

Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion

EXPLORING A NONVIOLENT STRATEGY
FOR DETERRENCE AND DEFENSE

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**1989-1990
CBD EXPLORED IN FIVE
RECENT CONFERENCES**
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UNITED STATES CONSULTATION ON CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENSE TO BE HELD NOVEMBER 8-9, 1990

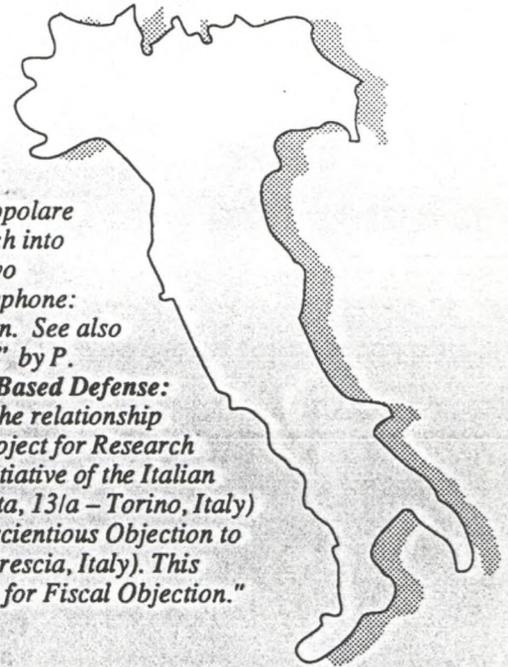
Preliminary plans have been made by the Civilian-Based Defense Association for a "First Consultation on Civilian-Based Defense" in the Washington, DC area in November. Association members and subscribers will be invited to participate along with representatives of various national organizations and institutions. The consultation will focus on what next steps can be taken in the United States to promote consideration of this defense idea. The Association will present some possible strategies for study and consultation.

Anyone wishing to be included in the consultation, individually, or as a representative of some group or institution, may send name and address to the Association at P.O. Box 31616, Omaha, NE 68131 USA. An information-sharing process will begin by mail some months before the time of the consultation. The Association would also like to hear from organizations and institutions willing to help organize or co-sponsor the consultation.

ITALY: THE LONG JOURNEY TOWARD PEOPLE'S NONVIOLENT DEFENSE

By Antonino Drago

Ed. Note: This article was adapted for publication in Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion from information sent by Antonino Drago, who is associated with the Segreteria Scientifica of the Progetto Nazionale di Ricerca sulla Difesa Popolare Nonviolenta (National Project for Research into People's Nonviolent Defense), Piazza Salvo d'Acquisto, 13 - 80134 Naples, Italy. Telephone: 081/5521728. Adaptation by Mel Beckman. See also "The Debate on Civilian Defence in Italy," by P. Farinella and M.C. Spreafico in Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion, May, 1988. To clarify the relationship between certain groups: The National Project for Research into People's Nonviolent Defense is an initiative of the Italian Peace Research Institute (IPRI, via Assietta, 13/a - Torino, Italy) and is financed by the Campaign for Conscientious Objection to Military Expenditures (via Milano, 60 - Brescia, Italy). This campaign is sometimes called "Campaign for Fiscal Objection."



On November 2, 1989, the Italian President sent a telegram of support to organizers of a conference on nonviolent defense. The text was as follows:

On the occasion of the conference "A Nonviolent Defence in Italy Today" I would like to convey to the Progetto Nazionale di Ricerca sulla Difesa Popolare Nonviolenta my sincere feelings of appreciation for the commitment to deepening its themes, contexts and research, all of which are highly important and of current interest. To all participants in this work I would like to express my best wishes.

Francesco Cossiga
Quirinale, Roma, 2/11/89

This telegram was taken as a first positive signal from the President of the Republic, in favor of DPN, Difesa Popolare Nonviolenta (People's Nonviolent Defense), an alternative radically different from a defense based on human destructiveness which is typical of Italian and NATO defense. Indirectly, it was also a positive signal towards the Campagna Nazionale di Obiezione alle Spese Militari (National Campaign for Conscientious Objection to Military Expenditures) which finances DPN research. In October of 1988, the President accepted from the campaign the money withheld by the conscientious objectors, and offered to him for peace initiatives. This had not been the case previously. It is not known what happened in the next three months because in February the money was refused by the Ministry of Finance. The President had sent it there to determine a positive use for it. In October 1989 the Italian President again accepted the pool of money offered to him by the objectors. The telegram is a sign of sympathy, encouragement, and the possibility of a dialogue.

(continued on page 2)

ITALY: THE LONG JOURNEY *(continued from page 1)*

DPN: EVOLUTION OF THE IDEA

In 1979, Italian pacifists organized the first convention on the theme of DPN, at Padova. Henceforth, this type of defense was seen as credible. The proceedings of that convention were noted both in Italy (*Testimonianze* 1980) and abroad (*Gandhi Marq*, 4, N. 47 198).

Since 1982 the National Campaign for Fiscal Conscientious Objection has sustained the proposals for DPN. Four hundred were supportive the first year, today four thousand (without counting the implicit support of six thousand conscientious objectors to military service). This had become a thorn-in-the-flesh of the current defense system.

In 1986, Spadolini, the Minister of Defense, raged against Catholics for not respecting the state, avoiding however the theme of a new, alternative defense. Moreover, he decided to put pressure on conscientious objectors to take up military service. But this action was counter-productive. Indeed, now everybody knows that in Italy, out of 400,000 youth eligible for military service hardly more than 200,000 carry out the service. Exemption is very easy. Only the poorest or the most honest enter the service. Therefore, how could one accept Spadolini's contention that conscience objectors were privileged people?

During these years the Italian leftists (Proletarian Democracy Party, Communist Youth) became more favorable toward conscientious objection and a new defense, including a nonviolent one. Above all, the Catholics have taken a decisive position. Cardinal Poletti, without much success, tried to prevent Azione

Cattolica (Catholic Action Movement) from adhering to conscientious objection, which has an ever-increasing support and commitment from Catholic youth. One of the "grave sins" of Father Zanotelli (today he is in Africa) was that of having supported fiscal objection. For three years Pax

Christi has not only participated in but also promoted the Campaign for Fiscal Objection. In 1987 the Zancan Foundation organized a conference on DPN in

Italy with proceedings published by an important editor, Cedam of Padova. Finally, in December of that year the Italian bishops were ordered to refrain from talking about fiscal objection until Cardinal Ratzinger could publish an official document on the subject. This must have proved to be difficult for him since the document is still forthcoming and instead almost a hundred theologians and priests have signed a counter-document which lists all the theological and moral reasons to support fiscal objection and DPN.

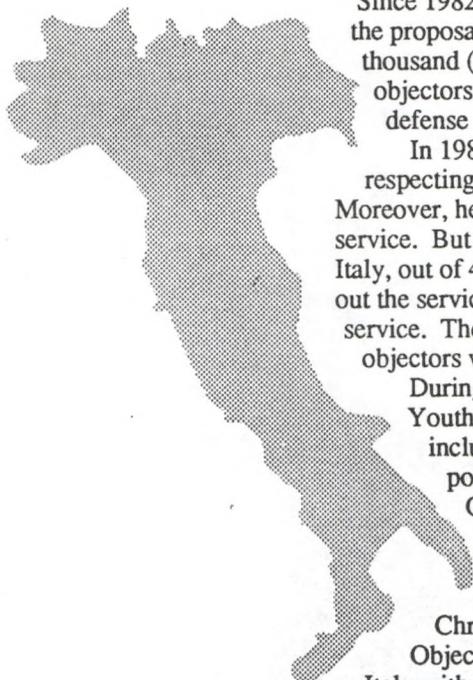
Since this matter is so critical in church-state relations, the grassroots Church can have a most decisive influence. Indeed, it has been searching for a way to accelerate reform of the law regarding conscientious objection to military service. The new law should be approved in the next months and foresees the creation of a State organization "which is to study and try out a non-armed defense" and organize training courses for conscientious objectors. This is not exactly what the Campaign for Fiscal Objection is asking for but it is very near to it.

In July the Corte Costituzionale (Constitutional Court) approved a definition of the equality of military and civil service. Immediately the conscientious objectors in service were dismissed if they had completed more than twelve months (as opposed to the twenty months previously). The extreme resistance of the Ministry of Defense to the expansion of conscientious objection has been overcome.

The Head of State took heed and called on interested government ministers to study together "a new defense for Italy." (see "Repubblica," August 2nd) The unarmed component of defense should soon be a public right. The telegram of November 2, 1989 is a more clear indication of this.

THE FIRST RESEARCH CONFERENCE ON DPN

Since January of 1989 the Campaign for Fiscal Objection has financed a national project for research into popular nonviolent defense. The Italian Peace Research Institute has become responsible for it. All spontaneous initiatives which have sprung up recently (EIRENE centre of Bergamo, MIR of Padova, Centre of Civil Defense Studies in Rome, etc.) have been coordinated. The scientific office has its base in Naples, in a significant place—piazza Salvo D'Acquisto 13 (D'Acquisto was the policeman who offered his life to save innocent people due to be executed by the Nazis).



The office has, importantly, brought together people who study DPN. These have proved to be numerous—about one hundred university and non-university people. Four meetings have been held.

The first research conference on DPN was held November 4-5 at Boves, near Cuneo (significant for its having been twice destroyed by the Nazis because from its population came the first resistance and resisters). November 4th being National Defense Day it seemed right to propose a nonviolent defense.

There were four invited speakers. Father Ernesto Balducci introduced the participants to the worldwide cultural transformation which is necessary at this historical moment and confirmed nonviolence as the inevitable choice for simply living together on either a planetary or local scale. Professor Papisca of Padova examined international relations, in which a new democracy is becoming stronger—not that of the nations as in the U.N. but in regard to human rights and governments being obligated to uphold them. In the afternoon, Jean-Marie Muller from France examined the European scene. In that context a nonviolent defense has become a historical necessity to replace the old defense delegated to computers which launch nuclear missiles. Finally, Piet Dykstra from Holland, illustrated the almost ten-year experience of the International Peace Brigades—an experience of volunteers from all over the world who put themselves forward to defend territories and civil rights where the people live under terror.

After this some thirty researchers presented their ideas about popular nonviolent defense in relation to the present national defense and the political situation.

On the evening of November 4th a roundtable linked resistance and DPN. It is not well known that DPN was a reality, actuated without much fuss, during the Italian Resistance. Above all this was true of the heroic “no” by the internees of the Nazi prison camps to the proposal to return to Italy as collaborators. Of 28,000 officials, approximately 20,000 refused, even though they could only expect to die of hunger or exhaustion as a result. This refusal was decisive for the destiny of the Republic of Salo’, which remained without public support; therefore, decisive for the destiny of Italy too. In the fight against the Nazis there were many instances of DPN, as research carried out at Bergamo, Modena, Rome, and Naples has indicated. Much remains to be done to establish the real nature of the Italian Resistance. This was a people’s struggle.

AN ITALIAN WAY TOWARD NONVIOLENT POPULAR DEFENSE?

In other European countries nonviolent people have urged like-minded or governmental bodies to discuss the possibility of getting the State to institute a non-armed or a complementary defense. Important documents on that theme have been produced in Sweden, the Netherlands, Denmark and France. In Italy, however, the Campaign for Conscientious Objection to Military Expenditures has not searched for an intermediary but has forcefully proposed the matter by the civil disobedience of the conscientious objectors. The Italians (already famous tax evaders!) have participated in great numbers, submitting themselves to the confiscation of valuable goods and to fines as much as three times the value of the sums evaded. Incredibly, Italy has the highest percentage of fiscal conscientious objectors in the world (apart from the USA, which has a long history of a different type of fiscal objection and which does not use the refused tax money to form a pool for peace projects). Perhaps this is the force behind the project in Italy, which is opening up doors which in other countries are still barred.

*. . . a nonviolent
defense has become
a historical necessity . . .*

1989 - 1990



CBD EXPLORED IN FIVE RECENT CONFERENCES

Ed. Note: Since November of 1989 civilian-based defense has been studied in five significant gatherings, in four different countries. We expect to see many more such conferences in the next few years as the concept of civilian-based defense becomes better understood throughout the world.

U.S.S.R.

The Moscow Conference on "The Ethics of Nonviolence" was held from November 27-29, 1989. It was organized by the Institute of Philosophy, Soviet Academy of Sciences. According to Professor George Crowell (Religious Studies Department, University of Windsor) who participated in the conference, the Moscow gathering was "... the first of its kind for this part of the world, a remarkable expression of *glasnost*." According to Crowell about 40 people were in attendance, primarily but not exclusively philosophers. Thirteen came from Western Europe and North America, three from Poland, one from Mongolia, and the rest from the USSR.

The key organizer of the conference was Dr. Abdusalam A. Guseinov, whom Crowell describes as follows:

a kindly, warm outgoing, white-haired, father figure, a man of Muslim heritage, who embodies a strong spirit of nonviolence. He had brought the conference into being as the fulfillment of a dream. In his address he suggested that Marx was right in maintaining that the material needs of all human beings could and should be met. But he rejected Marx's view of the necessity for violence, and insisted that humanity could never achieve this goal without employing the methods of Gandhi. He urgently called for drastic changes in human interactions, asserting that "we have no future without nonviolence."

Professor Crowell also describes Ruben Apresyan, a Soviet Armenian and another organizer of the conference:

(Apresyan) ... suggested that the concept of nonviolence should be established as a legal principle in order to assure respect for human rights. I first met Ruben, a capable, young philosopher, at a conference in 1987 in Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia, where he presented a paper arguing that altruism should prevail as the basic ethical norm for all human behavior. Remarkably he had developed this claim in complete isolation from the vast amount of work in Western Christian theology on the concept of agape, self-giving love, as the fundamental ethical norm.

Other participants mentioned in Crowell's report include Jean Goss, Ija Lazari-Pawlowska, Jean Vanier, Gene Sharp, Richard Deats, Hildegard Goss-Mayr, Catharine Perry, Wolfgang Sternstein, A. Milts, and a member of the Soviet Presidium, Arkady Volski. CBDA Board member, Robert Holmes (Philosophy Department, University of Rochester) was also a participant.

In concluding his report, Crowell described a tribute to the memory of Tolstoy, who was frequently referred to during the conference:

Some of us spent a very memorable day after the conference making a long, arduous pilgrimage in a very chilly bus to Yasnaya Polyana, the home of Tolstoy, which is preserved as a museum near Tula, south of Moscow.

We stood at dusk in a snow-covered forest beside the simple mound of earth that marks his grave, hoping that the influence of Tolstoy, Gandhi, and King, along with thousands of others of like commitment around the world, may help to evoke deep resources for active nonviolence in the people of this great and troubled nation, and indeed in all of us.

The proceedings of the Conference are to be published in Russian. Papers relating to civilian-based defense delivered at the conference included one by Professor Crowell, "The Case for Nonviolent Civilian Defense Against External Aggression," and another by Frank DeRoose (Research Associate, Program in Arms Control, Disarmament, and International Security, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign) entitled "Military Responses to Civilian-Based Defense."

AUSTRALIA

A weekend conference on Social Defense at the University of Wollongong (50 miles South of Sydney) was attended by 40 to 50 people, February 16-18, 1990. The weekend was organized by Schweik Action Wollongong. Guest speaker was Johan Niezing, Professor of Peace Studies at the Free University of Brussels, who addressed a public meeting on Friday night and the conference on Saturday morning. He was followed by Peter Jones, Research Officer to Senator Jo Vallentine from Western Australia, who spoke about the development of social defense at the international level and the spread of "people's power" in East Europe and Asia in recent years. He posed the question of its relevancy in the conflicts now affecting the Asia-Pacific region, given that social defense has largely been considered in the European or North American context and in the event of an invasion. A definition of power was discussed by Jerry Smith from Brisbane. Several women from the Melbourne Rainforest Action Group looked at the application of nonviolent action in recent demonstrations in Australia on peace and environmental issues. Consideration was also given to follow-up to the gathering and the imbalance of male and female participation in discussion of social defense and nonviolent action. (This account was taken from a report by Peter D. Jones. Schweik Action Wollongong can be contacted c/o Brian Martin, Department of STS, University of Wollongong, NSW 2500, Australia.)



ITALY

Ed. Note: Two separate conferences on civilian-based defense took place in Italy in November, 1989. The first, at Boves, near Cuneo, is covered elsewhere in this issue, in an article by Dr. Antonino Drago. The second is described below with the help of some conference materials sent by Doug Bond (Program on Nonviolent Sanctions in Conflict and Defense, Harvard) who was a participant.

A conference entitled "PEACE AND SECURITY FOR EUROPE. ARE THERE ALTERNATIVES TO MILITARY DEFENSE?" was held November 28-29, 1989 at the Parliament, (Camera dei Deputati - Montecitorio) in Rome. It was sponsored by Segreteria per la Difesa Popolare Nonviolenta (Secretariat for People's Nonviolent Defense) and by Campagna Nazionale Obiezione Alla Spese Militari (National Campaign for Conscientious Objection to Military Expenditures).

The object of the conference in Rome was to inform members of Parliament about the international research already done on nonviolent defense, and, by this means, to broaden exposure to the idea in Italy, where discussion of nonviolent people's defense has been going on for some time, but not throughout society. It was recognized that, if nonviolent defense is to become workable and institutionalized, the society as a whole must become aware and involved.

The conference was opened by Vittorio Merlini of the Secretariat for People's Nonviolent Defense.

The first panel was on "The Experience of European Defense Problems," and was presided over by Sen. Gianfranco Pasquino. Participants were Claudio Di Blasi, Eirene Studi per la Pace, in Bergamo; Adam Roberts, Balliol College, Oxford (via video); Nanni Salio, Centro D. Sereno Regis, Torino; and Fulvio Manara, Eirene Studi per la Pace, Bergamo.

A second panel on "Rethinking Defense as a Political Problem" was composed of Johan Galtung, University of Hawaii; Douglas Bond, Harvard's Program on Nonviolent Sanctions; and Roland Vogt, Otto Suhr Institut, Frei Universitat Berlin.

The second day's program included two round-tables and a panel. The first round-table, on "The Feasibility of a Civilian Alternative in Defense" included the Coordinator, Nanni Salio, along with General C. Jean, Jean-Marie Muller, A. L'Abate, P. Miggiano, and L. Menapace. The panel, "Research Problems" included the chairperson, Giancarla Codrignani, Jean-Marie Muller, Douglas Bond, Roland Vogt, and Antonino Drago. The final round-table on "Legislative Prospects" was for members of Parliament and was coordinated by Domenico Gallo. Lucetta Palito, Segreteria DPN, was responsible for the conclusion.



**SOME PAST
CONFERENCES ON
CIVILIAN-BASED
DEFENSE**

Ed. Note: Since 1964 a number of significant conferences on civilian-based defense have occurred. The following list will give some idea of the continuing interest in the subject during the last quarter century. In a later issue we will be happy to print information about any conferences we've missed. Please send details.

1964 Oxford, England

Civilian Defence Study Conference, September 6-14, at St. Hilda's College. Papers were presented by James Bristol, April Carter, Arne Naess, D.J. Goodspeed, Alun Gwynne Jones, Gene Sharp, Theodor Ebert, Nils Petter Gleditsch, Theodore Roszak, Wolfgang Sternstein, Stewart Meacham, Adam Roberts, M.R.D. Foot, Johanne Reutz Gjermoe, Rainer Hildebrandt, Liddel Hart, George Lakey, and Lars Porsholt.

1967 Munich, West Germany

Arranged by the Association of German Scientists as a follow-up to the Oxford Conference.

1970 Tampere, Finland

An academic conference.

1972 Uppsala, Sweden

An international conference of researchers, arranged by the Department of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala University, with support from the Ministry of Defense.

1976 Brussels, Belgium

1978 Oslo, Norway

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**1989-1990
CBD EXPLORED**

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UNITED STATES

A "National Conference on Nonviolent Sanctions in Conflict and Defense" was held in Cambridge, Massachusetts, February 8-11, 1990. The event was sponsored by the Albert Einstein Institution (1430 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02138. Phone: 617-661-0802) and was attended by approximately 180 invited persons, including a large number of panelists, speakers, and participants from outside the United States.

The Einstein Institution planned for and achieved great diversity in the participants. The announcement of the conference outlined the reason for that diversity:

Many groups of people are interested or involved in the development of non-violent sanctions — policymakers, activists, journalists, scholars, foundation executives, religious leaders, military officials, and others — but all too often they work in isolation from one another. This conference will provide a unique opportunity for these diverse groups to come together to share knowledge of and insights into the nature and potential of nonviolent sanctions in conflict and defense.

One of the outstanding panels during the conference featured a group of five individuals who have all, in one way or another, been practitioners of nonviolent struggle in their homelands, at great personal cost. The panel was entitled "Current Use of Nonviolent Sanctions in Conflicts Around the World." Mubarak Awad, from the Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence, discussed the struggle in the West Bank and Gaza. Patrick Lekota, spokesperson for United Democratic Front, presented a historical account of the South African nonviolent campaign. Li Liu, deputy commander of the Tiananmen Square hunger strikers, gave a stirring account of the events in China. Other panelists were U Tin Maung Win of the Committee for the Restoration of Democracy in Burma, and Raymundas Rayatskas of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences. Conference participants had opportunity to hear strategic analyses of the same five nonviolent struggles in additional panels later in the program.

A presentation entitled "Toward a Comprehensive Strategic Approach to Nonviolent Struggle" was given by Christopher Kruegler from the Program on Nonviolent Sanctions at Harvard University. While he acknowledged that not everything about a nonviolent struggle can or should be pre-planned, nonetheless, nonviolent struggle can be more effective if one takes a strategic approach and makes sure that all the essential ingredients are present. Some of these essential ingredients are: having well-defined objectives, unity of command, an operational plan, a capacity for maneuvering under changed circumstances, performing with consistency, and being ready to protect one's gains.

The last morning of the conference was devoted to a panel on civilian-based defense. Gene Sharp moderated the five member panel entitled, "The Potential of Civilian-Based Defense: Next Steps for Policy Development."

Major General Edward Atkeson, U.S. Army (ret.) led off the discussion. He noted that the similarities between military and nonviolent struggle are greater than the differences. Much of what goes on in the armed forces is not violence; for example, planning, logistics, training, estimates of enemy strength, and supply. Many of the principals on which military operations are based could be useful also in nonviolent campaigns. He listed nine of these: having clear objectives, taking the offensive whenever possible, concentrating one's power, economy of force, being able to maneuver as need arises, having unity within the command structure, keeping one's plans secure, minimizing the opportunities for the opponent to counter one's moves, and simplicity of planning. He pointed out that we have a well-honed set of tools here and advised that we use them.

The Swedish approach to civilian-based defense was presented by Gunnar Gustafson, Chairman of the Defense Ministry's Commission on Non-Military Resistance. He stated that, as a country with a long democratic history there is no fear that civilian-based

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1989-1990 CBD EXPLORED *(continued from page 6)*

defense will be directed against the established government but rather, is oriented toward external aggression only. Interest in this kind of defense grew in Sweden after the 1968 Czech resistance to the Warsaw Pact invasion. Civilian-based defense in Sweden is now seen as a complement to military defense. Sweden relies heavily on its multitude of movements and organizations for implementation of the policy should it be needed. (Swedish organizations have a membership of some twenty-five million whereas the population of Sweden is only eight and a half million.) Planning the resistance is not to be done in peace-time but there is emphasis on mental preparedness, providing information, and training leadership.

Heinz Vetschera, Federal Ministry of Defense in Austria, outlined civilian-based defense considerations which need to be taken into account by a permanently neutral nation like Austria. In a neutral country there is not so much fear that an attack will be made against the social order, which is usually what civilian-based defense is to defend, but rather, there is the threat that one or more warring nations will take a "short cut" through the neutral country or attempt to occupy it for military objectives. For that reason, according to Vetschera, civilian-based defense cannot be a sufficient strategy for defense. Military defense is needed to ensure that "taking the short cut through" would be costly to the other nation.

In regard to Austria, national security rests on three pillars: domestic stability, an active foreign policy, and comprehensive national defense. Unlike other countries, in Austria the head of government, the Federal Chancellor, coordinates comprehensive defense. Four areas and ministries are involved. The Minister of Education is responsible for psychological defense, the Minister of Economics for economic defense, the Minister of the Interior for civilian-defense, and the Minister of Defense for military defense. Vetschera recommended this structure as a useful way to incorporate elements of civilian-resistance in comprehensive defense. One problem to be overcome, however, is that the civilian-ministries are often too preoccupied with day-to-day matters to give much thought to defense, which is seen as a more remote concern.

Johan Jorgen Holst, former Minister of Defense for Norway, stressed that, in discussions of civilian-resistance, we should give attention to political reconstruction and we should not focus only on the dissolution of unwanted regimes. The question must be always asked, "after victory, what?" While the revolutions of 1989 in Europe were astounding, "the fruits of people-power can rot" if people cease to pay attention, lose sight of the relation between ends and means or withdraw before the battle is won. One must not leave everything to a government beyond one's control. There is no half-way solution to the question of political power, which is, as it were, the currency of civilian-based defense.

Adam Roberts, one of the participants in the 1964 Oxford Study Conference gave the final presentation. He suggested we think about the quiet, nonviolent Havel, who would never have considered the use of violence in the long struggle in Czechoslovakia, now reviewing the troops! He does not immediately, as President, propose the abolition of the armed forces. The transition from civilian-resistance to civilian-based defense is not easy, according to Roberts. In regard to how much progress we can hope for, he offered these propositions:

1. Civilian-resistance is not likely to be a complete substitute for military defense. Eastern European countries, for example, are likely to see some merit to remaining in alliances.
2. Preparations for civilian resistance may discourage some attempts at occupation.
3. Accepting CBD is a hard issue for governments to face. It means accepting some possibility of conflict and possibly even occupation.
4. We should not be more dogmatic about the possibilities of CBD than the practitioners. We can overburden the technique of civilian-resistance with too high expectations.
5. We must look for specific opportunities where civilian resistance can be used in defense.

Roberts noted that, after the 1968 resistance in Czechoslovakia, Sweden became more interested in this kind of defense. Perhaps other countries will draw some lessons from the 1989 events as well. Roberts felt that the decline of the Soviet Union as a serious military threat makes the case for thinking about defensive defense much stronger. Against this background there are considerable possibilities for civilian-based defense. The possibilities may not be quite as great as was dreamed at Oxford but still, this kind of defense could play an important role in the reduction of armed forces and in the reduction of the idea that the only thing that matters is armed force.

PAST CONFERENCES

(continued from page 6)

1978 and 1982 Omaha, USA

Conferences on civilian-based defense, open to the public, and sponsored by the Metro Omaha Peace Association. The Civilian-Based Defense Association evolved from the Omaha group and from these conferences.

1983 Santpoort, Netherlands

Conference on "Building Nonviolent Defence," sponsored by War Resisters International and the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, with encouragement from MIR/IRG (Belgium).

1985 Strasbourg, France

International Conference on "Civilian Defence Strategies," Nov. 27-29. Sponsored by the Research Institute on Nonviolent Conflict Resolution, with funds supplied in part by France's National Foundation for Defense Studies. Over 140 scholars, activists, government officials, and interested observers from Europe and the U.S. participated.

1988 Minden, West Germany

A gathering entitled "Wege zur Sozialen Verteidigung" (Paths to Social Defense) was attended by over 1100 people. It was sponsored by a wide variety of groups and movements working for social change. Soon after this conference the German "Bund für Soziale Verteidigung" (Association for Social Defense) was organized.

1988 Costa Rica and Nicaragua

From August 22nd to September 2nd, six international resource people on nonviolence and civilian-based defense met, in these two countries, with Central American leaders and representatives of a variety of Nicaraguan groups, to explore nonviolent defense options for Nicaragua. The United Nations University for Peace in Costa Rica, along with Peace Brigades International, cooperated in organizing this gathering.

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS



UNITED STATES

In Longview, Washington, Professor John C. Yoder, of Whitworth College in Spokane, will be one of the speakers in a series of presentations about new approaches to national security. His talk on civilian-based defense will be co-sponsored by the Cowlitz Fellowship of Reconciliation, Beyond War of Cowlitz County, and the Lower Columbia Community College.

In the Detroit area, John McCartney of the Nonviolent Action for National Defense Institute (8200 W. Outer Drive, Detroit, MI 48219. Phone 313-592-6254), uses dramatic reading of a play, called "The Eleventh Mayor," to introduce audiences to the idea of civilian-based defense. "The Eleventh Mayor" has been presented twenty times there.

Two papers on civilian-based defense, by Frank DeRoose, await publication. DeRoose is a Research Associate at the Program in Arms Control, Disarmament, and International Security, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 607 South Matthews Street, Urbana, IL 61801. (Phone 217-333-7086) He will soon be in residence in New Zealand. One paper, "Military Responses To Civilian-Based Defense" was presented at the Moscow Conference on "Ethics of Nonviolence" last November (see article elsewhere in this issue). The other, "Need Military Aggressors Kill People?" is to be published in the May 1990 issue of *Interdisciplinary Peace Research*. Copies may be requested from the author.

The Board of Directors of the Civilian-Based Defense Association has been expanded to include representation from Mexico and from Canada. The 1990 Board includes:

Mubarak Awad
Wapakoneta, Ohio
Melvin Beckman
Omaha, Nebraska
Philip Bogdonoff
Ithaca, New York
George Crowell
Windsor, Ontario
Jeanne Ertle
San Diego, California
Kari Fisher
Omaha, Nebraska
Cary Grey
Durham, New Hampshire

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REVIEWS

A.A. Klumper, *Sociale verdediging en Nederlands verzet '40-'45 - ideeel concept getoetst aan historische werkelijkheid* - (Nonviolent defense and Dutch resistance '40-'45 - an ideal conception tested by historical reality), Drukkerij Uitgeverij H. Gianotten, Tilburg, 1983. With a summary in English.

Review by: Henk bij de Weg, member of the Board of the Dutch Foundation Network Social Defense.

Several years ago Klumper published this remarkable study on social defense in the Netherlands during the Second World War. The study is remarkable because there are hardly any studies that tried to use sociological theory for studying a historical case of social defense. Moreover, it resulted in some practical advice for further research. Because of its quality, the study is generally judged as a positive contribution to the theory of social defense, even though it also considers the use of violence as a form of social defense in some situations.

Klumper's main theoretical point of view is that people live in situations that do not just happen to them, but that are experienced and judged according to their own interpretations. His aim is to study the character, place and functioning of resistance in an occupied society. His case is Dutch resistance to Nazi-occupation during World War II. His method is to interview resistance fighters. By his practical approach Klumper tries to answer some of his objections to most other social defense studies.

Klumper's main theme is the development of resistance as an institution, and from this point of view he discerns three phases in the Dutch resistance:

1. Reinterpretation of the life situation and looking for new lines of conduct. During this phase resisters cooperated mainly with people they knew personally and who had the same views (1940-42).
2. Increased need to help other people and to obstruct oppressive German measures. This led to the development of resistance networks and illegal relief organizations. Relations between resisters became less personal and more functional (1942-44).
3. Support for the expected liberation and protection against the more and more harsh German measures. This led to an increasing militarization of the resistance. Attention to the future administration of the liberated country led to politicalization of the resistance. Personal relations between the resisters became unimportant and he or she was just a replaceable part of a machine (1944-45).

Klumper also gives attention to the person of the resistance-fighter and how he or she changes during the years. At first he/she just wants to express disagreement with the new situation and to frustrate the occupying forces, without knowing how. Later he/she is a full-fledged specialist who knows when and how to act. It is essential that this knowledge had to be developed by trial and error.

As a result of his research Klumper discerns six fundamental characteristics of the Dutch resistance movement:

1. The Dutch resistance was hardly able to take the initiative. It reacted mostly to what the occupying forces did.
2. A resistance mentality grew slowly. Resistance was not against an abstract system but against concrete measures.
3. The resisters were relatively isolated and little-supported by the rest of the population. Only after the resistance movement had proven its value for helping people was it accepted.
4. Influenced by factors such as the reactive character of the resistance and the intention of the enemy to realize his aims as much as possible, the Dutch resistance developed internal dynamic processes leading to escalation of the conflict and the use of violence.
5. There was an increasing politicalization of the resistance.
6. The resistance movement was strong in flexibility, experimentation and improvisation. It succeeded in breaking through fixed organizational patterns.

The characteristics of the Dutch resistance movement are important because they conflict with the main views within social defense theory. However, even more important is the reason for this conflict, according to Klumper. It is that this theory generally ignores the uses of scientific, especially sociological knowledge. By consequence, social defense theory has little sense of reality. A social defense system must be developed on

(continued on page 9)

REVIEWS (continued from page 8)

the basis of a concrete situation and must continually be tested by research.

Klumper also gives some hints for the development, in the Netherlands, of what he calls a "subdefensive system"—a system that both obstructs the enemy and, most importantly, protects the native population as much as possible. Such a subdefensive system does not replace traditional defense systems but it is a supplement to them, which becomes operative after a military defeat. Though this system will not be nonviolent, the use of violence will be minimal.

Robert A. Irwin, Building a Peace System, ExPro Press, 1601 Connecticut Ave., NW, 5th Floor, Washington, DC 20009. 1989, 312 pages. \$14.95 paperback.

Review by: Herb Ettel (A radio and print journalist, living in Philadelphia. Coordinator of the first seminar group using Building a Peace System.)

As most peace activists now realize, focusing on weapons, war, and arms control cannot bring about a sustainable peace, or ensure the survival of the human species. A more holistic approach, addressing a range of related issues and alternatives, is needed.

In the author's own words, *Building a Peace System* "incorporates feminist, cultural, and psychological analyses; defines criteria for an economic system consistent with stable peace; examines 'New Age' thinking; presents strategy ideas; treats the roles of racism and the structure of U.S. politics in the war system; and suggests ways to choose and sustain one's own work for peace."

Bob Irwin subtitles his new volume, "A Book for Activists, Scholars, Students and Concerned Citizens." In fact, *Building a Peace System* may be the most comprehensive manual to date on the interwoven issues of peace, ecology and social justice. But more than just a book, it doubles as an extensive study guide and bibliography on transforming our current "war system" into a global "peace system."

The author explains the necessity of envisioning a future of peace and creating models of what that future may be like. He discusses various proposals for world governance and alternative security policies, and categorizes the functional elements of a peace system into four "layers": conflict prevention, conflict resolution, peacekeeping intervention, and defense by popular nonviolent resistance, also called civilian-based defense. He advises readers to "think globally and act locally"—to understand the big picture, including long term possibilities for developing a peace system, and yet to begin small specific steps now that will lead in that direction.

Irwin's goal is to provide a thorough overview and analysis of the best thinking to date on resolving the problem of war and violence in our global society—and how an imperfect but genuine global peace system might be brought about. In this he has succeeded commendably.

Hammer of Justice: Molly Rush and the Plowshares Eight

By Liane Ellison Norman

With an introduction by Ramsey Clark

"This is a well-written popular account of an act of civil disobedience committed in Pennsylvania in 1980, in which nuclear warhead casings at a General Electric plant were damaged by a group calling themselves the Plowshares Eight." — *Library Journal*

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SWITZERLAND

A news item in the January 1990 issue of the French magazine, *Non-Violence Actualite*, gives additional information relating to the surprisingly large "yes" vote last November (35.6% of the total vote), for Switzerland without an army. According to the article, the Geneva and Jura cantons voted for the legislation. Urban areas were more positive towards the legislation than were rural areas. And a majority of young adults, ages 20-34, voted in favor of the resolution. The 15,000 members of the "Switzerland Without an Army" coalition will now intensify the discussion of a comprehensive peace policy and support internal reforms by the army. They will also spread the movement to other European countries. Groups similar to "Switzerland Without An Army" have already been formed in East and West Germany, Poland, and Czechoslovakia.

CANADA

According to Norman Beudet of the Centre de Ressources sur la Non Violence (Nonviolent Resource Center) in Montreal, progress continues toward publication of an introductory book on civilian-based defense as it would relate to the Canadian context. The book, in French, will consist of four essays. It is being written with the help of a grant from the Arms Control and Disarmament Branch of the Government's Department of External Affairs. The Center can be contacted at 5770 Cote Des Neiges, Montreal, Quebec H3S 1Y9, Canada. Phone 514-340-9209.

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INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON NONVIOLENT STRUGGLE AND SOCIAL DEFENSE PLANNED AT BRADFORD

As this issue is being printed, final plans are underway for the Bradford Conference on Nonviolent Struggle and Social Defense, to be held April 3-7, 1990, at Bradford University in England. War Resisters International, along with the Bradford School of Peace Studies and other groups are sponsoring the gathering. It is planned as an international conference with about one hundred participants. Topics to be discussed include the new situation in Europe, recent experiences of people's power, analysis of social defense campaigns, the transition from social struggles to social defense, working with governments, and spreading the ideas of social defense among populations. A report on this conference will appear in the May issue of *Civilian-Based Defense: News & Opinion*.

✓ *Houston's largest newspaper carried this letter recently. Similar letters sent to large newspapers can help create public interest in civilian-based defense.*

Houston Chronicle
1/23/90

You don't need military force to topple leaders

"Freedom requires a price" was stated in a letter about Romania and Panama (Viewpoints, Jan. 12). But the lesson learned from the Romanians is that military force is not the only way to resolve conflicts. Civilian resistance routed Nicolae Ceausescu, Ferdinand Marcos in the Philippines, British rulers in India and dictators in the other Eastern European countries.

Many similar non-violent actions have succeeded in fighting oppression - as the Boston Tea Party demonstrates. Government and private organizations in France and other countries are studying civilian defense or resistance as a component of their defense forces.

Joan Denkler, Houston

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WOMEN AND SOCIAL DEFENCE

Renate Wanie

Translation by Wiebke Hagazussa

More and more, women are unable to agree with the hazy notion of peace as it is defined within their peace groups. They want to identify clearly what peace means and put demands on the term. As peace is not only the general state of "non-war", without general social violence, it must include the abolition of personal and structural violence by men against women; it must also include the abolition of a social system which manifests unequal power relationships between the sexes. What the author formulates here, on the occasion of the founding of the Bund für Soziale Verteidigung is also relevant to other areas of peace work.

Women and concepts of defence

Military concepts of defence are based on structures of hierarchical commands and obedience, and linked to those structures there are always violent relationships which are expressed as violence against women. For this reason, women - unlike some proponents of social defence - want to rely less and less on patriarchal governmental institutions as these support the violent relationships which oppress and discriminate against women in their daily lives. In answer to the question "who is responsible for the system of conventional military defence?", it has to be said that until now the defence of a country has clearly been men's task, and marked by men. And so it is not surprising that in wars, "taking possession of a country has always gone together with taking possession of (= raping) the women of the occupied country" (Brigitte Sekinger). This shows clearly the link between sexism and militarism.

For women who are working on concepts of social defence, it is important not only for wars fought by men to be condemned and nonviolent alternatives created, but it is of the utmost importance for women to liberate themselves from all kinds of tutelage by patriarchal politics, society and individual men.

Co-operation in social defence

For these reasons lots of women can only imagine a contribution to social defence on the premises that the sharing of work, based on a hierarchy between the sexes, will be abolished. This means that there will be no specific tasks only for men, e.g., leadership roles, nor only for women, e.g., caring, nurturing tasks. Furthermore, it has been agreed that women can't socially defend the existing governmental institutions with their sexist structures, as they are an expression of structural and personal violence against women. Sexism has to be one of the main issues in discussions of political groups. It must at last be noticed that whenever existing social violent relationships are resisted by nonviolent means, women are exposed to a specific violence. This realisation has to make its way into the analyses and perspectives of peace research. Antimilitaristic and pacifist groups, like the newly-founded Bund, also have to face their own sexist structures and work on them.

Without this fundamental change of awareness and without concrete actions, joint nonviolent actions between men and women have no more credibility.

I believe that women will take an active part in putting social defence into practice if - through independent and responsible thinking and behaviour - they can combine their political hopes for a life worthy of human beings with their daily individual and self-determined decisions. Women must be able to find themselves in the concepts of social defence and in the Bund's structures.

Emancipation is a political project and for women this also means an equal right to intervene in matters concerning peace politics. Feminism challenges antimilitarist and pacifist politics and broadens political understanding by questioning patriarchal norms and values. So women's participation is not just necessary, as pacifist and antimilitarist aims can't be achieved without women's involvement, but also because the aim of a nonviolent and non-hierarchical society must always go together with the liberation of women from every form of oppression. As a basic principle of nonviolence has it: the means is the end.

Power and social defence

A fundamental common feature of the concept of nonviolent resistance is the introduction of a new notion of power. Power in this case is defined as nonviolence and non-co-operation, in opposition to the power of conventional "power politics". In contributing to alternative concepts

of defence and society, women should not leave out the aspect of power, because until now they have experienced power only negatively, as the oppressed.

So at the founding of the Bund für Soziale Verteidigung, we women should ask if we have equal rights in the process of setting up a new organisation which claims to represent an experiment in power from below (e.g., quotas, antisexist understanding of "peace").

We have to redefine our relationship to power and authority. We can't afford to ignore the question of power and stand aloof from it. Power for women?! At the same time, we must discuss a new understanding of power.

According to the traditional political definition, power is a tool which people use to rule over other people. This disastrous reduction of political power to mean simply domination needs to be discussed again in the grassroots nonviolence movement. Hannah Arendt gives another definition of power, which to her is the absolute contradiction of violence: "Power corresponds to the human ability not only to act or to do something, but to unite with others and act in agreement with them". And Rosana Rossanda formulates it thus: "Power doesn't have to mean oppression - it could be the power to create a new way of living, a new world, in a new, inspiring sense".

It may be easier for women to deal with these other definitions of power and to identify with them, as they also include a responsibility for every kind of human existence and raises the question of the powerless in this society as a decisive criterion.

Nonviolent action and peacefulness ("friedfertigkeit")

The basic elements of social defence are nonviolent actions. Nonviolent methods of social defence and resistance are practised and developed. We women should think about which nonviolent actions we want to take part in and which we want to organise ourselves. In joint nonviolent actions carried out by men and women, the group must face its own sexist structures and work on them. The relationship between militarism and sexism should also be a theme in antimilitarist actions. As gender is a political category, it is always important to challenge the relationship between the sexes within liberation movements.

We have to be careful so that in nonviolent actions - which often imply a readiness to suffer and a sacrificial attitude - women don't reinforce our socialised role. An act which can be liberating for men, as it contradicts their conventional role, can affect women negatively.

In this context, we must refuse a command which can again be heard all too often. The greater aptitude for peacefulness which has been wrongly attributed to women can not be equated with nonviolence. It does women no good to participate publicly in actions which make a feature of suffering. On the contrary, they redouble their status as victims, the image of strong and weak is reinforced and gets in the way of women's liberation. Women can't fight against the patriarchal power system with behaviour patterns which have been allocated to them by this same patriarchal system.

For these reasons women have another starting point in their fight against the existing violent relationships, which also concerns their contribution to the strategies with aim to put social defence into action. "Not peaceful and not silent" (a slogan from the women's movement) should motivate women to undertake actions in which they can express not only their increased independence and self determination but also their rage and aggressivity.

Future work

Is it the right path for us women to become involved in a newly set-up political peace project such as the Bund für Soziale Verteidigung? Up to now we have been excluded from powerful positions within this patriarchal society. We have to decide for ourselves if we can work together with men in a pro-feminist way within the institution of this Bund. If we can, we should strive to present our understanding of politics assertively and powerfully.

TOWARDS A CIVILIAN-BASED NATIONAL DEFENCE POLICY FOR POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

1. Introduction.

South African society is in the throes of moving away from the old to a new order. These are exciting times, difficult times, extraordinary times. Times of fluidity and realignment. Times of opportunity. All the structures and institutions of our society are under the spotlight of change. None will emerge into the post-apartheid 'new South Africa' the same as they are now. They are, whether willingly or unwillingly, open to being changed now as never before in the history of our country. This is as true of the military as it is of any other institution. For example Piet Muller, political commentator writing in the Afrikaans-language newspaper Rapport, recently noted :

"It must be obvious to all but the blind that the SADF will have to hold out its hand to members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC.... within the next four years" (quoted in The Natal Mercury 22 Oct 1990).

This presents a tremendous opportunity for us who are concerned to influence a change in the future policies and institutions of national defence.

A number of us in Durban have begun thinking about a post-apartheid defence policy, and specifically around the idea of **social defence**, or **civilian-based defence** (these are the two most common terms for this concept and can be used interchangeably). Earlier this year we participated in an international Study Conference at the School of Peace Studies in Bradford, England. The Conference theme was Social Defence & Nonviolent Struggle : Developing People's Power as a Defence Policy. It was hosted by the International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR) and War Resisters International (WRI). An IFOR report on the conference (**Annexure A**) gives a taste for the type of topics explored in the plenary and group discussions at the conference. The idea of social defence is being explored in many countries around the world and in fact forms part of the defence policy of a few, such as Austria & Sweden.

The IDASA-organised MK-SADF The Future of Security and Defence in South Africa Conference in Lusaka from 23-27 May of this year was a significant event in many respects. However it was singularly lacking in any debate on whether post-apartheid South Africa's defence policy should be military, non-military or a mix of both. All the discussion

took place with the assumption that a future defence policy must necessarily be only **military** in nature. The purpose of this paper is to put forward an alternative to this assumption by considering the idea of civilian-based defence and its relevance to our own South African context. We hope that it will initiate discussion and debate broadly enough to ensure that the concept of civilian-based defence will be on the agenda of any future conference on post-apartheid security and defence. You are free to circulate it as widely as you think would be useful.

Before we can discuss the opportunities and challenges for social defence we need to understand what we mean by the term.

2. What is Social Defence?

Social Defence or civilian-based defence could be defined as **a nonviolent alternative or complement to military defence.**

It is a well-prepared nonviolent resistance by the population against invasion or occupation by a foreign power, a coup d'etat or against a dictatorship with the goal of opposing conditions of injustice and bringing about democratic conditions in which everybody's social, material, ecological, psychological and spiritual well-being is being pursued. This is done by the application of prepared nonviolent struggle : protest, non-cooperation, and intervention by a trained population, on the basis of advanced planning and preparations.

It is a method of defending a society whose qualities we value (eg democratic, nonracial). It is a method of defence not only against military aggression but also against economic exploitation, sexism, environmental destruction, poverty, homelessness etc. It is a genuine 'people's power' alternative or complement to military defence because it sees the involvement of **every individual** in shaping society as important, rather than abdicating responsibility to politicians for whom we cast our vote every few years.

It is more democratic (rather than hierarchical), more participatory (rather than elite), more co-operative (rather than coercive), more respectful of conscience and human rights, and more consistent with the values built up in the struggle against apartheid than military defence. It has the effect of acting as a restraining force on the dominating, exploiting and corrupting tendencies which are attendant to all governmental power, no matter where on the ideological spectrum a particular government may locate itself - for people will only be prepared to defend a system which they feel is just and which they have a stake in.

Further definitions can be found on pp 10-11 of **Annexure B**. Particularly helpful is Gene Sharp's definition on p 11. The whole Annexure itself, produced as a discussion paper by the Information-Project Social Defence of The Netherlands, makes very useful reading.

3. The Opportunity

There are a number of factors converging at the present time which may be giving us a unique opportunity to contribute to changing the future defence policy of our country; to shape a policy of democratic people's defence without the negative aspects inherent in a purely military defence policy. These factors include :

3.1 Most people in all the different communities of our country are sick and tired of apartheid's bitter legacy of war and violence which has become part of our everyday life. Many would welcome a move away from the culture of militarization which we currently live with, towards the creation of a demilitarized society with a culture of peace, justice and democracy. (This is the gist of a resolution passed at the recent Cape Town Diocesan Synod - see **Annexure C.1**).

Educational and social institutions and the media would play a key rôle in promoting this culture. Their programmes and activities would need to be transformed to enable them to contribute effectively to this process. (**Annexure C.2** discusses the importance of a good education system as against a strong military).

3.2 It makes sense economically. With the SADF having moved out of Angola and Namibia there have already been cut-backs on defence with resources saved from military spending going into other areas. There is scope for this type of **economic conversion** to continue further, with more of the national budget allocated to development projects.

There is also scope for **plant conversion** to happen. (As **Annexure C.3** shows, this has already begun in a small way with Armscor). South Africa has capital investment in massive military/industrial plant which can be converted to produce goods needed to build communities neglected by decades of apartheid mis-government.

3.3 The ANC has said on numerous occasions that it initiated the armed struggle with reluctance; that it was a tactic and not a principle; and it has now suspended this tactic as a contribution to creating a

climate for negotiations. In a speech at the Durban ECC AGM earlier this year Mosioua 'Terror' Lekota, ANC Southern Natal Convenor, said that in post-apartheid South Africa,

"...instead of pumping millions of rands into the army the ANC will channel money towards improving standards of living and creating jobs for people... We hope there would be no need for us to fight anybody or for anybody to fight us. We don't see the need of having an army. If we need to defend ourselves when we are attacked, the people in arms will defend themselves" (The New African 21 May 1990). SACP general secretary Joe Slovo was quoted earlier this year as saying that he would happily see the AK47 relegated to museum-piece status. The government has introduced laws forbidding the carrying of a wide range of weapons in public. And, hopefully, conscription will be suspended or abolished in the near future as a sign of good faith on the government's part in reciprocation for the ANC's suspension of MK activities. COSATU has held discussions where the need to divert resources from military spending to development has been raised.

These are all signs of a movement away from a culture of militarization towards one of peace, which we can support, encourage and build on.

- 3.4 Once we move into a democratic dispensation, which we will hopefully begin to do in the near future, there will be little need for an army, or a large one at any rate. The possibility of military invasion from our neighbours is remote. They have other more important priorities at home. On the contrary, they would welcome a 'new South Africa' into their community.

Within the country there may well be extreme right and left-wing acts of violence from groups dissatisfied with the outcome of negotiations. However these are unlikely to be on a massive scale, will probably involve a few small groups of people, and should be able to be dealt with by the SAP. In any case, experience has shown that meeting civil violence with brute firepower is not necessarily the most effective method.

- 3.5 We have a vast reservoir of experience to draw on. The majority of our people have extensive experience, skills, commitment and wisdom in waging 'people's power' after decades of creative, persevering and sacrificial resistance to apartheid. They are past masters in the art of mass resistance, whether through boycotts, stay-aways, strikes, chalk-downs, hunger strikes, sit-ins etc; and of building alternative people's structures and programmes to take forward the

struggle against apartheid. All these and more, used to **resist** an abominable system, can be employed as methods to **develop and defend** the democratic system their actions will have brought into being. Thus, while there will need to be training and resource expenditure, as with a military defence policy, many in the population will already have an understanding and some experience of the methods and principles of this type of policy. The people have been empowered in the struggle to end apartheid. They must continue to exercise that power to defend what is theirs. Street, block and area committees, the unions and civics would have an important educating, training, mobilising, organising and coordinating role to play in this type of people's defence.

4. The Challenge

Apart from any ethical or moral arguments, we would need to argue for social defence around the following proposition: **Waging a defensive war without military weapons costs less economically, does less damage to the environment, and takes less of a toll on people's psychological well-being** (ask the people of Natal about this one). **These benefits accrue in the pre-conflict training and preparation period, during the course of the conflict itself, and in the post-conflict reconstruction period.** The economic, environmental and human gains made with this type of defence policy will enhance the well-being of the nation, and reduce the likelihood of conflict breaking out.

The challenge for us is to demonstrate the truth of this proposition. We need to show that social defence is a viable, practical, effective alternative to military defence; that it **does the job** which military defence is designed to do; and that it **does the job better!** Credible, concrete proposals relevant to our particular context need to be developed and put forward.

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