breakfast I read the newspaper. For months I have been seeing photographs of the dead, the wounded, the bereaved families, and the uprooted children in **Bosnia**. This tragedy begs for a solution. Why bother about civilian-based defense (CBD) when such immediate suffering confronts us?

And what of the festering war in **Angola** that has gone on for so many years? A Red Cross report recently said that up to 1,000 Angolans a day were being killed there, many of them civilians. And in war-torn **Somalia** alone, the UN Children's Fund estimated that 250,000 children died of starvation in the last two and a half years. In the North-east of **India** decades of war have left thousands dead. Nicholas Hinton of Save the Children said that in excess of 60 wars are being fought worldwide. Will we take decisive action to halt any of these wars?

While we must do what is in our power to end each of these wars, let us not forget that we can work toward eliminating war as an institution. New conflicts will no doubt arise, but with CBD we have a strategy that can move conflict away from violence.

We ask for your financial support to help us continue our long-range but necessary efforts to bring about CBD. Ours is a real shoestring operation. We need more paid staff. We need to buy equipment and supplies.

Please send us a check today. In doing so you will be participating in an effort that can change the course of history.

The progress of CBD gives me great hope that CBD will become a reality:

- In June of last year a conference in Lithuania that included defense ministry representatives from **Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Sweden** concluded:

The strategy of civilian-based defense can and should be used successfully to guarantee the security of the Baltic states and, in particular, to have Russia withdraw its troops.

The success of civilian-based defense in the Baltic states depends to a great extent on the support of international organizations, individual governmental and nongovernmental organizations. One step in this direction is the development of a Baltic Civilian-Based Defense Mutual Aid Treaty to state concrete ways in which such

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international support would be supplied by signatory nations to any attacked member using civilian-based defense measures.

- In **Russia** the Living Ring, an organization of those who opposed the coup in August 1991, is interested in CBD to oppose any future attempt at a coup.

- In **Thailand**, which has a long history of coups, the Parliament has shown considerable interest in Gene Sharp's proposals for CBD to prevent future coups.

- In **North America**, the Western Shoshone Defense Project is attempting to use nonviolent tactics to defend the claim of Western Shoshone sovereignty.

- CBDA is developing a project to **reach out to environmentalists**. Even in peacetime military activities devastate the environment. CBD is an environmentally sound alternative.

- CBDA is inaugurating a project to **promote CBD through the United Nations**. The UN espouses the goal of complete disarmament, and CBD would help make that possible. For now it would move UN peacekeeping operations toward nonviolent action.

Many groups and nations that would most benefit from learning about CBD are poor, and CBDA, currently underfunded, must take the initiative.

To do these things, we need your help. Please send us your check now.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Paul Anders". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name.

Paul Anders, Executive Director