

# Civilian-Based Defense

EXPLORING A NONVIOLENT STRATEGY FOR DETERRENCE AND DEFENSE

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## CBDA MEETING HELD IN OMAHA NEBRASKA, SEPTEMBER 16-18

Actions taken at the 1994 meeting of the Civilian-Based Defense Association in Omaha included a decision to offer an informational conference on CBD in Toronto Canada in late May or early June of 1995. The 1995 meeting of the Association will be held in conjunction with the conference and will be open to all members. A decision was also made to explore the feasibility of producing an educational videotape about CBD which would be versatile enough to be used in many kinds of learning situations and in various countries. Paul Anders' resignation as Executive Director and Editor of *Civilian-Based Defense* was received. Mel Beckman was reappointed Board Chairman and will serve as editor until a new one is found. ■

## TAIWANESE EXPLORE CBD

By Albert J.F. Lin

Civilian-based defense, an alternative approach to national defense, is being explored in Taiwan. A brief sketch of Taiwanese history will help us to understand the importance of this event in historical perspective.

Taiwan was colonized by the Japanese from 1895 to 1945, and more recently has been ruled by the authoritarian Nationalist Chinese, Kuomintang (KMT), who fled from China to Taiwan in the late 40's. However, the international status of Taiwan was not settled at the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1951.

In 1987, the KMT regime finally adopted some cosmetic reforms, due mostly to the combined and sustained efforts of democratic forces, both domestic and expatriate, and economic forces. The martial law imposed by the KMT was abolished after 38 years, but serious violations of basic human rights continued. Tens of thousands of political prisoners have been imprisoned, tortured, and killed by the KMT regime in Taiwan since their arrival, while thousands of Taiwanese were banned from returning to Taiwan until 1992.

The first Taiwanese contact with CBD was in February, 1990, when Professor George Chang of Cooper Union University and I were invited to attend the International Conference on Nonviolent Sanctions in Cambridge, Massachusetts. We made some important contacts there. A group of Taiwanese-Canadians subsequently facilitated the organizing of four nonviolent action training events with American trainers in 1990-91. The idea and desire to explore the potential of CBD has been simmering since 1991.

I maintained periodic contact with Dr. Gene Sharp to explore the opportune time and possibility of arranging his trip to Taiwan. Dr. Sharp's good will, vision of civilian-based defense for deterrence and national defense, and our sustained efforts contributed to his first lecture-seminar tour to Taiwan in December, 1994. He will be speaking to both civilian and military audiences.

The challenge and symbolic significance of this tour, at this time, is vital to the peoples in Taiwan and in the Asia-Pacific region as a whole. The ending of two cold wars in the region - the second being that between Russia and China - and the quasi-vacuum created by the gradual U.S. military withdrawal, have rekindled the arms race, as indicated by the large increases in military expenditures among the countries of the region. Some Asia-Pacific leaders, policy makers, and academics have been searching for regional collective security cooperation regimes to reduce the tension surrounding the regional flashpoints. ■

## FORMER LITHUANIAN DEFENSE MINISTER JOINS AEI AS VISITING SCHOLAR

(Reprinted with permission, from *Nonviolent Sanctions*, a publication of the Albert Einstein Institution. Vol. VI, No. 2, Fall 1994. The Einstein Institution can be contacted at 50 Church Street, Cambridge, MA 02138.)

FORMER LITHUANIAN DEFENSE MINISTER Audrius Butkevicius joins the Albert Einstein Institution this fall as a visiting scholar. He will be in residence for three months to study civilian-based defense (CBD) and to work with Einstein Institution personnel on two CBD-related projects for the Baltic states. (Civilian-based defense is an alternative defense policy in which a nation's population and institutions are prepared to defend against internal and external threats through mass nonviolent resistance and noncooperation.)

Mr. Butkevicius is helping to draft a Baltic Civilian-Based Defense Mutual Assistance Treaty that will state concrete ways in which international support would be supplied by signatory nations to any attacked member

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## DEFENSE MINISTER JOINS AEI (Continued from front)

using civilian-based defense measures. He is also helping to write a CBD handbook for Lithuanian households, which may be adapted for use in Latvia and Estonia as well.

Mr. Butkevicius' presence with us is proving to be invaluable as we work on the treaty and handbook and consider political strategies for getting them adopted by governments in the Baltic region. He has been asked by the president of Lithuania to work on developing alternative security approaches in the Baltic region. He is also the most likely candidate for the task of shepherding the treaty through the political process that would lead to its adoption.

The Institution's relationship with the Baltics started in mid-1990 when Mr. Butkevicius, then Director-General of the Department of National Defense of Lithuania, received a copy of Gene Sharp's *Civilian-Based Defense: A Post-Military Weapons System* and had it translated into Lithuanian for use by government officials. A year and a half later, in December 1991, Defense Minister Butkevicius credited Dr. Sharp's book as having provided the basis for much of his planning of nonviolent resistance against Soviet troops, first in January 1991 and later in August 1991.

Subsequently, in June 1992, the Albert Einstein Institution and the Ministry of National Defense of the Republic of Lithuania co-sponsored a three-day conference in Vilnius on "The Relevance of Civilian-Based Defense for the Baltic States." It was the first time that defense ministry representatives from four different countries - Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, and Sweden - came together to consider the potential of civilian-based defense for their countries. In all, some fifty political leaders, defense specialists, and scholars of nonviolent action from nine countries participated. Other conference participants came from Australia, England, Poland, Russia, and the United States. ■



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## FROM THE EDITOR

**HOW BEST TO PROMOTE** consideration of civilian-based defense has been a long-standing question within the Civilian-Based Defense Association. In the last issue of this publication we included information in some detail about a grassroots campaign, "Shanti Sahyog" (Cooperation for Peace, India) which is attempting to promote nonviolence, including civilian-based defense, to governments. In this issue will be found articles by Gene Sharp and Brian Martin which express reservations about how CBD is being promoted in that campaign. The issue of "how it should be done" is important, and requires on-going discussion. The timing of what is done is also important.

Since our beginning in 1982, CBDA has tried to promote consideration of the policy of civilian-based defense by making available information, news, and opinion about it, and by sponsoring conferences. An index of authors, and what they have written for this magazine, contained elsewhere in this issue, will give some idea of how this publication has been a vehicle of communication these past twelve years, for those who are seriously involved with CBD. Offering education and information continues to be our usual activity, but we want to remain open to other activities as well.

Perhaps the idea of civilian-based defense can be treated in literature, music, and drama. In his essay, "The Gentle Scouring of the Shire: Civilian-Based Defense Among the Hobbits", our board member, Philip Helms, has proposed that the late J.R.R. Tolkien sought an answer to war, something much like CBD, in his writings. In this issue, CBDA member Rosalie Anders reviews a novel by Starhawk in which the plot involves a kind of nonviolent resistance to aggression. Another CBDA board member, Al Rhodes-Wickett, is working on a musical theater production, "Pacem Island", in Los Angeles. It will carry a civilian-based defense theme. Board member John Mecartney and friends have for years staged "The Eleventh Mayor", a play which they see as helpful in conveying the idea of civilian-based defense.

As part of our current reorganization, CBDA is now looking for a Director of Program and Fund-Raising. We recognize that we need to expand our program - offer the idea of civilian-based defense to new audiences, in new packaging, with new methods. We doubt that any government or institution or group of people can be shamed, coerced, or frightened into accepting the idea of civilian-based defense. But if it is presented on its own merits, in ways respectful of, and appealing to, the audience, it may well be accepted. ■

## A TRIBUTE TO PAUL ANDERS

By Mel Beckman,  
CBDA Board Chairman

Paul Anders, Executive Director of the Civilian-Based Defense Association these past three and a half years, has resigned, effective October 17, 1994. Our thanks to him for accepting this responsibility during a time when Association income permitted little financial remuneration for the Executive Director. Paul had a strong commitment to the idea of civilian-based defense and was willing to sacrifice to make a contribution toward its development and implementation. Thanks also to his wife, Rosalie, for her part in Paul's three and a half years of service to the Association.

Newly appointed as Executive Director in 1991, one of Paul's first tasks was to help with preparations for the Association's September conference in Windsor, Ontario. With Paul's assistance and the organizational work done by board members George Crowell and John Mecartney, the Conference was a huge success. Later the next year, when no editor could be found for the newsletter, Paul stepped in, assumed the duties of editor, and sustained the publication until the present time. During his tenure as editor the content of the magazine has been expanded and some new features added.

We wish Paul much success in whatever new challenge he will undertake. Those of us who have served with him these past few years will remember with fondness the board meetings of 1992 and 1993 held at 154 Auburn Street in Cambridge. The hospitality of Paul, Rosalie, and their friends in the neighborhood was enjoyed and appreciated. The evening pot-luck supper/dialogues with Gene Sharp and others after the meetings were very useful. ■

# EFFECTIVE CAMPAIGN OR A CAMPAIGN OF BELIEVERS?

By Gene Sharp

IT IS UNDERSTANDABLE that *Civilian-Based Defense* would like to play an active role in promoting a civilian-based defense policy. The report and documents of the "Ahimsa Satyagraha International Campaign for Nonviolence" may therefore have an emotional appeal to some readers. However, there are strong grounds for caution.

Commitment, enthusiasm, and sincerity do not make an effective political strategy for changing defense policies. I respect Dr. Suman Khanna, and have enjoyed some hours of conversations with her. However, I must part company from her concerning this campaign. I cannot support it, and would urge others to think very carefully before doing so. Such a campaign can actually be counter-productive, and can set back the chances of the civilian-based defense policy being seriously considered.

It is accurate that her campaign does take into consideration some pragmatic elements, including the possibility of introducing a "nonviolent defense component" into present defense policies, which is a viable objective. However, there are other serious problems with the approach. The following are brief references to the more serious ones.

1. The campaign avowedly is "promoting nonviolence, including civilian-based defense, to governments" but includes with approval a quotation from Project Ploughshares that "This commitment must include promotion of nonviolence as a value." The documents also associate the policy demands with "ahimsa," "satyagraha," and "nonviolence" — apparently understood in a very broad sense.

In contrast, a basic contention of those of us who have developed the civilian-based defense concept is that it must be *separated* from principled nonviolence. This is because only then will people who will never accept a moral nonviolence belief be willing to consider the viability of the use of nonviolent struggle in place of military means of defense. Belief in principled nonviolence is *not* required for the practice of nonviolent struggle or civilian-based defense.

2. The campaign document assumes that "a campaign" (including petitions, hunger strikes, tax refusal, and the like) and the accumulation of people who do not support war can contribute to adoption of civilian-based defense.

In contrast, my view is that this is a completely false assumption. It will in fact associate the civilian-based defense policy with more traditional peace campaigns, pacifist activities, war resistance, and the like. The combination might possibly increase support for those pacifist approaches, but it will help to kill serious consideration of civilian-based defense. People who "are willing to act as a nonviolent evangelist" perhaps can do some useful things, but their activities on this topic will only do serious harm to consideration of civilian-based defense.

The campaign has a heavy focus on "legitimizing nonviolence as a means of conflict resolution" and claims that if successful in political structures it will be for the first time in history. The meaning is clouded by various possible interpretations of "legitimizing." However, interpreted in the usual sense of possessing moral approval, then this aspect ignores the fact that in most cases war has not been accepted because it was seen to be a morally pure way to proceed, but rather because it was seen, unfortunately, as the most powerful and effective way to deal with a conflict. Hence, the various "just war" theories.

The issue is not legitimacy but is instead whether or not alternative nonviolent means of providing defense are effective and realistic options to military means of defense. Focusing on viability and effectiveness, governments have, on various occasions, applied and supported the use of nonviolent forms of struggle.

The limited application of even components of civilian-based defense will not come as a result of peace songs, fasts, signatures of prominent people, surrounding defense ministries, petitions, and the like. When those means fail, then many of the participants in the campaign will become more disillusioned and passive than they were when they began.

The heavy use of terminology, slogans, concepts, and historical events which have symbolic significance in India may be appropriate for India, but when included in activities outside of that cultural and historical context, do not help and, in fact, will assist many people to dismiss the rest of the content and message as irrelevant and without practical intent.

Instead, a much more fundamental type of work is required which includes policy analyses, development of helpful skills from research to promotion, public education, and several other main ways of getting the policy options seriously considered.

While I appreciate recognition of my writings on civilian-based defense, I must ask that my name not be used in association with this campaign.

The considerable space and prominence given in the last issue of *Civilian-Based Defense* to this campaign is unfortunate because it will give new readers the impression that this campaign has the backing of the Civilian-Based Defense Association.

As I pointed out in one of my presentations to the CBDA's Windsor Conference (*Civilian-Based Defense*, Vol. 7, No. 6, 1992, pp. 11-18), a very special approach is required for promoting this policy. (Perhaps it might be worthwhile to locate and reread that paper in order to understand my dissension from the proposed campaign at this point.) An earlier, but still relevant list of what people can do is included in my *National Security Through Civilian-Based Defense*, published by the precursor of the Civilian-Based Defense Association (the Association for Transarmament Studies).

The potential of civilian-based defense is very great. However, the suspicions and prejudices of many people that this is not a serious policy option but only a new gimmick for pacifist, moral nonviolence, and anti-war exponents can only be supported by this type of campaign and promotion in this publication. Those people who are eager to dismiss this policy without consideration have been provided with support for their preconceptions. This is unfortunate, and if such support for their suspicions recurs, it will help to undermine much of the work of the past thirty years. ■

# COMMENTS ON SHANTI SAHYOG'S INTERNATIONAL CAMPAIGN FOR NONVIOLENCE

By Brian Martin

THE SHANTI SAHYOG'S CAMPAIGN is ambitious, to say the least. It aims to achieve major government initiatives towards nonviolent defense by November 1996 and, if these initiatives are not forthcoming, to start indefinite vigils around national legislatures until they are. While I am in full agreement with the campaign about the ultimate goal of promoting the use of nonviolent action as an alternative to war, I have some reservations about the methods and goals proposed for the campaign. Since the areas of agreement will be familiar to readers of *Civilian-Based Defense*, I'll focus on the reservations. Naturally these comments should be treated as friendly dialogue. My comments are based on the account of the campaign given in the Spring/Summer 1994 issue of *Civilian-Based Defense*.

The international campaign is very much a grassroots effort, promoted by numerous individuals and small nongovernmental organizations. However, the focus of this grassroots effort is governments. Each of the five demands is for government action: for governments to sponsor 6 April as an international day for nonviolence; for governments to allocate one day of military spending for nonviolence spending each year; for governments to introduce a component of civilian-based defense in national defense systems; for government to allow soldiers to choose to be trained in either violent defense or nonviolent defense; and for taxpayers to be given the choice of directing the defense fraction of their taxes to either violent or nonviolent defense.

The campaign is centered around mobilizing people to make demands for government action. Some advantages of this approach are that it is familiar to demand government action, that the goals are clear, and that the method of achieving the goals is standard in all countries.

Unfortunately, there are big problems in a strategy based on making demands on governments. Governments are only one element in the war system, which is built around the state system (including state bureaucracies and militaries, among other

things, as well as governments), arms manufacture and trade, patriarchy, and military technology. The war system is deeply embedded in society through popular beliefs (such as about national superiority and about aggression), child rearing and schooling, centralized communication systems, and economic systems that allow extraction of resources for military and other state purposes. Governments are not likely to take actions that strongly challenge other elements of the war system. To challenge the war system, change needs to happen at a number of different sites, not just at the government level.

In practical terms, most governments are likely to ignore the campaign. Their next step is to initiate studies. As the studies proceed over the years, grassroots energy is likely to fade away. A few symbolic gestures or concessions might be taken which could give the illusion of success without changing the driving forces behind war, just as the atmospheric test ban treaty in 1963 helped to deflate the peace movement without noticeably slowing the nuclear arms race.

Several of the campaign's demands, even if satisfied, leave control over nonviolent defense largely in government hands. To introduce a nonviolent defense component as part of a national military system is likely to put the nonviolent component in a subordinate and probably minor role, as it is in Sweden. It might be better to argue for an independent nonviolent defense structure. To argue for soldiers to have the choice of being trained in nonviolent defense sounds good, but sits poorly with a key element of the military system, namely, obedience to command. Nonviolent action, after all, is based on sticking to principles and defying authorities. Again, it makes much more sense to remove training for nonviolent action from control by the military.

The timetable for significant successes is far too short. Clear short-term goals can be valuable, but they should be achievable. It would be amazing for any major government to agree to all the demands by 1996. The indefinite protest around government

legislatures sounds good, but what if too few people are available to maintain it? If it fizzles out, what next? What will be the effect on the morale of participants?

An international campaign should be flexible and be responsive to local conditions. There is much to be learned from past and current campaigns, such as initiatives in Austria to teach social defense to conscientious objectors, in Italy to allow taxpayers to divert taxes for popular nonviolent defense, and in the Netherlands to set up groups to promote social defense in various sectors of society. An international campaign should also be participatory, with input from those involved determining goals and methods.

The value of the campaign as presently conceived lies mostly in the grassroots action it involves. Even if governments do not respond, people will have taken action and the idea of nonviolent alternatives to the military will become more widely known. For example, signature campaigns often act more to increase popular awareness, among both the signers and the campaigners, than to change government policies. (Care is needed in compiling computerized lists of signatories. Police and spy agencies may be interested!)

Personally, I would like to see this sort of campaign redirected away from governments and towards a range of nongovernmental groups, such as churches, trade unions, solidarity groups, feminist groups, and so forth. In each case, there are links between the group's goals and the goal of nonviolent defense. For example, workers who acquire the skills to resist an aggressor will also be better able to mobilize against impositions by employers. Since such groups are less tightly hooked into the war system than are governments, there is a greater chance of forging lasting links. Even so, the task is far from easy. The vested interests associated with the war system are enormous. A long-term campaign is needed, but how best to promote it is not obvious. At the very least, the experiences of the Shanti Sahyog campaign will provide useful lessons for future activists. ■

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## BOOK REVIEW *By Rosalie Anders*

### Starhawk's, *The Fifth Sacred Thing*

(New York, Bantam, 1993)

**THE FIFTH SACRED THING** describes a mid-twenty-first century world in which planned government nonviolent action is used against a military invasion.

In the novel, most of California (and, presumably, the rest of the world) suffers from the collapse of the ecosystem, precipitating the collapse of industrial and food production systems. The religious right and other extremists have created a nightmare totalitarian society, complete with apartheid, severe oppression of women, horrific genetic engineering, and just about every other evil one can imagine.

The San Francisco Bay region escaped this fate through a nonviolent revolt led by a handful of women who refused to cooperate with the totalitarians. When the novel opens, this successful revolt is some years in the past, and the San Franciscans have created a peaceful participatory democracy in which all cultures and races are celebrated, nature is cherished, the arts are nourished, and everyone lives in peace and harmony. The San Franciscans learn that the millennialists are marching on them, and much of the novel describes the struggle within the governing council over how to resist the military machine descending on them. The council chooses nonviolent resistance and wins.

The inhabitants choose to defend themselves nonviolently for two reasons: they recognize that violence would do no good—they have no army and too few people—and they fear becoming like their oppressors. They resist mainly through non-cooperation and moral suasion. When a soldier kills someone, the victim's friends and relatives dress in white and follow the soldier around, telling him about the person he has killed and their affection for him, while

saying, nonetheless, "There is a place for you at our table." In the end, the invaders are defeated - less by the nonviolent tactics than by a violent insurrection by the troops. The nonviolent resistance is portrayed as essential to creating the conditions that made the mutiny happen, but the invaders are defeated, in the end, by violence.

Unfortunately, the nightmare world stemming from ecotastrophe seemed more plausible to me than the earthly paradise of San Francisco. Starhawk, who is a witch and has written extensively about witchcraft, describes a world in which almost everyone has psychic, healing powers that no one in our present world possesses. It is harder for me to imagine achieving a society in fifty years in which people use auras and psychic communication with bees to heal each other than it is to imagine the brutal world of the millenarians. Ecological collapse is all too plausible a fate for the planet, and we have already seen enough social disruption in places where the ecosystem is especially stressed to believe that ecotastrophe is likely to lead to horrific oppression and violence.

I think the novel would have been stronger if Starhawk had grounded it more in traditions of cooperation and nonviolence that have existed. She acknowledges the help of many people in writing the book, but no one active in thinking about or promoting civilian-based defense, for example, though nonviolent resistance was a major part of the book. I was delighted that she took the issues around nonviolent defense seriously enough to write a novel about it, but sorry that she had so little sense of the realistic options.

Does the book do the cause of civilian-based defense more harm than good because it is unrealistic? I don't think so, any more than it does the cause of sustainability harm by connecting it with mysticism. In the end, she has grappled with real issues, and sparked people's imaginations. It could have been done a lot better, but good for Starhawk for trying it at all. ■

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*Civilian-Based Defense (ISSN 0886-6015)* is published quarterly 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 widespread consideration of CBD and to engage in educational activities to bring CBD to public attention. CBD means protecting a nation against invasions or coups d'etat 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.

**EDITOR:** Melvin G. Beckman  
**CO-EDITOR:** Philip D. Bogdonoff  
**Telephone:** 402-558-2085  
**Address:** CBDA, Box 92  
 Omaha, NE 68101 USA

**Subscription:** \$15 for one year.  
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**PLEASE NOTE CBDA CHANGE OF ADDRESS**  
 The new telephone number is: 402-558-2085.

**NEW NONVIOLENT ACTION CENTER IN JERUSALEM**

From Yisrael Medad we have received word that the "Center for Nonviolent Action" (P.O. Box 31603, Jerusalem 91136, Israel) has been registered as a recognized public association with Israel's Ministry of Interior. It is hoped that the Center will be able to translate and publish important guidelines, run seminars and lectures and otherwise influence events and persons engaged in protest campaigns and raise their consciousness vis-a-vis nonviolent activity. Special emphasis will be on the Jewish philosophical and practical sources for nonviolent coercion and civil defense/resistance. ■

**PLEASE CHECK YOUR MAILING LABEL**

The top line of the mailing label on this newsletter will tell you when your membership or subscription is/was renewable.

**EDITOR, AND DIRECTOR OF PROGRAM AND FUND-RAISING POSITIONS TO BE FILLED**

The Civilian-Based Defense Association is presently undergoing a re-organization. The position of Executive Director has been discontinued for the time being and the work formerly done by that staff person will be handled by the Board Chairman and other board members. A new emphasis is being placed on program development, and fund-raising along with it. Production of the magazine, *Civilian-*

*Based Defense*, will continue to be a major activity of the Association. CBDA is looking for a Director of Program and Fund-Raising and for someone to serve as Editor of *Civilian-Based Defense*. Applications are now being taken.

For more information about either or both of these positions, send a stamped, self-addressed business envelope to: CBDA, P.O. Box 92, Omaha, NE 68101. ■

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# MEETING AGENDA

## FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 16

7:00-9:00

### PANEL: CBD AND OUR ORGANIZATION

A panel of CBDA directors will explain how the concept of a nonviolent, civilian-based defense has been proposed, considered, and acted upon in various parts of the world, including the United States, Canada, Europe, Asia, and Australia. An update will also be given on how the Civilian-Based Defense Association is promoting consideration of the idea. Discussion and refreshments will follow.

### MEETING PLACE:

The September 16th and 18th sessions will be held at the Holiday Inn Express Motel, 3001 Chicago Street, in Omaha. The September 17th sessions will be at the Cathedral Parish Center, 3900 Webster Street, in Omaha. These locations are just northwest of downtown Omaha.

## SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 17

8:00-10:00

### "I THINK CBDA SHOULD. . ."

CBDA members offer their observations on what CBDA has done in the past or is doing now, what activities they feel the organization could undertake, and what work they would personally be willing to do. No critique during this session - just ideas and proposals.

10:00-10:30

### REFRESHMENTS

10:30-NOON

### "SORTING OUT" SESSION

The ideas and proposals of the previous session are grouped according to similarities and critiqued in a large-group setting, with the goal of identifying a number of directions, policies, and programs which members can choose to discuss more intensively in small groups during the early afternoon.

12:00-1:00

### LUNCH (Provided)

1:00-3:00

### PROGRAM PLANNING GROUPS

Members and directors meet in small groups to do specific planning for the direction and activities of the organization during the upcoming year(s). The goal of these sessions is to prepare concrete proposals for adoption at the resolutions session later in the afternoon.

3:00-3:30

### BREAK

3:30-5:30

### RESOLUTIONS SESSION

The planning groups present their proposals for questions, discussion, and adoption by the organization.

5:30-7:30

### BREAK FOR DINNER

7:30-9:00

### RECEPTION FOR OMAHA-AREA STUDENTS

University students - especially those studying in Omaha from other countries, will be given a brief presentation about civilian-based defense and then be invited to visit with proponents of the idea, i.e., our members.

## SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 18

8:30-NOON

### ORGANIZATIONAL PLANNING

Election of Board Chairperson and Treasurer, appointment of new directors, adoption of a minimum operating budget, planning for the 1995 annual meeting, and other important preparations for 1994-1995.

12:00-1:00

### LUNCH (Provided)

1:00

### ADJOURNMENT

### LODGING:

Holiday Inn Express rooms are \$56.87, including tax, whether used by one person or shared by two. Reserve rooms no later than August 31st. Phone 1-800-HOLIDAY and ask for the CBDA special rate. Courtesy transportation and complimentary breakfasts provided. If you would like help finding low or no cost accommodations, call 402-558-2085.

### REGISTRATION:

Register for the meeting no later than September 12th. Registration fee of \$15 includes all hand-out materials and two lunches.

### FOR MORE INFORMATION:

Contact Mel Beckman, 3636 Lafayette Ave., Omaha, NE 68131, (402) 558-2085.

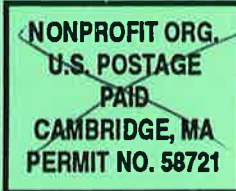
*September 16-18, 1994  
Omaha, Nebraska*

**Meeting of the  
General Membership with the Directors**

# CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE ASSOCIATION

**CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE ASSOCIATION**

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