

RESEARCH ON CIVILIAN-BASED DEFENCE

Giliam de Valk

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By Giliam de Valk.
In cooperation with Johan Niezing.

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FOREWORD

Most of the work for this book has been done in the period of the Cold War. Publication of "Research on Civilian-Based Defence" is nevertheless justified because research of the use of violence and nonviolence as political strategies is in the present world as relevant as it was during the Cold War. This book mainly concentrates on a systematic overview of research proposals including an assessment of their relevance and some implementation aspects. As a set of proposals the work of Giliam de Valk points to the future. There is a good chance that civilian-based defence as a field of research will get new interest. The United Nations more and more develop a strategy of peace-keeping in actual and potential areas of civil war and conflicts between (new) small states in regional settings. Civilian-based defence could be developed into a very effective and successful national or regional strategy of threatened and intimidated populations, if the United Nation explicitly would reward such a policy with strong political and, if necessary, military support.

"Research on Civilian-based Defense" is a contribution to a better understanding of the balance between violence and nonviolence in society. It is our hope that the book will stimulate new research efforts on a field which in a way is in it's infancy, but certainly worthwhile to develop.

Dr. J.G.M. Sterk
director SISWO

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INTRODUCTION

In its 1975 Memorandum on Disarmament, the Dutch government paid attention to the desirability of research into the possibilities of non-violent conflict resolution in general and of Civilian-based Defence (CBD) in particular. This has led to the appointment of the 'Begeleidingsgroep inzake het onderzoek op het gebied van de geweldloze conflictoplossing'¹, normally named after his chairman Johan Niezing (henceforth: the Niezing-committee). The members of the Niezing-committee were scientists and members of the administration. Due to changes in the political climate at the dawn of the 1980s the Niezing-committee ceased to operate. Out of the ten proposals the Committee suggested only one was carried out. The budget was cut from approximately Dfl. 3,500,000 to a mere tenth.

One of the reasons of initiating in 1984 an SISWO²/CBD-group was to continue the work of the Niezing-committee. The SISWO/CBD-group studied research-proposals of the previous period. On May 13th 1987 an evaluation meeting was held. The formulation of new proposals was discussed in order to come to a theoretically sound program. Also, the possibilities of obtaining financial support for the program were considered.

This project, 'Research on Civilian-based Defence', consists of three kinds of research proposals:

- the proposals of the Niezing-committee, upgraded and modified by the author
- the proposals of the SISWO/CBD-group
- some new proposals by the author.³

¹. In English: the Advisory Group for Non-violent Conflict Resolution.

². SISWO; Instituut voor Maatschappijwetenschappen ('Interuniversity Institute for Social-Scientific Research'). The institute is funded by the government and part of the University of Amsterdam. There was a special study group on CBD between 1984 and 1987: the Advisory Group on Research into Non-violent Conflict Resolution. This group will be denoted in this book as the SISWO/CBD-group. The author wishes to thank Joep Creyghon, Antonino Drago, Tjimen van 't Foort, Maarten Hoff, Ruud Janssens, Leonard Kater, Popko van der Molen, Wim Robben and Henk bij de Weg for their helpful comments on and contribution to this 'Research on Civilian-based Defence'.

³. In 1988 the author wrote his masters thesis on 'Strategy and Civilian-Based Defence' at the University of Leiden: *Strategie en Sociale Verdediging*, Leiden, 1988.

In this project various types of research proposals are put forward. Some of them refer to fundamental questions that have hardly been studied so far (ref. proposal 5-E in index). In other ones some data and insights derived from other fields are used (e.g., sociology; ref. proposal 3-A). Occasionally, a proposal is mentioned because it may render results that can be used for several other parts of the overall project (ref. proposal 1-G). All proposals are limited in the time and money they need.

'Research on Civilian-based Defence' uses the categorization as proposed by Johan Niezing to the SISWO/CBD-group⁴:

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

According to Niezing CBD has to be viewed primarily as a system of deterrence. His categorization stems from a formula originally developed by J.D. Singer: deterrence is the estimated capabilities x the estimated intentions as estimated by the opponent (for a further explanation see Niezing's paper on modeling utopia in appendix D). The author, however, wants to stress the role of the confrontation itself in CBD. However, in my view this might lead to complementary results rather than to two different approaches to CBD.

The respective research proposals consist of two parts. The first part will discuss formulation of the problem, aim, and relevance. In the second part the research program and the time required to carry out the proposal, will be considered. These time schedules are categorized as follows:

- A: less than one year for one researcher;
- B: one to two years for one researcher;
- C: two to four years for one researcher;
- D: long term project for several researchers of the same discipline;
- E: long term interdisciplinary project for several researchers.

Within literature different points of view on CBD have been developed.

⁴. Johan Niezing in his letter to the SISWO/CBD-group of May 18, 1987.

These different insights become explicit in this book, for example, in proposal 4-E (CBD: strategic or communicative acting). Different ideas, even more or less opposite to each other, may stimulate thinking about CBD. A conceptual framework has to be used in which a motivated exchange of ideas can take place, as opposed to the clash of fixed belief-systems. To have a fruitful discussion, a framework can be, as well as other methods, the scientific dispute. Within the scientific dispute there is the possibility of controlling the research output and the falsification of postulated ideas. The result will be a higher level of discussion and a further development of insights. Bearing in mind these different approaches to CBD, the object of 'Research on Civilian-based Defence' is to establish a logical and integrated set of proposals that may contribute to further research on CBD.

1a. Instrumental Capabilities (fixed and added) in relation to CBD: Sources not Dependent on People Cooperating

1-A. An inventory of shadow structures⁵

1. Aim, definition of the problem and relevance.

The build-up of a CBD system is a matter of a societal organization and mobilization. Together they form a latent structure to be applied in a confrontation. However, to some extent this shadow structure already exists: some measures and organizations that can be transformed easily for the purpose of the CBD system are to be mentioned and researched. Shadow structures are needed for an effective CBD-system. It can be ministries with dual capabilities. It can be activated through instructions for civil servants. It can consist of recycling systems and an agriculture policy to diminish the dependency on other countries. In short: there is a wealth of shadow structures existing everywhere where a society has the possibility to adapt itself to difficult circumstances like, for example, an occupation. This complex of shadow structures comes into action if the CBD-system is operational.

The aim of this study is to make an inventory of shadow structures needed. To get an idea of relevant fields for which shadow structures are needed, one can use the method of reflected image. One looks for those groups and organizations that an aggressor wants to get under control at first, like agriculture or trade unions. However, this method will not supply us with the full scope of shadow structures, for there are always fields of interest left that are of importance for the legal government and not for an aggressor. These can be found by analyzing what is absolutely needed for a rudimentary societal functioning. A second aim of this study is to get an inventory of already existing shadow structures. Also, it has to be investigated how these structures can be adapted to a structure that fits in a CBD security policy. For this part of the research, one has to define the fields for which shadow structures are needed. Studies like 5-A (types of conflicts) or 4-C (means of confrontation) can be helpful in supplying some background information on this. Knowing the fields for which shadow structures are needed, we will make a further

⁵. This proposal is based on a letter of Johan Niezing to the SISWO/CBD-group of May 18, 1987 called 'Een inventarisatie van reeds bestaande schaduwstructuren'.

specification for the parts within the shadow structures that will need some extra attention. Studies like 1-G 'Key-positions' and 1-B 'decentralization' may be helpful. One can check the weak points of the CBD system in terms of absence of shadow structures. Which type of shadow structures is needed will differ from country to country. There will be made a difference between common shadow structures and specific shadow structures in the execution of this study. Common shadow structures are needed for every country with a CBD-security policy. Specific shadow structures differ from country to country and have much to do with the specific circumstances of a certain country.

The relevance is twofold. First, one gets an insight of shadow structures that are already existing and the way these structures have to be altered and adapted for a CBD security policy. This will save much double work. Second, one becomes aware of new shadow structures to be created. A more indirect effect is that, besides an inventory, one will get an idea what is needed for a CBD system. In this way one can see it as a study promoting awakening of consciousness on CBD.

2. Research program.

- Making an inventory of already existing shadow structure (civil service, politics, enterprises, trade unions, pressure groups etc.).
- Making an inventory of shadow structures with the method of reflecting image (what an aggressor wants to get under control). Distinguishing between common and specific structures.
- Making an inventory of shadow structures needed as an outcome of what is absolutely needed for a rudimentary social functioning. Distinguishing between common structures, and those specific for a specific country.
- Making a specification of shadow structures that need extra attention with the help of, for example, studies such as 1-B (decentralization) and 1-G (key-positions).
- A categorization of different kinds of shadow structures in terms of the way of organization, actual functioning, vulnerability etc.
- Possible measures to adapt and strengthen existing shadow structures, given for the types of shadow structures as distinguished. The same can be done for the creation of new shadow structures.
- Possible interactions between shadow structures within a CBD-strategy. For this the studies 4-C (CBD-security policies) and 5-A (types of conflicts) can be used as a reference.

This is a category C research proposal.

1-B. CBD and social organization: a preliminary research into the relation between centralization and decentralization within a CBD system.⁶

1. Aim, definition of the problem and relevance.

Aim is to get an insight into questions of centralization and decentralization with respect to CBD and its efficiency and effectiveness. In the literature on CBD an ideological bias is present (for example: Ebert and his ideas on grass-root organizations). The aim of this study is to find out which elements in this discussion are of importance for a CBD-strategy and which elements are more based on ideological motives. In theoretical literature on CBD, the need for a thorough decentralization of administration (in the sense of all social decision-making organs) is strongly emphasized. The idea is to lessen the vulnerability of the defence. Furthermore, the proposed decentralization is based on (implicit) ideological motives as, for example the idea of CBD as an exponent of a democratic defence. In this view, decentralization should encourage a further democratization of the society. Because of this, decentralization is often regarded as an absolute principle, with the exception of the elements that can be also regarded as necessary for central decision-making: there is a need for a central medium that at least should coordinate a CBD-strategy. Absence or lack of coordination not only affects the efficiency but even affects the effectiveness of a CBD-strategy. In a warlike situation there is a shortage of means, so this issue has to be studied carefully.

Study can be carried out in a more neutral way. This proposal will not advocate, in advance, a certain ideological build-up of CBD, but will study the whole spectrum of strategies possible. After such a study, conclusions can be drawn and political motives and ideologies are of course part of such a decision. This means certain options are not excluded beforehand because they do not lead to the desired belief-system. Outside the CBD-literature studies are available concerning the issue of (de-)centralization. One can think of military, political or sociological insights. Examples are: studies on organization of guerrilla and protracted warfare; studies on organizations fit for conflict management; grass-root organizations and efficiency and effectiveness. Not only much literature available, but the discussion will be raised

⁶. This proposal is based on Project-7 of the Niezing-Commission (:Begeleidingsgroep inzake het onderzoek op het gebied van de geweldloze conflictoplossing, *Het onderzoek naar geweldloze conflictoplossing en sociale verdediging. Deel II: een uitgewerkt onderzoekprogramma*. The Hague, November 1981), p. 76-79. It is updated and tailored to a more strategic approach.

above uninspiring polemics of conflicting belief-systems.

The central question is: What can be seen as an optimal ratio between centralized and decentralized forms of social organization in a CBD-strategy, with regard to its efficiency and effectiveness of acting? Other questions are: Does the amount of (de-)centralization differ between the groups involved? Can one develop general guidelines for the structure of those groups? If so, what are the underlying criteria? These criteria may differ from one society to another.

This study supplies us with an insight of possible guidelines for the structuring of groups within a CBD-strategy, and their accompanying effects on the efficiency and effectiveness. To speak in terms of Clausewitz, this study is narrowed down to the level of strategy. The superior political level is not the subject of study. In this study the pre-confrontation measures meant for the actual confrontation, the war itself, will be subject of study.⁷ Proposal 1-C (repression techniques) can be partly used as background information for this study with respect to the search for the best way of organization against these repression techniques.

2. Research program.

In this respect, one can think of five steps of research:

- Existing literature on CBD: this literature not only has to be evaluated, stripped of its ideological quality, but also descriptive studies concerning concrete events are subject of study.
- Research into the organization of (Dutch) resistance during the Second World War. When did a centralized coordination or a decentralized structure showed dysfunctional aspects with regard to the efficiency and the effectiveness of the resistance?
- Studies of protracted warfare, like guerrilla warfare. In Swiss planning they aim at a combination of CBD and guerrilla warfare. One can presume that certain analogies will exist between guerrilla warfare and CBD. Which are these parallels, and which conclusions can thus be reached from literature on guerrilla warfare, in this respect?
- Analyzing military literature on centralization and decentralization. Available literature on politics and sociology as in areas such as conflict management, grass-root organizations and efficiency and effectiveness.

⁷. Prewarfare measures for the *post*-warfare state of peace will be researched in proposal 4-D. Effects of a certain structure, of a defence system on the superior level of politics in general, will be partly studied in proposal 5-C.

- Drawing main features of the analysis. If there are different interpretations in the available literature, a framework has to be given, explaining those differences out of distinct underlying criteria or situation leading to these differences. Conclusions have to be drawn from this framework for the guidelines for the structuring of the groups that are subject of study.
- This is a category C research proposal.

1-C. Repression technologies and CBD.⁸

1. Aim, definition of the problem and relevance.

New methods and technologies are being thought out and developed in order to increase political control through government institutions. Application of this makes way for an increasingly powerful and efficient suppression of an opposition. This abundance of modern repression methods will enable authoritarian regimes as well as foreign occupiers to increase the effectiveness of their security troops. As a result of this development, it will become increasingly difficult to combat such regimes with non-violent means. The aim of this research is to initiate a synopsis of the most relevant studies, in order to establish with the utmost precision the nature of the problems. The following rough categories can be distinguished: riot technologies; intruder detection technologies; area denial technologies; communications technology; security/police/intelligence computers and associated programs; surveillance technologies; special vehicles; prison technologies; interrogation and torture methodologies and technologies. Another aim is to find, by using the obtained technical information and the survey of existing technologies for repression and political control, effective counter-measures and propose them. Such counter-measures can consist of changes in behaviour and the development of defence or technical means in order to allow more active defence against a certain form of repression by eliminating or destroying its effects. Hopefully, the project will also provide means to discover the best possible organization of CBD through which feelings of trust, support etc. will increase. With respect to the best possible organization this project can be used to supply proposal 1-B (decentralization) with background information.

It will be directed at issues like: which are the precise technical specifications and effects or possibilities of repression techniques and technologies available today? In how far are they complementary and can they constitute networks of repressive coercion and control? What are its psychological effects? What are, in actual cases, the social and political effects and results on short, middle and long term basis? What can be done in order to resist such forms of manipulation? In what way is it possible to lessen or to take away the effects of this manipulation at a technical, tactical or strategic level?

⁸. This proposal is based on:

- Project-4 of the Niezing-Commission, p. 55-62;
- Steve Wright, *A proposal to investigate advanced technologies of political control and their counter measures*. 1981?, unpublished.

The relevance of this study is to prepare CBD for an attack carried out by those repression techniques and technologies and the related forms of manipulation and behaviour. Some research, that can be used as background information, especially for the field of computers and associated programs, will be done through proposal 1-D (information-explosion) and 1-E (databases). As said, with respect to the best possible organization this project can be helpful for 1-B (decentralization).

Steve Wright wrote his Ph.D. thesis on this subject at the end of the eighties. Unfortunately this study was never published. To avoid duplication it is worthwhile contacting Steve Wright.

2. Research program.

- Phase one: making an inventory of information of different groups and institutions working on the subject. Some sources are: Northern Ireland, BSSRS in London, State Research, CILIP (Germany), Policy Studies Institute (Washington), Council for Economic Priorities (New York). In the Netherlands information is available at groups like AMOK, Jansen & Janssen and the Transnational Institute. Information can be completed by: periodicals like Securitech and Defence Attache; periodicals for the police; periodicals for producers of equipment; (international) exhibitions concerning arms and security. In step one, a categorization is made for the different repression technologies and techniques.
- The second phase will consist of applying the technical information that the research has yielded by proposing possible counter-moves. This will, if possible, be done in cooperation with experts in the field of counter-moves.
- The third phase consists of carrying out various analyses. It may necessitate cooperation with important centres for technological assessment, like the Aston University (Technology Police Unit), Sussex University (Science Policy Research Unit), Manchester University (Department of Liberal Studies in Science) and the University of London. In the Netherlands relevant studies on technology assessment are published in 'Wetenschap en Samenleving'.

This is a category C research proposal.

1-D. Information-explosion.⁹

1. Aim, definition of the problem and relevance.

This proposal has a strong link with proposal 1-E. The aim is to study the effects on CBD of the explosion of the spread of information. There are different effects of this information explosion mentioned in the literature. First, there is an overload of information. One has to distinguish relevant information from other types. Secondly, there is a possibility of manipulation of information. A third connected with the second issue, is accessibility of information. Those effects do not necessarily lead to only more repression. They can be used by both sides. Therefore, processes of mobilizing these effects by the opposite parties, have to be studied. All three effects have their consequences on both a CBD-security system and its opponent. I will give here some of the most important consequences.

The first point, overload of information, can harm CBD. It may lead to a situation in which strategic relevant material remains unattended. The determination of strategic goals can thus become less accurate. Analyzing frameworks has to be developed to distinguish relevant from irrelevant material. The opponent can manipulate information (second point). Manipulation will be strengthened if a repressive system depends on exclusiveness of access to data. A similar pattern will be explained in proposal 1-E. This dependence can be utilized in these times of broadening currents of information all over the world. In order to keep certain types of information for themselves, repressive systems nowadays have to invest more energy and cunning to keep it that way. CBD can thus be boosted by encouraging and promoting the accessibility of information to as many people as possible. The easier information of all kinds flows through a society, the more difficult it will be for an opponent to gain control over information flows and use it to suppress a population. It is therefore worthwhile to study possibilities to de-monopolize and popularize information access. One can think of, for example, the use of photocopying, radio, telephone, or more modern, fax and pc's with desk-top publishing possibilities. All three issues, overload, manipulation and accessibility, have to be worked out for their possibilities of use and effects on both a CBD-security system and its opponent. It would be worthwhile to make an inventory of all relevant information media and investigate the possibilities for a society to influence the related

⁹. This proposal is based on notes (for a SISWO/CBD-group meeting of March 31, 1990) and comments (in his letter to Giliam de Valk of October 20, 1990) of Popko van der Molen. Relevant literature is listed in this last letter.

infrastructures and legislation in the desired direction. Besides, this framework of analysis can be developed for CBD to distinguish relevant material from irrelevant information. This makes a more accurate determination of the goals of a CBD-strategy possible.¹⁰

The relevance is to study the effects of the explosion of the spread of information on CBD and measures to be taken. There is a link with some other proposals. The most strong one is with proposal 1-E (databases and personal files). The 1-E study has much to do with the explosion of the spread of information. However, databases and personal files will be treated as a specific item for reasons of the issue of privacy. Questions like the accessibility of information will come up in proposals 1-C (for example: communications technology; security/police/intelligence computers and associated programs), 1-E (databases etc.), and 5-D and 5-E (intelligence services). Thus, this study 1-D may supply these proposals with some background information.

2. Research program.

- Which are the relevant media, in its broadest sense, concerning the explosion of the spread of information.
- An inventory of effects of the information explosion on CBD. There has been an information explosion in the 1920s and 1930s as well (radio/film). Are there similarities? What are differences? Are analogous effects to be expected? An inventory of current effects is made by 'Stichting Waakzaamheid Persoonsregistratie'.
- Effects of information explosion: overload, manipulation and accessibility. How can it be used and handled by both CBD and an opponent?
- Formulation of possibilities for a society to influence the related infrastructures and legislation into the desired direction. An inventory of possibilities for both CBD and its opponent of implementation of measures, techniques and legislation.
- There are overlaps possible with other research proposals. In that case this study can be subservient to those researches. An inventory can be given of the overlaps with studies 1-C, 1-E, 5-D and 5-E.

This is a category B research proposal.

¹⁰. You can learn from security institutions like the German Bundes Kriminal Amt from their, for example, 'Rasterfahndung'. You have to bear in mind that these techniques are controversial for reasons of lack of privacy and abuse of power.

1-E. A research into the existence and meaning of databases and personal files.¹¹

1. Aim, definition of the problem and relevance.

The aim of this study is to research the effects of the tendency of the compatibility of databases. It is likely the growth and compatibility of databases and personal files will have serious consequences for CBD. With respect to this point, this study deals with the same question as proposal 1-D (information explosion). However, there is a great difference with this research proposal, which studies exclusively information concerning individual civilians. Advocating both openness and privacy will lead to tensions and excluding options. Thus, the proposed openness in study 1-D will conflict with the interests of the privacy of civilians. Policies of total openness and accessibility of information have to be developed carefully. First, two possible policies will be given. Second, questions will be given to determine the most suitable possibility. The two possibilities are more or less opposite to each other.

In the first approach, databases and their information-flows are seen as threats that have to be countered by embanking those databases and personal files. This will be complicated for reasons of the spread of technology. Three fields are in this particular problem interwoven; first, spread of technology; second, privacy; and third, national security (CBD). If one chooses for the approach of embanking, one has to know if it is practicable. Equipments will become smaller and less expensive. If this is the case, it is possible that regulations will be passed by technological developments.

The approach above can be opposed by a total different policy. An aspect, which is often overlooked, is the neutralization of the dangers for separate individuals by an information-overflow of the controlling system. Unlimited -and therefore inaccurate- information on all individuals undermines the (often fallacious) notion that some individuals are more dangerous for a security policy than most others. In this option, there is tension between privacy and national security. It may prove to be an efficient strategy to stimulate completeness of data and their liberal accessibility to many/all groups. In particular when the accessibility to the data is broad and general, the relative advantage to an opponent may turn into a disadvantage because it is not exclusive

¹¹. This proposal is based on:

- Johan Niezing, in his letter to the SISWO/CBD-group of May 18, 1987;
- comments of Popko van der Molen, in his letter to Giliam de Valk of October 20, 1990.

anymore. There is a link with proposals on intelligence services (5-D and 5-E). Today, this aspect is particularly relevant since information banks are growing increasing rapidly in number and size and will be more easily accessible in the future to many parties. This tendency is likely to gain impetus rather than to be harnessed. Therefore, one could take advantage of the fact of needing exclusive rights to make use of information by the repressive system. Those systems cannot thrive on a free exchange of information, openness of information flows does not fit with repression. The presupposition is: information only enhances power if it is exclusive. One has to study in what cases or circumstances this presupposition is valid.

In short: it has to be analyzed in what cases a certain policy (privacy or openness) is most adequate.

Main questions are: What are the dangers of the tendency of compatibility of databases? What are the effects and possibilities of not embanking those databases for both the functioning of a society and for CBD? In what way can the abuse of databases be lessened by measures in advance (peace time) and during a confrontation? What codes have to be developed for behaviour; what laws have to be initiated? Some data is of importance for society itself, some are of importance for an opponent. Does they cover the same data? Is it possible to make duplicates for abroad? Is it possible to store the data in a way they are inaccessible?¹² Can an opponent develop programs to separate relevant input from irrelevant (like the German 'Rasterfahung': see note in proposal 1-D)? If so, is this effect lessened by the total open accessibility of databases and personal files? If not, by which means of anticipation can one prepare oneself against these programs? What are the consequences for the privacy of civilians if one chooses a strategy of openness? And last but not least: what are the criteria of choosing a certain policy if there is a tension between national security and privacy?

The relevance of the study is to get an insight into the consequences of the spread and compatibility of databases and personal files for a security policy, and for the interests of the privacy of civilians.

2. *Research program.*

- An inventory: which kinds of databases and personal files exist in Dutch society; what is the outreach of those information systems; who are in control of those databases? Information of the 'Stichting

¹². Can we, in this respect, learn something from the inaccessibility of, for example, the Stasi-archives?

Waakzaamheid Persoonsregistratie' (this is a foundation for the protection of privacy) may be helpful.

- A categorization: what are possible ways of abusing those information-systems; what are the effects of that misapplication?
 - Which data are of importance for a society to keep functioning, which data are of importance for an opponent? Which are the duplicates? This inventory may be of relevance as a criterium to choose a strategy of openness or of embanking.
 - Measures: which measures can be taken to lessen, to encounter or to reverse abuse (in both ways: that of protecting information and that of a strategy of an over- and free flow of information)? And more specifically, which measures, in the field of law and organization can be taken? What can be done by training the people working with databases?
 - Which are the effects of the measures studied above? These effects have to be studied for both peace-time and in case of conflict. If the development of technology goes on, are these measures expected to be continually effective? Have these measures serious undesired side-effects with regard to economics? Will measures of embanking databases affect or threaten the freedom of gathering information? With respect to the issue of privacy, which dilemmas cause a strategy of an over- or free flow of information? In what cases are these dilemmas likely to occur?
 - What are the criteria to distinguish the best (embanking or overflow) option? A diversification for each type, from the categorization of databases and personal files can be made (see step three). The criteria can be developed with respect to privacy, national security, effects on economics, spread and development of technology. Suggestions will be given for the most suitable option and measures.
- This is a category B research proposal.

1b. Instrumental Capabilities (variable) in relation to CBD: Sources Dependent on People Cooperating

1-F. Instructions to civil servants as a decision-making condition for an effective CBD system in case of an occupation.¹³

1. Aim, definition of the problem and relevance.

It is important for civil servants to know how to act during a confrontation. Without cooperation of civil servants it will be very difficult for an aggressor to gain power over a country. On the other hand, civil servants depend on the government of a country, an aggressor wants to rule. This means that there is a dual dependency between civil service and an aggressor. How must civil servants act? One does not have to develop a completely new instrument to provide the civil service with a guideline. One can continue within a tradition that started in the Netherlands in the 1920s and 1930s: the so-called 'Directions' for civil servants. C.J. Lammers provides another point of view when he studies the sources of power and authority of the German occupier in the Netherlands¹⁴. In this study he refers to the 'Directions'.

In the Dutch CBD-literature one finds references to the 'Directions' ('Aanwijzingen') that were laid down in 1937 by the Colijn-administration of that time, for the instructions of civil servants in case an armed attack -from Nazi-Germany- would take place. In the 'Directions', government officials and their staff were urged to remain at their post in the interest of the population, unless staying would lead to an unacceptable form of collaboration with the occupier. In 1962, the government withdrew the 'Directions' hitherto in force and instead made a new version, in which the principle of 'keeping on working without collaboration' is nevertheless maintained.

Now the question arises, in how far the 'Directions' that are

¹³. This proposal is based on:

- Project-6 of the Niezing-Commission, p. 70-75;
- Joep Creyghton, *Instructies aan ambtenaren als beleidsvoorwaarde voor een effectief systeem voor sociale verdediging in het geval van een bezetting*. Leiden, 1981, 40pp.

The proposal is updated and altered concerning instructions for specific groups of civil servants.

¹⁴. C.J. Lammers, *Macht en gezag van de Duitse bezetter*. Amsterdam, Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1990.

now in force can be regarded as an adequate instrument for decision-making for the preparation of civil servants to their responsibilities in a future situation of occupation. It has to be answered for separate categories of civil servants as given in proposal 1-G. It has to be put to the test, with regard to:

1. the experiences with the 'Directions' during the Nazi-occupation, partly based on the report of the Dutch Survey Commission on Government Policy 1940-1945;
2. the considerations playing a part in laying down the altered version of the 'Directions' in 1962;
3. the requirements of a policy of instructions for civil servants as far as they can be deduced from literature on CBD and, more in particular, from the proposals from April Carter to the Alternative Defence Commission in Great Britain;
4. reference to international law as a guide line for possible behaviour. A source for further study is written by dr. Yvonne van Dongen.¹⁵

The relevance of the research proposal is two-fold. First, it concerns an analysis of an existing administrative policy: the results of the 1937 and 1962 'Directions' and its evaluation. An empirical check is possible. Unfortunately there is hardly no foreign material available. As far as known by the author, until now Britain and Germany have no (specific) instructions. Perhaps the defence systems of Sweden, Switzerland or Yugoslavia may supply us with new facts and insights. Second, instructions for civil servants are relevant as a preparation of CBD. The civil service has a key function as an intermediary between population and opponent. The study will not end with an evaluation of the past. For an analysis that makes sense, one needs to develop instructions for specific groups of civil servants. The subservient research proposal 1-G 'Key-positions' is aimed to identify those relevant groups. Furthermore, actualization of those new instructions will be implemented by taking them up in procedures for appointment and promotion. Simulation games based on instructions will also be carried out.

As a concluding remark, I have to state that the Dutch researcher Frank Kremer of the University of Leiden is working on this item, with questions close to the ones given in this proposal. Before carrying out this research proposal it is worthwhile contacting Mr. Frank Kremer about his progress.

¹⁵. Yvonne van Dongen, *The protection of civilian populations in time of armed conflict*. Dissertation at the University of Groningen, June 6, 1991.

2. Research program.

The activities to be performed in consecutive stages will be the following:

- Experiences during the Nazi-occupation. The questions formulated in this proposal will be answered mainly with the help of the report of the Survey Commission on Government Policy 1940-1945. Until now only part 7 of the report has been used, while other parts may also contain information. Incidentally, other secondary literature will be consulted, i.a., the standard works of dr. L. de Jong. The study of C.J. Lammers will be helpful to provide this proposal with a framework of analysis.
- The realization of the amended 'Directions' of 1962. Material to be used in answering the relative research questions can be derived from:
 - archive material to be found at the departments concerned, material related to the preparation of the process of laying down the amended version by civil servants;
 - interviews with civil servants who have been involved in laying down the amended version;
 - reports on parliamentary discussions, if this has taken place by a committee;
 - interviews with and study of the work of experts in the field of international law (for example Yvonne van Dongen, who is also familiar with the issue of CBD);
 - interviews with leading members of trade unions* for civil servants.
- Testing of the existing instructions and intentions of decision-making to the requirements of a CBD-system. To this purpose, one shall have to take stock of existing instructions and intentions of decision-making at the Departments of General Affairs, Foreign Affairs, Home Affairs, Defence and Justice. For each of the departments concerned, questionnaires have been drawn up which can be answered, in the first instance, with the help of interviews at the concerned departments.

This same list can be sent to persons with key-positions in the civil service for CBD, named in research proposal 1-G.
- Studying the proposals of April Carter and finding out if there are instructions in other countries (perhaps the defence systems of Sweden, Switzerland or Yugoslavia may supply us with new facts and insights). Determining in what way they add to the results found.
- Evaluation of the four phases above.
- Making (a framework for) new instructions for specific groups of

civil servants. Differentiation of instructions for certain groups of civil servants and their specific task will be the central aim of this sixth step. The most relevant groups are named in study 1-G (key-positions), plus material from the interviews.

- Actualization of those new (and differentiated) instructions by taking them up in procedures for appointment and promotion. Making a program for the training of civil servants of the instructions. The first five steps of the research proposal are meant for carrying out the sixth and seventh step.

This is a category C research proposal.

1-G. Key-persons and -positions in the civil service.¹⁶

1. Aim, definition of the problem and relevance.

This research proposal is subservient to other proposals like 1-A (Shadow structures), 1-F (Instructions to civil servants) and 2-A (Reach and reception of CBD). Aim is to give an inventory of different key-persons and -positions of the civil service for CBD. It supplies us with the backbone for CBD of the civil service.

For the research one has to look at literature on key-persons and -positions in formal and informal structures of the civil service. Sociological and politicological literature is available. There is also material in the literature on CBD.¹⁷ Different categorizations of key-persons and -positions can be made: of those who are at key-positions because of their possible (in-)formal power and/or possibilities for coordination (top-down), and of those who are at key-positions because of their accessibility to information-flows (down-top).

This research proposal is, as stated above, a subservient one. Therefore, a general inventory will be given. It will not choose in advance a specific form of CBD for which the categorization is worked out. This general applicable categorization will be worked out for three groups of key-persons and -positions:

- those of importance for an opponent,
- those of importance for a defender (and its population),
- those of importance for both.

The relevance of this study is in the importance of the civil service for CBD. For analyzing this role of the civil service, one needs an inventory of the key-persons and -positions within the civil service, both formal as informal, and the reason of their key-role (coordination or information flows). The importance of the civil service is not limited to intermediary position between politics and citizens. The civil service is in the position to be, by their legitimate moral position in a conflict,

¹⁶. This is a new proposal, added by Giliam de Valk.

¹⁷. Relevant literature can to be found in:

- April Carter, her contribution for the British 'Alternative Defence Commission', 1981.
- Joep Creyghon, *Instructies aan ambtenaren als beleidsvoorwaarde voor een effectief systeem voor sociale verdediging in het geval van een bezetting*. Leiden, 1981, 40pp.
- Evert Huisman, a proposal for SISWO/CBD-group, mentioned in his letter for this group of May 24, 1987.
- Evert Huisman, *Van geweld bevrijd*. Zwolle, SVAG, 1987.
- Giliam de Valk, *Strategie en Sociale Verdediging*. p. 96-114.

a catalyzer and a motor for struggle. If one finds out the key-persons and -positions within the civil service one will get a framework of one of the centres of attention that the conflicting parties will concentrate on.

2. Research program.

- First, an inventory will be made of key-persons and -positions within the civil service, with regard to both formal and informal structures. Literature on sociology and politics is available for that purpose.
- Second, finding out three fields of interest for CBD. These fields are: (1) the opponent, (2) the defender and (3) both. Some suggestions are already made in the literature on CBD, but none of them gives an overall view. To what extent are these suggestions valid? What can be added?
- Based on the two points above, one can find out the relevant key-persons and -positions for CBD. This third step is carried out for a CBD-security policy in general and not for a certain type of CBD-security policy.

This is a category A research proposal.

2. Psychological Capabilities (existing and variable) in Relation to CBD: Sources Dependent on Peoples Cooperation

2-A. Reach and reception of the idea of CBD in the Netherlands.¹⁸

1. Aim, definition of the problem and relevance.

Confidence (together with morale and discipline) is an important psychological factor for the success of any defence system. As CBD will be based on the active participation of many sectors of the civilian population, it is important to know which sections of this population are more and which are less prepared to accept the idea of CBD. An aim of this study, is to measure the different dimensions of the reception of the idea of CBD within the Dutch population in general and within various sectors of the society in particular. One remark of relativity has to be made: belief, in a certain type of defence, as such proves very little with regard to the behaviour of people in an actual state of emergency. The first aim, therefore, will tell us about obstacles to overcome during the introduction of CBD. The second aim is the indication of groups and institutions that have occupied themselves, since the late 1960s, with the dispersion of the idea of CBD. This may tell one about the processes of on the hand propagating and dispersion of this idea, and on the other hand the scepticism, apathy and the resistance against the idea of CBD. Ever since the middle of the 1960s, when the Centre for Non-violent Defensibility was set up, there has been a number of groups and institutions that have championed the idea of CBD. In this proposal groups and institutions of somewhat longer duration (over two years) and their methods of dispersion will be examined. As they introduced the idea of CBD in the Dutch society, their image of a new defence concept partly determines the extent and nature of the reception of the idea.

From the above, three questions arise:

1. Who have been the social carriers of CBD within the Dutch society since 1965? What is their social origin, ideology, correlative coherence, field of recruitment, etc.?
2. Which activities do these advocates develop in order to disperse the idea of CBD? By which kind of activities do they try to mobilize and influence people?

¹⁸. This proposal is based on Project-5 of the Niezing-Commission p. 63-69. Some minor points are added.

3. How are these activities received by the various social sectors (the churches, army, political parties, the media, the trade unions, etc.) and by the Dutch population in general? To which degree is the idea of CBD taken seriously and in how far is the proposed defence alternative regarded as a realistic possibility?
4. Special in-depth research will be done on the reaching and the reception of persons in key-positions within the civil service to the idea of CBD (see proposal 1-G).

Relevance: this research proposal may establish the degree of probability of social acceptance of CBD.

2. Research program.

- The first step is the examination of the advocates of CBD. From more than 60 groups and institutions that were or are each in their own way, and in different degree of dedication, active within this field, a selection of relevant groups for further examination will have to be made. This can be done by means of an opinion poll in writing, in which the continuity, extent of the activities of the groups concerned and the existence of documentation material will be questioned.
- The second step of the research proposal is directed at acquiring the following information from the groups and institutions selected during the foregoing step: the group-ideology, origin of the group, activities within the group, the relation with other groups with similar or related aims.
The above information can be obtained by examining archives, internal documents, publications of the groups, and interviews and polls.
- In the third step the spread of activities will be analyzed for the groups selected above, so that comparisons can be made between the groups. A help for this will be publication surveys made on this subject, like 'Dokumentatie Aktieve Geweldloosheid' (1979-1982).
- The fourth step concerns the analysis of the spread of the idea of CBD within the Dutch population and spread of activities of certain groups. There are surveys of the media, institutes on war studies, 'Stichting Volk en Verdediging' (current: 'Maatschappij en Krijgsmacht'). The following organizations can be a subject of study: 'Directie Voorlichting Ministerie van Defensie', 'Afdeling Gedragwetenschappen Koninklijke Landmacht', 'Bureau Sociaal Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek Koninklijke Marine'. Mixed forms of defence (for example: military and civilian-based) have also to be taken into account.
- In the fifth step key-positions in the civil service (as given in

research proposal 1-G) will be subject of study. It will supply us with an inventory of thoughts and acceptance of the main elements within the civil service, which will have a key-position in defence as a whole.

This is a category B research proposal.

2-B. Improvement of psychical growth and health.¹⁹

1. Aim, definition of the problem and relevance.

The aim of this study is to research both the psychological factors that are pertinent to the ability of resistance of a population, and the psychological factors that lessen the influence of an aggressor on the population. This will be done by paying attention to the possibilities of diminishing the potential influence of an aggressor by altering the attitude of a population. One may think of a deneurotization of a population. Neurotic individuals are the easiest to manipulate for oppressive systems. Through psychological health the resistance-ability may grow and the possibility for an aggressor to manipulate may be lessened. Psychological health implies autonomy and a lower fear level, both of which are non-conducive to repression. This proposal is not based upon some illusion that a whole population will be active all the time during a confrontation. It is more a shift in attitude, for example: already active people will have more continuity in their acting; more passive people turn their passiveness into sympathy for the struggle; and more passive people can also act against an aggressor by doing nothing.

To promote the developments as described, a society has the disposal of a number of relatively cheap possibilities to enhance the psychological health of the population, and thus to diminish possibilities for repression.

Conditions of early upbringing are of major influence on possibilities of a healthy psychological development, even later in life. Therefore, it is relatively easy to design a governmental policy enhancing psychological health by, for example: making it easier for parents to be better caretakers during the period of early childhood of their progeny; giving a period off during pregnancy and after birth; promoting part-time jobs in order to enable parents to spend considerable amounts of time on the upbringing of their children. Thus parents can give children a secure and stable relationship of adhesion, with love and respect, which is of influence on the development of the personalities of the children later on in life.

¹⁹. This proposal is based on notes of March 31, 1991 and comments (in letter of October 20, 1990) of Popko van der Molen. Included are parts of Popko van der Molen's proposal, concerning psychological aspects of the willingness to commit nonviolent resistance, for the SISWO-meeting of August 30, 1985; Johan Niezing's proposals on human rights and psychological motivation, and, the importance of assertivity studies, both for the SISWO/CBD-group (letter of May 18, 1987). Some small parts are used of Project 2 of the Niezing-Commission: Psychological processes which appear during confrontations between armed and non-armed groups.

Another subject of study is schooling. Theoretically, it is relatively easy to design a school-system promoting the process of maturing itself and the capacity to function in a democratic setting, instead of maximalization of competitive abilities and the capacity to function in a strongly hierarchical setting. One can also think of school training to replace undirected violence (springing out of frustration of a certain structure like school or society) by directed acting, like assertiveness or strategic insights into how to achieve goals. This will arouse growth toward independence, instead of dependence on authoritarian structures. Also the amount of children in one class may be of influence.

It seems worthwhile to study these and other possibilities to influence the general level of psychological health of the population. The ability of the population increases to withstand intimidation and to keep on acting autonomously under stress and pressure. There is a considerable amount of literature available of effects of conditions on early upbringing, and the influence of social structures on the process of ripening. What however is missing thus far, is an inventory of what these causal relations imply in terms of how these processes may be steered in favourable directions by a society.

Relevance: a greater ability of people to receive stress and pressure, while acting autonomously at the same time, will lessen potential influence of an aggressor. Greater independency of authoritarian structures takes away some of the impact of the repression techniques of an aggressor.

2. Research program.

- Making an inventory of available sociological and psychological literature on influencing neurotic behaviour, confidence building and psychological growth and health, with respect²⁰:
 - the early youth of and attention paid by parents to children, according to the measures mentioned above;
 - altering the school-system for optimizing the process of maturing, instead of promoting competitive capabilities and dependence on authoritarian structures.
- Translating the above mentioned psychological health promoting factors into processes fitting within a CBD-based security policy (with the ability to resist unjust structures and situations).
- Translation of the processes mentioned into policy intentions and measures.
- Evaluation and feedback of the measures on the original psychological processes of deneurotization and psychological growth

²⁰. Suggestions for literature are made by Popko van der Molen, see note above.

and health. As the actual implementation of the measures is not to be expected in the near future, this part has to be carried out on a theoretical level: are, after two translations (step two and three), these mechanisms still in accordance with the promotion of the original psychological health.

This is a category C research proposal.

3. Interaction of Instrumental and Psychological Capabilities: Processes for the Making of CBD

3-A. Study of sociological literature with respect to the definition of the problems and assumptions of CBD.²¹

1. *Aim, definition of the problem and relevance.*

One has noticed that most of the authors of literature in the field of CBD have hitherto neglected to use results of other fields of research and disciplines, like political sciences, international relations and sociological literature. The aim of this proposal is to fill this gap with respect to the sociological literature in some degree. The reason sociology has been chosen here, and not one of the other disciplines mentioned above, is that it is a field that will yield useful results. A cursory look at a number of titles in Sociological Abstracts showed that these may probably be directly applied to problems of CBD.²²

Sifting out the whole of sociological literature for contributions that are directly or indirectly relevant to further the thought in the field of CBD would be impossible. The research will therefore have to concentrate on the one hand on literature that has already been summarized, and on the other hand on sociological relevance, viz. conflict sociology. For convenience, conflict sociological literature can be divided into four areas:

- causes of conflicts,
- intensity and degree of violence of conflicts,
- duration of conflicts,
- results of conflicts.

Basically, there are two types of problem areas. On the one hand, there are the unsolved issues within the CBD literature, questions to which no answers have been found, because of lack of empirical studies or the absence of known analogies in other fields. Some of these unanswered questions are:

- to which extent can violent and non-violent struggle be combined?
- how will stress and anger affect people when they are suffering violence, and when they have to restrain themselves from counter-violence?

²¹. This proposal is based upon Project-8 of the Niezing-Commission, p. 80-83.

²². See: Project 8 of the Niezing-Commission.

- what should be the size of the social unit, if CBD is to be feasible?²³
- how can CBD face the problem of collaboration, which sanctions can be used against collaborators?
- which kind of relation should exist between a 'positive' and a 'negative' approach of the opponent?
- how can one achieve a situation in which people derive the same feeling of security from instruments of CBD as from personal or collective arms possession?
- what will a military opponent think of preparations for CBD; and in how far will these discourage him and refrain him from attacking?

On the other hand, other assumptions may be impaired or forced to be dropped altogether, because they only consisted of wishful thinking. Among the implicit basic assumptions of literature on CBD, e.g., the following has an important place:

- people can be trained for CBD in a similar way as they are trained for military defence,
- a majority of the population can be mobilized for CBD in case of an attack,
- the more democratic a defensive social unit is organized, the more it will be able to defend itself in a non-violent way.

Both lists can be extended. They are neither complete nor do they reflect a complete consensus of opinion between authors in the field of CBD. Nevertheless such lists form a good starting-point for the research into the sociological literature.

2. Research program.

- The first step consists of the formulation of unsolved questions and the tracing of the basic assumptions within the CBD-literature.
- The second step will be the search for articles within the summaries on sociological literature on issues that concern unsolved problems and basic assumptions, as well as tracing relevant literature within conflict sociology.

This is a category A research proposal.

²³. This problem will be further explored in proposal 1-B on decentralization.

3-B. Civilian resistance in the history of political thinking.²⁴

1. Aim, definition of the problem and relevance.

This proposal must be seen in combination with proposal 3-C (non-violent struggle and Dutch resistance during the Second World War). Together, both studies may provide us with some notions about the historical settings of CBD within the Netherlands. These proposals give insight into ideas, theories, strategies, and tactics of the past. Furthermore, they will give an indication of the amount of success or failure of those thoughts in practice. Thus, learning from the past, some recurring illusions or mistakes may be avoided in advance.

The aim of this study is to supply civilian struggle with a historical setting. It will show that civilian defence is not an isolated idea. Many thinkers wrote about it, from the Greeks to Machiavelli, from Durkheim to Marx. This study gives CBD a solid background for it shows CBD is a constant theme in Western political tradition. Moreover, contemporary constitutions and basic rights have their roots directly in, for example, the Dark Ages (in the so-called freedom charters). These charters have had influence on the thinking of nation-building (sovereignty of the people; contract theory of Rousseau; dilemma of [non-]violence). Making a connection between ideas on CBD and theories of the past is not the same as copying them. Contemporary thinking on CBD can be related to thinking in the past. This research proposal may not only lead to more clarity, but will also contribute to a more full grown debate. It will further a better integration of research on CBD within contemporary social-scientific research.

2. Research program.

- Step one: a survey of thinkers dealing with theories and thoughts on civilian disobedience, non-violent uprising and possible actions of civilians against unwanted rulers.
- Step two: an inventory of proposed measures, contracts and charters, based on those theories and ideas.
- Step three: theory and practice: which of the ideas in step two were brought into practice? Which thoughts appeared to function better in practice, which less?
- Step four: which of the ideas, theories, contracts and measures of step two and three are of relevance of or applicable to CBD?

This is a category B research proposal.

²⁴. This proposal based on a paper for the SISWO/CBD-group by Joep Creighton, June 17, 1987.

3-C. Non-violent struggle during the 1920s and 1930s and Dutch resistance during the Second World War from the point of view of CBD.²⁵

1. Aim, definition of the problem and relevance.

The aim of this study is to obtain knowledge, based on historical information, concerning the history of Dutch non-violent struggle in the 1920s, 1930s and the Second World War. This knowledge concerns the constituent parts of CBD (see proposal 3-D), mechanisms, efficiency, effectiveness, and possibilities of certain kinds of non-violent struggle. Much has been written about non-violent struggle of that time. This study will deal with the item from two points of view. First, the non-violent struggle deals with questions concerning efficiency and effectiveness and constituent parts. Second, to analyze the probability of the results of the non-violent struggle for alternative ways of behaviour, with regard to the policy followed and the method of defence used. The following question has to be researched with respect to the two points of view mentioned.

Main questions are:

- which were the mechanisms of social action of the peace movement during the 1920s and 1930s?
- what was the non-violent resistance potential in the Netherlands during the Second World War?
- on which theories, practices or situations was this potential based?
- what was the evolution of pre-war pacifist groups or war-resisters during wartime?
- which pre-war theories or opinions on behaviour proved to sustain the practice of war, which were altered or abandoned? For what reasons were they proved solid or had they to be altered or abandoned?
- what was the coherence of the behaviour in the struggle and the social experience of the people concerned?
- what was the difference in output and what was the difference in reaction of the occupier if one compares non-violent with violent resistance?

The relevance of this study is that in the Netherlands no analytic (besides historical descriptive) studies of non-violent struggle

²⁵. For this proposal is made use of:

- a proposal for the SISWO/CBD-group by Marten van Harten, in his letter of June 17, 1987, concerning the willingness to resist during the preamble of the war and during the occupation in the Netherlands, 1936-1945.
- Project-2 of the Niezing-Commission, p. 45-49.

have been made from the point of view of CBD. It gives one an insight into convictions that turned out to be more or less solid during the development from peace-time into wartime. One may see the consequences of these ideas when they were carried out in practice. If these ideas were not carried out in practice, reasons for this behaviour will be declared. In short, it gives one an insight into the evolution of thinking and acting from peacetime into wartime, seen from the point of view of non-violent struggle in correlation with CBD.

2. Research program.

- Studying the social mechanisms in the peace movement during the 1920s and 1930s.
 - Studying differences between non-violent and violent elements in the Dutch resistance during the Second World War with regard to constituent parts (see proposal 3-D) and efficiency and effectiveness. This efficiency and effectiveness can be measured by the material output and by the reaction of the aggressor.
 - Studying the evolution of the convictions about non-violent struggle and the behaviour of non-violent resisters (for example of the 'Vonk-group').
 - Studying the interrelation, of the groups concerned, between behaviour and social experiences.
 - Analyzing with the gathered material the probability of the results of the non-violent struggle for alternative ways of behaviour.
- This is a category C research proposal.

3-D. Conditions and constituent parts.²⁶

1. Aim, definition of the problem and relevance.

Alex Schmid examined in his study 'Social Defence and Soviet Military Power' the realization of the concept of CBD based on ten conditions. His starting-point was the existence of these conditions for the introduction of CBD. In his study he concluded that CBD alone is not a viable security policy against an opponent such as the Soviet Union. He selected the ten conditions from the CBD-literature. According to Creighton (see note above) some remarks can be made with respect to these conditions. The ten conditions are merely assumptions that are not derived from any theoretical insight nor based upon any empirical research. CBD has to face different types of conflicts in different types of settings. Therefore, it is possible that in different circumstances different conditions will be adequate. Or that these conditions have a different priority in importance to the relevant situation. Some critics do not stop here. They have criticized the methodology used for the manner of employing the conditions. Schmid sees the conditions as presumptions that are static in nature. This is contrary to the literature on strategy that stresses on dynamics and possibilities of mobilizing power, with respect to 'conditions'. The possibilities of mobilizing power are worked out in the Clausewitzian principle of the 'centre of gravity'.²⁷ In short, there is criticism of using conditions as a 'direction for users'. It neglects both dynamics and notion of time.

An alternative for this static thinking, without a notion of time, is thinking in constituent parts for a 'strategic situation'. Constituent parts are more directly related to the estimated capabilities of CBD as conditions, which refer primarily to historical data. There is some similarity with conditions, in the sense one is examining circumstances that are beneficial to CBD. An approach that uses 'constituent parts'

²⁶. This research proposal is based on:

- a proposal by Joep Creighton, for the CBD-research group of the Dutch Social Defence Network, May 14, 1990, called 'Voorwaarden voor sociale verdediging'. Elements are added of:
- a proposal by Johan Niezing concerning an explorative study of the composing parts of strategic situation, in his letter of May 18, 1987 for the SISWO-CBD-group;
- parts of Henk bij de Weg's SISWO/CBD-group proposal (1987, undated) concerning economical conditions of CBD.

²⁷. For a further explanation see: Giliam de Valk, *Strategie en sociale verdediging*, p. 88-92.

will describe CBD as system more or less likely to be successful, but not as a kind of 'direction for users' that has to be fulfilled in advance.

According to Creighton, conditions, or preferably constituent parts, can be seen as characteristics of social structures. He distinguishes two circuits. First, a central 'circuit' of the direct interaction between CBD and groups in power or groups that want to gain power. Besides his circuit, there is a wider circle out of which restrictions and possibilities of the main antagonists of the conflict stem. Material regarding the structuring within the 'central circuit' can be borrowed from literature on social movements. Ideas on circuits that are more on the outskirts can be found, i.e., in literature on international interdependency. Those interdependency theories pay more attention than do 'traditional' theories to the fact that military potency is not always the main factor for the settlement of a conflict. Constituent parts, in which military potency is *not* decisive, may than be of relevance for CBD.

The relevance of this study is to make an inventory of constituent parts that are beneficial to CBD. Different fields of literature (for example on social movements and interdependency) will be explored. The military literature will contribute to a more dynamic approach.

2. *Research program.*

- First, an analysis will be made to what extent the ten conditions of Alex Schmid may explain, for example, the events in Eastern Europe at the end of 1989. This can be done, for example, as a follow up study about the Baltic States (with reference to the study of Alex Schmid) or about Poland (with reference to the studies of Jan Zielonka²⁸).
- If the outcome of the Schmid study (of 1985) cannot be explained from the ten conditions used by him, one can look at the literature mentioned above for further, alternative, or additional relevant 'constituent parts' of CBD.
- Using the literature mentioned (on social movements, interdependency and military theories), conditions can be remodeled to more solidly funded, more dynamic, constituent parts. Dynamic here is used in the

²⁸. The Niezing-Commission already proposed, with Project 10, a study on 'The role of the Committee for Social Self-defence (KOR) and the independent trade-union organization Solidarity in Poland with regard to reflection in the field of Social Defence'. Not only the political circumstances have changed since then, but much has been published. Information is available. Scientists like Jan Zielonka published on this field.

sense that during a conflict the 'conditions' are seen as objects by which an ongoing process of mobilizing power will take place. Such a mobilization will lead to a process in which 'conditions' are more or less fulfilled. Thus, a notion of time is included. Those 'conditions' are called 'constituent parts'.

- Checking this new framework of constituent parts, resulting from the steps above, by verifying to what extent the empirical reality in Eastern Europe can be declared by this framework. If there is a discrepancy between the constituent parts and the reality, the constituent parts have to be readjusted. The differences between the outcome of Schmid and that of the constituent parts has to be analyzed.

This is a category C research proposal.

3-E. Transarmament as a social process.²⁹

1. Aim, definition of the problem and relevance.

Many changes must take place for transarmament to CBD. A clear analysis of a policy for the implementation of transarmament has to be made. However, one does not necessarily have to be on the look out for something totally new to handle this. Some insights on strategic planning may help us. CBD is a new issue, therefore unexpected developments may take place. One needs a type of policy making in which some correctional feedback mechanisms are built in. Frans van Vught called this a 'selective process of learning'.³⁰ The main criteria for this process are the financial and political costs, and the extent to which the existing societal structures are attached. Information during the process leads to corrections of the process itself. In this approach transarmament will be seen as a rational as possible process of policy making. One has, on the one hand, to work toward a framework one already has in mind: otherwise one cannot set goals. On the other hand, this does not mean there must be a highly detailed blueprint in which extra information, out of the process of transarmament itself, must or can be ruled out. In the prephase of actual transarmament, some alternative options must be worked out. A choice has to be made out of these options. These alternatives are a direct result of the filling in of the tasks of a certain security policy (See: proposal 4-C and 5-A). Even after this choice, the possibility must be kept open for feedback, for reasons described in the beginning of this proposal.

In this proposal one researches how to *reach* a new security policy, in an optimal way. This proposal supplies us with insights into changes needed, costs, problems, and possibilities of different options of transarmament. It is worthwhile to keep in mind that the aim of this proposal is *not* the definition of the political or strategic goals of a security policy. These are defined in proposal 4-C and 5-A. In this proposal much information will be used from other proposals, for example: 1-A (shadow structures); 1-B (decentralization); proposals on technology (1-C, 1-D, 1-E); 2-B (psychological health); 4-C (possible CBD-security policies); 5-A (types of conflicts); and 5-C (effects on the

²⁹. This proposal is based on:

- a SISWO-proposal of Johan Niezing called 'Transarmament als sociaal proces', in his letter of May 18, 1987;
- chapter 12 of Johan Niezing's book *Sociale verdediging als een logisch alternatief*.

³⁰. F.A. van Vught, 'De beleidsrelevantie van het moderne toekomstonderzoek'. In: *Beleid en Maatschappij*, 1985.

political level). Therefore, it seems to be logic first to carry out these other proposals, before starting with this one.

2. Research program.

- Researching the literature on processes of planning and policy making (for example publications of Frans van Vught), and remodeling this literature to CBD.
- Developing criteria for the process of transarmament itself. The main criteria concern the financial and political costs, and the extent to which existing structures are attached. It is important to note that the ultimate security policy is *not* the subject of analysis. The best way to reach this new security policy is the aim of this study.
- Making a framework and a time framework that leads to this new security policy. Points for checking the criteria (step two) and the feedback during the transarmament process itself will be defined.

This can be a research proposal of both category B or C. A small pilot project can preview the actual research. This pilot project will define (by making a calculation of the financial and political costs, and the extent to which the existing societal structures are attached) more precisely the relevant options (see proposals 4-C and 5-A) that will be worked out.

4. Strategy and the Relation to an Overall Security Policy

4-A. Development of new knowledge with respect to strategy and CBD.³¹

1. *Aim, formulation of the problem and relevance.*

A great difficulty for developing a new theory is research of an unknown field. Lazare Carnot developed a theory for studying such new fields. The essence of his theory is formed by stating problems as double negating sentences to come to new knowledge. He worked his theory out for (military) strategy. Analogous interpretations of his work can accelerate research on strategy and CBD. In his studies Carnot refers to mechanics and thermodynamics. Carnot developed his ideas for active and passive forces. Some research on this issue has been made by Antonino Drago and Antonio Sasso of the University of Naples (see: literature at the end of this 'Research on Civilian-based Defence'). They made links with Von Clausewitz, Ghandi, and presence and absence of violence. Main questions are: in which way does the stating of problems as double negating sentences contribute to the research into new fields on strategy? How can these contributions be used within CBD? What other items in the works of Carnot will be useful?

The relevance of this study is the need of theories that can lead to the development of new knowledge; in this case for a strategy CBD. Carnot's theory may contribute to this new knowledge in a direct way.

2. *Research program.*

- Giving a survey of what is written about Carnot with respect to strategy and CBD. It will be useful to contact Antonino Drago and Antonio Sasso of the University of Naples.
- Studying the works of Lazare Carnot with regard to the field of (military) strategy.

³¹. This research proposal is based on papers of Antonino Drago and Antonio Sasso of the University of Naples, Italy (see the literature at the end of 'Research on Civilian-based Defence').

- Extracting parts relevant for CBD.
- Giving, with respect to the points above, recommendations for the development of a strategy of CBD.

This is a category B research proposal.

4-B. Centre of gravity.³²

1. Aim, formulation of the problem and relevance.

The study of the centre of gravity is a very fundamental one. It leads to the insight into the question to what point all the energy and power have to be mobilized and directed during a struggle. Therefore, it is a study at the heart of the nature of CBD. Every means of confrontation has its centres of gravity. These centres of gravity are the points that a defender or an attacker must defend or attack in order not to lose or to win a conflict. The principle of the centre of gravity stems from the military literature: Von Clausewitz. As with every means of confrontation CBD has its centres of gravity. The central question of this research proposal is: which are the centres of gravity of CBD? There must be made a distinction between the centre of gravity that has to be defended and the centre of gravity that has to be attacked. The second centre of gravity depends heavily on the means of attack of the opponent of a CBD-defended country.

There have been studies made on this subject. However, research has never been carried out leading to a convincing conclusion of the actual centres of gravity of CBD. From Boserup and Mack most authors copied the idea that 'unity in resistance' is the defensive centre of gravity. Unfortunately, Boserup and Mack do not support their idea with historical proof or a convincing argument.³³ The nature of their centre of gravity differs totally from the military centre of gravity, normally: armed forces. It is an immaterial approach (unity) as opposed to a material approach (armed forces). Is this 'unity' for CBD the centre of gravity that has to be defended? Is there a more 'material' constant to be undiscovered? Will there be a difference in emphasis from situation to situation? Is there a constant within these differences in emphasis? Is this the unifying centre of gravity?

Von Clausewitz made a theory to distinguish better strategies from others. For this he developed the idea of the centres of gravity. His theory will be used for clarifying the centres of gravity of CBD. First, the essence of CBD has to be singled out of the literature. To this has to be added historical research. As CBD never occurred in the past, historical research can only be carried out by making use of analogous situations (like, for example, civilian resistance and some

³². This is a new proposal by Giliam de Valk.

³³. See: Boserup and Mack, *War without Weapons*. London, Frances Printer Ltd., 1974, p. 163. And: Giliam de Valk, *Strategie en Sociale Verdediging*. p. 79-80.

guerrilla warfare). Cases of resistance and struggle (successful and unsuccessful) must be explored and transformed. Then, according to Von Clausewitz, the central points of defence and attack have to be located to come to an adequate description of the defensive and offensive centres of gravity to be expected.

As said, the relevance of this study is that it will lead to the insight into the question of to what point all energy and power has to be mobilized and directed during a struggle. Thus, by the assessment of the centre of gravity, the development of an optimal strategy is possible. With the result of this research proposal, one can also study the possibilities and problems of combining CBD with other means of confrontation. In a struggle one has to direct all its energy to the centres of gravity. If one combines those means of confrontation in such a way that, only through the structure of its defence, its energy will be more or less scattered, one can expect bad functioning of its defence system. Therefore, this study will help us for the execution of the last part of proposal 4-C (means of confrontation). Moreover, it will complete the inventory of the possibilities of an opponent as made in proposal 5-A.

2. Research program.

The program consists of two parts. The first part concerns the military literature on the centres of gravity. The second part concerns CBD and historical research.

- The first part concerns the centre of gravity. Apart from Von Clausewitz, interesting secondary literature (like that of André Glucksmann) will be subject of study. Perhaps additional information is available with respect to other military thinkers (Sun Tzu, Liddell-Hart) or discourses on guerrilla warfare (Mao, Osanka). The aim is not only to get an instrument to find the centres of gravity of CBD, but also to get an idea of the centres of gravity of the current means of confrontation. One will get, with respect to these centres of gravity, an idea of differences and similarities between means of confrontation. This will be helpful for proposal 4-C (means of confrontation), to forecast the impossibility or possibility of joining combinations of means of confrontation. Moreover, it will complete the inventory of the possibilities of an opponent as made in proposal 5-A.
- The second part concerns CBD and research on historical examples. First, analyzing the literature to single out the essence of CBD. Second, research with respect to historical cases can be carried out for the following fields of investigation: civilian resistance during wartime; guerrilla warfare, widely supported by the population;

civilian uprising; non-violent struggle; related situations. The aim is to come to a description of the centres of gravity of CBD by analyzing analogous situations.

While the first, theoretical, part will be a study of category A, most of the historical studies will be of two till four years' duration (category B or C each), depending on the ordering and material available. Therefore, the total research proposal will be a category D or E study.

4-C. Categorization of possible CBD-security policies: means of confrontation and related goals.³⁴

1. Aim, formulation of the problem and relevance.

Aim of this study is to get an inventory of possible means of confrontation and the related goals to be reached. The CBD-discussion is at times ideologically biased. One of the issues in this discussion is the question if there can be a combination with other means of confrontation. Theoretically one can make combinations with CBD from nuclear to conventional armies and from 'Autonome Abwehr' to guerrilla warfare. In this study the ethical implications will *not* be part of the study. This is a highly subservient study in the sense that it supplies information for a political discussion instead of carrying out one option. Thus, this research proposal gives an inventory of the combinations of means of confrontation possible, not preference based on political or ethical considerations. The combinations of the means will have their impact on goals that can be reached. This inventory will help in the debate over the selection of the types of means of confrontation that are the most adequate for the security policy wanted. In its turn the selection of certain means of confrontation will have direct consequences for the nature of the centres of gravity.

Much work, for making this inventory, has already been carried out. There has been a great deal of thinking on this issue during the 1980s, especially in Germany.³⁵ Some new thoughts in the Netherlands have been developed by Klumper and Schmid (see: literature at the end of this 'Research on Civilian-based Defence'). It is a question of more or less searching for the points that have been overlooked until now. One will get many theoretically possible combinations. These combinations will be checked for how realistic they are as a combination as such. This check will be carried out through studying the consequences and impossibility or possibility of joining the structures of the means of confrontation. For this check of impossibility or possibility of joining them there is an adequate instrument available

³⁴. This is a new proposal by Giliam de Valk.

Elements can be found in proposals of the SISWO/CBD-group:

- Johan Niezing, 'Een studie over de functie van boycotts door bondgenoten voor de geloofwaardigheid van de afschrikking met SV', and, 'Sociale verdediging als onderdeel van experimenteel veiligheidsbeleid' in his letter to the SISWO/CBD-group of May 18, 1987.

³⁵. See literature at the end of Marten van Harten's SISWO/CBD-group proposal 'Sociale verdediging in een systeem van gedeelde veiligheid', nine pages, undated, probably 1987.

stemming from the military literature: the centre of gravity (see: 4-B). This part of the study can be carried out after the execution of 4-B, because there will then be a more adequate description of the centre of gravity of CBD available. The second part of this study is the determination of the strategic and political goals. All the combinations of means of confrontation of the first part of this study are accurate for reaching certain strategic and political goals. This part of the study will elucidate that (combinations of) means of confrontation are most adequate to reach certain strategic and political goals. Additionally, one can study what is specific for a CBD-security policy: how does it affect the political goals of an opponent (goals of the opponent will be part of study 5-A)? Or even further, is there a possibility of reaching new political goals (for example, by aiming at the introduction of a new defence by an opponent that would be more favourable for the CBD-security policy)? Thus, a preference can be made as to which type is most adequate for carrying out a certain security policy.

This study is of relevance for the following fields. First, it gives a complete inventory of combinations of means of possible confrontation. This ordination is carried out disconnected from ideologically biased considerations. Second, a prediction will be made of the impossibility or possibility of joining the combinations given, checked through the application of the principle of the centre of gravity. Third, one arrives at an inventory of the relevant tangible strategic and political goals that can be reached with these combinations.

This proposal differs from 5-A. In this study 4-C one looks at the inside of a security policy: what is possible and available. In proposal 5-A one looks at what is needed, the outside. In this proposal 4-C one studies the goals a CBD-security policy can reach. In proposal 5-A one researches the possible goals of opponents. This study 4-C is subservient to proposal 4-D (post-war politics) by supplying it with an enumeration of CBD-security policies possible. This proposal 4-C will also supply 1-A (shadow structures) with some background information.

2. Research program.

- Making an inventory of the means of confrontation (actual and theoretical).
- Combining the means of confrontation, not only by giving a list of them but also by giving a relation between them in terms of domination (or parataxis) and function within the course of time of a conflict.
- After study 4-B (centre of gravity) is carried out, it is possible to analyze which combinations, with respect to the centre of gravity,

will function better as a combination, and which less. For this analysis, the military principle of the centre of gravity will be used. This analysis will predict what the tensions will be with respect to the (differences in) centres of gravity.

- Giving, for the respective combinations of means of confrontation, an inventory of the relevant tangible strategic and political goals that can be reached. Probably, options are not totally appropriate or inappropriate. Therefore, the study will give an opinion about the suitability to reach certain strategic and political goals.

This is a category C research proposal.

4-D. Strategic pre-war measures and their possible influence on post-war politics.³⁶

1. *Aim, formulation of the problem and relevance.*

Aim of this study is to research the effects on an after-war period of alternative pre-war build-ups of CBD security-systems.³⁷ This study will deal with possible outcomes of peace as a result of a given security policy and the way of organization of CBD within that security policy. So it analyses:

1. the after-war period, not war itself or the pre-war period (the last is the starting-point for analysis),
2. the effects of the structure of the organization of the CBD security policy on the after-war period. The opponent itself and its acting during the confrontation is *not* a subject of study (these are just variables within the research proposal itself),
3. the central phase of the conflict: the confrontation is *not* a subject of study. The possibility of victory or defeat will be a variable within the research proposal itself.

As said, the pre-war period will be the starting point of the analysis. This starting-point consists of three factors:

- the selection of alternative CBD-security policies,
- the selection of a (combination of) defence system(s) (see: study 4-C, means of confrontation),
- the selection of (a) defence strategies.

This proposal consists of the following questions:

- to what extent do we, by selecting a certain CBD-security policy, take into account the effects of it on the after-war period? This will be the introductory part of the study that gives a survey of this issue within the CBD-literature,
- what effects has the build-up of a certain CBD-security policy on the after-war period? This is the main question of the research proposal. It will be answered for CBD in two ways. First, the effects of different kinds of build-ups of CBD (for example hierarchical, grass-root). Second, the effects of combinations with other means of campaigning, within a given overall security policy (for example in

³⁶. This is a new proposal by Giliam de Valk.

³⁷. I distinguish three phases in a conflict:

- the pre-war state; this phase includes, for example, the conflict prevention;
- the campaigning: this is the central phase of the actual confrontation between the opponents;
- the post-campaigning state: this post-war phase includes the political solution (or failure) of the conflict.

combination with: guerrilla warfare; military defence, with or without nuclear arms³⁸).

For answering the main question it may be helpful to look at analogous processes. For example, how has this question been taken into account with respect to the preamble of the Second World War. Normative questions can be asked such as: when, after a conflict, is the possibility of a stable peace, a pluriform society and a way of life desired by the population a possibility.³⁹ The analysis for the after-war period concerns the following three fields:

- *is* there an after-war period at all,
- the after-war period and the relation with the opponent (foreign),
- the after-war period and the internal relations within the country itself (domestic).

The relevance of the research proposal is the importance of the calculation in advance (before the actual confrontation) of the effects of a certain structure of a defence system on the after-war period. Thus, one takes notice of the possible effects on the after-war period for the way one gives a structure for the build-up of a CBD security policy. There are many factors that influence the outcome of the settling of a conflict (for example: processes during the confrontation, input of the opponent). However, on one point one can influence this outcome in advance by taking certain measures in the pre-war period: the structure of the build-up of the CBD security policy.

2. Research program.

- Studying contemporary assumptions of the effects on the post-confrontation situation, for different types of defence systems. This part of the study will be carried out with respect to both the CBD-literature and the literature on military and guerrilla warfare.⁴⁰
- An enumeration of possible CBD security policies. This part of the research proposal will be carried out through proposal 4-C (means of confrontation).

³⁸. Nuclear deterrence in combination with CBD will also be examined. It may be an unfavourable combination because of conflicting centers of gravity. If that is the case, it will be a part of the conclusion of study 4-C (means of campaigning). If this combination has a destructive effect on the after-war period, it will be a conclusion of this study 4-D.

³⁹. The normative factors (peace, pluriformity, way of life) mentioned are inspired by of Liddell-Hart, *Strategy. The Indirect Approach*, London, Faber & Faber, 1967 (4th ed.), p. 383.

⁴⁰. For example, Liddell-Hart, *Strategy. The Indirect Approach*, p. 381-382.

- Combining the first two steps. Making an analysis by using analogous comparisons. Questions to be answered are, e.g.: What are the post-war effects expected for alternative structures of CBD security policies? What are the differences of effects between those alternatives?
 - Feedback: making a comparison with contemporary literature.
- This is a category C research proposal.

4-E. State of the CBD-discussion: strategic or communicative action?⁴¹

1. Aim, formulation of the problem and relevance.

In this 'Research on Civilian-based Defence' many proposals are rooted on the premise of a strategic approach of the research to CBD (for example, the rest of the proposals of part four). This proposal differs from the ones above. In this study the premise of the strategic approach itself is questioned. Questions to be asked here are: Is a CBD-security policy (only) aimed at success? Are there other factors one must bear in mind?

To answer these questions one can look at the theory of Habermas.⁴² Habermas defines strategic acting as acting aimed at success, lead by rules of rational choice and the workability of that influence on the decisions of a rational opponent. Habermas also describes a quite different acting. He puts this acting opposite to strategic acting and calls it communicative acting: the acting of the actors is not primarily oriented toward the primacy of success, but is oriented toward a process of reaching agreement. It is possible this difference in orientation will lead to a totally different build-up of a security policy.

Questions for research are: Is there, in the literature on CBD, on the one hand a hidden parallel between instrumental views and strategic acting, and, on the other hand, a parallel between structural views and communicative acting? Is a security policy in the first place oriented at achieving power, and thus to be measured in terms of the success of achieving that power? What are the differences between strategic and communicative acting in their success in achieving power? This difference in orientation may have consequences for the efficiency and effectiveness of CBD for reasons of difference in emphasis. From the point of view of the strategic approach, this (possible) difference in efficiency and effectiveness will be of interest. What are the range of problems and solutions to be expected for the communicative approach? What are the consequences of those differences between strategic and communicative approaches for the short, middle or long term? Within the strategic approach military thinkers stress the difference between the

⁴¹. This study is based on a SISWO/CBD-proposal of Henk bij de Weg, 'Sociale verdediging: strategies of kommunikatief handelen?' and parts of 'De stand van zaken in de sociale verdedigingsdiscussie', both 1987 (undated).

⁴². Juergen Habermas, *Vorstudien und Ergaenzungen zur Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns*. Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt am Main, 1984 (p. 460).

level of strategy and its superior political level. Is this difference still upheld within the communicative approach? If the answer is no, can one, with respect to CBD, still speak of a security policy or is it better just to speak of a policy?

This study is of relevance for it will elucidate the desirability and the sense of reality of both the strategic and the communicative approach. Furthermore, the study gives insight into the difference made between, and limits of, the political level and level of strategy for both approaches. Finally, one can analyze if, and to what extent, the two approaches are complementary or exclusive.

2. Research program.

- Defining the main characteristics of strategic and communicative acting. This can be done for the starting points of acting, the processes during the acting itself, and the goals each approach aims at.
- Translating those characteristics, and the differences between the characteristics of the two approaches, for CBD.
- Analyzing the differences between strategic and communicative approaches for the short, middle or long term.
- Does the communicative acting make a distinction between the political level and its subordinated level of strategy? If so, what are the characteristics of those differences?
- Analyzing if the two approaches are complementary or exclusive. To what extent are they complementary or exclusive?

This is a category B research proposal.

5. Security Policy and its Setting

5-A. Types of conflicts and goals of opponents a CBD-security policy has to deal with.⁴³

1. Aim, formulation of the problem and relevance.

A security policy has to cope with certain types of conflicts. According to the CBD-literature, these types of conflicts roughly include every international conflict and a coup d'état. This study gives an inventory of the types of conflicts a security policy has to deal with. Much work has already been done in CBD-literature. Although a great deal of work already has been done, a clear and thorough inventory split up for the two main levels of analysis, that of the strategy and its superior politics, is desirable. This study analyses the strategic and political goals from the point of view of the opponent of CBD. First, one can make a categorization at the level of strategy out of a combination of military goals and weaponry of this opponent. Second, one can make a categorization at the political level out of a combination of the political goals and the possibilities for this opponent to reach his goals by looking at his available means within his overall security policy. Out of this combination one can analyze the possibilities that are most likely to occur. For example, the installation of a puppet regime, as a political goal, can be combined with low intensity warfare (level of strategy). It is possible that those options are likely to happen for groups of opponents. For example, the means and goals of north-south conflicts may differ from east-west conflicts. This will lead to an extra categorization in this study.

Some main questions are: what kind of conflict has a CBD security policy to cope with? What are the goals of these conflicts at the level of strategy and the political level? Which are, combining the analysis of the levels of strategy and politics, the combinations most likely to occur? Will an opponent's preference change in reaching certain strategic and political goals after he is confronted with CBD or with military defence? What will be this change?

For CBD, one can make a similar type of analysis as given above. This will be done in proposal 4-C. The goals of a CBD-security policy, both strategic and political, concern CBD itself. Therefore, they are subject of study of chapter 4. The strategies and politics of an

⁴³. For this proposal some parts of Project-1 of the Niezing-Commission, p. 39-44, are used.

opponent are in first instance, although there is an interaction between opposing security policies, an external factor. Therefore, it is the subject of study of this chapter 5: security policy and its setting. The analysis of the centres of gravity of the opponent is part of study 4-B. The reason for this is that those centres of gravity are also used for combining means of confrontation *within* a CBD-security policy. The occupation by an opponent is a special item, and a point of special attention in European thinking. Therefore, it will be a separate subject of in-depth study (5-B).

The relevance of this study is that one gets an inventory of combinations of strategic and political goals that are likely to occur. Furthermore, one gets insight into the possibility of those goals changing if different defence systems are used, for example, CBD and military defence. With that knowledge one can take measures in advance to strengthen the position of a CBD-security policy.

2. Research program.

- Making a categorization at the level of strategy out of a combination of military goals and weaponry of an opponent of CBD.
- Making an inventory of the possibilities of an opponent to reach certain political goals by combining those political goals with the means available within its security policy.
- Combining step one and two: which are conflicts most likely to occur? Is there a difference in conflicts likely to occur if the opponent is confronted with CBD or with military defence? If so, what are the changes in strategic and political goals? Can groups of conflicts be distinguished? Are these special north-south or east-west conflicts? If so, what categorization can be made?

This will be a category B or C research proposal.

5-B. Nature of contemporary occupations and the implications on CBD.⁴⁴

1. Aim, formulation of the problem and relevance.

One of the possible and most important situations that CBD has to deal with is that of an occupation. Not much systematic research has hitherto been spent on this subject. The literature consists mainly of unrelated case-studies, in which separate occupations are described, but a comparison of recent occupations, in order to detect more general characteristics, has not been made. The result is that we can hardly conceive of a reliable image of what is awaiting us in case of an occupation, and even less what we can do against it. In order to fill this gap, this project is being proposed. The first aim of the research proposal is to acquire knowledge of the nature of occupations. Why are there occupations, by whom, and how? The second aim is to examine the implications for CBD.

For this study the following can be used as a (provisional) working definition of an occupation:

a military occupation is the situation in which a nation dominates another nation or parts of it by way of:

- encamping its troops on the territory of this other nation;
- obtaining or keeping control of the government.

In this definition, the control on the government is the main variable.

For the two aims of the research proposal, a number of questions can be derived, which are, i.e., elements derived from literature on CBD. Questions on the nature of occupations are: Who initiates an occupation? What is (are) the political goal(s) of the occupation? What is (are) the strategic goal(s) of the occupation? What are the circumstances? How is the occupation carried out? How many troops are necessary (ratio of number of occupations/inhabitants)? Which is the dispersion of the troops within the occupied territory? What is the dependency of the occupier on both the local government apparatus and the local economy? Questions on the implications of CBD are: What is the importance of contact with the opponent for CBD? What is the relation between violent and non-violent struggle? How is the communication within the defence system and with the world outside? What is the influence of the system of values of the occupier and the defendants on the result of the occupation?

As stated above, the relevance of this study is twofold. First, this research proposal is to acquire knowledge of the nature of occupations. Second, one examines the implications for CBD. These

⁴⁴. This proposal is based upon Project-3 of the Niezing-Commission, p. 50-54.

implications may lead to conclusions for preferable build-ups of CBD-security policies. Thus, one can take measures in advance to strengthen the position of a CBD-security policy. This study must be seen in relation with proposal 5-A (types of conflicts and goals of opponents). This study deals with a specific type of conflict, which is explored more in-depth here.

2. *Research program.*

This study will be divided into two parts.

- In the first part the theoretical framework will have to be worked out in more in detail. The list of occupations since the Second World War must be completed. A synopsis will have to be given of each separate occupation.
- The accessibility of the sources will partly decide the selection of occupations to be examined in the second part. Depending on the situation and the time available for the second part, either a small number of occupations can be thoroughly examined, or a greater number of occupations can be subjected to less intensive research. The research will consist of a literature study. As has been said before, literature with a systematical comparison of occupations is almost completely lacking. There are, however, many studies of separate occupations or aspects of those. Much has been written from a juridical viewpoint about occupations, especially about international law and war law. The study of Dr. Alex Schmid is written from a CBD viewpoint.⁴⁵ It will be helpful as a source. Primary sources are sometimes written in languages that are difficultly accessible, like Hungarian or Hebrew. In a few cases translations do exist, for instance the German version of a great number of documents from Czechoslovakia. Many Israeli and Palestinian sources are published in English. An important source of information is formed by great international dailies and magazines.

This is a category B research proposal.

⁴⁵. Alex Schmid, *Social Defence and Soviet Military Power*. Den Haag, Distributiecentrum Overheidspublicaties, 1985.

5-C. Effects of introduction of CBD on the political level.⁴⁶

1. Aim, formulation of the problem and relevance.

This research proposal will study the effect and consequences of a CBD-security policy on the political level. At the political level one can distinguish elements that are not part of the fighting power of a country. The aim of this study is threefold. The first aim is to study the primary effects of the introduction of CBD on the elements of politics, for example, the elements of finances, diplomacy, commerce or ethics.⁴⁷ A CBD-strategy is more than just the introduction of a new unit. The nature and extent of the effects of this introduction will differ with the role of CBD within the security policy. The primary effects concern the possible contribution of these elements for supporting a CBD-security policy. Possibilities and changes needed within these elements are part of this first aim. The second aim is to combine the elements at the political level mentioned to form a so called grand strategy. The role of the grand strategy is to coordinate and direct all the resources toward the political object of the war, the goal defined by fundamental policy.⁴⁸ Different types of possible grand strategies will be proposed. There is hardly any material available within the CBD-literature, so one has to look at political and military literature. A third aim is to study secondary, side-effects of the introduction of a CBD-security policy. There will be a residue group of effects left over which were not aimed at. Those changes are partly caused by the introduction of a new security policy, but also partly caused by the absence of the old. This part of the study helps us to calculate advantages, disadvantages, costs and possibilities of the introduction of CBD, which primary does *not* attach to the security policy itself. For making an adequate analysis, one has to take these effects into account too. This study will be highly explorative, for there has never been an actual CBD-security policy carried out.

The first aim concerns the influence of CBD on the elements at

⁴⁶. This is a new proposal by Giliam de Valk.

Parts of proposals of the SISWO/CBD-group are used in this new one:

- of Johan Niezing a proposal on possibilities and restrictions of diplomacy by the execution of CBD, in his letter of May 18, 1987;
- of Henk bij de Weg a proposal concerning how far are the Netherlands economically independent' and 'What are the economical conditions of CBD, 1987 (undated).

⁴⁷. Compare: Liddell-Hart, *Strategy. The Indirect Approach*, p. 336.

⁴⁸. Liddell-Hart, *Strategy. The Indirect Approach*, p. 335-336.

the political level. Some main questions are: Will the introduction of CBD increase the role of the elements of the political level within a security policy? Which parts of the elements at the political level will become manifest or which wholly new field will become active? Will some elements become less accurate as in military defence? Is contemporary diplomacy fit for this new security policy? There can be an alteration of the role of diplomacy. How will allies support a new CBD-security policy? Which are the activities of and toward opponents? What will be the structure of such a (more active) diplomacy? What are connecting problems? Similar questions can be asked with respect to the element of economics. What is the position and function of economics within a security policy? Which economic measures benefit CBD? Similar questions can be asked with respect to the other elements. With respect to the second aim, grand strategy, one can ask the following questions: What types of grand strategies can be developed? How can the elements at the political level be combined to a grand strategy? How will they supplement each other? If one develops alternative options of grand strategies, what will be the differences in emphasis for the separate elements? With respect to the third aim, secondary effects, questions can be asked such as: on which fields may occur side-effects for the elements at the political level? These changes can differ from issues like authoritarian relationships⁴⁹ to material life standards and technological developments. What is the impact of those, unintended, changes on both the new security policy and the society as a whole?

The relevance of this study is to supply an insight into the effects of the introduction of CBD for the elements at the political level. One will get an inventory of possible, aimed, changes in these elements. Furthermore, one gets an idea of how these different elements may contribute to the development of a grand strategy. Moreover, side-effects will occur for the elements at the political level through the introduction of CBD. These side-effects may have consequences for the society. By this, one will get an idea of the whole range of effects that the introduction of CBD will have on our society. Also, this inventory of the whole range of effects will be helpful for proposal 3-E (transarmament) to research how CBD can best be introduced. This proposal differs from study 4-C (means of confrontation and related goals). In proposal 4-C we research the strategic and political goals of the defence system itself. In this proposal we study the effects on the

⁴⁹. For example, the measures as proposed in study 2-B (psychological growth and health) can have consequences for other fields of the society as mentioned in the study itself. The consequences for this last field will be seen as a side-effect.

elements at the political level that does not belong to the defence system. Therefore, it is not a study of chapter 4. The grand strategy mentioned here will have set its' goals by proposal 4-C: by the political goals. However, the grand strategy is worked out in this proposal because it deals highly with the elements at the political level not belonging to the fighting power. Study 4-D (pre-war measures) deals also with the fighting power itself, both in contrast with this research.

2. Research program.

With respect to the first aim (elements at the level politics):

- Making a list of the elements at the political level of relevance for a CBD-security policy. Does this list change for different types of CBD-security policies?
- Analyzing the current position of these elements of politics in a security policy with nuclear deterrence.
- What changes have to take place for these elements at the political level in order to let the CBD-security policy function better?

With respect to the second aim (grand strategy):

- Studying the interaction between different elements of politics in relation to the development of a grand strategy for a CBD-security policy.
- Analyzing in what way this interaction differs from military defence.
- Analyzing the potential of a grand strategy, that mobilizes all these elements. Finding the factors that will make this potential stronger or weaker. This study has to be carried out for alternative combinations of CBD-security policies and alternative options of its superior grand strategies.

With respect to the third aim (side-effects):

- Analyzing the impact of CBD's own dynamics on the society as a whole. Analyzing the changes that will occur. Which parts of society are attached most? These analyses can be made for different alternative set ups of a CBD security policy (see the second aim).
- Analyzing the tendencies, with respect to the introduction of CBD, which can be distinguished in order to, on the one hand, benefit a more pluralistic society and, on the other hand, abuse CBD for a totalitarian concept. In combination with proposals 5-D and 5-E (intelligence services) one can come to a valuation.
- Forming an idea of the benefits, costs, advantages and disadvantages of those changes.

This is a category C research proposal.

5-D. Intelligence services as opponents of CBD.⁵⁰

1. Aim, formulation of the problem and relevance.

Research into intelligence services with relation to CBD will be divided into two. The first proposal on this issue, 5-D, concerns an opponent's services. The second proposal, 5-E, concerns intelligence services for the CBD-security policy itself. The aim of the first proposal (this 5-D) is twofold. First, an opponent has intelligence services that can be used against a CBD-defended nation. This use can extend from the simple gathering of information to, for example, related low intensity warfare operations. Second, one can learn about the build-up of intelligence services for CBD from existing ones.

For both aims it will be helpful to study the tasks of contemporary intelligence services, connected state structures and political theories on which those practices are based. Moreover, knowing possible controlling measures for intelligence services is not only important for looking at the limits of foreign intelligence services. It will also tell us something about limits to be set on own CBD services, and the actual functioning of those measures. With respect to the two aims, two groups of intelligence services are of interest: first, intelligence services of a possible opponent; second (supplying information on how to build-up CBD-services) research on intelligence services of countries with representative democracies. In both cases, it is also of interest to study possible tasks. These tasks are in most cases threefold: gathering information, protecting information and interventions. With an inventory of the tasks one will get an idea of the possibilities of foreign intelligence services. One can also study which tasks will be carried out by CBD-services and in what way, and which not. To come to a better understanding of the tasks, actual functioning, and consequences, this proposal will provide us with the setting of intelligence services by studying accompanying history, state structure and political theories. Part of the research will be the efficiency and effectiveness of reaching the services' goals. The services of the following countries are given as a provisional selection for this study: USSR (possible opponent); USA, Great-Britain, France, Germany, Italy (parliamentary democracies with different histories); Israel (effectiveness); Canada, Australia (reorganization and control). Some of the countries mentioned are of interest for more than one reason.

Different inventories will be made. The first inventory concerns the kind of organizational structure of intelligence services. This structure will not only teach us something about the nature of those

⁵⁰. This is a new proposal by Giliam de Valk.

foreign activities. It will also be of importance for study 5-E (CBD-services). The nature of their work leads to the situation that they cannot be totally openly controlled. The work of intelligence services is also closely related to power. In this case power that cannot be totally openly controlled. Because power tends to corrupt, and institutes are the last to abolish themselves, the need mentioned of thinking about the organization, function, range of activities, means and ends, of CBD-services will only be strengthened. The second inventory concerns possible threats of foreign intelligence services. One can interpret and determine the goals and sphere of activities of foreign services against a CBD-defended country. An additional field of this part will be the possibilities to resist those threats. Again, the countries mentioned will supply us with the required information.

The relevance of this proposal is twofold. First, it supplies us with the threats of foreign intelligence services and the related counter-measures. Second, one will gain knowledge from these foreign intelligence services useful for the development of CBD-services. The University of Leiden, with the PIOOM-project, is carrying out some studies on intelligence services. It will be worth contacting Leiden for the execution of this study.

2. Research program.

- Analyzing the task, goals, structure and means of control of intelligence services mentioned in this proposal. Also, the related state structure and political theories will be researched.
- How do foreign intelligence services function in a country like ours? Based upon step one, categorizations of types of intelligence services will be given:
 - first, a categorization of the structure of those services to determine the nature of activities and goals of those foreign activities. This categorization is needed in proposal 5-E to propose an alternative structure for CBD-services
 - second, based upon the first categorization, making a categorization of possible threats of foreign intelligence services. This will lead to accurate insights into what can be expected when these foreign services are directed again a CBD-defended nation. This expectation will be given for the separate types of intelligence services. Furthermore, an analysis will be given for expected changes in the functioning of these foreign intelligence services if a CBD-security policy is introduced.
- The next step is to analyze the possibilities of resisting the threats of foreign services. Again, the countries mentioned will supply us with the required information, because they have taken measures to deal

with the same problem. There may be a difference in the possibilities of coping with those threats if ones means of confrontation is CBD instead of an army. Those differences will be analyzed with respect to the efficiency and effectiveness of reaching the goals set. This is a category C research proposal.

5-E. CBD and the position of its intelligence services.⁵¹

1. Aim, formulation of the problem and relevance.

Intelligence services have a delicate position in our pluriform representative democracies. The reason of this delicate position is that they are often regarded as working in the twilight of democracy with the use of anti-democratic methods. This position will not be less complex within a CBD-security policy, in which campaigning is not carried out by a separate instrument (army) but by the population itself. Institutions with a smell of manipulation, anti-democratic methods will not easily get the benefits of the doubt. Therefore, one can ask itself: is the development of intelligence services for a CBD-security policy a relevant issue? I think so. As information is closely related to power, and the outcome of a struggle with CBD has much to do with power control, one will have to deal with the issue of intelligence services. These services gather an important part of the information of such a security policy. Although intelligence services will have a serious impact on the build-up of a CBD-security policy, there is until now as good as no discussion on this issue. It seems almost 'not done' to talk about it in relation with CBD. The aim of this research proposal is to set this issue of intelligence services on the agenda of the debate on CBD, and to uncover the functioning and consequences of those intelligence services.

A primary task of CBD-intelligence services will be to gather information on different fields. For example, it is important for a CBD-security policy to know what counter-techniques and -strategies against CBD are available to an opponent. Furthermore, one must get information about what is known to the opponent of, for example, the structure of the defence and the infrastructure. Probably the need of information gathering will not be a point of discussion. However, the type of information needed and the related ways, means and methods to get access to this information will be a point of discussion. One can think of a situation in which this gathering leads to the violation of privacy. Another issue concerns the second possible task of CBD-services: what is allowed to be known by an opponent and what not. Tensions can arise with the right to gather information. A third task, interventions, will be most disputed. It may even be the case that in some options this task is excluded completely. Two arguments can lead to this opinion. First, interventions are strongly criticized for their anti-democratic methods and impact. Second, if interventions are needed it does not mean automatically that these interventions must be carried

⁵¹. This is new proposal by Giliam de Valk.

out by intelligence services. It may be clear that not only a discussion is needed about the possible tasks, but also about the methods of execution. In this study, different alternatives will be developed. These alternatives will have a correlation with political opinions and related theories. These will be made explicit. A side-effect of this study is that it will provoke a discussion about these political preferences. Although the CBD-literature is highly biased, this discussion remained underdeveloped with respect to its strategic impact. Besides, it may be the case that the functioning of the services will be different, or there will be a difference in emphasis, with contemporary services, because the CBD-security policy is a new one, with its own impact on the services. In this study, those differences will be made clear.

The research will give insight into the tension between two competing fields of interest. On the one hand, there are items such as the control of power, and the winning of a conflict. On the other hand, there are democratic rules and methods, and human rights. It will lead to a debate of the relation between means and ends. This debate will be complicated by the fact that an opponent may infiltrate into the CBD-defended society. Thus, the foreign field of action of the CBD-services may swing to its own land. The possibility that groups or individuals of the one's own society may become the subject of investigation will lead to a more intensive debate. Who will be in control of the intelligence services of CBD? Is this only done by the structure or tasks of an intelligence service? Facing this tension, what are the tasks of these intelligence services? Only the gathering of information, or also the protection of information, or even interventions for establishing a certain policy? Another way to master this issue may be the implementation of institutional controlling groups, like a parliamentary commission or an inspector. Are the files open to civilians? Have these civilians the right to alter facts that are not accurate? As opposed to the Netherlands⁵², there are groups abroad, committees and institutions to control these services in an active way. Recent examples may be found in: Germany (Hamburg, Berlin), Canada (after the reorganization of the Mounties) and Australia. Besides those bodies there is the possibility that pressure-groups have some control on intelligence services by guarding them. One can think of the influence of Dutch pressure-groups like Amok, Jansen en Janssen, which are watching army, police and intelligence services. Besides all the secrecy

⁵². In the Netherlands there is only one committee, existing of the chairmen of the main political parties in the parliament, responsible for control. This committee has hardly any controlling function because of the amount of other work of the chairmen, and their (lack of) interest in the subject.

and conspiracy like thoughts, one has to bear in mind that the great majority of the information of intelligence services comes from documents that are openly accessible.

Relevance: implications of intelligence services are of such a fundamental interest for a CBD-security policy that they have to be studied at an early stage in the development of such a security policy. First, because of the importance of getting accurate information needed for this security policy. Second, because of the tensions between, on the one hand, the need for control and power, and, on the other hand, the need for freedom and human integrity. Therefore, items such as tasks, structure, control, means, ends, ideological background and dynamics of intelligence services will play a central role in this research proposal. Proposal 5-D, on intelligence services of an opponent, will provide this study with a categorization of tasks, goals, controlling measures and accompanying political environment. In this respect proposal 5-D is subservient to this study. Intelligence services are not often seen as a separate political instrument. Therefore, CBD-services are not included in study 5-C (elements at the political level). Furthermore, intelligence services will have a delicate position in a discussion on the development of a CBD-security policy (see: remark in proposal 5-C). Special attention is needed. It could be argued that this proposal 5-E can be classified in both chapter four and five. To avoid fragmentation (by placing it away from study 5-D) it is placed here.

2. Research program.

- Intelligence services for a CBD-security policy have to carry out tasks. An analysis will be made of the need of gathering information, protecting information and interventions. Also the related goals and method of execution of these tasks, and the political setting of the services will be subject of this analysis. In what way do certain political theories affect the build-up of an intelligence service (see: proposal 5-D)?
- The functioning and activities of CBD-intelligence service aimed at foreign powers. Which activities and means are especially applicable for CBD?
- Functioning and activities of CBD-services aimed at one's own country. Which activities and means are especially applicable for CBD?
- What tensions can exist between, on the one hand, an as effective (in terms of power) as possible functioning of intelligence services and on the other hand freedom, democracy and pluriformity (ethical implications)? What are the possibilities for controlling intelligence services? Some governments have a very small but very reliable

extra intelligence service that controls other 'own' intelligence services. Is such an institution needed? Has it to be replaced by another instrument?

- Can intelligence services, which are too effective, weaken a CBD-security policy as a whole, by for example undermining the moral of citizens (strategic implications)?
- Conclusion: which options of the build-up of services seems to be best fit for CBD?

This will be a category B research proposal.

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Appendix A. Coherence between the projects: defining the projects in order to guard against overlaps and projects subservient to others

The following proposals are subservient to others:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1-A (shadow structures) is subservient to: | 3-E (transarmament) |
| 1-B (decentralization) is subservient to: | 3-E (transarmament) |
| 1-C, 1-D, 1-E (technology) are subservient to: | 3-E (transarmament) |
| 1-G (key-positions) is subservient to: | 1-F (instructions to civil servants)
2-A (reach and receptivity of CBD) |
| 2-B (psychological health) is subservient to: | 3-E (transarmament) |
| 4-B (centre of gravity) is subservient to: | 4-C (means of confrontation)
5-A (types of conflicts) |
| 4-C (means of confrontation) is subservient to: | 3-E (transarmament),
4-D (post-war politics) |
| 5-A (types of conflicts) is subservient to: | 3-E (transarmament) |
| 5-C (effects on the political level): | 3-E (transarmament) |
| 5-D (foreign services) is subservient to: | 5-E (CBD-services) |

The other way round, the following proposals can best be carried out after other research:

1-F (instructions to civil servants) after:	1-G (key-positions)
2-A (reach and reception of CBD) after:	1-G (key-positions)
3-E (transarmament) after:	1-A (shadow structures), 1-B (decentralization), 1-C 1-D 1-E (technology), 2-B (psychological health), 4- C (CBD-security policies), 5-A (types of conflicts) and 5-C (effects on the political level)
4-C (means of confrontation) after:	4-B (centre of gravity)
4-D (post-war politics) after:	4-C (means of confrontation)
5-A (types of conflicts) after:	4-B (centre of gravity)
5-E (CBD-services) after:	5-D (foreign services)

One proposal is subservient to other proposals that are on their turn subservient to others:

4-B /followed by/- 4-C /followed by/ 3-E and 4-D
- 5-A /followed by/ 3-E

This means that proposal 4-B (centre of gravity) has a high priority to be carried out at an early stage.

To avoid overlaps the proposals are restricted to certain fields. The boundaries of the proposals, to avoid overlaps, are listed here.

- 1-B (decentralization):	pre-confrontation measures for confrontation
4-D (post-war):	pre-confrontation measures for post-confrontation

- 1-B (decentralization): level of strategy
- 5-C (politics): political level
- 1-D (information-explosion): not related to privacy
- 1-E (databases): related to privacy
- 3-B (history thinking): political thinking
- 3-C (Dutch resistance): actual struggle
- 3-E (transarmament): reaching a security policy
- 4-C (CBD-security policies) determination tasks of a security
- and 5-A (types of conflicts): policy
- 4-B (centre of gravity): all centres of gravity
- 5-A (types of conflict): all foreign security policies,
though not dealing with their
centres of gravity
- 4-C (CBD-security policies): inside security policy: what is
available
- 5-A (types of conflict): outside security policy: what is
needed
- 4-C (CBD-security policies): elements at the political level
concerning the defence system
- 5-C (political level): elements at the political level *not*
concerning the defence system
- 4-D (pre-war measures): concerning fighting power
- 5-C (political level): *not* concerning fighting power
- 5-A (types of conflicts): all types of conflicts except
occupations
- 5-B (occupations): occupations
- 5-D (foreign services): foreign intelligence services
- 5-E (CBD-services): CBD intelligence services

Appendix B. Original projects of the Niezing-Commission (NC) in this 'Research on Civilian-based Defence' (RD)

Project 1 NC: Which categories of conflicts exists, for which the non-violent defence system could be relevant?

Large parts of this project are used for RD-proposal 5-A: Types of conflict and goals of opponents a CBD-security policy has to deal with.

Project 2 NC: Dutch resistance during the Second World War from the point of view of Social Defence.

Largely based on this project is RD-proposal 3-C: Non-violent struggle during the 1920s and 1930s and Dutch resistance during the Second World War from the point of view of CBD.

Project 3 NC: The nature of contemporary occupations and the implications for Social Defence.

Based upon this project is RD-proposal 5-B: The nature of contemporary occupations and the implications for CBD.

Project 4 NC: Repression technologies and non-violent technologies against these.

This is RD-proposal 1-C: Repression technologies and CBD.

Project 5 NC: Reach and reception of the idea of Social Defence in the Netherlands.

This is RD-proposal 2-A: Reach and reception of the idea of CBD in the Netherlands.

Project 6 NC: Instructions to civil servants as a decision-making condition for an effective system of Social Defence in case of an occupation.

This is RD-proposal 1-F: Instructions to civil servants as a decision-making condition for an effective CBD system in case of an occupation.

Project 7 NC: Social Defence and social organization: a preliminary research into the relation between centralization and decentralization within a Social Defence system.

This is RD-proposal 1-B: CBD and social organization: a preliminary research into the relation between centralization and decentralization within a CBD system.

Project 8 NC: Study of sociological literature with respect to the problems and assumptions of reflection on Social Defence.

This is RD-proposal 3-A: Study of sociological literature with respect to the problems and assumptions of reflection on CBD.

Project 9 NC: Psychological processes that appear during confrontations between armed and non-armed groups.

Some small parts of this project are used in RD-proposal 2-B: Improvement of psychological growth and health.

Project 10 NC: The role of the Committee for Social Self-defense (KOR) and the independent trade-union organization *Solidarity* in Poland with regard to reflection in the field of Social Defence.

In an up to date version this project may be used within RD-proposal 3-D: Conditions and constituent parts.

Appendix C. Original SISWO/CBD-group proposals in this 'Research on Civilian-based Defence' (RD)

SISWO/CBD-group proposal of Joep Creyghthon in his paper of June 17, 1987:

- 'Burgerlijk verzet in de geschiedenis van het politieke denken'.
On the opposite paper is based RD-proposal 3-B: Civilian resistance in the history of political thinking.

SISWO/CBD-group proposal of Marten van Harten of June 17, 1987:

- 'Bevordering van verzetsbereidheid ten tijde van oorlogsdreiging en bezetting, Nederland 1936-1945; de propoganda van geestelijk verzet door regering en maatschappelijke groepen bezien in het licht van psychologische verdediging'.
Parts are used in RD-proposal 3-C: Non-violent struggle during the 1920s and 1930s and Dutch resistance during the Second World War from the point of view of CBD.

SISWO/CBD-group proposal of Evert Huisman in his letter of May 24, 1987:

- 'Ambtenaren en sociale verdediging'
See project 6 of the Niezing-Commission: Instructions to civil servants as a decision-making condition for an effective system of Social Defence in case of an occupation.

SISWO/CBD-group proposal of Popko van der Molen for the SISWO-meeting of August 30, 1985:

- 'Psychologische aspecten van de bereidheid tot het plegen van geweldloos verzet'.
Parts are adopted in RD-proposal 2-B: Improvement of psychological growth and health.

SISWO/CBD-group proposals of Johan Niezing in his letter of May 18, 1987:

- 'Een inventarisatie van reeds bestaande schaduwstructuren'
Based upon this is RD-proposal 1-A: An inventory of shadow structures.
- 'Een onderzoek naar aanwezigheid en betekenis van persoonsregistratie'
Based upon this is RD-proposal 1-E: A research into the existence and meaning of databases and personal files.
- 'Mensenrechten en psychologische motivatie', and, 'De betekenis van

assertiviteitsstudies’.

Parts are adopted in RD-proposal 2-B: Improvement of psychological growth and health.

- ‘Een exploratief onderzoek naar de samenstellende onderdelen van strategische studie’.

Partly based upon this is RD-proposal 3-D: Conditions and constituent parts.

- ‘Transarmament als sociaal proces’.

Based upon this is RD-proposal 3-E: Transarmament as a social process.

- ‘Een studie over de functie van boycotts door bondgenoten voor de geloofwaardigheid van de afschrikking met SV’ and ‘Sociale verdediging als onderdeel van experimenteel veiligheidsbeleid’.

Parts of both proposals are used in RD-proposal 4-C: Categorization of possible CBD-security policies: means of confrontation and related goals.

- ‘Mogelijkheden en beperkingen van de diplomatie bij SV’.

Parts of this are used in RD-proposal 5-C: Effects of the introduction of CBD on the political level.

- ‘De aanwijzingen aan ambtenaren’

See project 6 of the Niezing-Commission: Instructions to civil servants as a decision-making condition for an effective system of Social Defence in case of an occupation.

- ‘Decentralisatieproblematiek’

See project 7 of the Niezing-Commission: Social Defence and social organization: a preliminary research into the relation between centralization and decentralization within a Social Defence system.

SISWO/CBD-group proposals of Henk bij de Weg of 1987 (undated):

- ‘Sociale verdediging: strategies of kommunikatief handelen?’ and parts of ‘De stand van zaken in de sociale verdedigingsdiscussie’.

On this is based RD-proposal 4-E: State of the CBD-discussion: strategic or communicative action?

- ‘In hoeverre is Nederland economisch onafhankelijk?’.

Parts of this are used in RD-proposal 5-C: Effects of the introduction of CBD on the political level.

- ‘Wat zijn de economische voorwaarden voor sociale verdediging?’

Parts can be used in RD-proposal 3-D: Conditions and constituent parts.

At the beginning of each proposal its origins is given. Some are new proposals, not sprung from the Niezing-Commission or SISWO/CBD-

group. However, these studies originated with the SISWO/CBD-group members Joep Creyghon (1x) and Popko van der Molen (2x), or Giliam de Valk (7x). The only exception is study 4-A (development of new knowledge with respect to strategy and CBD) for which the papers of Antonino Drago and Antonio Sasso are used.

Appendix D. Modeling Utopia. Some notes on the programming of research on civilian defence. Johan Niezing, Free University of Brussels (VUB)

Civilian Defence Theory: In need of a selective and unifying concept

In a previous study¹ I stressed the point that civilian defence (CD) has no theory of its own: it is a material object, no formal object of scientific reasoning. Consequently, ... 'research into CD has to evaluate carefully the huge bodies of already existing and empirically verified theoretical knowledge of the respective (social) sciences; much more than we have done so far'. From an epistemological point of view there is nothing strange in such a situation; for new insights often occur by applying already existing ones to new fields of investigation. What we need, however, are some basic notions that may function as selective devices as well as unifying concepts. We must be able to select from the existing body of knowledge those elements that are relevant for the development of CD, and to place them into some common framework.

It seems plausible that the idea of effectiveness can be helpful as such as selecting and unifying device. CD can be viewed as a *system*: if applied, it concerns a society as a whole. All kinds of occurrences, tendencies etc., can be viewed as elements that make for, or lessen the potency of a given society to function as such. As a system, CD has to be modeled into a whole of hypothesised relations between variables. These variables are to be considered as necessary prerequisites for the system: without them, it cannot function at all. Moreover, internal developments and external conditions and occurrences may stimulate or hamper its functioning. Thus, in order to depict a certain society as a CD-system, we may think in terms of '*effectiveness-model*': we have to ask ourselves questions about the types of prerequisites, their hypothesized relationships, boundary and additional conditions, etc., which make CD a workable alternative to other defence systems.

Civilian Defence as Deterrence

Usually, the differences between CD and military defence are greatly accentuated, and this for obvious reasons: it is just because of these differences that some preference for one of both is formulated. Nevertheless, it might be useful to be on the lookout for some common

¹. 'Rethinking Utopia: Some Sceptical Remarks on the Methodology of Civilian-Based Defense Research', Bulletin of Peace Proposals, 1982/4.

denominators. Maybe 'CD-specialists' can learn from the existing literature on military defence much more than they did so far. After all, like any defence-system, CD is meant to safeguard a given society from foreign occupation, its effectiveness being largely dependent on its credibility. Thus, we may consider CD as a system of deterrence - as Olson suggested still recently² - or as a system of dissuasion - as Boserup and Mack once put it more mildly³. Having this in mind, we may go one step further: we may look at some basic principles of deterrence, in particular concerning the 'credibility problems', in order to delineate our 'model of effectiveness'.

As J.D. Singer formulated it many years ago⁴, the relative effectiveness of a deterrence system can be understood as the product of its capabilities and the intentions to make use of these capabilities, both as they are taken seriously by the opponent, or $D = \text{estimated capabilities} \times \text{estimated intentions}$. Of course, this 'formula' is a mere truism. It simply suggests that in order to be able to deter (or: to dissuade) one needs three assets: (a) some (military) instruments (weapons, organizations etc.), (b) the firmness to make use of these instruments, and (c) the presence of an opponent who is taking both seriously enough. It suggests also that, if any of these three basic conditions fails, the system falls as a whole. Singer's quasi-formula is perfectly in line with all kinds of insights in other scientific fields: one may think of recent theories in ethology⁵ or sociological 'resource mobilisation' theories⁶. Nevertheless - or rather: because of all self-evidence at stake - it might make sense to use Singers formula as a starting point when trying to construct a 'model of effectiveness' of a

². Th. Olson: 'Social Defence and Deterrence, their Interrelationship', Bulletin of Peace Proposals, 1985/1.

³. Anders Boserup and Andrew Mack: 'War without Weapons', London, 1974, p. 131 ff.

⁴. J.D. Singer: 'Deterrence, Arms Control and Disarmament', Columbus, Ohio, 1962, p. 172.

⁵. Popko P. van der Molen: 'The Compliance versus Self-will. Trait, Incrowd-Outcast Selection and Population Cycles', Heymans Bulletin, State University Groningen, January 1985.

⁶. Ch. Tilly: in 'From Mobilization to Revolution' Reading, 1978, p. 69. For an outstanding overview of the merits of resource mobilisation theory for the study of civilian defence, see G. Geeraerts: 'Sociale verdediging als een probleem van collectieve actie', doctoral dissertation, I, II; Brussels, VUB, 1986 (only in Dutch language).

CD-system.

Thus, any CD-system needs some instrumental prerequisites ('capabilities') and the willingness to (a) resist (b) non-violently ('intentions'). Furthermore, both types of conditions, instrumental as well as the psychological ones, have to be recognized and taken seriously by the opponent.

Or, the effectiveness of the system (E) can be defined as the product of instrumental conditions (IC) and psychological conditions (PC), both as perceives (ES) by the opponent. Shortly:

$$E = (IC \times PC) \text{ ES}$$

Figure 1. Singer's formula, as applied to civilian defence⁷

There will be some mutually (re)inforcing relationship between the first and the second condition: the higher the level of instrumental preparation, the more people will be inclined to believe in, and to practice CD - and vice versa. Furthermore, the higher the level of 'mobilisation' (i.e., the more both conditions are present) the more it will be noted by the opponent. Thus:

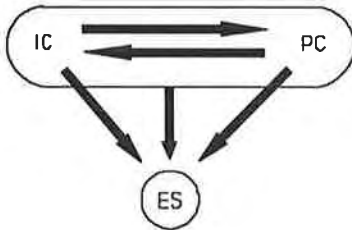


Figure 2. Three basic conditions of a CD-system, and their interrelationships

However much trivial this figure may appear at first sight, nevertheless some interesting remarks can be made. First, as compared with traditional, military defence, PC is a very important element in this model. In military defence, the capabilities are increasing, time and

⁷. We maintain the expression 'Estimation' (E) instead of (P)erception in order to avoid confusion with PC.

again, in order to maintain a certain level of credibility. Even if serious doubts exist as to the measure in which a certain population has the intention to use these capabilities (i.e., to commit suicide), even the slightest possibility of the existence of such intentions suffices to maintain a certain level of credibility: the system 'works' almost apart from the attitudes of the people. In a CD-system, the intentions (PC) are really pertinent to both the product of the two types of conditions and the willingness to invest in capabilities: IC and PC may stimulate each other, ES being to some extent dependent on the recognition of this process.

Civilian Defence as a dynamic system: IC x PC

Thus, a CD-model of effectiveness can be seen as a dynamic application of Singers formula, whereas its original use (within the context of the credibility problem of military deterrence) was a necessarily more static one. When depicting a CD-system, the interrelationship between IC and P has to be spotlighted.

This dynamic interrelationship can be better understood, if distinction is made between dependent and independent variables. To some extent, both components - IC and PC - are flexible, to some extent they are rather rigid. Both components are to be considered as collections of elements, some of them are more capable to be involved in a process of mutually stimulation than others.⁸ Thus, in some cases the effectiveness of some instrumental conditions is rather independent on the willingness to resist (IC, 1). One may think of 'natural' conditions, like the degree of autarky, strategic position (IC, 1,a) or of 'additional' conditions, like measures to destroy all personal records, decentralization of government, etc. (IC, 1,b). Some other instrumental conditions, however, can only be successful if the population at large is willing to practice them (for instance measures to facilitate non-collaboration of the administration, etc.; IC, 2). On the other hand, some persons are more inclined or disposed to resist in a non-violent way than others (PC, 1): there is a lot of literature about the relation between personality and peaceful resistance.⁹ But in general, the

⁸. In my view, present literature on CD greatly ignores this difference, and this can only be understood by the very fact that most contributions to CD-thinking themselves are rather 'static': they sum up a number of conditions ('measures') and ignore the interactions between these.

⁹. Popko P. van der Molen: 'Psychologische aspecten van de bereidheid tot het plegen van geweldloos verzet' (psychological aspects of preparedness to non-violent resistance), Heymans Bulletin, State University Groningen, 1980 (only in the Dutch language).

motivation of a population to practice CD will be raised if one can rely upon some organizational infrastructure. In sum, *Widerstandsbereitschaft* can be understood as an independent as well as a dependent (PC, 2) variable. Or, schematically:

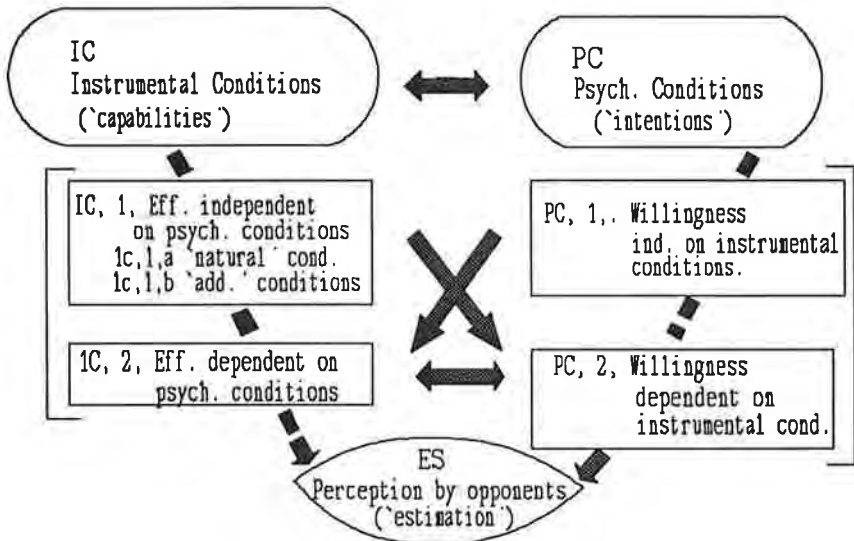


Figure 3. Effectiveness of a CD-system as an internal process

These relations between instrumental and psychological conditions can be seen - and have to be seen - as the hard core of any CD-system. Research programs have to be build up along these lines, rather than being catalogues of 'static' conditions. For instance, 'transarmament' can be viewed in terms of a dynamic relationship between mainly IC,2 and PC,2; thus, as a process of mutually stimulating instrumental and psychological conditions. Research into such a transarmament process can learn a lot from insights from the policy sciences: transarmament can be viewed as an example of strategic planning: as a sequence of steps of both an instrumental and psychological nature; as a process of planned change, with build-in feedbacks, etc.

In short, in my view, our capacity to clarify the main problems, scientific as well as political ones, of civilian defence will greatly increase if we are prepared to think in terms of social dynamics, in terms of relations between variable compounding parts of a system.

Civilian Defence as a dynamic and open system: ES

So far the capability-intention problem. Singer's third credibility-factor, the estimation by the opponent, needs ample and special attention, if applied to civilian defence.

A CD-system is an *open* system. As Boserup and Mack put it (see note 3), its power to dissuade is political by nature. A new CD-system as a whole is linked to the opponent, and the link between both - or: the overlap - is ES. Thus, ES, being a third constituting element in our effectiveness-model, is a dynamic element as well. Its relative strength depends not only on the extent to which organizational measures and signs of mental preparedness do succeed to penetrate into the opponents frame of reference (1), it also depends on the internal political processes within the opponents's political system (2). If the predominant political culture is becoming more hawkish, then the credibility (=effectiveness) of a CD-system will decrease, and this being so in both systems. On the other hand, if the arguments of peace doves are taken more seriously by the opponent's decision makers, than ES will gain strength. Moreover, as many an author suggests, the chance upon such a development will be greater, if a CD-system is installed; for, its purely defensive nature will undermine the arguments of the hawks in the opponent's system (3)

The gradual transition into a CD-system will change political relations as well: allies will react, in one way or another, if confronted with instrumental measures, indicative for a change in defence policies of one of their partners (4). Such reactions, however, may stimulate the credibility of the system: if negative, continuation of CD-policy, (in spite of all sanctions by allies) will make for the credibility of the system in the eyes of the opponent (6), which, in turn, may stimulate PC (5). If positive, this will help for the overcoming of 'resistances to change' during the transarmament-process, and this, in turn, will stimulate its credibility as a whole.

Thus, again, research programs should be focused upon the dynamic relationship of the constituting elements of a CD-system: not only the relations between instrumental and psychological conditions are at stake, but also the linkages of the system to its environment (e.g., the dynamics of ES) have to be spotlighted.

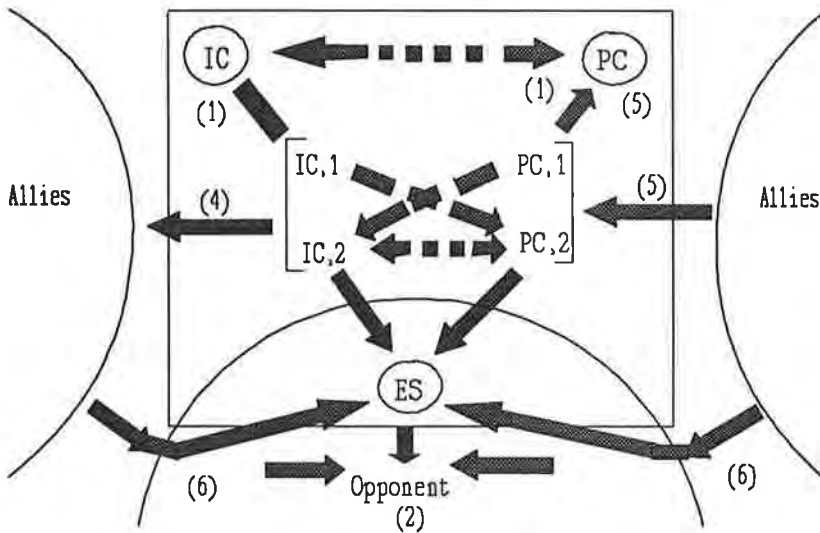


Figure 4. Effectiveness of a CD-system: internal and external processes

Modeling the future - the role of creativity

So far, a CD-system never existed. The ‘case, mentioned in many a reader on civilian defence, is rather exceptional situations, very limited in scope and time. They can be considered as deviations, as improvised reactions to unexpected abnormal situations, rather than as forms of organized, planned action. Nevertheless, they are suggested as research topics, time and again, in many a plea for research on civilian defence. In my view, such suggestions are stemming from the erroneous assumption that research into the non-existing is impossible, and that for that reason these historically bounded, very specific situations have to be investigated as necessarily incomplete, but only possible entrances to this domain of knowledge. This assumption has exercised a paralyzing influence on the development of a more satisfactory body of theories: a certain amount of ideology came in. This blocked the further development of really relevant research.

The absence of any build-in correctional feedbacks by means of research made for a stagnation of theory and for using these historical evidence as ‘proofs’ of some ideological stance or another, rather than considering them what they are: historically bounded cases, no more, no less.

This scientifically rather unsatisfactory situation could, in turn, not

convince policy-makers to take civilian defence seriously enough as a possible option, as a sufficiently mature alternative to traditional, military defence thinking. As a consequence, 'the signs of good will' of some governments - granting some money for research - faded away; benefitting the doubt turned to doubting the benefits of research in this field.

Nevertheless, the non-existing *can* be investigated. Civilian Defence as a system of planned action has to be investigated in order to overcome the impasse mentioned above. But how? Theories have some functions to the progress of science. Roughly speaking, they may help to furnish a more complete description of the problems at stake, they may suggest some alternate explanations, and they may enable us to formulate some possible predictions. This sequence is a cumulative one: no prediction without explanation, no explanation without description. Our 'model of effectiveness' deals primarily with the lowest -descriptive- level of theorizing. By absence of any already existing CD-system, we are necessarily bound to limit ourselves almost entirely to this level of theorizing. But even this may help us to overcome the present deadlock. Again, our model is rather self-evident; it is a strictly logical one. Due to this merit, we are entitled to rearrange existing knowledge, theoretical as well as empirical one.

By doing so, some interesting insights may occur: on the descriptive level, theory construction may have some heuristic value. It may compel us to note some problems, mechanisms, relationships, etc., which otherwise, due to ideological preoccupation (or better: laziness), would be neglected. It may draw our attention to some interesting parallels between non-existing situations, that enable us to use plausibility reasoning. By using such analogies we are capable to formulate some preliminary conclusions about a certain 'social reality', even if this reality does not yet exist.

What then, is the heuristic value of our model? Let me sum up, by way of a summary, some of its qualities:

(a) First, and above all, it may be used as a tool for mapping already existing insights in the literature on civilian defence. If I see it well, the results of such an enterprise will be rather shocking: it will be clear that most studies are focused upon some instrumental conditions (IC,1 and IC,2 in terms of our model), that furthermore some theoretically rather loose, impressionist views exist as to differences in psychological disposition (PC,1), and that a great number of interesting problems, dealing with the hard core of a CD-system, are scarcely, and in any case unsatisfactory, mentioned in most studies.

(b) The model enforces us to be more complete, to work in a more exhaustive way. We are probably plunged into some psychological

process: if confronted with the duty to fill up a *given* scheme, we are likely to stimulate our imagination. In other words: we probably possess much more knowledge than we are inclined to realize ourselves; for this knowledge is mostly labelled otherwise. Thus, the model could help us to rearrange already existing insights in a significant and creative way.

(c) The idea of a CD-system as a dynamic system will be stressed. Civilian Defence is something relative, and so it will ever be. Its effectiveness will never be complete, and the system itself will never be completed either. By discerning different types of elements, and by hypothesizing the relationships between them, we may be better entitled to understand the processes that make a CD-system more complete, e.g., effective.

(d) The idea of Transarmament as a gradual process of mutually reinforcing instrumental and psychological steps will be more clear - in any case, more clear than it was, thus far. Research should be focused upon the *structure* of this process (the interrelationships between IC,2 and PC,2; the influence of IC,1 and PC,1). Although we cannot reach the next levels of theorizing - the explaining and predictive one - we can nevertheless use the model to make plausible some mechanisms that may occur, if a transarmament process would start. In other words; even now, some tentative prescriptions could be formulated, by way of directions-for-use at the beginning of a transarmament policy. Such prescriptions are to be derived from general insights about these mechanisms, as applied to our subject-matter by means of plausibility reasoning based upon analogy. Once the process has started - and even the decision to spend some money for research in this field might function as a very first function as a very first beginning of the process! -part of our research will necessarily become evaluation research, which makes for an increase of the reliability of our prescriptions. In other words, if CD becomes reality, the higher levels of theorizing will gradually become reality as well; prescription turns to prediction.

(e) Traditional defence thinking has been biased by the idea of boundaries between states. Even deterrence theories, with their greater interest in psychology, often ignore the essential premise that defence-systems overlap each other to a larger extent, and that this overlap is psychological by nature.

Our model shows clearly, how this overlap (ES) can be situated. Moreover, it suggests that being subjected to negative sanctions of 'allies', might help to increase the credibility of the CD-system. In short, we should focus our attention to the potencies of a CD-system as a relatively open system, and to the dynamics stemming from that.

Thus, by using a model of effectiveness as a framework for analyses, we might possess a guidance for depicting the central themes for research in this field. After all, such is more than even the 'classical' deterrence literature managed to do, thus far.

Research on Civilian-Based Defense is written by Mr. Giliam de Valk in cooperation with Prof.Dr. Johan Niezing. Giliam de Valk (1961) wrote his masters on 'Strategy and Civilian-Based Defense' (University of Leyden, Netherlands); in this study the importance of developing a strategic framework for civilian-based defense was stressed. Johan Niezing (1932) is professor of Peace Research at the Free University of Brussels (Belgium). He published several studies on civilian-based defense as a system of deterrence. His main book in this field ('Sociale verdediging als logisch alternatief', Belgium / The Netherlands, 1987) will also be published in Russia and Germany, in the course of 1993.

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