

To Give Life: A Nonkilling Military Precedents and Possibilities

by Gene Keyes

Abstract

To Give Life discusses various concepts of unarmed military forces; indicates a wide range of services and situations for which they might be suitable; classifies their *military* missions and *political* parentage; cites an assortment of *ideas* and *precedents*; argues that while the notion is highly conjectural, it is not unthinkable; and asserts that the essential military ethos is *courage, not killing*. Among many possibilities are:

- Operating a Great White Fleet of hospital ships;
- Being a UN buffer force where hostilities have erupted;
- Aiding civilian nonviolent resistance to aggression;
- Reforesting the Sahara Desert.

Note: this monograph is the unabridged and illustrated version of a shortened chapter in the book [Nonkilling Security and the State](#), Joám Evans Pim, ed., 2013; co-published by the [Center for Global Nonkilling](#) (founded by Prof. [Glenn D. Paige](#)). Also available as free pdfs: [whole book](#); or [GK chapter only](#).

It was expanded and updated in 2013 from “[Force Without Firepower](#)”, an article which first appeared in CoEvolution Quarterly [later Whole Earth Review] Summer 1982; used by permission of New Whole Earth LLC. An earlier version was presented at the American Political Science Association, 1974-08-31.

This material was originally written in 1971 as a 337 p. senior thesis at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, then condensed and updated in 1974 and 1981 — all before the Web, Wikipedia, and Google. Many of its original references are hard to find or out of print. But there is a wealth of new content online, so I am augmenting this latest version with a lot of Internet links and quotations.

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2014-02-23

*PS: Endnotes and bibliography (p. 49-70) are combined into one set of references, but since they are not hyperlinked, readers may wish to open this pdf twice and start the other one at p.50, for side-by-side windows to facilitate scrolling. I always prefer to show my sources by **chronological** order within each category, to clarify evolution and cumulation of events and concepts. Superscripts in text are hyphenated to those categories:*

i.e., " 2-10 " is tenth in "§ 2) Rondon".

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*Military leaders know a secret: The vast majority of people
are overwhelmingly reluctant to take a human life.*
— Lt. Col. Dave Grossman (2007) ¹⁻²

§ 1)

Preface

Nonkilling military forces may seem a preposterous contradiction in terms, but there have been, in the U.S. military, components with such mottoes as: "That Others May Live" (air rescue); "Strive to Save Lives" (medevac); and "Alone, Unarmed, Unafraid" (reconnaissance pilots).

Decades ago, Major-General Cândido Rondon founded the Brazilian Indian Protection Service and gave it the motto: "Die if Necessary, but Never Kill."

The 1948-49 Berlin Airlift is perhaps the most famous "unviolent" major campaign carried out by a military force.

Brigadier-General S.L.A. Marshall discovered that in World War II, ca. 85 percent of infantry soldiers in combat did not fire their weapons. Whereupon he wrote:

Any fighting man ... is sustained by his fellows primarily and by his weapons secondarily. Having to make a choice in the face of the enemy, he would rather be unarmed with comrades around him than altogether alone, though possessing the most perfect of quick-firing weapons. ¹⁻¹

To be sure, these notes are all taken out of context. But they hint at an esprit de corps for a hypothetical military service that spurns all weapons but one: courage.

A working definition of "Nonkilling Forces" will be: Men and women effectives forming an entire military command without weapons; well-equipped for mobility and logistics; trained to accept casualties, never inflict them.

While many assumptions can be found in this article, these three are basic:

- 1 Killing people is the primary and residual duty of all armed forces.
- 2 There is conflict everywhere, often tending toward military "solutions."
- 3 Most existing and would-be states have armed forces.

Likewise, I could state various premises, but here is the operative one:

"Thou shalt not kill." Ever.

Pacifism? Perhaps. *But the key distinction emphasized herein is not between war and peace, but between killing and dying.*

Let us postulate nonkilling militaries that could enter a war as well as prevent one; and that could be global first responders in world-class catastrophes. In all cases, the essential duty of these unarmed services would be: ever to give life, never to take it.

To imagine nonkilling forces across the board, consider three broad questions: What can they do? Whose are they? What do they defend?

Our main focus will be on what they can do — the **military mission**. However, we should also bear in mind that in most cases, any armed (or unarmed) force is established by a **political parent** (or **political purpose**) and guided by a **moral mandate**. The nominal purpose of any military force is national defense, but of course that's not the whole story. Very seldom, in fact. So we consider a wide range of missions through peace, conflict, and war.

There are hundreds of political/military possibilities. The United Nations is a logical birthplace for a Nonkilling Military, but just for the sake of argument, we could depict one established by Costa Rica or Canada; NATO or the Nordic Council; the US or the EU; ASEAN or the Arab League. My intent is to sketch nonkilling military forces as a general proposition, adaptable anywhere, even to the most unexpected origin.

They would be a social invention, a political instrument in a world still afflicted by deadly power conflicts, occasional genocide, structural violence, natural disasters, ecological trauma, nuclear roulette, and the military habits of millennia. Unarmed forces might well be acquired as a deliberate initiative, or through unforeseen mutation, or evolution, by polities that had the vision or nerve or serendipity to do so.

The ideas in this article are grouped according to their military mission:

PEACE	CONFLICT	WAR
1 Rescue Action	4 Friendly Persuasion	8 Defense
2 Civic Action	5 Guerrilla Action	9 Expeditionary Action
3 Colossal Action	6 Police Action	10 Invasion
[or Eco-Action]	7 Buffer Action	

and may be considered in terms of the political parent:

- 1 A Non-state Organization
- 2 A National Government
- 3 An International Organization
- 4 The United Nations
- 5 A World Government

Of course, some of these concepts are more plausible than others. Therefore, I dwell at greater length on Rescue Action (nowadays called HA/DR, Humanitarian Assistance / Disaster Relief); and Colossal Action, especially desert reclamation.

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PROLOGUE: TWO PERSONS OF INTEREST

§ 2) (1) Major-General Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon (1865-1958)

"Morrer, se preciso for. Matar, nunca!"
["Die if necessary, but never kill!"]



Image source: ²⁻¹⁴

The career of **General (later, Marshal) Cândido Rondon** deserves further study in this nonkilling context; for manifesting a bravery so outstanding it may be the exact prototype of organized nonkilling military missions. He is one of Brazil's towering national heroes, after whom the province of Rondonia is named; he was awarded Brazil's highest military rank, Marshal; he was a Nobel Peace Prize nominee; he is called Patron of Communications (for his early 1900's military-engineering feat of stringing 7,000 km of telegraph wire in horrible and nearly uncharted jungles); and he was one of the 20th century's greatest explorers. In 1913-14, he and former President Theodore Roosevelt led the harrowing Roosevelt–Rondon Scientific Expedition to chart the then-unknown "River of Doubt." As TR wrote in his 1914 book,

...we met a party of [indigenous] Nhambiquaras, very friendly and sociable, and very glad to see Colonel Rondon. They were originally exceedingly hostile and suspicious, but the colonel's unwearied thoughtfulness and good temper, joined with his indomitable resolution, enabled him to avoid war and to secure their friendship and even their aid. He never killed one.²⁻¹

Thus, above all, Rondon could be regarded as the archetype of this article for his renowned Indian Protection Service oath and motto: "Die if necessary, but never kill!" *

Rondon had founded the IPS in 1910, to halt 19th-century atrocities against stone age tribes. Its task was to win over Indians encountered in connection with telegraph lines, surveys, resource development, etc. Rondon's approaches to the most hostile kind of Indians in the Brazilian wilderness can be labeled Friendly Persuasion, but the lessons could be transposed to Defense, Buffer Action, or other categories, with soldiers at mortal risk to themselves but staunchly unarmed, dying without killing, as happened to scores of Rondon's men.

One technique was to approach (or even fly over) an area dropping such gifts as clothes, pots, pans, mirrors, and pin-ups, or else have foot parties leave such offerings.^{2-2; 2-5} *Time* magazine reported such a mission in its issue of Dec. 15, 1941: (which would arrive a week earlier, December 8, 1941: i.e., an article like this might well be overlooked in the commotion of that day.

BRAZIL: Die If Necessary

Up the Rio das Mortes (River of Death), in the Matto Grosso, to the country of the Chavante Indians last month journeyed a seven-man peace commission, sent by Brazil's Indian Bureau. Such commissions have made peace with most of the distrustful tribes of the hinterlands by following the bureau's inflexible rule: "Die if necessary, but never kill."

But of all the Indians living in the jungles of the Matto Grosso, the fiercest and most unpredictable are the Chavantes. For centuries they have fought a guerrilla war with what they believe is one great tribe of white men.

At a Chavante village, Dr. Genesio Pimentel Barbosa, head of the commission, called a parley. The Indians silently listened to his offers, brought fruit for the

* Could also be "Die if you must, but never kill." The Portuguese — "Morrer, se preciso for. Matar, nunca!" — can be more literally rendered, "To die, if need be. To kill, never!" Given the significance of this stricture, it might be good to have a canonical English version.

white men to eat.

In a few minutes six of the white men of peace were violently sick. The fruit had been poisoned. Still no member of the expedition laid a finger on his rifle. Even when the Chavantes attacked them with poisoned arrows and slashing machetes, the white men did not shoot. Only one man of the seven escaped into the jungle.

Last week the River of Death bore another expedition sent by the Indian Bureau. Its purpose: to find the six bodies, to try once again to talk peace to the Chavantes. There would be no reprisals, for the Indian Bureau still insists "Never kill." ²⁻³

The campaign continued, 1943-46, at the behest of General George Marshall to explore Brazil's natural resources, and claimed a hundred more lives; Rondon refused to allow weapons for self-defense. "This 'crazy notion' was termed suicidal . . ." wrote journalist Willard Price. "Criticism of General Rondon blazed in Rio, but he stood by his guns — or gunlessness. The Indians were to be won by kindness." ²⁻⁵ The effort succeeded when the Chavantes agreed to a treaty in 1946.

A biographical essay on the Web by Portuguese author Fernando Correia da Silva (which has a painting of Rondon with "DIE, IF NECESSARY; BUT NEVER KILL!" scrolling under it) states as follows:

That is precisely why Rondon is so important. He was always strict in the application of his maxim, "Die, if necessary, but never kill!". Tens of officers and more than 150 soldiers and civilians died because they refused to kill. In other words, they let themselves be killed. In them, the strength of an idea overcame their instinct for survival. Humanism, when taken seriously, has a high cost. ²⁻¹²

The Brazilian government portal page includes this assessment:

Also known as the Civiliser of the Backlands, Marshal Rondon managed, with much determination, to attach a rare humanist and pacifist vision to the dream of progress, so that Brazil could establish dialogue in its sheer distances and differences. The close contact with the Native Brazilians inspired the phrase that guided his whole life: "Die, if necessary. Kill, never." It was therefore the Marshal of Peace that went down in History. ²⁻¹⁰

Elsewhere on the Web, writer Ben Thompson (whose weekly pieces celebrate "badass" characters) did a foul-mouth, but otherwise serious and laudatory Web profile in 2012, which starts out this way:

Candido Mariano da Silva Rondon stood five feet, three inches tall, weighed about a buck twenty soaking wet and ... took an oath never to kill another human being, even in self-defense. He was also one of the most daring and intrepid explorers to ever live,... ²⁻¹³

And Thompson's lead-off photo of the general is captioned — "Die if you must, but never kill."

Regrettably, the most thorough English-language study of Rondon, by Todd A. Diacon (2004), is rather derogatory, and only mentions that key dictum twice, in passing:

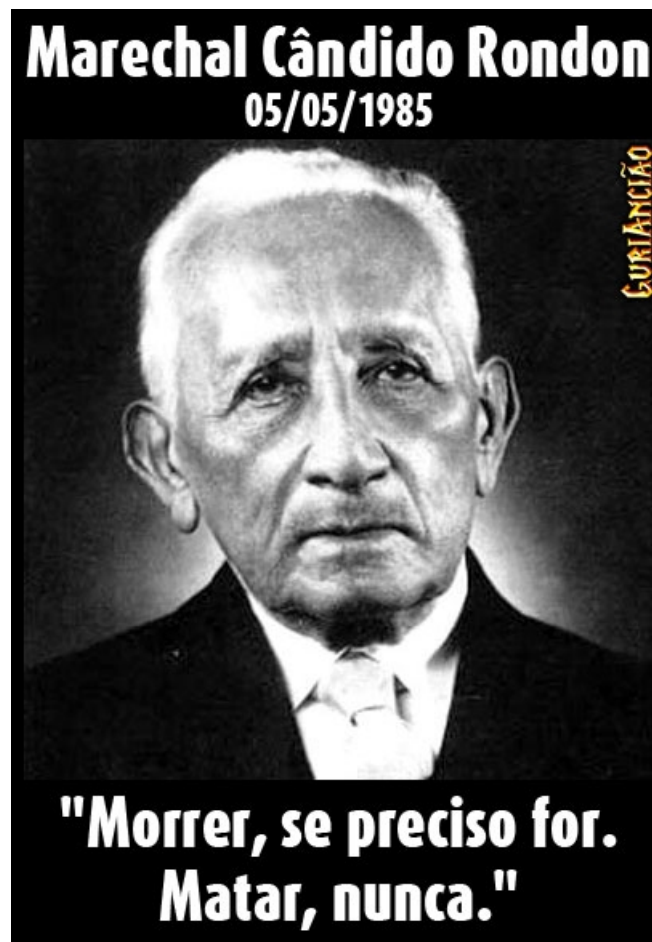
Most Brazilians can easily cite the famous motto of Rondon's Indian policy: "To die if

necessary; to kill never." ²⁻¹¹

He repeats it near the end, with a sneer, by noting in the same breath that Rondon's portrait used to appear on a unit of Brazilian currency, till it was inflated out of existence. (Díacon is sympathetic to a so-called revisionist school which deprecates the usefulness of the telegraph, and faults Rondon's policies to ultimately assimilate the indigenous tribes.)

Rondon died in 1958 at age 93. As he was no longer heading IPS, later governments larded it with patronage incompetents and corruption. By 1967 half its personnel were themselves implicated in a long campaign of murder and sadism to terrorize Indians away from Brazil's advancing frontiers. ²⁻⁹ The 700-member IPS was disbanded and replaced by the FUNAI — Fundação Nacional do Índio.

And yet, in spite of all, we see that Rondon's amazing meme has gained respect and repetition, not just in Brazil, but across the Web. Another instance:



Guri Anciã's website's caption: (translated): "Our tribute to ... Marechal Rondon, one of the most important people the world has ever seen." ²⁻¹⁵ *

* Rondon's birth date of May 5 is used to commemorate National Telecommunications Day in Brazil. Perhaps the poster was done for such an occasion in 1985. —gk)



Rondon ca. 1914, from the [1928?] film, "River of Doubt", about
the Roosevelt–Rondon Scientific Expedition of 1913-14²⁻¹⁶

(screenshot by gk)

§ 3)

(2) Lieutenant-Colonel (ret.) Jim Channon (1948 -)

"Envision the militaries of the world uniting to serve the planet." 3-18



Source: via Google Images

At an army think tank (Project Delta) in the late 1970s, an American army officer **Lieutenant-Colonel Jim Channon** (retired 1982) developed a remarkable set of concepts called "**The First**

Earth Battalion". More in the nature of prophecy than reality, his (hand-scripted and illustrated) manuscripts about it put forward ideas similar to ones in this article. 300 photocopies were circulated to Army officers in the early 'eighties (now available free online as a pdf, or as a book version for sale.)^{3-1, 3-2, 3-3, 3-5}

He mentions a "rescue company" for natural disaster, eco disaster, and human disaster; a "pioneer company" for space, eco, and urban environments; and a "counterforce company" to engage in "combat of the collective conscience" aimed at world opinion, with video-oriented humane tactics. (See illustration in "Buffer Action" below.) Thus, I could also list the First Earth Battalion under Friendly Persuasion, though it could cover the gamut of missions we are discussing, especially Colossal / Eco Action. Channon, who admits that the First Earth Battalion is a mythical concept, seeks to promote it at least into virtual existence. His outlook is a lot more New-Agey than mine; but being a dreamer myself, I salute the attempt.

Update 2013: A 2009 film farce, "*The Men Who Stare at Goats*"³⁻¹⁷ (from a 2005 book of the same title by Jon Ronson³⁻⁷) is based in large part on Channon's work, as is its pseudo-Channon secondary character "Bill Django" played by Jeff Bridges. Channon hesitated at first to cooperate with the project, but relented in the hope that his ideas would find wider exposure, despite their ridiculous treatment in the script.³⁻²⁶

The film's "**New Earth Army**" is his "First Earth Battalion", and momentary glimpses are seen of Channon's actual manuscript. As well, the movie's fictional narrator also mentions the [S.L.A. Marshall] datum cited at the start of this article, that only 15 to 20% of soldiers fired their weapons in combat, as dramatized in a Vietnam battle scene.*

But apart from those two relevant aspects (which only get brief mention), I was greatly disappointed by the movie, for its bad writing, bad acting, character-assassination of Channon, utterly implausible story line (even for a comedy) — and its failure to cast lead actor George Clooney as a more realistic Channon, who should have had the lead role, not a supporting one. (The DVD version at least has portions of an interview with the real Channon.) And the Goats movie did bring Channon's First Earth Battalion concept back to the fore.^{3-12 through 3-20} Till then he had mainly been giving New-Age uplift speeches to corporate audiences, and running an eco-homestead in Hawaii.

At present, Channon continues to press his ideas, as a speaker, futurist, artist, social architect, visionary, and YouTube presenter. Under the war cry of "Go Planet!" has been emphasizing the global scope of needed missions for world military forces, to cope with climate change: e.g., one of many: mass resettlement of populations affected by rising sea levels.^{3-9, 3-10, 3-15, 3-23, 3-25, 3-26, 3-27, 3-28}

* The purpose of S.L.A. Marshall's book was to overcome such reluctance to kill.¹⁻¹ Channon's aim was similar but more ambiguous. Jon Ronson's *The Men Who Stare at Goats* book describes Channon's deadly encounter with the Marshall conundrum when his platoon in Vietnam shot-to-miss at a sniper, who then killed a platoon member.³⁻⁷ So in his earlier real-life military persona, Channon sought to meld New Age notions with battlefield effectiveness, to make soldiers more "cunning".³⁻⁷ At the same time he "imagined ways to make war less violent and save the lives of soldiers and civilians."³⁻²³ Ergo, Channon himself might not subscribe to the "nonkilling military" principle advocated in this article, though he points out "the real victims of war are the young soldiers who must live a lifetime of regret and trauma because they have inadvertently killed a woman or child in the heat of a firefight."³⁻¹⁵ My caveat is to also rule out *advertently* killing a *man*. Meanwhile, Channon continues to reiterate his far-flung vision of re-purposed militaries on a world scale, which for all practical purposes would mean de facto nonkilling missions across the board. (As further discussed under Colossal / Eco Action below.)^{3-9, 3-10, 3-15, 3-23, 3-25, 3-26, 3-27, 3-28.}

That very forecast of Channon is echoed by none other than the current chief of the US Pacific Command, Admiral Samuel J. Locklear III, in the *Boston Globe* on March 9, 2013:

“The ice is melting and sea is getting higher,” Locklear said, noting that 80 percent of the world’s population lives within 200 miles of the coast. “I’m into the consequence management side of it. I’m not a scientist, but the island of Tarawa in Kiribati, they’re contemplating moving their entire population to another country because [it] is not going to exist anymore.”

The US military, he said, is beginning to reach out to other armed forces in the region about the issue.

“We have interjected into our multilateral dialogue – even with China and India – the imperative to kind of get military capabilities aligned [for] when the effects of climate change start to impact these massive populations,” he said. “If it goes bad, you could have hundreds of thousands or millions of people displaced and then security will start to crumble pretty quickly.” *

TEN MILITARY MISSIONS

§ 4

1) Rescue Action

True, the [Air Rescue] Service is an arm of the air force, with a primary job of saving the lives of American airmen, but... one [also] finds it is, perhaps more accurately, an international rescue service, ready to render professional help when and where needed, no matter how impossible the task.... In many zones, in fact, the gold-banded [ARS] aircraft are the only ones permitted to fly across international borders without prior clearance. ⁴⁻¹

— L.B. Taylor, Jr., *That Others May Live* (1967)

Definition: The employment of military capability for saving lives and setting up disaster relief in times of natural or man-made catastrophe; generally in environments or conditions not manageable by local or civilian resources.

If we can imagine a large-scale military service distinctive for nonkilling, nonpossession of firearms, and dedication to saving lives as its primary mission, the most plausible concept may be Rescue Action. Here we have numerous operational precedents. Consider offhand the 1948-49 Berlin Airlift **, or multination response to earthquakes in Peru (1970), Nicaragua (1972), and Italy (1980). Yet except for Berlin, until the 21st century we were talking about tokenism.

Update 2013: In recent years, more extensive such operations have occurred ad hoc, e.g., for the Indian Ocean tsunami (2004), Hurricane Katrina (2005), the Haiti earthquake (2010), and the Japan tsunami and Fukushima disaster (2011). Rescue Action nowadays

* Bryan Bender, "Chief of US Pacific forces calls climate biggest worry" (*Boston Globe*, 2013-03-09)

* Led by Curtis LeMay, otherwise regarded as one of the most bloodthirsty generals in American history.

even has the military acronym HA/DR, for "Humanitarian Assistance / Disaster Relief" [or "*Response*"].

Meanwhile, in October 2007, the chiefs of the three U.S. maritime services — Coast Guard, Navy, and Marines — co-signed and issued a major new policy statement, *A Cooperative Strategy for 21st Century Seapower*, which elevated HA/DR to become one of six **core missions** (there previously had been only four, not including HA/DR). To quote that new core mission:

Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Response.

Building on relationships forged in times of calm, we will continue to mitigate human suffering as the vanguard of interagency and multinational efforts, both in a deliberate, proactive fashion and in response to crises. Human suffering moves us to act, and the expeditionary character of maritime forces uniquely positions them to provide assistance. Our ability to conduct rapid and sustained non-combatant evacuation operations is critical to relieving the plight of our citizens and others when their safety is in jeopardy. ⁴⁻²

Of course, conventional armed forces are a blunt instrument in this context which can go wrong. The 1992 Somalia famine and civil war occasioned noble rescue missions by the US, UN, and others, but which degenerated when the rescuer/peace-keepers took sides in the civil war and inflicted heavy casualties before the US withdrew in disgrace after the "Blackhawk Down" fiasco. (And then sat on its hands during the 1994 Rwanda genocide.)

Which is not to denigrate these efforts; only to underscore the need for an assertively nonkilling moral mission as the pride and purpose of such military forces. At present HA/DR tends to serve mainly as good P.R. to burnish conventional militarism.

The need for a permanent world-available Rescue Command has long been self-evident. Each year there are about 30 major natural disasters somewhere on the planet, plus various artificial ones. The inadequacy of international rescue efforts — however large and laudable they have been — is almost common knowledge. We need only recall such 20th century man-made massacres as in Biafra, Bangladesh, Cambodia, and Rwanda; or, among natural calamities, the Bengal cyclone of 1970 and recurring African droughts. In each case, there were probably deaths surpassing a million and misery beyond accounting. In each case, the sum total of local and world rescue and relief activity amounted to but a fraction of what was required. Help was tardy and fragmented. (But see *Update 2013* below.)

Instead of well-meant civilian and military gestures, all of these situations could have been the scene of gigantic militarily coordinated rescue missions, of the nonkilling kind — if only political authority had chosen to summon them. *Any* political authority with ample military means: the UN, or Canada, or the US, or Russia, or an International Rescue Command.

Precedents: The **Air Rescue Service** (1946-1993) illustrated, in miniature, what would be the ethos of an entire military establishment whose mission is to safeguard life, and not to kill. Whenever I think a wholly nonviolent military service is beyond belief, the ARS comes to mind, where more than 200 service-people have given their lives in the course of duty. The ARS has, apart from battlefield situations, saved more than 20,000 additional lives. The irony is that, as

with medics, the main concern of ARS is to "keep the fighting strength." *Tactically* both are the quintessence of a rescue action force. *Strategically* both are used to ensure that the killing continues. (Just as the motto of the Navy Hospital Corps had long been "to keep as many men at as many guns as many days as possible.")



Emblem of the Air Rescue Service

U.S. Navy Hospital Ships: there are currently two: USNS *Comfort*, and USNS *Mercy*. Each has a similar website, listing "primary" and "secondary" (or "other") missions:

USNS COMFORT [its website]: ⁴⁻¹⁰

PRIMARY MISSION: To provide rapid, flexible, and mobile acute health service support to Marine Corps, Army and Air Force units deployed ashore, and naval amphibious task and battle forces afloat.

SECONDARY MISSION: To provide mobile surgical hospital service and acute medical care in disaster or humanitarian relief.

USNS MERCY [its website]: ⁴⁻¹¹

PRIMARY MISSION. To provide rapid, flexible, and mobile acute medical and surgical services to support Marine Corps Air/Ground Task Forces deployed ashore, Army and Air Force units deployed ashore, and naval amphibious task forces and battle forces afloat.

OTHER MISSION. To provide mobile surgical hospital service for use by appropriate U.S. Government agencies in Humanitarian Civic Assistance (HCA), disaster or humanitarian relief or limited humanitarian care incident to these missions or peacetime military operations.

What we see here is the commendable humanitarian mission, but also, the typical and regrettable "secondary" nature of that mission. It is interesting to note that the *Mercy* has a hybrid military and civilian crew, according to a different Navy website, the Military Sealift Command: ⁴⁻¹²

Military Sealift Command hospital ship USNS MERCY is currently operated by 65 federally employed, civilian mariners. These mariners are responsible for the safe operation, navigation and maintenance of the ship in support of MERCY's onboard Medical Treatment Facility.

MSC operates more than 120 noncombatant, civilian-crewed ships that replenish U.S. Navy ships, chart ocean bottoms, conduct undersea surveillance, strategically preposition

combat cargo at sea around the world and move military equipment and supplies used by deployed U.S. forces.

In March 2013, the US Navy hospital ship *Mercy* earned the 2013 National Peacemaker Award from the National Conflict Resolution Center. The background for it is described in the *Navy Times*:⁴⁻⁹

In early 2005, the Navy sent *Mercy* to help in Southeast Asia after a devastating tsunami struck the region, including Indonesia, Timor-Leste and Papua New Guinea. The ship's medical teams treated more than 107,000 patients and performed 466 surgeries and 6,900 dental procedures.

The following year, *Mercy* again deployed to assist in the region, still recovering from the damage. Medical and support personnel treated more than 60,000 people and performed 1,083 surgeries aboard the ship and ashore during the five-month deployment.

In 2008, and again in 2010 and 2012, the U.S. Pacific Fleet sent *Mercy* overseas as part of the now-annual Pacific Partnership mission, which is focused on humanitarian and civic assistance and disaster relief, including community service projects.

Nongovernmental groups such as medical and dental school groups, as well as Navy Seabees, Marines and other military personnel, have joined the 894-foot converted supertanker on the deployments to the Southeast and South Pacific regions.

There is also a Christian charity called **Mercy Ships**⁴⁻¹³ — not to be confused with the US Navy's *Mercy* —, inspired by the S.S. *Hope* (a private hospital ship, 1960-1974, mentioned below). Their fleet has comprised as many as four ships, but now it is down to just the m/v *Africa Mercy*: "With six operating theatres and a 78-bed ward, the *Africa Mercy* is the world's largest charity hospital ship." It provides medical services and training in various ports of call, and — like its Navy counterparts — typifies my constant lament: what an exemplary endeavor, what a miniscule blip compared to the over 3,300 warships of the world. *

From a military standpoint, rescue operations are standard procedure — in particular for medics, the Coast Guard, or the National Guard, just to take some U.S. examples. Also, the Air Mobility Command (AMC; formerly Military Airlift Command) has been involved in hundreds of humanitarian airlifts; a remarkable record — and a tiny hint of what an organization like AMC *could* accomplish were rescue action its *primary* mission. Nowhere was the tragic under-response of military capability more apparent than after the cataclysmic November 1970 cyclone in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). Within three weeks the U.S. had managed to send six helicopters. Six?? Out of an inventory of over 12,000? And having as of then lost another 6,000 in Vietnam?

Update 2013: I have mentioned the much more significant HA/DR missions of US and other forces in recent mega-disasters. There is now a copious analytical literature and other reports on the Web. To cite just six examples:

- A 2008 study by SIPRI reports:

The international responses to the impacts of the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami in Aceh province, Indonesia, and to the 2005 South Asian earthquake in Pakistan-

* http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Number_of_warships_in_service_worldwide (accessed 2014-02-23)

administered Kashmir included the greatest level of engagement by foreign military assets in the provision of humanitarian assistance to date.⁴⁻³

- A 2010 series of U.S. Naval Institute blogs by Coast Guard Reserve Lt. Jim Dolbow reports and comments on hospital ship and other Navy response to the Haiti earthquake.⁴⁻⁴

- A 2011-03 Council on Foreign Relations publication says, "From 1970 to 2000, U.S. forces were involved in 366 humanitarian missions compared with twenty-two combat-related missions for the same period."⁴⁻⁵

[gk: Now there's a statistic: imagine! Almost 17 times the number of humanitarian missions as combat ones, in a 30-year period! Spoiled only by the magnitude of the latter compared to the former. But that multiple stands as a precedent.]

- A 2011-06 Congressional Research Service report on the Japan earthquake earlier that year says,

At the peak, approximately 24,000 personnel, 189 aircraft, and 24 Navy vessels were involved in the humanitarian assistance and relief efforts. Major assets in the region were redirected to the quake zone, including the USS *Ronald Reagan* Carrier Strike group.⁴⁻⁶

- A 2011-07 article from a "global Army industry" website, by Elisabeth Fischer, entitled "*Disaster Response: The Role of A Humanitarian Military*", has this notable quote:

In June 2010, the defence ministers of New Zealand, Chile and Malaysia forcefully addressed the Shangri-La Dialogue, an annual security summit organised by the London-based International Institute of Strategic Studies think tank, calling for disciplines and well-equipped forces that are able to bring relief at short notice.

"International experience has shown that major disasters almost immediately overwhelm local emergency services. Humanitarian relief is increasingly a core task for all defence forces," said New Zealand's defence minister Wayne Mapp, adding it should be the main part of "military business, ***not simply a secondary task.***"⁴⁻⁷ (emphasis added — gk)

- A 2012 Commentary by US Navy Captain Cathal O'Connor in the *Naval War College Review*⁴⁻⁸ has technical discussion; a reprise of three recent operations (small, medium, and large); organization charts; and a bulleted list of key lessons; among them:

- The ambassador sets policy and directs the U.S. government team. The U.S. Agency for International Development and the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance coordinate and manage the U.S. government response. The Department of Defense supports.

* * *

- Do only what the Department of Defense can and then turn over to the host nation and NGOs, as soon as possible.

- Start with an idea of how the event will end; then determine an exit strategy and

what milestones can serve as ceremonies. [*Might have been good advice for certain wars ... — gk*]

Ideas:



The concept of a **"Great White Fleet" of hospital ships** seems to have occurred independently to Dr. William B. Walsh, father of the S.S. *HOPE*, and to U.S. Navy Commander Frank Manson, as amplified by *Life* magazine.⁴⁻¹⁴ With unusual fanfare, *Life* floated the White Fleet in a July 27, 1959, cover story, to the cheers of high-level and widespread public support. After two more weeks, *Life* abandoned ship, and the whole notion sank without a trace, except for the privately financed *HOPE*, which served from 1960 till its retirement in 1974.⁴⁻¹⁵

In the Manson/*Life* version, there would have been six or seven vessels in the Fleet, including a hospital ship, helicopter carrier, cargo ships, and others. Even if fully implemented, that would have been a trivial effort, compared to existing naval resources. Yet concepts of that type ought to be revived, enlarged, studied, and advocated by researchers and policymakers alike, and you, the reader.

The only specific proposal I know of for a *very large* standing multi-service rescue force (likewise from a navy man) was by the late Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall, a British political-military analyst. Abandoning nuclear arms, the United Kingdom would, in King-Hall's vision, initiate or promote a UN "International Rescue Organization" (IRO).⁴⁻¹⁶ The IRO would consist of three airborne brigades of 10,000 men and women each, deployed on three continents

and other worldwide bases. Each would have 25 large aircraft and ten other transport planes, three ships (15,000 tons, 30 knots), helicopters, and hovercraft. Recruitment would be from all nations for periods of 5, 10, and 15 years. The force would engage in exercises, goodwill visits, and highly publicized annual maneuvers in different areas of simulated emergencies.

Update 2013: In 1993, John Paul Lederach sketched a similarly expansive nonviolent standing force (discussed further below), but in terms of peacekeeping. I envisage such bodies could be multi-tasked, for HA/DR as well.

Meanwhile, the burden of world-scale relief and rescue action still falls on a dedicated but deficient medley of civilian agencies, hamstrung by penury and political cross-purposes. Since I first wrote my thesis in 1971, an entire literature has emerged reconfirming these problems in the Sahel famine.* Moreover, within a single decade since 1970, we have seen mega-death famine and slaughter in Biafra, Bangladesh, and Cambodia; and later, Rwanda, Sudan, and D.R. Congo. Even worse, these catastrophes were winked at, for all practical purposes, by the Big Powers.

Rescue action which military services could do in a grand manner is but a dream where noble gestures must be candles in the dark. Thus, to mention but a few, Able Nathan of Israel and Carl Von Rosen of Sweden each broke the blockade of Biafra to fly in relief supplies. Russell O'Quinn of America flew food to Biafra and Bangladesh. Indochina's Boat People were aided by such hospital ships as the French *Ile de lumiere* and the German *Cap Anamur*, by World Vision's *Sea Sweep*, and, for a while, by the U.S. Seventh Fleet.

However, a truly sufficient rescue command, for humanitarian intervention in natural or civil disaster, requires a much greater level of magnitude. It should possess, say, more than 100 large transport planes, more than 1,000 helicopters, more than 100,000 personnel, plus the equivalent of a U.S. Navy fleet, plus the relevant number of trucks, jeeps, small marine craft, field hospitals, tent cities, and prepositioned supply dumps. Etcetera. A trifling ten percent tithe of annual world military expenditures might be a reasonable funding level. (In 2013, that's ca. \$175 billion for rescue action, leaving \$1.73 * trillion for what Buckminster Fuller calls "killingry" as opposed to "livingry".)

Now for a spot-check of reality. During its 1969 cost overruns — the first billion-dollar overrun —, the giant C-5 A cargo plane was touted in a two-page Lockheed ad in *Newsweek*, 1969-09-29, headlined PEOPLE STARVING. SEND HELP (Biafra?). It was said to have impressed President Nixon. But when the C-5A did go into service in 1970, it was for the Vietnam war, and for the 1973 Middle East War arms lift, not the humanitarian emergencies for which it would also be suited (though it has indeed been used that way occasionally).

Update 2013: Fast-forward 34 years: *Time* magazine reported on 2013-02-25, that Lockheed (Lockheed again?) has been producing “the costliest weapons program in human history” — the F-35 fighter, a grand total of 2,457 jets for \$400 billion, with a lifetime cost of \$1.5 trillion. Unit price is said to exceed \$200 million a pop, as opposed to the kind of "livingry" required to outfit a Rescue Action Command.

* And since I wrote my 1982 article, still another technical and organizational literature has appeared in the wake of various 21st century mega-disasters and the greater response to them, as mentioned above.

* 2013-04-17) Kumi Naidoo [Executive Director of Greenpeace], "Redirect military expenditure to ensure a sustainable future", *Guardian*. Discusses the \$1.75 trillion in annual world military expenditure, as reported by the Stockholm Peace Research Institute.

However, it is worth noting that — in the wake of the 21st century super-disasters Tsunami / Katrina / Haiti / Fukushima — several proposals similar to *Life's* Great White Fleet have begun to appear in various venues,

- 2007; reposted 2010: In the **liberal** *Daily Kos*, a pseudonymous blogger urged that the U.S. redesign two aircraft carriers (e.g., the *Iwo Jima* and *Kitty Hawk*) as "Peace Ships" for major disaster relief. ⁴⁻¹⁷
- 2008: In the **military** U.S. Naval Institute *Proceedings Magazine*, and Blog, another "Great White Fleet" concept was considerably enlarged by a trio of military officers and writers; they even suggested that it be *international*, comprising the US, Russia, China, India, and Australia (further quoted below). ⁴⁻¹⁹
- 2011: In the **conservative** *American Spectator*, James B. Brinton, a journalist and retired Navy officer, likewise urged that the US deploy a "Great White Fleet" of up to four carriers (e.g., the *Kitty Hawk*, the *Constellation*, the *John F. Kennedy*, and the *Enterprise*). ⁴⁻²² Brinton writes:

Now imagine what a demilitarized version of one of these super-ships could do; freed of its usual military load-out, a super-carrier could become a floating city, carrying mountains of supplies ranging from antibiotics to picks, shovels, and everything in between. We still remember the many days it took to airlift meaningful amounts of supplies to Haiti; a single super-carrier might satisfy all needs in a single trip. Thus, a converted super-carrier, especially with a few shallow-draft support vessels, would be the best relief ship possible.

First, they could carry vast amounts of food and medicine. Holds formerly dedicated to military stores and aviation fuel could be restructured as warehouses, living quarters, and hospital facilities for the homeless and injured. On their hangar decks, they could carry quantities of heavy construction equipment — cranes, bulldozers, backhoes, cement mixers, portable generators — to aid in rescue, rubble removal, and initial reconstruction. They could carry larger diesel power plants for onshore use and the fuel to power them.

Brinton suggests they could be ported at Pearl Harbor; Diego Garcia; Mayport, FL; and Argentina or Brazil. He thinks the fleet could be funded by billionaire philanthropists, or else an international program among coastal nations.

Backing up a bit in the chronology:

- 2008 and again in 2010: Lt. Jim Dolbow [cited earlier at ⁴⁻⁴], U.S. Coast Guard Reserve, in the USNI *Proceedings Magazine*, and then its Blog, urged a fleet of 15 hospital ships, three each based at America's five regional commands. ⁴⁻²¹ He suggests that 13 more be built to supplement the *Comfort* and the *Mercy*, and states (boldface in original),

Additional hospital ships would speed up the U.S. response to natural disasters around the globe, saving lives in the process. Gone would be the lengthy transit times from San Diego or Baltimore.

He further states

The new ships could sail with an expanded hybrid crew of civilian mariners, joint forces and coalition medical personnel, non-governmental organizations, and civilian volunteers to include retired military personnel. Also, instead of reducing the Navy's end-strength as currently envisioned, some Sailors could be retrained as corpsmen.

(As noted above, the USNS *Mercy* is already a hybrid civilian-plus-Navy operation.)

And now returning to that significant and expansive proposal voiced via the USNI:

• 2008: an article by David K. Richardson, Lt.Cmdr USN; Lane V. Packwood, Maj., Idaho Army National Guard; and Daniel E. Aldana, "**A Great White Fleet for the 21st Century**" (USNI *Proceedings*: subscribers only, but showing this snippet):

With the elevation of humanitarian assistance/disaster response to a core mission of the Navy in the new maritime strategy, it is time to develop an international humanitarian-centric fleet in the Pacific theater. ⁴⁻¹⁹

It was further quoted the next day by "Galrahn", a military affairs blogger:

this new Great White Fleet can be international in nature, and consist of humanitarian platforms that work together with nongovernmental and intergovernmental organizations (NGOs/IGOs) to ease human suffering. Centered on the capabilities of the USNS *Mercy* (T-AH-19), this new humanitarian force can consist of hospital ships, high-speed craft, airlift platforms, and even old amphibious ships that are converted to fulfill a hospital ship mission. ⁴⁻¹⁹

Beginning in the Pacific theater, we suggest the following four steps be taken to make this vision a reality:

- 1) Persuade Japan, Russia, China, India, and Australia to take the lead with us in building an international Great White Fleet.
- 2) Leverage the Foreign Military Sales (FMS) program to help fulfill the vision of an international Great White Fleet.
- 3) Develop and execute humanitarian-centric, multi-national exercises to train the Great White Fleet and build humanitarian assistance and disaster response capability.
- 4) In pursuing this vision, leverage the resident expertise within the Pacific Command at the Asia-Pacific Center For Security Studies

(APCSS) and the Center for Excellence for Disaster Management and Humanitarian Assistance (COE).

Commenting a few days later, military analyst Thomas P.M. Barnett ⁴⁻²⁰ reported that:

There is a cluster of admirals who moved the Navy in this direction and they're all highly linked inter-personally: Gary Roughead (former PACFLT and now Chief of Naval Ops), Harry Ulrich (just retired, last position was NATO naval head), Mike Mullen (former CNO, now Chairman), and John Morgan (now N3/5, or head of Navy policy).

Obviously, I couldn't be happier to see this sort of thinking emerge.

(And I concur —gk.)

It is remarkable to see proposals of this scale being mooted in military circles. But it has already been six years since they were published by USNI, etc., while conventional wars and military giga-budgets remain the order of the day.

Sadly, these good ideas are still just dust in the wind. S.S. *HOPE* is but a memory, as is the remark of the Russian ambassador when he visited the *HOPE* in Indonesia in 1960: "We could all do this if everybody would disarm." ⁴⁻¹⁵ Why wait? A combined International White Fleet could be an introductory stage in a disarmament process. Better yet, a land-sea-air transnational Rescue Command; a goal well within the realm of the possible. (As hinted by the USNI article.) Even if there is no San Francisco earthquake or Philippine typhoon next week, there are plenty of permanent disaster areas where the Rescue Command can practice its logistics. As the Mercy Ships website puts it, "there's a tsunami of deaths in West Africa every day." ⁴⁻¹³

§ 5)

2) Civic Action

Military attacks on villages and civic action treatment of their wounded inhabitants are getting in each other's way. ⁵⁻⁵

— Edward Bernard Glick, *Peaceful Conflict: The Nonmilitary Use of the Military* (1967)

Definition: The use of military forces, especially in less-developed areas, for social service projects such as local construction, farming, public health, transportation, education, communication, conservation, community development, and the like.

Precisely because various concepts of military civic action, plus the Peace Corps, and so-called "national service" are all widely known, I am giving this subject short shrift. Ever since William James' 1910 essay "The Moral Equivalent of War," and even long before, the logical substitute for warring armies has been thought to be "peace armies" for any number of civilian-oriented public works. To an extent that is well and good. But I would rather emphasize the idea of nonkilling military forces in their primary mission of safeguarding human life: call it "defense".

However, so much (yet so little) has been done in the manner of civic action and civilian voluntary service that it can hardly be overlooked in a discussion of unarmed services. I intend only to put these ideas and precedents in perspective, because all of them are but a slight

deviation from the multi-century military norm of war, destruction, and killing. The Peace Corps is about 250 times smaller than the War Corps. Mis-use of civic action has been endemic, what with its shotgun wedding to military intervention. Civic action in Vietnam was a red herring. Civic action by the Polish army in 1981 was a warm-up for the martial law which was used to suppress Solidarity.

The civic action ideal is worth noting, but no war or odious regime can be sanitized by it. Likewise, schemes for national service tend to be decoys for a military draft. I have only contempt for so-called "national service" where prison is the alternative. Shall we lock up our daughters for two years if they don't join the Girl Scouts?

Precedents: We need only mention the **Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC)**, the **Peace Corps**, the often counterproductive **Army Corps of Engineers**, the **US Navy Construction Battalion ("Seabees")** and a host of similar endeavors everywhere: military, quasi-military, and civilian. Several books have adequately covered military civic action including titles by Edward Glick⁵⁻⁵ (quoted earlier) and Hugh Hanning.⁵⁻⁶

The CCC (1933-1942) was one of the most widely hailed New Deal measures, but Congress ended it by a narrow vote with the onset of World War II. Somehow, "relief" had been the keynote — not conservation. At its height in 1935 the Corps had 500,000 enrollees, and averaged 300,000 in units of 200 at 1,500 camps run by the Army in cooperation with the Departments of Agriculture, Interior, and Labor. In 1940 alone, the CCC planted over 2.8 million trees, put up over 3600 buildings in parks, etc., and built over 900 reservoirs, among many other accomplishments.⁵⁻⁴

On a much smaller scale there now is another CCC, the **California Conservation Corps**. With 3,000 annual members, since 1976 it has cumulatively had 110,000 participants in nine-month stints. Its volunteers of both sexes serve with much esprit under their motto "Hard Work, Low Pay, Miserable Conditions...and More!"⁵⁻⁸

Update 2013: The current number of active US military personnel, ca. 1.4 million — not including ca. 850,000 Reserves and National Guard * — is 7 times the number of *all* the Peace Corps Volunteers who have *ever* served in the 52 years since it began, ca. 210,000.⁵⁻⁹ The Peace Corps itself has never exceeded 15,500 in one year, and is now down to 8,000.⁵⁻⁷

VISTA — Volunteers in Service to America, the original domestic counterpart to the Peace Corps — is now called AmeriCorps VISTA, and currently has 6,500 volunteers (full-time for one year).⁵⁻¹⁰ Its website says that "185,000 VISTAs ... have served since 1965".⁵⁻¹⁰ Dividing that total by 47 years shows that the average number of full-time VISTAs has been less than 4,000 a year, or 75 times less than [FDR's] CCC average.

In other words, taking VISTA and the Peace Corps together, the two now have ca. 14,500 volunteers a year, still below *only* the Peace Corps itself at its peak; and far below the Civilian Conservation Corps; and far, far below present-day military strength.

* *Time* magazine 2013-04-25 reported that for the Iraq-Afghanistan wars, "the nation elected to tap into its reserve forces and basically make them part of the operational force. ... which essentially has doubled the size of the operational Army – [and] subjected many thousands to repeated combat tours." So I could revise my initial math, to state that *current* active military personnel comprise 10 times the number of volunteers who have *ever* served in the Peace Corps since 1961.

Also, beginning in 1971 there has been the **United Nations Volunteers (UNV)**, though on a similar small scale as the Peace Corps: ca. 7,500 a year; and 50,000 in all since the start, for a yearly average of ca. 1,200. (In April 2013, the UNV website honored Atsuhito Nakata, who was killed in a Khmer Rouge ambush 20 years earlier. He was one of 465 District Electoral Supervisors, UN Volunteers, deployed with UNTAC [United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia], in 1992.)⁵⁻¹¹

Ideas: These too could be considered at length, but here only in passing. For instance, an "industrial army" was a nineteenth-century socialist artifice that has never been built, for better or worse. Strictly speaking, the concept is so altogether rational that it is bedazzling. As Charles Fourier asked in 1822, "How is it that our constructors of utopias have not dared to dream of this one: an assemblage of 500,000 men employed in construction instead of destruction!"⁵⁻¹

Or as Edward Bellamy asked in 1888, why is "the killing of men ... a task so much more important than feeding and clothing them, that a trained army should be deemed alone adequate to the former, while the latter was left to a mob?"⁵⁻²

Fourier, Bellamy, and others set forth elaborate designs in which an industrial army is the central social mechanism. In 1954, Heinz Rollman's book *World Construction* proposed that Congress "establish a Peace Army of at least three million men and women," draftees (*bleah — gk*), for technical instruction abroad.⁵⁻³ While not a Peace Corps ancestor, Rollman's idea is sometimes cited among the earlier indications for such a body.

Instead of simply a footnote to the main work of the military, let civic action be a major mission, unencumbered by ambush and defoliation and repression and conscription. (Or be a major, not a miniature, civilian program of any government.) Let a vast new (federal) CCC enroll every young or unemployed person in the land who so desires. And that's just for openers. Let civic action be the merest rehearsal for... :

§ 6

3) Colossal Action

*We advocate that all standing armies everywhere be used for the work of essential reafforestation . . . in the countries to which they belong, and that each country . . . shall provide expeditionary forces to cooperate in the greater tasks of land reclamation in the Sahara and other deserts.*⁶⁻²

— Richard St. Barbe Baker,
Green Glory: The Forests of the World, (1947)

*... I calculated that the only way to save the biosphere was to take the most available force and assign it to the most important need... I forever replaced the words NATIONAL SECURITY with NATURAL SECURITY... and taught 230 three star general candidates how to plan for restoring the biosphere using all the military assets of the planet.*³⁻³⁰

— Lt. Col (ret.) Jim Channon
TEDx Maui Speaker Spotlight (2013)

Definition: The employment of military capability, especially logistic, in constructive social and ecological enterprises of enormous magnitude, possibly requiring ships in the

thousands, aircraft in the tens of thousands, personnel in the tens of millions, and dollars in the hundreds of billions per year.

In 1808 the French visionary **Charles Fourier** prophesied that the Suez Canal, the Panama Canal, and the St. Lawrence Seaway could be built by huge industrial armies of both sexes organized to a fare-thee-well, motivated by love and lust, fun and games. These wonders were all accomplished, if not quite as joyously as Fourier planned. His grandest challenge of all, which he suggested in the same breath, still awaits farsighted political-military leadership: "The conquest of the great Sahara desert... by ten or twenty million workers. .. [who] will transport earth, cultivate the soil, and plant trees everywhere." ⁶⁻¹ Fourier, a self-taught geographer, reiterated the battle plan in 1822. He scaled the army down to a mere four million, who would work six to eight months a year over a 40-year period. Their operations would involve reforestation by stages, so as to restore the water sources, fix the sands, and gradually improve the climate. ⁵⁻¹

A century and a half later the Sahara idea was revived on the same scale (without the other Utopian trappings) by the noted British forester **Richard St. Barbe Baker** (1889-1982), who was the father of the Civilian Conservation Corps. The same approach as Fourier's — water retention and climate change by massive tree planting — was and is at the heart of Baker's concept for making the Sahara livable: not 100% forest, but a terrain newly checkered with fields and orchards in all directions.

Baker led two Sahara expeditions: the first in 1952-53, a 9,000-mile drive, including 2,600 miles across the desert itself; and in 1964, a 25,000 mile circumnavigation by land, air, and water. ^{6-3, 6-6, 6-8} In 1954 he sketched a preliminary containment phase: a tree shelter-belt around the transitional zones of the Sahara, half a mile wide for 20,000 miles. ⁶⁻⁴ In 1959 Baker urged that an army of 20 million be deployed along a 20,000-mile front to stop the "relentless march of the Sahara," the number he gave being "equal to the present standing armies of the world today." ⁶⁻⁵

Even then the Sahara was sweeping southward up to 30 miles a year. The immense famines and droughts which have more recently afflicted the Sahel and beyond have lent horrible urgency to his warnings. One person who took his idea seriously was **Wendy Campbell-Purdie** (1927-1985), who met Baker in 1960. She set off in 1964 to begin planting the shelter-belt herself in Morocco, in Tunisia, in Algeria. Till then, Baker had been, literally, a voice in the wilderness, pleading with statesmen and diplomats to declare war on the desert. By 1976, Campbell-Purdie and her local vanguards had won the first skirmish, at Bou Saada, Algeria, where 130,000 trees became a life-sustaining barrier, and enabled fruit, vegetables, and grain to grow there as a result of her efforts. ^{6-7, 6-9, 6-10}

Update 2013: In the 1982 version of this article, I had stated:

Much has been written about "arid zones" and their improvement, but desert-research literature is surprisingly arid for how little it has to say about reclamation on such a momentous scale.

However, since then there has been a heartening uptick in ideas, pioneers, pilot projects, research, and organizations for Sahara and other desert reclamation in king-size concept:

- In 1994, the **United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification** ⁶⁻²⁹ was initiated. As its website states:

Desertification, along with climate change and the loss of biodiversity, were identified as the greatest challenges to sustainable development during the 1992 Rio Earth Summit. Established in 1994, UNCCD is the sole legally binding international agreement linking environment and development to sustainable land management.*

- Another protégée of Richard St. Barbe Baker and his Men of the Trees was **Wangari Maathi** (1940-2011),^{6-12, 6-13} founder in 1977 of Kenya's **Green Belt Movement**, and winner of the 2004 Nobel Peace Prize. The Green Belt Movement "organizes women in rural Kenya to plant trees, combat deforestation, restore their main source of fuel for cooking, generate income, and stop soil erosion." (WP) Since its beginning, GBM has planted — and sustained — 51 million trees, according to its website,⁶⁻³⁰ Maathi had also been a patron of the [United Nation Environment Programme's] worldwide "**The Billion Tree Campaign**", whose website says that it has planted 12.6 billion trees, and is now aiming for 14 billion.⁶⁻³¹

- And yet another outstanding pioneer in desert reclamation is **Yacouba Sawadogo** of Burkina Faso, a farmer who since 1980 has been practicing and demonstrating very simple but very effective planting techniques to restore trees and crops to barren land. He has been the subject of a documentary film *The Man Who Stopped the Desert* (plus trailers and a sequel), all available on YouTube.^{6-14, 6-15, 6-16, 6-17}

(*As I first wrote in 1981*): On January 26, 1975, the *New York Times* reported that Algeria had begun a 20-year project to plant a 950-mile tree-belt, up to 15 miles wide, to contain the ever-spreading Sahara. It was to cost \$100 million a year and involve up to 100,000 servicemen. The September 19, 1977, *Newsweek* reported that seven nations along the Southern Sahara had announced a \$5 million plan to start a similar barrier in their danger zones. Good, though not quite like May 1976, when Henry Kissinger had proposed a \$7.5 billion ten-year plan to "roll back the desert."

Update 2013: Magnus Larsson — whom we meet further below — points out that the Algeria plan had floundered for lack of money, and lack of consultation with local residents, who cut down the trees for firewood.⁶⁻³⁶

However, since 2007, another effort has been underway, the "Great Green Wall" of Africa (l'Initiative Africaine de la Grande Muraille verte (IAGMV)).^{6-18 though 6-25} It involves 11 Sahel countries from Senegal to Djibouti, to establish a transcontinental tree belt 15 km wide (9 miles); nearly 8,000 km long (5,000 miles); and covering an area of 11.6 million hectares. Senegal in particular has been pushing the plan; but some other countries' leadership has been desultory. There is a political structure in place, and a relatively detailed website, but it has not been updated since June 2012, and the finances are vague; a pdf on the website shows a blank spreadsheet. \$100 million has been offered by the Global Environment Facility, a 182 country funding mechanism, and perhaps co-financing of \$1.8 billion. A sympathetic Irish journalist in Senegal reported, "there are just three problems with the Great Green Wall, ... It isn't great. It isn't green. And for now, it doesn't amount to much of a wall capable of blocking the desert." However, he does say "it's a start". (China also has Green Wall programs, not discussed here.)

* Ironically, in March 2013, the anti-environmental Harper government of Canada, where I live, suddenly quit the UNCCD — the only country out of 195 to do so.



Source: "Cahill-Keyes" map, described below:

About this map: Designed by gk, with computer-drafting assistance by Mary Jo Graça, plus lettering and coloring by Duncan Webb. Dotted-line path of Green Wall is adapted from the project's website. Note that the actual thickness of the shelter belt would be invisibly thinner than shown here. Also on this globe-matching map, notice the actual scale of Europe as compared to North Africa and the Sahara. (Duncan Webb's [then unfinished] version of the Cahill-Keyes world map; from a screen-grab preview at <http://www.genekeyes.com/DW/DW-1.html>

[Update 2014-02-23: Duncan Webb has now published it as a 5-foot wall map, available at http://www.genekeyes.com/world_map_poster.html.]

Meanwhile, there was no detailed "Baker Plan" that I know of. His 1966 book *Sahara Conquest* was inspiring but discursive. Campbell-Purdie did offer a six-page "blueprint" in her 1967 book *Woman against the Desert*. But if we are going to avoid the world catastrophe of famine and desertification — if we are going to attack the Sahara on the scale which Fourier, Baker, and Campbell-Purdie indicate — then it is time for some general-staff and United Nations-level planning on the logistics and theaters involved: the millions of troops, the hundreds of billions of dollars. Icebergs, desalination, solar energy, ecology, wind-chimney turbines⁶⁻⁴¹ must all be

considered: This is war!

Baker emphasizes the colossal size of the Sahara, and of the armies needed to replant a desert larger than the U.S. or Australia. He estimates nearly four billion people could live in a green Sahara. Is it technically possible? The Roman army alone had made ten million acres of the Sahara usable, building terraces, walls, and reservoirs. Baker and Campbell-Purdie cite the relatively recent discovery of vast underground freshwater aquifers. Figures on volume and extent vary but are enormous. "We are walking on water," says Campbell-Purdie. ⁶⁻⁹

Not that the Sahara could simply be irrigated by well; the recharge rate must be known and balanced. Rather, the main prospect is that vast tree-plantings raise the water table, lower the temperature, prevent flash-flood runoffs, and generate humidity and rain by transpiration. (This microclimate assumption has been disputed, but the reverse effect cannot be doubted, thanks to overgrazing and reckless deforestation.) Wendy Campbell-Purdie has already proven that crops will grow once the tree-sentries take hold — reversing the usual course of agriculture, which is to slash and burn the trees out.

Update 2013: As the National Geographic reported in 2010,

...Libya is habitable because of aquifers—some of them 75,000 years old—discovered under the Sahara's sands during 1950s oil explorations.
...but groundwater reserves are becoming increasingly brackish and nearing depletion. *

Thanks to a misguided mega-project by Muammar Qaddafi to pump out the so- called "paleowater".

• A different endeavor, the **Sahara Forest Project** was instigated in 2009 by environmental activist and entrepreneur **Joakim Hauge**, with business and diplomatic support, stemming from the 2009 United Nations Climate Change Conference. It is a private Norwegian company aiming "to create profitable innovation and environmental solutions within the food, water and energy sector." ⁶⁻²⁶ which in 2013 has just completed a 10,000 square-meter greenhouse pilot project in Qatar. ⁶⁻²⁷. Among other things, its website declares:

A Sahara Forest Project facility will be successful only when it is well integrated with the local communities. In addition to mitigating effects of climate change and contributing to conflict reduction in resource-scarce areas, the SFP facilities will provide employment for both high- and low-skilled workers. ⁶⁻²⁶

As described elsewhere on its website:

The Sahara Forest Project in 10 sentences:

1. The Sahara Forest Project (SFP) is a combination of environmental technologies to enable restorative growth, defined as revegetation and creation of green jobs through profitable production of food, freshwater, biofuels and

* Brian Handwerk, "Underground 'Fossil Water' Running Out". National Geographic, 2010-05-06. <http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2010/05/100505-fossil-water-radioactive-science-environment/> (accessed 2013-05-01)

electricity.

3. SFP is designed to utilize what we have enough of to produce what we need more of, using deserts, saltwater and CO2 to produce food, water and energy.

4. The Sahara Forest Project is not too good to be true and it is not rocket science, but an innovative solution founded on the premises that we need a more holistic approach towards tackling challenges related to energy, food and water security. ⁶⁻²⁸

- Three recent TED lectures in this vein have been very imaginative (and popular), and even include a transcripts in which any phrase can be clicked to play the video at that point

- One by **Magnus Larsson**, (2009) described a means to reinforce the "Great Green Wall" by building a 6,000 mile sandstone wall across Africa, using a common bacterium to cement sand dunes in place for thousands of miles, while fashioning them into dwellings and tree holders. ⁶⁻³⁸

- Another by **Michael Pawlyn**, (2010), got over a million views; he is the designer of the Sahara Forest Project greenhouse pilot project in Qatar, which he describes among other things. ⁶⁻³⁹

- And still another, by **Allan Savory** (March 2013), already has over 1,000,000 views. Savory (the 2010 Buckminster Fuller Competition winner), gave an environmentally ingenious lecture, but I found his presentation to be dogmatic: insisting that his prescription for managed transient herding of animals is the only way to restore deserts and save the world from eco-disaster. ⁶⁻⁴⁰

But which approach is germane, or all-of-the-above, is not for me to say; that is what military general staffs are for, after ecological experts and political leaders have given marching orders.

In a different vein, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers has also engaged in some colossal action and city-building in Middle East desert. No Sahara forest; no \$7.5 billion Kissinger Plan to roll back the desert; no new cities for the world's homeless: not these, but a prodigal program to build a war machine and military infrastructure for — Saudi Arabia. The Center for Defense Information (CDI) in Washington listed \$24 billion worth of military construction projects that were being managed there by U.S. Army Engineers, including five military cities, two naval bases, three air bases, two military academies, and three defense headquarters. The CDI's *Defense Monitor* of August 1981 revealed that "nearly one-fifth of all U.S. Army Corps of Engineers activities are in Saudi Arabia." It further stated:

Taken together, the Corps of Engineers projects in Saudi Arabia rival the U.S. MX missile system construction programs, but are almost unknown to members of Congress and the public. (Emphasis in original.)

The largest project, and the most questionable, is the King Khalid Military City; a self-contained military base and city being built in the middle of wasteland desert. Originally planned as a \$3 Billion project, costs are now estimated to be

at least \$8.5 Billion, or more than \$100,000 for each of the 70,000 people it can house when completed in the late 1980's.

Update 2013: More recently Wikipedia reported "At its peak, hundreds of US Army Corps engineers and personnel made KKMC their home, and a small American city evolved within the Saudi military city." The project was completed in 1987 at a cost estimated as high as \$20 billion. *

Oh heck, another reality check. Now back to our dream world.

Of course, the Arabian peninsula is a continuation of the Sahara region. Adding it as another sector to Sahara reclamation would make the effort about 20 percent larger. Would not this be a better investment for petrodollars?

Ideas: In a 1974 paper, I discussed over 30 ideas for colossal action, roughly grouped into proposals for:

- 1) Global Campaigns (e.g., Buckminster Fuller's World Game);
- 2) Regional Development (e.g., Mekong Plan);
- 3) Urban Construction (e.g., Tetra City - Bucky Fuller again);
- 4) Energy Systems (e.g., "sea-vaporation" and Qattara Hydro);
- 5) Cosmic Cooperation (e.g., Gerard K. O'Neill's L5 space colony).

However, I will not reprise them here, and instead let the Sahara proposals symbolize the scale of a wide variety of Colossal or Eco Action ideas.

Update 2013: Although from the Pyramids to the present, there have been any number of king-size construction endeavors, the term "macro-engineering" (or "mega-projects") has recently become a subject in its own right. Richard Cathcart * has written extensively on this, including proposals to address the Sahara. One (2008, with Badescu and Bolonkin) ⁶⁻³² is to pump seawater into Sahara desert depressions — which also addresses the problem of dangerously rising sea levels. Another (2009, with Badescu and Isvoranu) ⁶⁻³⁵ is to pipe surplus water from Amazon outflow to Africa. Both are highly technical articles.

Another ultra technical article in 2009, by Ornstein, Alinev, and Rind, advocated spending *trillions* of dollars annually to re-forest the Sahara and the Australian outback, as a climate-change preventive. Now *that's* colossal! And among their interesting points was this:

Such multi-trillion-dollar projects provide lots of motivation for scientifically creative entrepreneurs—as well as for swindlers. International mechanisms for monitoring and managing (without mangling or strangling) such projects will be essential. This may be the most difficult hurdle.

* 2011-05-07: <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/facility/kkmc.htm>; and WP, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/King_Khalid_Military_City (accessed 2013-04-23)

* He told me that he wrote the original Wikipedia piece on macro-engineering — which itemizes 34 other mega-project articles there — but that he now strongly distrusts WP procedures. As do I, even though WP remains an invaluable resource.

Needless to say, that plan — along with the newer Great White Fleet ideas — have all remained on the shelf for the past five years.

Last but not least, **Lt. Col. Jim Channon (ret.)**, (see Prologue), has also advocated army-scale re-forestation and Sahara reclamation, as part of his "**First Earth Battalion**" scenarios. He points out that UN peacekeeping forces have been involved in the tree-planting campaign of the UN Environmental Programme (UNEP) citing this 2009 article, "Blue Helmets Go Green":

Working under UNEP's worldwide Plant for the Planet: Billion Tree Campaign, which aims to plant seven billion trees or one for every member of the human race by December 2009, DPKO [Department of Peacekeeping Operations] has already planted some 28,000 trees and pledged for 33,000 more in 11 missions that include Timor Leste, Democratic Republic of Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Darfur, Sudan, Western Sahara, Haiti, Lebanon and Liberia. ³⁻¹¹

Which is still far from a Fourier or St. Barbe Baker scale, — or Ornstein, Alinev and Rind — but a good start. * Channon calls for a trillion trees, and not just in the Sahara, but worldwide. In his 2011 book, *Go Planet!*, ³⁻²⁷ he states "One trillion trees will be planted to recover the atmospheric humidity needed to shield the land and moderate the climate." (p.48) Then, as if in his prophet mantle, and using a scripty-typeface, he depones as follows:

Picture a convoy of army vehicles pulling up to a middle school just after school. Notice that the kid's favorite music is being played by loudspeakers mounted to the vehicles. See the kids swarm onto the vehicles with their garden tool packs in hand. Follow the convoy to another part of town where the elders have created flats of tree seedlings all ready for planting. They are taken aboard. Some elders come along. The trucks soon arrive in the new planting zone. While the kids are steady popping in the small trees, the military folk are stringing the temporary watering system needed to get the trees to a stage of stable growth. * (p.66)

Elsewhere he puts it this way (straddling a local, and a global-desert, standpoint):

The army is perfect to head up the replanting efforts. Army officers are trained civil engineers. They could as well oversee the cutting of large canals to move rising seawater back into desert depressions that are lower than sea level. The added benefit of having high school kids in this mix is their connection to the land and the projects, and the pride of accomplishment associated with real physical efforts. ³⁻²⁸

In another version of his broad sweeping vision, on ten steps to global recovery, number eight is:

... we activate the military forces to concentrate all their resources and intelligence on the repair of our biosphere. They have a series of plans available that can put

* Channon overstates the number of trees planted by peacekeeping forces, confusing it with those of the wider UNEP, but that is an unimportant slip.

* A.1981 documentary shows an elderly Richard St. Barbe Baker, near the end of his life, supervising some children at tree-planting.⁶⁻¹¹

the heavy duty work together with the required forces with resources to get the big jobs done. A trillion trees in the ground, the oceans cleaned up, the water resources protected, the pollution corrected, the melting ice water directed to the deserts, refugee villages created and more. ³⁻²⁵

Which in just a few words is about the most comprehensive Colossal / Eco – Action prospectus out there for an enlightened military — and a nonkilling one indeed.

Their essential *defense* mission becomes *defense* of all humanity against environmental collapse.

Students and others ought to research, simulate, and war-game — or "world-game" — the many aspects of a Sahara conquest. Let us call it World War IV, so that with this moral equivalent, we may skip World War III.

Cornelis Lely (1854-1929), instigator of Holland's gigantic Zuider Zee Dam and reclamation project, said of it that "the technical side is easy; it is the political which causes difficulty." ⁶⁻⁴² The political problems of a Sahara rebirth will be, like the plans themselves, as enormous as those of World War II. *

§ 7

4) Friendly Persuasion

"Here is a modest proposal for fighting the war in Indochina . . . : How about dropping goods on Southeast Asia, instead of bombs? . . . A thousand pairs of boots dropped daily for a week is cheaper than a single one-thousand pound bomb. . . I would further propose that we hunt the enemy and bomb with goods first. Keep the communist soldiers busy opening their packages and meanwhile move swiftly in and dump a load on the villagers. . . ." ⁷⁻¹²

— Philip Roth, "A Modest Proposal" (1970)

Definition: The use or display of nonviolent military force during normal or crisis periods for such purposes as goodwill, deterrence, show of strength, propaganda, hostage deployment, and political, psychological or economic warfare; by means such as goodwill visits, public and joint maneuvers, and the delivery of messages, food, equipment, gifts, or hostages, whether requested or not. *

The function of **Friendly Persuasion** could be an essential military mission for any nation which has chosen a strategic nonviolent defense posture. "Political warfare" was the term Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall used. Thus, besides nuclear disarmament, King-Hall had already been

* Just one little example of a political snarl: In April 2013, Chad President Idriss Deby abruptly postponed a Green Wall summit there, possibly in view of pressure to disallow participation by Sudan President Omer Hassan al-Bashir, wanted by the International Criminal Court for war crimes in Darfur. <http://allafrica.com/stories/201304100720.html?viewall=1> ⁶⁻¹¹

* *Note:* in the earlier version, I had discussed Rondon, and Channon, in the realm of Friendly Persuasion, but have moved them to the Prologue. *Rondon's* MO with hostile Indians was surprise proffering of clothes, utensils, etc. One of *Channon's* hypotheticals was for soldiers entering a village to be equipped with loudspeakers playing "indigenous music and words of peace", and to offer "symbolic flowers", even a "symbolic animal" such as a baby lamb. ³⁻¹

urging on Britain the twin posts of chief of staff for political warfare (on the Chiefs of Staff Committee), and a cabinet minister for the same.⁷⁻⁹ King-Hall viewed political warfare as a greatly neglected aspect of Britain's defenses; he believed that the Western democracies should have a sense of mission to rival the Communists'. His program entailed a political-psychological-propaganda offensive by the U.K. or the West, amply funded and enthusiastically waged.

Such an effort would have many phases; here we only consider the military aspects. Leaflet bombings and loudspeaker aircraft are two minor tactics which might be greatly augmented in connection with others. Generating goodwill abroad would be another essential, which rescue action or civic action units would do by their very function. Other units trained (perhaps interchangeably with those two) for unarmed defense might want to amplify the traditional goodwill visits of navy ships by soliciting invitations from friend and foe countries alike. Their purpose would be a show of unarmed strength, an ostentatious parading of prowess, demonstratively weaponless: e.g., a visit by a helicopter carrier and unarmed marines.

In any grand design for a nonviolent defense posture there will have to be much attention to the Friendly Persuasion use of unarmed forces and to giving them high visibility. The strong spirit they would demonstrate would counter any false notion that to be unarmed is to be weak and afraid. It would be a friendly caution to any potentially threatening power not to disparage an unarmed nation and assume it lacks the will for defense. Therefore, these remarks are subsidiary to a main doctrine of nonviolent defense.

Precedents: One modest beginning was called **Peace Brigades International** (PBI)⁷⁻¹ a successor to an abortive earlier attempt, the World Peace Brigade (1961-1963). In September 1981, eleven activists (including me as note-taker) met at Grindstone Island, Ontario, and formed PBI to "undertake nonpartisan missions which may include peacemaking initiatives, peacekeeping under a discipline of nonviolence, and humanitarian service" (e.g., in Central America). This too I consider a species of Friendly Persuasion. Efforts such as PBI may aspire to Police Action or Buffer Action; as yet they are far too small for that. UN peacekeepers have much better logistics. The hope is that nongovernmental Peace Brigades might help in ways or places where the UN cannot. PBI's expertise became that of "accompaniment" of human-rights workers and the like who were otherwise at high risk by oppressive regimes.

Update 2013: According to PBI's annual reports of 2011 and 2012, it has ca. 100 field volunteers, and 300-400 office volunteers, on a \$3 million annual budget. But in later years, PBI took on a feminist slant. Meanwhile, their approach has been replicated by two similar groups: One is the religiously-oriented **Witness for Peace**,⁷⁻² which since 1983 had sent interveners to Latin American countries menaced by US wars and economic policies. It credits itself with having inhibited US support of Contra rebels in Nicaragua, and perhaps prevented outright US invasion there in 1984. At present it has a yearly budget of \$1 million and a staff of 24, acting mostly as an advocacy group for economic justice in those areas, rather than sending teams to conflict zones as such.

Another more thoroughgoing venture than the other two is the **Nonviolent Peaceforce**,⁷⁻³ begun in 2002, which has developed into a widespread operation with a \$5 million annual budget, and 100+ field staff. It too practices accompaniment of human rights workers, and various other types of conciliation. NP has worked in Sri Lanka, the Philippines, Guatemala, South Sudan, Kyrgyzstan, and the South Caucasus.

Its website highlights three themes:

Protecting Civilians and Reducing Violence
Transforming the World's Response to Conflict
Broadening the Concept of Peacekeeping

and mentions, inter alia

Simply by being present at a military checkpoint or in a village that is under attack, unarmed civilian peacekeepers invariably affect the dynamics of the situation and can change the behavior of armed actors.

Indeed, since the 1982 version of this article, the concept of "Civilian Unarmed Peacekeeping" has gathered a lot of practical and theoretical and UN underpinning, and is very much akin to what I am discussing here, except, as mentioned, that my focus is military, and its far greater orders of magnitude.

^{7-4, 7-5, 7-6, 7-7, 7-8}

Ideas: It happens that three of the ideas for Friendly Persuasion by unarmed forces are each in the form of satire:

- David Riesman's 1949 satire "The Nylon War" concerns a multi-billion-dollar U.S. effort to bombard the Russians with consumer goods, thereby causing them turmoil, economic dislocation, and increased demand for consumer rather than military production. Eventually Russia retaliates in kind: caviar, vodka, etc.⁷⁻¹¹ It is a doleful reflection on these times that Riesman's piece is satire, while nuclear war scenarios are not.

- In a similar vein was Philip Roth's caustic "Modest Proposal," in 1970, quoted above. The sarcasm was thick; as Roth points out, we would have to run the risk that an innocent child might be killed if he were crushed under a bag of rice.⁷⁻¹²

- *Update 2013:* During the latest Korean war scare in Spring 2013, a similar thought occurs to John R. Talbott, a financial writer, in the *Huffington Post*:

I have an idea. Why don't we take \$1 billion and buy 100 million pounds of food and drop it from airplanes over North Korea. But, this time, let's wrap the food in red, white and blue wrappers with the logo USA boldly emblazoned on each. They may still hate us, but it will get them thinking. My guess, the government of North Korea will try to start rumors that the food is poisoned. But, I will bet the hungry North Koreans will eventually eat it all, after maybe first making their local pooches informal taste testers.⁷⁻¹³

- More seriously, in 1993, in a 26 page paper commissioned by the United States Institute for Peace, John Paul Lederach, a widely-travelled peace research professor now at Notre Dame University, concluded with a two-page proposal for a "nonviolent Peaceforce".⁷⁻¹⁰ This one is indeed large scale — about 2,500 times larger than the Nonviolent Peaceforce which emerged almost a decade later. (As mentioned earlier, it could also be grouped with the Rescue Action proposals above.) To quote that section in full:

What Is Needed

As a concrete alternative for a nonviolent peacekeeping force I would offer the following simple suggestions, perhaps launched as a pacifist provocation.

- 1) Under the auspices of the UN, member nations commit themselves to the development of an international nonviolent Peaceforce, a body with capacity and preparation to undertake peacekeeping in contemporary conflict.
- 2) Peaceforce will number 250,000 members by the year 2000, made up of rigorously trained, smaller, cross-national, and virtually self-sufficient units who are paid and committed to five-year assignments after a full year of training.
- 3) This body will be used to accompany relief deliveries in settings of armed conflict, provide physical presence and protection for vulnerable populations, and actively place themselves in protracted situations to secure and monitor cease-fires, while negotiations are pursued and implemented.
- 4) Five major peacekeeping training centers will be established, one each in Africa, Asia, Latin America, North America, and Europe, with capacity for training, deploying, researching, and evaluating the ongoing efforts.
- 5) Financing Peaceforce and these efforts will come from a multilateral base.
 - A) Each member state of the UN agrees to divert 1% of its annual military budget to the Peaceforce fund.
 - B) Each year the 10 top arms exporting states will be levied a peace-added tax (PAT) on their gross sales of weapons that year.
 - C) NGO's, PVO'S, donor agencies, and governments agree to a 5% PAT, where 5 cents of each dollar spent for humanitarian aid, relief, or development in settings of protracted armed conflict is sent to the fund.
 - D) Major religious organizations would create an interreligious Council responsible for establishing an endowment necessary for funding the training centers.
 - E) Under a campaign titled "Peace Makes Better Business," transnational corporations will be asked to contribute 1% of their annual profit to the fund.

While my emphasis throughout this article is on *large-scale* unarmed services, such as the Lederach proposal, that is not to disparage smaller vehicles such as the three cited above. Historically, a single Friendly Persuader, such as Mohandas Gandhi, or Raoul Wallenberg, or Folke Bernadotte, has been the functional equivalent of several armored divisions. Abie Nathan of Israel had long been a one-man peace army; besides his relief flights to Biafra, he flew three illegal goodwill missions to Egypt a decade before Sadat's trip, and he operated the Peace Ship radio station along the Middle East coast from 1972-81. So, among other things, the *Friendly Persuasion* function of unarmed forces would be Rondon and Channon and Nathan writ large.

5) Guerrilla Action

*Only in a world moving towards disarmament could we use effectively what might be called the unarmed services of the United States... [including] a nonviolent freedom force that could help activate the politically suppressed in countries like Paraguay, South Africa, Albania, etc.*⁸⁻³

— Arthur Waskow, (1967)

Definition: Aggressive and unconventional initiatives by irregular but disciplined unarmed forces waging a revolutionary and/or defensive struggle against a more powerful opponent.

Even violent guerrilla warfare, however brutal and dirty, has its unviolent tactics. For instance, in South Vietnam, National Liberation Front cadres would infiltrate a movie theater, shut off the projector, lecture the crowd, sneak away; in Uruguay, Tupamaros would invade households to warn families about malefaction by fathers or husbands; in El Salvador, guerrillas would halt and board a bus for some campaign oratory. Another instance of guerrilla nonviolence is to be found in a firsthand narrative by Dickey Chappelle. She tells how Castro forces consistently released all their POWs unharmed, after importuning them to join the struggle and promising them they would be returned again to the Red Cross unharmed even if recaptured a second or third time.⁸⁻¹

Precedents: Apart from anecdotes such as these, the subject of revolution and nonviolent revolution is too broad to limit to a few remarks about guerrilla tactics. The preeminent nonviolent liberation struggle is, of course, Gandhi's 30-year campaign to free India. It does not quite fit the category of Guerrilla Action but cannot be ignored in any discussion of liberation movements.

Update 2013: Plus the many others since 1982: the velvet revolutions and fall of the Iron Curtain; the Color revolutions; the Philippines; Yugoslavia; the Arab Spring; and so forth. However, in lieu of an extensive bibliography on nonviolent action, I will include several current websites on the subject. **Gene Sharp** of course is the leading scholar of nonviolent strategy, struggle, and liberation. **George Lakey** has been a long-time activist and trainer in the field of nonviolent revolution. To Google either one of those will yield a wealth of writings. Sharp's vehicle is the **Albert Einstein Institute**;⁸⁻⁶ his protégé Peter Ackerman founded the **Intenational Center on Nonviolent Conflict**.⁸⁻⁷

On another front: In recent years, **Greenpeace International**⁸⁻⁴ and its intrepid mariners have hastened the French into giving up atmospheric nuclear tests, and have taken terrible risks to place their boats between the harpoon and the whale. Paul Watson's extra-militant offshoot, the **Sea Shepherd Conservation Society**⁸⁻⁵, pushed close to the dividing line of nonviolence when his Sea Shepherd rammed and sank a notorious pirate whaler. And on land, various ad hoc "alliances" of eco-commandos have nonviolently stormed nuclear reactors in different countries.

Ideas: George Lakey has written well on the general theme of nonviolent revolution, but military-style unarmed guerrilla action is not its mechanism. Ideas for that approach are rather scarce. One of the only such notions was Rabbi Arthur Waskow's recurrent proposal back in the 1960s that the U.S. should frankly announce its intention to aid indigenous forces in the

overthrow of the [apartheid] South African government.⁸⁻² Waskow was always imaginative, but he was careless about the firebreak between violent and nonviolent tactics; he suggested guerrilla infiltrators could be trained in both methods.⁸⁻³

I hardly suggest guerrilla action is the best way to embody nonviolent resistance; looser social forms seem more likely. For that matter, guerrilla violence is no magic bullet either. Sandino, Guevara, the Huqs, the Kurds, et al: were all ruthlessly crushed, like so many others. Armed or unarmed, a guerrilla must face many defeats over the long haul; victory, if at all, can require more than one generation.

§ 9

6) Police Action

*But, contrary to UNIFIL troops who are fully equipped with military gear, UNTSO troops are bound to enforce their mission without the military strength usually associated with modern peacekeeping. Forty three of their colleagues have been killed since the mission was first established in 1948, yet clad with no more than light blue tabards bearing the letters of the UNTSO and their military uniforms, the soldiers face their task empty handed.*⁹⁻⁷

— Sebastien Malo, "Unarmed peacekeepers swap weapons for words to build ties with Lebanon's south" (The Daily Star, Lebanon, 2010-01-05)

*From the logistical point of view rapid disarmament would not be difficult. A thousand planes each carrying one hundred trained inspectors (or disarmers) could distribute 100,000 of these men at all major centers in Russia and the United States within 24 hours. Using land and water transportation, almost any number of additional inspectors could reinforce these within a very short time. Helicopters and paratroopers could be used to reach remote areas. Properly trained and equipped with blow torches, thermite and other tools, the disarmers could quickly incapacitate the military power of both sides. ...*⁹⁻⁴

— Earl D. Osborn, "Disarmament within Weeks?"; War/Peace Report; April 1962

Definition: The use of unarmed military units for law enforcement, peace observation, and peacekeeping duties, in situations beyond the control of local authority.

As used here, Police Action is a term which may either combine, or distinguish among, *peace observation*, *peacekeeping*, and *peacemaking* [or *peacebuilding*, because "peacemaking" can be a euphemism for conventional war. Even Rondon's modus operandi was called "pacification", which concept can have horrible mutations: e.g., Vietnam; and the corruption of Rondon's own Indian Protection Service.)

The first, peace observation, or "Model I" in UN parlance, already denotes small groups of unarmed officers for truce supervision and the like. The second, peacekeeping, or "Model II" force-level operations, remains mired in Big Power politico-legal dispute, despite sudden reappearances of emergency UN troops, even after commentators had pronounced the peacekeeping idea obsolete. The third, peacebuilding, implies the political and social initiatives that must accompany peacekeeping, lest the blue helmet become disparaged for freezing an unstable or unjust status quo.

The theory and practice of peacekeeping has already attracted a group of scholars and professionals and institutes; their usage generally means host-country-consent type of operations, and not Korea. As William Frye pointed out in one of the earliest studies, "It would be well to keep this distinction between a fighting force and a peace force clearly before world opinion and before governments." ⁹⁻¹ I not only concur, but would go on to stress the distinction between an armed and an unarmed peace force. Except for "Model I" observer teams, eschewing arms is not yet a deliberate policy and strategy of UN peacekeeping. The weaponry of peacekeeping should at least be a matter of controversy, which it is not.

Update 2013: a relatively modern theme which I don't have space to explore here is "nonlethal weaponry"; one of its leading exponents is John Alexander ^{3-21, 3-24, 3-26}, a colleague of Jim Channon. It could be better than the alternative; but I tend to regard it as "slippery-slope-ism", and highly susceptible to abuse, especially in view of all the dubious means of crowd control which have appeared. E.g., "rubber bullets" may sound benign, but aren't, and can cause death. Ditto tasers. Alexander is also an apologist for the so-called "pain ray", ³⁻²⁶ which is very problematic at best. Such hardware can detract from the principle of nonkilling. I would not rule out careful consideration of particular concepts, but from a very skeptical standpoint.

Boeing has recently touted, and Channon endorsed, ³⁻⁸ a "non-lethal" missile, "CHAMP", which can disable a foe's malign computers, but it is only shown as a YouTube animation *. And of course cyber-warfare is a Pandora's box which could well become very lethal, even if not striking a human directly.

Although peacekeeping soldiers are lightly armed, they are under strong pressure to avoid the use of violence, and so they resort to forms of what one UN watcher called "limited nonviolence" instead. He told me there is much unwritten experience in their restraint of violence, and even instances of UN soldiers being killed while refusing to shoot back. All this type of data should be collated and studied and honored..

Precedents: The original UN peace mission, in 1948, comprising unarmed military officers, is the UNTSO, the **United Nations Truce Supervisory Organization** for the first Arab-Israeli war, and still functional to this day. A recent article in the Lebanon *Daily Star* (quoted above) also says:

UNTSO has had to remain focused on its original mandate – to observe conflict, but without the assistance of military hardware – while another mission, UNIFIL, has been tasked with a more militarized mandate.

But while most soldiers might be tempted to see this odd state of affairs as a shortcoming, [Major James] Groessler sees it as a decisive strength which benefits his mission.

[Captain Andrea] Dainese, sitting at the wheel of his jeep, concurs. Some years ago, Dainese was deployed with UNIFIL, and he noticed that interactions with civilians are more casual since he is unarmed. "Being unarmed gives us, in fact, more strength," he says.

* Randy Jackson, "CHAMP — lights out"
http://www.boeing.com/Features/2012/10/bds_champ_10_22_12.html

“Weapons are a kind of barrier. If you are unarmed, you don’t represent a threat. It is about respect and trust.”⁹⁻⁷

Brigadier Michael Harbottle, a former chief of staff for the United Nations Force in Cyprus, tells of a small, unarmed 174-member multinational civilian police component of the UN Cyprus force, composed of Australians, Austrians, Danes, and Swedes:

On many occasions it was their efforts rather than those of the military that prevented minor incidents from escalation into something much more threatening and dangerous. They went about their duties unarmed, though in the case of most of them it was normal practice in their own countries to carry side-arms; the Cypriots noticed this and appreciated the adherence to the principle of peaceful intervention.⁹⁻²

There is also a scattering of anecdotal material from various UN operations in which lack of weapons (or refusal to fire them) was decisive in dangerous situations:

. . . two unarmed Gurkha officers . . . , each driving a jeep, blocked both ends of an entire Katanga column that had started off on an unauthorized trip, briskly read off the mercenary officer in charge and ordered the whole column to dismount. Cowed by this show of courage, the column promptly did.⁹⁻³

Ideas: Note that I am also distinguishing Police Action from Buffer Action in the next section, which would also be a type of peacekeeping amidst incipient or severe hostilities. Thus I am underscoring the somewhat more restricted, discriminate, or person-to-person connotation of police and military/police action. But there is overlap, and the best, most explicit proposal for an unarmed UN peace force (by Narayan and de Madariaga) is cited below under Buffer Action, though it could be here as well.

One of the most unique ideas is that quoted above from Earl D. Osborn (1893 - 1989), founder of the EDO Corporation (an aircraft and military hardware company), and also the Institute for World Order. I would dub his proposal the I.D.I.D., for "Instant Disarmament Inspection Demolition Corps." Osborn raised the concept of "sudden disarmament" in contradistinction to the long precarious phasing-out envisaged by most plans for arms control or disarmament.⁹⁻⁴

If there were in fact a negotiated agreement for "sudden disarmament"— which might take some time to negotiate — ruining the strategic weapons could be done within days, while scrapping and salvaging could take place at leisure. "A sledge hammer, a blow torch or a small grenade applied at the right spot would incapacitate nearly any military weapon." The I.D.I.D. would be airlifted to all the relevant sites simultaneously in all the major nations, fan out, and disable the ordnance; small detachments would remain permanently thereafter. This would be army-scale police action, unarmed except for the tools of its trade, which are not antipersonnel weapons.

Among many proposals over the years for some type of international police force (most of them armed), I will cite just Arthur Waskow's model for a triplex peace police, written up in 1963.⁹⁻⁵ This too is not entirely nonviolent except at lower levels; but the plan had a number of sophisticated design features. There would be *three* police bodies (for Disarmament; Borders; and Special Situations), each controlled by separate Councils, in turn responsive to World Court orders. The court would be acting on data turned up by an Inspectorate, a *fourth* police body, unarmed. The force level authorized for any of the three peace police would be according to a preset, time-limited, aye-vote ratio in their respective controlling councils. For instance,

disarmament treaty violations would be blamed on low-level *individuals* (such as a factory manager); disarmament police would serve court orders on *him* to cease and desist, not his government. So far the action would be small and unarmed; but with greater council consensus in the face of a persistent violation, greater increments of police units and weaponry would be authorized. As before, I dissent at the weapons phase.

The British police have long been famous for their customary lack of firearms. But the armed British "peacekeeping" presence in Ulster was all too familiar a quagmire. Their violent or repressive operations earned the enmity of the belligerents and war weariness in the British public. Yet in May 1971, a British soldier in Belfast, Sergeant Michael Willets, 27, father of two, died after throwing himself on a terrorist bomb, and saved four civilian bystanders.⁹⁻⁶ It is this type of bravery I would point toward in suggesting that his example, and many others, be built upon, so that the very strength and effectiveness of UN or other police action and peacekeeping is precisely due to its use of "naked" force.

§ 10

7) Buffer Action *

... the presence of a body of regular world guards or peace guards, intervening with no weapons whatsoever between two forces combatting or about to combat, might have considerable effect. ... As an example, if a few thousand of such world guards had been parachuted into Budapest during the five or six days Hungary was free, the outcome of that struggle might have been quite different.

10-1

— Salvador de Madariaga and Jayaprakash Narayan,
"Blueprint for a World Commonwealth" (1960).

Definition: The deployment of unarmed military force between belligerents before, during, or after active hostilities.

If we can conjure up an unarmed military service of some tens of thousands of otherwise well-equipped regulars who could truly fulfill the Strategic Air Command slogan, "Peace Is Our Profession," then their foremost function might be Buffer Action. This would seem the most natural, the most inherent mission of all for a nonviolent military instrument whose purpose is to prevent or extinguish warlike hostilities, wherever they may arise. The concept is so obvious that it has indeed cropped up a number of times since 1931, but only in the most offhand or rudimentary manner. Not even pacifists have done more than peck at the periphery of the idea.

Precedents: The principle of buffer action has been illustrated ad hoc in a number of different situations;

1) In Cyprus and Kashmir UN observers have driven their jeeps right into the line of firefights to quench them, though superiors regarded such actions as overzealous.¹⁰⁻³

2) In September 1962, the bodily interposition — between armed combatants — of some thousands of unarmed civilians acting spontaneously helped to cut short a five-day civil war

* For an expanded version of this section, see Gene Keyes, *"Peacekeeping by Unarmed Buffer Forces: Precedents and Proposals"*, in *Peace and Change: A Journal of Peace Research*, v. 5, # 2 & 3 Fall, 1978, p. 3-11. Online at <http://www.genekeyes.com/Peacekeeping-Buffer-Frames.html>

among Algerian revolutionaries. Two forces had squared off for a pitched battle at the town of Boghari, south of Algiers. However, thousands of civilians filled the streets, forcing the commanders to order a ceasefire, and prevailing upon both sides to fraternize. Elsewhere, women lay at various points along Highway 14 to halt advancing armored columns, and 20,000 union members demonstrated in Algiers denouncing both sides and threatening a general strike in case of civil war. A political settlement was hastily arranged in the wake of these pressures.¹⁰⁻²

3) William Hinton's book *Hundred Day War*¹⁰⁻⁴ is a detailed case history of one of the most noteworthy applications of mass nonviolent action since Gandhi's heyday. In July 1968, in Maoist China at the height of the Cultural Revolution, a few hundred fanatical Red Guards in two hostile factions were barricaded at Tsinghua University and battling each other with spears, grenades, and machine guns. Due to the prevailing chaos, the central authorities could not attack their own ultra-Maoist Red Guard heroes, no matter how misguided. So, led by army officers, 30,000 unarmed workers were organized to intervene between the combatants, and "use reason, not violence" no matter what. There ensued a 24-hour muddy, bloody ordeal in which over 700 workers were seriously injured and five killed — but with no retaliation against the Red Guard crazies, who were finally talked into a truce.

Ideas: The classic proposal for an unarmed buffer action force was advanced by Salvador de Madariaga (Spanish diplomat) and Jayaprakash Narayan (Indian politician) in 1960, originally in the form of a letter to UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld. Though published in several obscure sources, it has lain remarkably unnoticed since that time. The text began with an analysis of the political difficulties hampering UN use of armed force, and continued:

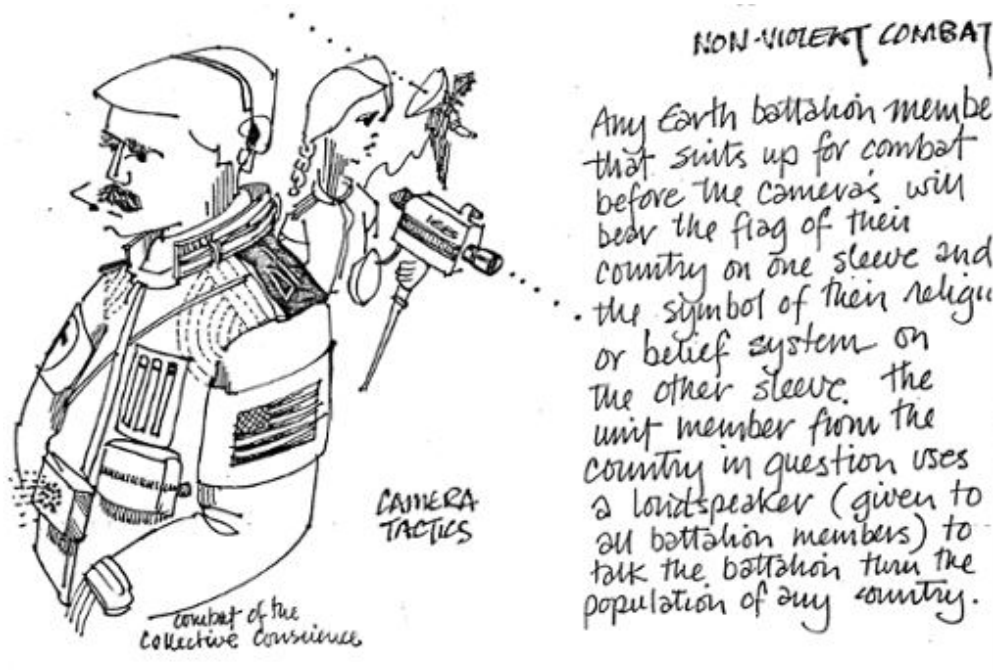
It follows that an international police should be unarmed. The presence of a body of regular World Guards or Peace Guards, intervening with no weapons whatsoever between two forces combatting or about to combat, might have considerable effect. They would not be there as a fanciful improvisation, but as the positive and practical application of a previously negotiated and ratified Additional Charter binding all United Nations members. This Charter should ensure:

- (1) Inviolability of the World Guards;
- (2) Their right to go anywhere at any time from the day they are given an assignment by the United Nations;
- (3) Their right to go and intervene in any conflict of any nature when asked by only one of the parties thereto or by third parties or the Secretary General.

The World Guards would be parachutists. They should be able to stop advancing armies by refusing to move from roads, railways, or airfields. They would be empowered to act in any capacity their chiefs might think adequate for the situation, though they would never use force. They should be endowed with a complete system for recording and transmitting facts, utilizing such equipment as television cameras and broadcasting material. Their uniform should be simple, clear, and appealing.

The setting up of this institution would no doubt be delicate; the Additional Charter would be difficult to negotiate. Who would launch the action of the Guards? The Secretary General should have permanent power to do so on his own initiative. It seems, at any rate, that in the negotiations the chief difficulty — fear and mistrust of power — would have been eliminated and the nations that would oppose the scheme would lose much face.¹⁰⁻¹

This kind of proposal deserves careful restudy and elaboration. (It is interesting to note how Lt. Col. Channon's vision of video troops has hit upon one of the points raised by Madariaga/Narayan; see his drawing below.)



Source: Text and drawing by Jim Channon; scanned by gk from an ms³⁻⁵ Channon sent me in October 1981; reprinted by permission. Almost the same drawing appears in the Guardian on November 3, 2009, but under the title "Ethical Combat".³⁻¹⁴

§ 11

8) Defense

*This sight of marching, and probably uniformed, nonviolent brigades might give the citizens a sense of security. To the average citizen a nonviolent army of professional resistance fighters would personify the will to resist and give him the assurance that they would in any event do their job and not leave him in the lurch. The existence of a fearless nonviolent army, which would offer resistance to the last man, might act as a stronger warning to the potential invader than an invisible system of resistance cells.*¹¹⁻⁵

— Theodor Ebert, "Organizational Preparations for Nonviolent Civilian Defense" (1964)

Definition: The assignment of unarmed maneuver elements to close with and resist invasion troops to the death without killing them; and the assignment of other unarmed land, sea, air, and civilian forces to active duty in accordance with national strategy for guarding political, cultural, and territorial integrity, public security, and civil liberty.

We now consider the military institutions on which might fall the responsibility for protecting a

nation or people without killing a would-be foe. Sad to say, the quality and quantity of ideas for unarmed defense forces is not proportionate to the paramount role that armed defense forces occupy in most people's minds. (To the extent that the use of nonviolent resistance has gained traction in the past several decades, it is primarily as a vehicle of social struggle against existing dictatorships and oppression, not against external invasion to impose new tyrannies. ^{8-6, 8-7})

There is a developing theory of *civilian* nonviolent resistance ¹¹⁻⁶, which has received some official attention in Sweden, the Netherlands, and elsewhere. I am one of the exponents of this strategy ^{11-8; 11-10, 11-11}, and Gene Sharp, ^{8-6; 11-9} its foremost analyst, uses the term civilian-based defense. However, by definition, such a posture tends to neglect a military aspect of unarmed defense. While not ignoring the Pentagon or the like entirely, some civilian resistance proponents imply that the military would wither away except for those officers tapped to organize the modalities of political and economic noncooperation with an invading foe or homegrown Napoleon. I have long urged that civilian resistance doctrine might be also be vested in military organizations.

As stated in Reserve Officer Training Corps manuals, "Basic Army doctrine emphasizes mobility, flexibility, and staying power, so that the Army is maintained in a state of combat readiness for *any war, anywhere, anytime, and in any manner.*" (Emphasis in the original.) ¹¹⁻⁷ Let our unarmed forces adhere to all of these precepts, taking as their cue "in any manner." In the real world, the mission of an Army division is "the destruction or control of enemy military forces and the seizure or domination of critical land areas, and their population and resources." ¹¹⁻⁷

Substituting the word *dysfunction* for *destruction*, we could try to visualize, as a general concept, nonviolent ground forces who are assigned to cause the systematic dysfunction of an invading army: by occupying chokepoints; fraternizing with and demoralizing the opposing soldiers whenever possible; guarding strategic or symbolic sites with their lives; detaining quislings; operating or stalling transportation; restoring or disrupting communications; bivouacking on runways, railroads, and highways; and so forth. These are only specimen tactics, and do not really show a Big Picture; excluded here are air, sea, civilian, political, and diplomatic actions. I was simply trying to sketch a single aspect: main-force nonviolent combat (maneuver) units deployed as part of a grand strategy—the shock troops of a nation with strong preparedness for citizen defense against a wanton aggressor.

It is my theory that preservation of national morale is the grand strategy of nonviolent common defense. ¹¹⁻¹⁰ If "nonviolent shock troops" do not reinforce this strategy, then other tactical modes must be developed, perhaps with more emphasis on Rescue Action or Guerrilla Action or Friendly Persuasion, or intelligence and communications. For example, the Danish Army was brushed aside within two hours when the Germans occupied Denmark in April 1940. But Danish Army Intelligence functioned throughout the war as an especially valuable source for the Allies. ¹¹⁻¹⁰

Take another situation. A British-French plan to invade Sweden in March 1940 was squelched when the Swedes threatened to dismantle their railroads — which would literally have derailed that particular attempt under those particular conditions. ¹¹⁻⁸ The necessity did not arise. But let us speculate that in such a case, the Swedish Army could have been asked to rip out the rails and otherwise incapacitate the system. The point is that the tactics, whatever they are, must be adjusted to the general strategy and the particular circumstances and the geopolitical realities.

Precedents: There are many improvisational examples of national nonviolent resistance to

aggression — Gene Sharp covers a vast array of tactics and episodes in his work *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*.¹¹⁻⁹ However, there are no cases of military nonviolent defense as set forth here. When Soviet forces invaded Czechoslovakia in 1968, it was the civilians who improvised dozens of ways to harass, slow down, and confound the invaders — for a full eight months. The Czechoslovakian military was helpless. The spontaneous nonviolent defense effort was a wonder to behold, but could not last indefinitely without long range advance planning and preparation.

Likewise in Poland after 1980, the nonviolent struggle of Solidarity achieved over 16 months of astonishing gains for freedom of speech and independent unions, before the martial law crackdown. The Czechoslovak and Polish experiences confirm again and again how essential it is that a given nation, and its military, *prepare the public in advance* for long-term unarmed resistance to alien or domestic power seizure. The fast track to failure in nonviolent defense is to use tactics without strategy, strategy without principle, and principle without tenacity. The slow track to success is problematic but manifestly the opposite. Above all, it requires extensive training and preparation to preserve morale and national integrity.

Ideas: There are few direct proposals as such for unarmed defense troops, although the idea has been raised without much elaboration in a variety of contexts. Gandhi denounced the Munich sellout in 1938, and exhorted Czechoslovakia to nonviolently resist Hitler's takeover.¹¹⁻² But it was not until the dark hour of June 1940 that Gandhi first seriously proposed that India — if independent — should gear for nonviolent defense against (Japanese) invasion. Unfortunately, on June 21, there was a basic policy split when the Congress Party executive committee rejected Gandhi's proposal for nonviolent defense against external invasion, and instead offered to help the British war effort, conditional on independence. Gandhi had said that the Congress "should train themselves to defend their country with a nonviolent army," but could not dissuade his colleagues from the first step on a road which led to India's atomic bomb.¹¹⁻²

Another military proponent of nonviolent defense is General Paris de Bollardier (1907-1986), a highly-decorated war hero, who was commander of the French paratroops in Indochina. (He resigned his commission in 1957 to protest French use of torture in Algeria.) He too had focused on a civilian approach to nonviolent defense, though he told an interviewer in 1972 that a military role need not be a contradiction, "if the army were trained in the technique of nonviolence."

One additional comment: Is it too much to expect that soldiers on active defense duty could give their lives, yet not kill? I argue that the military ethos of courage in facing death is not a function of killing people. To ask whether anyone could be expected to enlist in a front-line unarmed force is to ask why any soldiers anywhere go to war, volunteer for hazardous duty, or lay down their own lives that others may live.

§ 12

9) Expeditionary Action

*... Let the British government call a constitutional conference in Salisbury, Rhodesia ... [and] organize a commonwealth nonviolent expeditionary force.... At a time judged to be appropriate, let the British delegates to the constitutional conference go into Rhodesia, covered only by the nonviolent troops of the commonwealth force."*¹²⁻¹

— Ralph Bell, *Rhodesia: Outline of a Nonviolent Strategy to Resolve the Crisis*

Definition: An unarmed military mission across national boundaries with a comparatively limited objective or duration; may involve extraterritorial rather than home-soil defense action, or defense of another nation on its own territory, or temporary intervention in restraint of flagrant injustice, oppression, invasion, or genocide.

Military nonintervention in the affairs of other states is widely honored in the breach, though the disrepute of expeditionary forces has been growing in recent years. There are few outspoken proposals for nonviolent (or any) intervention abroad, because most energy is absorbed by condemning imperialism — or camouflaging it.

However, let us assume that a humane case can be made for exceptional circumstances into which nonviolent forces should be mandated with or without the consent of a particular state's rulers. As smaller nations and former colonies and satellites come to cherish their sovereignty more and more, it seems arrogant and anachronistic to speak of expeditionary forces, even if they are nonviolent. But my intent is to see if any military function, including expeditionary action and invasion, could hypothetically be performed by nonviolent forces organized on a comparable scale.

If we grant a moral imperative, a political consensus, and perhaps a legal judgment that a particular state requires expeditionary action from outside to replace its political system or rulers or restrain them from unconscionable barbarism — can nonviolent forces do the job?

Updates 2013:

- Since 2005 and earlier, the UN has been evolving a norm called "Responsibility to Protect" (or "R2P"), regarding need for international action against genocide and atrocious civil wars, notwithstanding the shibboleth of "sovereignty". (Wikipedia has a good summary, and a disputed list of some 17 recent instances of internal atrocities.) The UN-sanctioned campaign against Libya in 2011 had mixed results, and is illustrative of a killing machine with good intentions, absent a substantial nonviolent force at UN disposal.

- On March 28, 2013, the UN Security Council unanimously passed Resolution 2098, which, in the words of its press release,

approved the creation of its first-ever "offensive" combat force...to "neutralize and disarm" the notorious 23 March Movement (M23), as well as other Congolese rebels and foreign armed groups... *

The Resolution is extremely long and detailed. Note that it mentions "Chapter VII", the muscle part of the UN Charter. It not only authorizes active military intervention — while denying that this precedent is a precedent — but it specifies the three brigades to be tasked for that. The Resolution also names hostile forces to be taken on, including the Lord's Resistance Army. (A far cry from Korea 1950 and Congo 1960 when Russia and China were absent or outmaneuvered.) This time the vote was unanimous, Russia was not only present, but president of the SC, and even China was affirmative — because the precedent was not a precedent.

* <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/2013/sc10964.doc.htm>

Not exactly a nonkilling peacekeeping force; sorry, wrong universe. But it is progress of a sort in terms of *conventional* military and UN world politics and R2P.

Ideas: There are no precedents, but the only explicit proposal for nonviolent expeditionary action (in fact, one of the very few cogent, detailed proposals for any kind of military-but-nonviolent force) was put forward by Ralph Bell in his 1966 pamphlet, *Outline of a Nonviolent Strategy to Resolve the Rhodesian Crisis*.¹²⁻¹ An updated version with comments and rejoinders was published in 1968. Though it is now moot, the formulation is well worth studying. Bell, a British clergyman, was addressing himself to leadership in church and state. British officials did look at his plan, and Arthur Bottomley, then Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, thought the proposal deserved consideration. But it was waived in favor of phony economic sanctions, and then years of British laxity while bloody war raged until Rhodesia legally became Zimbabwe in 1980.

Bell had a clear sense of the order of strategy: *military* action is subordinate to *political* objectives, and both are subordinate to *moral* (nonviolent) means. He suggested that Britain call a constitutional conference in Salisbury to create an unracial government and impose this solution with a Commonwealth Nonviolent Expeditionary Force. The Force would enter Rhodesia by conventional or airborne transit, openly announced, with persistence, and reinforcements as necessary. Casualties would have to be expected among these nonviolent commandos but not hoped for. The strategy would have included world publicity, constant pressure on the Smith regime to negotiate, and local civilian pressures spearheaded by the Force.

As for the Force itself, Bell stressed its military organization, need for discipline, willingness to accept casualties, pay and training commensurate with regular armed forces, moral prestige, and sufficient numbers for probable success. The following key distinction which Bell makes re-echoes the central theme of this entire paper:

A member of the armed forces is called upon to do what he is told, to be killed and to kill to enforce a political solution. A member of a nonviolent force is also called upon to do what he is told, to be killed, but not to kill, to enforce a political solution.¹²⁻¹

§ 13

10) Invasion

If you meet a Spanish civilian or a soldier, greet him and share your food with him. If he fires on you, arm yourself with your faith and your conviction and continue your march.

—King Hassan II of Morocco in a message to 350,000 civilians poised to invade Spanish Sahara. (*New York Times*, 1975-11-06; p. 1).

Definition: An unarmed military campaign across national boundaries, with a comparatively long-range objective or duration, in restraint of flagrant injustice, oppression, invasion, or genocide.

The rationale for nonviolent invasion is similar to that for expeditionary action. The distinction, if not precise, is the greater length and scope of an invasion, compared to the other's temporary or limited purpose. When I first wrote this section in 1971, "invasion" was the wildest of these wild ideas. But lo, four years later. King Hassan II of Morocco, in an international tour de force,

staged a mass nonviolent invasion of Spanish Sahara by 350,000 Moroccan civilians under army leadership. Which is not to say I laud any of the particular circumstances; I was merely awed at another proof of Boulding's First Law; "Anything which exists is possible." Hassan proved that a nonviolent invasion is possible, and a useful tool in world politics. Hassan's criteria were not mine, but what can you expect?

Meanwhile, as I wrote earlier, a complete theory of unarmed forces must in principle allow for recourse to nonviolent mass attack outside their homeland(s) in extraordinary situations. Besides counter-invasion as a defense tactic, such cases would, in general, be those where proven genocide, slaughter, or oppression is being carried out in the face of all diplomatic efforts at remedy. (See "Responsibility to Protect" above.) The roll call of recent genocides is matched by the roll call of international permissiveness toward them: Armenians, Bengalis, Biafrans, Cambodians, Indonesians, Jews, Kurds, Poles, Rwandans, Russians, Timorese, and Vietnamese are among the peoples "wasted" by the hundreds of thousands, even millions, just in the past century — not to mention many other wars and slaughters.

Liberation of the death camps was only a fortuitous by-product of the Allied victory in World War II, and by no means the purpose of the fight against Hitler. Besides, the Gulag body count may have been worse. However, in a polity with sizeable nonviolent military forces at the ready, genocide itself — not some infringement of the "national interest" — would be *casus belli* for an invasion by the unarmed forces. Thus, if India did in fact have a very large Gandhi-style nonviolent army, an invasion of Bangladesh to halt the slaughter by Pakistan there might have been a live option much earlier in 1971. (Indeed, nonviolent organizers in India were on the verge of launching large-scale incursions, but their plans were aborted by the outbreak of war in December.)

Obviously, as with war itself, nonviolent invasion does not occur in a vacuum but alongside other multiple pressures of diplomacy, politics, and publicity. Which was precisely the case in October 1975 when King Hassan was mobihzing his Green March invasion force. (Green for Islam, not for Ecology.)

Precedent: King Hassan's invasion was mostly a theatrical maneuver to fake out Algeria. Ostensibly the Moroccans were facing off the soon-to-depart Spanish troops, which as of November 1975 were still dug in against any premature seizure of their colony by Morocco or Mauritania or Algeria. Phosphate riches and fishing were the prize. From November 6 to November 8, the Green March poured across the border for a few token miles, outflanking Spanish minefields. It was then withdrawn by King Hassan, having generated a media sensation and enough diplomatic turmoil to hasten a deal with Spain which excluded Algeria — and from that day to this (2013), excluded the inhabitants themselves, called Sahrawi (or Saharawi). Morocco subsequently annexed all of Spanish Sahara in two stages, and ever since has been at war against an Algerian-backed independence movement, the Polisario Front, which has established a partially recognized nation called the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic.¹³⁻⁶

So, while the context was sordid, the Green March itself was phenomenal. There is nothing to prevent the misuse of unarmed forces, except better-motivated ones.

Update 2013: Recent writings by peace researchers Stephen Zunes, and Jacob Mundy, reveal more of the diplomatic intrigue behind the "Green March". They accuse the Kissinger-Ford administration of conniving with King Hassan to seize Western Sahara without the consent of the inhabitants, and also fault the US and France for even now arming and supporting Morocco's repressive occupation of that land. A small ineffectual

UN peacekeeping unit called MINURSO: (United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara) ¹³⁻⁷ with some 470 personnel, has been in place there since 1991. Morocco has blocked such a referendum ever since 1975, while constantly oppressing nonviolent and human rights activists to the present moment. (*See supplementary references at end.* ^{13-2 through 13-8})

Ideas: Once again, Ralph Bell is one of the only voices with the temerity to advocate aggressive military nonviolent action. Prior to his Rhodesia plan, he had also targeted South Africa in more general terms as the theater for a campaign against apartheid, to be augmented by a British "active nonviolent resistance force." ¹³⁻¹ I classify that as an "invasion" on the assumption that South Africa would have been a much more formidable effort than the Rhodesian campaign.

Until Hassan, this section had to be even more conjectural than the rest. But I had put invasion on the agenda because I agree with Waskow that in a disarming world there will be more struggle and conflict, not less. Given a substantial array of nonkilling forces, a Just War need no longer be a moral Frankenstein but instead a legitimate, humane, and essential response by a larger community of nations when an entire people are in danger.

Conclusion

For decades the term "peace army" has bobbed along like a neglected cork in eddies of pacifist or idealist thinking, and there were even a few efforts to stick that cork into a volcano. Often the term is loosely applied to such vest-pocket symbols as work camps, peace demonstrations, or the Peace Corps. But seldom has there been an attempt to suggest how the main forces of any given military could perform their essential missions in their own right, "armed with courage alone."

What I am saying is: These are some parameters and possibilities for a nonkilling military, and some of them might come in handy one day. It is not too early for any of us to think big, and to speculate *in detail* on an entire range of contingencies in which unarmed forces might be at least remotely conceivable. A lot more imagination and research would be helpful and is urgently needed.

Of course, I do not regard such peace forces as a panacea for anything: merely a better human endeavor, focused on giving life rather than taking it. Murphy's Law and human nature will dog us always, but in a nonkilling military, snafus will be less horrific than My Lai or nuclear mayhem.

Epilogue and Supplementary Summary, 2013:

In 1959-60 as I contemplated draft resistance, two big ideas inspired this work and impressed me from that day to this; (1) *Life's* abortive Great White Fleet; and (2) Richard St. Barbe Baker's challenge that all the world's armies re-forest the Sahara. I'd like to have joined such a nonkilling military, but not if those missions were window-dressing for their deadly main methods.

In the over half century since I first began to compile and present these concepts, a number of significant developments can be seen, similar to the life-giving, nonkilling military ideas discussed here — not the *same*, but *similar*. The White Fleet idea is back; and Lt. Col. Channon prophesies that all the world's militaries must save the ecosphere, including the deserts. To list some hopeful signs:

1) Besides civilian relief efforts, there has been a considerably enhanced use of military assets for "HA/DR, Humanitarian Assistance / Disaster Relief" in such major catastrophes as the Indian Ocean Tsunami, Katrina, Haiti, and Fukushima.

2) The US Navy, Marines, and Coast Guard have jointly elevated HA/DR to one of six core missions for those maritime services.

3) Several recent proposals in well-placed military circles and elsewhere have urged establishment of a "Great White Fleet" of hospital ships and the like, including a proposal for an international grouping of Russia, China, India, Australia, and the US to do so.

4) Major reclamation and tree-planting efforts are underway in the Sahara and elsewhere. Climate scientists have the temerity to urge multi-*trillion* dollar Sahara reforestation.

5) In two non-military spheres, the related civilian theory and practice of strategic nonviolent action has greatly expanded:

A) "Civilian Unarmed Peacekeeping", especially in the aegis of the Nonviolent Peaceforce, has developed its own praxis: i.e., theory and practice working together.

B) Many recent instances of strategic nonviolent action have unhorsed dictatorships (and brought the work of Gene Sharp to widespread attention and Nobel Peace Prize nominations).

6) Despite absurd distortions in the "Men Who Stare at Goats" movie, the visionary prophecies of Lt.-Col. Jim Channon for a re-purposed military, especially to combat environmental devastation, has likewise gained increased currency on the Web and elsewhere.

7) And finally, a small but significant photon of light in this Internet Age: General Cândido Rondon's doctrine of "Die if necessary; never kill" has been gaining visibility on the Web. A precept honored in the breach, yes. (Like the Sermon on the Mount, or the Sixth Commandment., or the Koran 4:29, "Do not kill one another.") But it strikes a chord.

It is possible to overestimate these baby steps toward a nonkilling military. War machines bestride the earth like a colossus. And if nuclear war doesn't get us, then climate catastrophe will. But let us soldier on, and present a challenge for the world's polities and military forces: to embody the planetary-security ideals of America's Lieutenant-Colonel Jim Channon, and the nonkilling example of Brazil's General Rondon.*

*PS: As just one followup, may I suggest that someone do a thoroughgoing study of Rondon to focus in particular on his nonkilling doctrine. (One source describes it as an *oath*, not just a motto.)²⁻⁸ Without getting immersed in ethnography and telegraphy and assimilation and Amazon ruination, it would be worth exploring how many of his men did die, under what circumstances. And how it happened that the Indian Protection Service lost its way without the charismatic Rondon to lead it.

COMBINED REFERENCES AND ENDNOTES

*I always prefer to show my sources by **chronological** order within each category, to clarify evolution and cumulation of events and concepts. Superscripts in text are hyphenated to the following endnote subsets (i.e., "2-10" belongs to "Rondon"; etc.).*

- 1) Preface
- 2) Rondon
- 3) Channon
- 4) Rescue Action
- 5) Civic Action
- 6) Colossal / Eco Action
- 7) Friendly Persuasion
- 8) Guerrilla Action
- 9) Police Action
- 10) Buffer Action
- 11) Defense
- 12) Expeditionary Action
- 13) Invasion

Abbreviations: NYT: New York Times; WP: Wikipedia

§ 1) Preface

- 1-1 (1947) Brig. Gen. S.L.A. Marshall, **MEN AGAINST FIRE: THE PROBLEM OF BATTLE COMMAND IN FUTURE WAR**. NY, Morrow, p. 43, 50, 54.

Later writers sought to debunk Marshall, but for a recent assessment and defense of his work, see 1-3 below; and 1-2.

- 1-2 (2007 Summer) Lt. Col. Dave Grossman, **"HOPE ON THE BATTLEFIELD"**
Greater Good
http://greatergood.berkeley.edu/article/item/hope_on_the_battlefield
(accessed 2014-02-21)

- 1-3 (2009) Lt. Col. Dave Grossman, **"S.L.A. MARSHALL REVISITED..."** *Canadian Military Journal*, 9/4. <http://www.journal.forces.gc.ca/vo9/no4/18-grossman-eng.asp> (accessed 2014-02-21)

§ 2) Rondon

- 2-1 (1914) Theodore Roosevelt, **THROUGH THE BRAZILIAN WILDERNESS**.
[Gutenberg online, 2004; html here; other formats available.]
<http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/11746/pg11746.html>
(accessed 2014-02-21)

See also "Roosevelt–Rondon Scientific Expedition", WP.

- 2-2 (1929-03-30) **"THE OLD-CLOTHES MAN IN THE BRAZILIAN JUNGLE"** *Literary Digest*, p.45-46, adapting and condensing from Ignatius Phayre, **"'FASHIONS' FOR THE NAKED SAVAGE"**, *American Forests and Forestry*, 1929, v. 35.
- 2-3 (1941-12-15; [1941-12-08]) **"BRAZIL: DIE IF NECESSARY"**. *Time* magazine. (Teaser): <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,772838,00.html#ixzz1Q9avwAjV> (but quoted in full on BushcraftUSA Web forum): <http://bushcraftusa.com/forum/showthread.php/39081-tribe-in-paupa-new-guinea-meets-white-guy> (accessed 2013-04-21)
- 2-4 (1945; 1946-06; 2010-11-01) Desmond Holdridge, **"CONQUEROR OF THE BRAZILIAN WILDERNESS -- GENERAL CANDIDO MARIANO DA SILVA RONDON"** (Orig. *The Pan American*, [1945]; condensed in *Reader's Digest*, 1946-06; Spanish version, available online, **"CÁNDIDO DA SILVA RONDÓN, EL CIVILIZADOR DE LA SELVA"**, *Selecciones del Reader's Digest*, XII / 70, [with rough English Google translation if desired] at <http://conocimientosutilescuriosos.blogspot.ca/2010/11/candido-da-silva-rondon-el-civilizador.html>; and Portuguese version **"RONDON, O CIVILIZADOR DA SELVA"** from *Seleções Biográficas. Seleções do Reader's Digest*, 1949.downloadable .doc from http://www.academus.pro.br/site/pg.asp?pagina=detalhe_variedade&titulo=Variedades&codigo=212&cod_categoria=&nome_categoria= (both accessed 2014-02-21)
- 2-5 (1948) Willard Price, **ROVING SOUTH: RIO GRANDE TO PATAGONIA**. NY, Day, p. 318.
- 2-6 (1952, 1959) Ernst Schwarz, **PATHS TO FREEDOM THROUGH NONVIOLENCE**. Vienna, Sensen Verlag, p. 62.
- 2-7 (1962) Allen Hunter, **COURAGE IN BOTH HANDS**. NY, Ballantine.
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- 2-10 (2004; 2010) **MARSHAL RONDON (1865-1958)** Porto Brasil, [government], citing book *100 Brazilians (100 Brasileiros)* http://www.brasil.gov.br/sobre/history/historical-figures/marshal-rondon-1865-1958/br_model1?set_language=en (accessed 2013-04-17; no longer available as of 2014-02-21; but I saved a copy.)
- 2-11 (2004) Todd A. Diacon, **STRINGING TOGETHER A NATION: CÂNDIDO MARIANO DA SILVA RONDON AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF A MODERN BRAZIL, 1906–1930**. Duke University Press. 248 p. [Kindle Edition]
The most thorough English language study of Rondon, but derogatory. Mentions the "Die if necessary" motto only twice, in passing.

- 2-12 (2009) Fernando Correia da Silva; Valerie Blencowe, trans., "**CÂNDIDO RONDON: EXPLORER, GEOGRAPHER, PEACEMAKER: 1865 – 1958**" http://www.vidaslusofonas.pt/candido_rondon2.htm (accessed 2014-02-21) [Orig. Portuguese, "CÂNDIDO RONDON Explorador, geógrafo, pacificador: 1865 - 1958"], http://www.vidaslusofonas.pt/candido_rondon.htm (accessed 2014-02-21)
Biographical article about Rondon by a prominent Portuguese author; styled as an interview of a fictional modern Brazilian Indian.
- 2-13 (2012-06-22) Ben Thompson, "**CANDIDO RONDON**" <http://www.badassoftheweek.com/index.cgi?id=932194225924> (accessed 2014-02-21)
Foul-mouth but laudatory reprise of Rondon's derring-do.

Rondon illustration sources:

- 2-14 1st, Iuli Oliver <http://iulioliver.blogspot.ca/> (accessed 2014-02-21)
- 2-15 2nd, Guri Ancião, 2012-05-05
http://www.gurianciaio.com.br/website/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=61&Itemid=170 (accessed 2014-02-21)
- 2-16 3rd: YouTube screenshot by gk, "**THEODORE ROOSEVELT - THE RIVER OF DOUBT, PART 1**". Library of Congress, uploaded 2010-01-04.
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fKXOtJeaTEQ> (accessed 2014-02-21)
Film itself said to be assembled ca. 1928, from footage ca. 1913-14.

§ 3) Lt.-Col. Jim Channon

Note: the three "n.p." Channon publications below were produced when he was still in the Army, and each comprises a medley of hand-illustrated, hand-scripted loose-leaf pages.

- 3-1 (1979, 1982) Jim Channon, **OPERATIONS MANUAL OM-1, EVOLUTIONARY TACTICS**. n.p. [150 p.] Original in my possssion. Free pdf can be downloaded here, entitled **THE FIRST EARTH BATTALION FIELD MANUAL** <http://media.hearingvoices.com.s3.amazonaws.com/doc/The-First-Earth-Battalion-Field-Manual.pdf> (accessed 2014-02-21)
- 3-2 (1979) Jim Channon, **THE FIRST EARTH BATTALION SUPPLEMENT: IDEAS AND IDEALS FOR SOLDIERS EVERYWHERE**. n.p. [15 p.] Original in my possssion.
- 3-3 (1979, 2000-02) Jim Channon, "**THE FIRST EARTH BATTALION: DARE TO THINK THE UNTHINKABLE, IDEAS AND IDEALS FOR SOLDIERS EVERY-WHERE**". Introduction and annotation by Joseph R. Svinth. *Journal of Non-lethal Combatives*, 2000-02. http://ejmas.com/jnc/jncart_channon_0200.htm (accessed 2014-02-21)

A text-rendering of some of Channon's hand-scripted pages.

- 3-4 (1980) Marilyn Ferguson, **THE AQUARIAN CONSPIRACY: PERSONAL AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION IN THE 1980s**. L.A., Tarcher. p. 347.
One paragraph about Channon, favorable. Very early public mention.
- 3-5 (1981) Jim Channon, **THE FIRST EARTH BATTALION: CLIPS FROM FIRST EARTH BATTALION MATERIALS** n.p. [15 p.] Original in my possession.
- 3-6 (2001-09) Remy Chevalier, "**THE HOLLYWOOD ROOTS OF THE FIRST EARTH BATTALION**", *Journal of Non-lethal Combatives*
http://ejmas.com/jnc/jncart_Chevalier_0901.htm (accessed 2014-02-21)
By a Green activist who claims to have given Channon the idea for 1EB:
"I lived in Los Angeles between 1974 and 1976. One day I was just walking around and I saw the Army had an office. So I went inside and talked to a guy with a mustache about how the Army could help save the planet!"
- 3-7 (2005) Jon Ronson, **THE MEN WHO STARE AT GOATS**. [book] NY: Simon & Schuster, 272 p.
Many enlightening negative reviews on Amazon website:
http://www.amazon.com/Men-Who-Stare-Goats/dp/0743241924/ref=sr_1_1?s=books&ie=UTF8&qid=1366310159&sr=1-1&keywords=men+who+stare+at+goats

Chapter 1, mainly about Channon, is online here: "The Road to Abu Ghraib"
<http://www.coldtype.net/Assets.06/Essays.06/0606.Ronson.Abu.pdf>
(both accessed 2014-02-21)
- 3-8 (2007-07-15 to present, 2013) **JIM CHANNON'S FACEBOOK PAGE**
<https://www.facebook.com/Jimchannon> (accessed 2014-02-21)
- 3-9 (2007-07-16) Jim Channon, "**THE EARTH BATTALION GLOBAL OPERATIONS**"
<https://www.facebook.com/notes/jim-channon/the-earth-battalion-global-operations/248469697> (accessed 2013-04-18) (missing as of 2013-05-03; luckily I'd downloaded it)
Succinctly outlines nine separate "operations", all within the sphere of this article — and the planet. See also 3-10.
- 3-10 (2009-01-09) Jim Channon, "**OPERATION NOBLE STEWARD**"
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F0-0_kwgQkc
(accessed 2014-02-21)
Six-minute YouTube discourse on global scope of missions for world's militaries to protect the planet. "We have accepted the challenge that all armed forces: Navy, Army, Air Force, Marines, Coast Guard have a unique responsibility in the role of recovering the Earth's biosphere." See also 3-9.
- 3-11 (2009-07-22, 27) Jim Channon, "**ARMIES AND YOUTH BEGIN THE**

REFORESTATION OF PLANET EARTH"

<http://www.firstearthbattalion.org/?q=node/76> , citing: "BLUE HELMETS GO GREEN", UNEP <http://www.unep.org/Documents.Multilingual/Default.asp?DocumentID=593&ArticleID=6254&l=en&t=long>

See also UNEP, **GREENING THE BLUE HELMETS: ENVIRONMENT, NATURAL RESOURCES AND UN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS** (2012-05)

http://postconflict.unep.ch/publications/UNEP_greening_blue_helmets_ES.pdf
(all accessed 2014-02-21)

- 3-12 (2009-10-06) Jim Channon, **"WHAT IS THE FIRST EARTH BATTALION AND HOW DID IT ORIGINATE?"** [From "Backstory" page missing from 1EB website due to spam, but reprinted here on Spectre Footnotes:]
<http://spectregroup.wordpress.com/2009/11/26/first-earth-battalion/>
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- 3-13 (2009-11-02) Jim Channon, **"MY FIRST EARTH BATTALION COMES TO LIFE IN THE MEN WHO STARE AT GOATS"**, *The Guardian*
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/film/2009/nov/02/men-who-stare-at-goats1> (accessed 2014-02-21)
First of four articles by Channon preceding 2009-11-06 release of the Goats movie.
- 3-14 (2009-11-03) Jim Channon, **"STRATEGIC SHAMANISM AND THE NEW WORLD ORDER"** *The Guardian*
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/film/2009/nov/03/men-who-stare-at-goats-jim-channon> (accessed 2014-02-21)
- 3-15 (2009-11-04) Jim Channon, **"THE PARANORMAL SOLDIER DEMYSTIFIED"**
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/film/2009/nov/04/1> (accessed 2014-02-21)
- 3-16 (2009-11-05) Jim Channon, **"THE ARMIES OF THE WORLD SHOULD UNITE TO SAVE EARTH"** <http://www.guardian.co.uk/film/2009/nov/05/1>
(accessed 2014-02-21)
- 3-17 (2009-11-06) **THE MEN WHO STARE AT GOATS**. [film and DVD]
Disgusting feature-film farce, but which put Channon's ideas into more public awareness. Starring George Clooney; and Jeff Bridges as the a-la-Channon character "Django". Channon himself is ambivalent about the movie: flattered and appalled; considers it a "roast". (DVD version has interview excerpts with the real Channon; see 3-24 below.) Film itself can be scrounged from YouTube.
- 3-18 (2009 to present) **FIRST EARTH BATTALION WEBSITE**
<http://www.firstearthbattalion.org/> (accessed 2014-02-21)
For someone as artistic as Jim, he has a somewhat messy website as of this date: many often-redundant pages, each taking 15 seconds to load; some pages missing; unfiltered spam; etc. But worth a look.
- 3-19 (2009 to present) **NEW EARTH ARMY WEBSITE**
<http://neweartharmy.com/Welcome.html> (accessed 2014-02-21)

First Earth Battalion's alter ego name, as used in "The Men Who Stare at Goats" movie. Site's content is both similar and different vis-a-vis its counterpart above. Both websites were apparently started to harvest interest generated by the film.

- 3-20 (2009-11-06) John Alexander, **"A VIEWER'S GUIDE TO THE GOAT MOVIE: TRUE OR FALSE"** <http://www.firstearthbattalion.org/?q=node/96>
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- 3-21 (2009-11-26) Jim Channon, John Alexander, et al, **EVOLUTIONARY TACTICS**. Spectre Footnotes <http://spectregroup.wordpress.com/2009/11/26/first-earth-battalion/> (accessed 2014-02-21)
Hodgepodge of articles about First Earth Battalion and semi-related subjects; some missing from Channon's own 1EB site due to spam.
- 3-22 (2009-[12?]) Susanne Sims, **"THE TRUE STORY OF THE FIRST EARTH BATTALION"** http://neweartharmy.com/1st_Earth_Battalion.html
(accessed 2014-02-21)
- 3-23 (2010-01-01) Susanne Sims, **"JIM CHANNON: MOBILIZING THE MILITARY TO CLEAN UP THE EARTH"**, *Ode Magazine*
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(accessed 2013-04-18; deleted, but now available at Internet Archive; accessed 2014-02-21)
- 3-24 (2010-03) **"GOATS DECLASSIFIED (BONUS FEATURE)"**, in two parts on YouTube: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M4WJ54eBkr0>
and
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12-minute extra from "The Men who Stare at Goats" DVD, with interview snippets of Jim Channon, John Alexander, and others.
- 3-25 (2010-08-30) Jim Channon, **"GLOBAL RECOVERY VISION: TEN STEPS TO PARADISE ON EARTH"** <http://arcturus.org/arcturus3/?q=node/220>
(accessed 201-02-21)
- 3-26 (2010-09-16) Jim Channon and John B. Alexander, **"THE ROLE OF THE MILITARY IN PROMOTING PEACE AND PROTECTING THE BIOSPHERE"** <http://shiftmovement.com/2010/09/16/the-role-of-the-military-in-promoting-peace-and-protecting-the-biosphere-with-dr-john-b-alexander-col-retired-and-jim-channon-ltc-retired-peace-week>
(accessed 2014-0-21)
One-hour MP3 interview of Channon and Alexander by Stephan Dinan, but mostly a discussion between the principals, predominantly Channon. Covers non-lethal weapons; history of the "Goats" movie; and eco-missions for the military ("Operation Noble Steward").
- 3-27 (2011) Jim Channon, **GO PLANET! ADVENTURES IN SOCIAL ARCHITECTURE AND THE PROMISE FOR OUR NEW GLOBAL**

CIVILIZATION. Author, 279 p. illus. Available as book or free pdf:
http://www.jimchannon.com/GO_Planet.pdf (accessed 2012-02-21)

3-28 (2011-04-04) Jim Channon **"JIM CHANNON'S VISION: JIM CHANNON SHARES HIS PLAN TO CLEAN UP THE EARTH'S BIOSPHERE"**
SuperConsciousness, Spring 2011.
<http://www.superconsciousness.com/topics/environment/jim-channons-vision>
(accessed 2014-02-21)

3-29 (2012-03-27) Jim Channon, **"ANSWERS TO RACHEL MADDOW'S QUEST FOR INNOVATION IN THE MILITARY"**
<http://www.firstearthbattalion.org/?q=node/108420>
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<https://www.facebook.com/notes/jim-channon/the-military-history-of-innovation/1015076253377197> (both retrieved 2014-02-21)

3-30 (2013-01-10) TEDx Maui, **"SPEAKER SPOTLIGHT: JIM CHANNON"**
<http://tedxmaui.com/speaker-spotlight-jim-channon/>
(accessed 2014-02-21)

Brief interview; better than his actual TEDx talk.

3-31 (2013-01-26) Jim Channon, **MEN STARING AT GOATS: [SUMMARY AND] COMPILATION FEATURING HIGHLIGHTS FROM "THE MEN WHO STARE AT GOATS" MOVIE.** <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ek-ONFSyiuI> (accessed 2014-02-21)
32 minutes of film clips compiled by David Lakota, with a short text by Channon.

§ 4) Rescue Action

a) Precedents and discussions

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<http://www.navy.mil/maritime/MaritimeStrategy.pdf>
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4-3 (2008) Sharon Wiharta et al, **THE EFFECTIVENESS OF FOREIGN MILITARY ASSETS IN NATURAL DISASTER RESPONSE** Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, 140 p.
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4-4 (2010-01) Lt. Jim Dolbow, U.S. Coast Guard Reserve, various blogs re

USNS hospital ships and the Haiti earthquake:

• **TIME TO ACTIVATE THE USNS MERCY (T-AH-19)!**

<http://blog.usni.org/2010/01/25/time-to-reactivate-the-usns-mercy-t-ah-19>

• **FROM OBSOLETE DINOSAURS TO THE BEST DIPLOMAT OF THE 21ST CENTURY: THE HOSPITAL SHIPS COMFORT AND MERCY ARE SURVIVORS TOO**, plus several other reports

<http://blog.usni.org/author/jdolbow/page/2> (both accessed 2014-02-21)

4-5 (2011-03-22) **"DISASTER RELIEF IN A DANGEROUS WORLD"**. Cropsey, interviewed by Jonathan Masters. Council on Foreign Relations.

<http://www.cfr.org/united-states/disaster-relief-dangerous-world/p24463>

(accessed 2014-02-21)

4-6 (2011-06-02) Andrew Feickert and Emma Chanlett-Avery, **"JAPAN 2011 EARTHQUAKE: U.S. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE (DOD) RESPONSE"** (Congressional Research Service) 10 p.

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<http://www.army-technology.com/features/feature125223> (accessed 2014-02-21)

4-8 (2012) Captain Cathal O'Connor, U.S. Navy, **"FOREIGN HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE AND DISASTER-RELIEF OPERATIONS: LESSONS LEARNED AND BEST PRACTICES"** (Naval War College Review, 65/1, p. 152-160.

<http://usnwc.edu/getattachment/ef3c248c-3c41-4213-ae2a-61ba95a4dfc9/Foreign-Humanitarian-Assistance-and-Disaster-Relief.aspx> (accessed 2014-02-21)

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<http://www.navytimes.com/article/20130331/NEWS/303310003/Hospital-ship-Mercy-earns-humanitarian-award> (accessed 2014-02-21)

4-10 (accessed 2014-02-21) **USNS COMFORT WEBSITE**

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<http://www.mercyships.ca/the-fleet/africa-mercy.html>;

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§ 4) Rescue Action

b) Ideas

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• <http://fakeconsultant.blogspot.ca/2007/01/on-new-mission-or-how-about-peace-ship.html>
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§ 5) Civic Action

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- 5-4 (1967) John A. Salmond, **THE CIVILIAN CONSERVATION CORPS 1933-1942 (A NEW DEAL CASE STUDY)** Duke University Press.
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<http://www.peacecorps.gov/about/fastfacts/>
- 5-10 (accessed 2014-02-21) **VISTA**
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§ 6) Colossal / Eco Action

[and see also Channon, section 3 above]

a) Sahara: pioneers

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[1&keywords=The+Green+Belt+Movement%3A](#) (accessed 2014-02-21)

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- 6-14 (2010-04) Mark Dodd, director and filmer, **THE MAN WHO STOPPED THE DESERT.**
Pdf summarizing one-hour documentary HD film about Yacouba Sawadogo: <http://www.1080films.co.uk/downloads/Man-Who-Stopped-the-Desert-info-pack.pdf>; trailers and information here: <http://www.1080films.co.uk/project-mwsd.htm> (accessed 2014-02-21).
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§ 6) Colossal / Eco Action

b) Sahara: Great Green Wall of Africa

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First of seven articles from on-site in Senegal.

6-23 (2012-06-18) **THE GREEN GREAT WALL (GGW) INITIATIVE** [official website]

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6-25 (2013-04-15) Paul Cullen, **"STRUGGLING TO FORCE THE SAHARA BACK AS CLIMATE CHANGE WREAKS HAVOC IN SENEGAL"** *Irish Times*.

<http://www.irishtimes.com/news/world/africa/struggling-to-force-the-sahara-back-as-climate-change-wreaks-havoc-in-senegal-1.1359970> (accessed 2013-04-25; but now behind a paywall; linked on various sites, but all referring back to paywall. This partial version is the most otherwise available: <http://beforeitsnews.com/environment/2013/04/struggling-to-force-the-sahara-back-as-climate-change-wreaks-havoc-in-senegal-if-this-goes-on-the-village-will-have-to-move-2466950.html>) (accessed 2014-02-22)

§ 6) Colossal / Eco Action

c) Sahara Forest Project

6-26 (2012-12-13) Sahara Forest Project, **"CONCEPT: TOO GOOD TO BE**

TRUE?" <http://saharaforestproject.com/concept.html>

<http://saharaforestproject.com/company.html>

(accessed 2014-02-22)

[Answer: no]: "The technological combination in The Sahara Forest Project is designed to utilize what we have enough of to produce what we need more of, using deserts, saltwater and CO2 to produce food, freshwater and energy."

6-27 (2012-12-13) **"GREEN DESERT: FROM VISION TO REALITY"**

http://www.yara.com/media/stories/sfp_pilot_plant.aspx

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"The Sahara Forest Project pilot facility in Qatar is up and running, producing vegetables and fresh water in the desert using solar power and sea water." Text and video shows off 10,000 square meter greenhouse facility that was built in less than a year. (See also Pawlyn, 6-39)

6-28 (n.d.; accessed 2013-04-25) **THE SAHARA FOREST PROJECT IN 10**

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(Re-accessed 2014-02-22.)

§ 6) Colossal / Eco Action

d) Related websites

- 6-29 (accessed 2014-02-22) **UNITED NATIONS CONVENTION TO COMBAT DESERTIFICATION** <http://www.unccd.int/en/Pages/default.aspx>
- 6-30 (accessed 2014-02-22) **GREEN BELT MOVEMENT** <http://www.greenbeltmovement.org/>
- 6-31 (accessed 2014-02-22) **THE BILLION TREE CAMPAIGN (UNITED NATIONS ENVIRONMENT PROGRAMME)** <http://www.plant-for-the-planet-billiontreecampaign.org/>

§ 6) Colossal / Eco Action

d) Other Sahara and desert reclamation proposals

- 6-32 (2008-03-26) V. Badescu, R.B. Cathcart, and A.A. Bolonkin, **SAND DUNE FIXATION: A SOLAR-POWERED SAHARA SEAWATER PIPELINE MACROPROJECT**. Wiley InterScience
<http://desertification.files.wordpress.com/2008/09/sahara-seawater280a6-mauritania.pdf> (accessed 2014-02-22)
Highly technical proposal to diminish excess sea level by pumping it into Sahara depressions.
- 6-33 (2008-01-14 / 2009-08-08) Leonard Ornstein, Igor Aleinov, and David Rind, **IRRIGATED AFFORESTATION OF THE SAHARA AND AUSTRALIAN OUTBACK TO END GLOBAL WARMING**, *Climatic Change*, 97:409–437.
<http://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007%2Fs10584-009-9626-y.pdf>
(accessed 2014-02-22)
Highly technical article urges multi-trillion dollar effort as in the title. See also next item:
- 6-34 (2009-09-15) Elizabeth Strickland, **TO SAVE THE PLANET FROM GLOBAL WARMING, TURN THE SAHARA GREEN** *Discover*
<http://blogs.discovermagazine.com/80beats/2009/09/15/to-save-the-planet-from-global-warming-turn-the-sahara-green/#.UXkD9rU3uSo> (accessed 2014-02-22)
Easier summary of *ibid* for lay people.
- 6-35 (2009-10-06) Viorel Badescu, Dragos Isvoranu, and Richard B. Cathcart, **TRANSATLANTIC FRESHWATER AQUEDUCT**, Springer Science.
<http://link.springer.com/article/10.1007%2Fs11269-009-9518-y> (abstract only; accessed 2014-02-22. Cathcart sent me the full paper.)
Highly technical proposal for piping surplus Amazon outflow to Africa.
- 6-36 (2011-02-14) Magnus Larsson, **"DUNE: ARENACEOUS ANTI-DESERTIFICATION ARCHITECTURE"** in Viorel Badescu and Richard B. Cathcart eds., **MACRO-ENGINEERING SEAWATER IN UNIQUE ENVIRONMENTS: ARID LOWLANDS AND WATER BODIES REHABILITATION** <http://www.amazon.com/Macro-engineering-Seawater->

See p, 455. Larsson's article is the technical counterpart to his TED lecture, # 6-38 below. Many other macro-proposals, including one by Badescu and Cathcart for "Dune Sand Fixation: Mauritania Seawater Pipeline Macroproject" similar to item # 6-32 above. (accessed 2014-02-22)

- 6-37 (n.d.; accessed 2013-04-25) Shimizu Corporation, **"DESERT AQUA-NET PLAN"** Web-page, illustrated. <http://www.shimz.co.jp/english/theme/dream/desert.html>
Dream-scheme by a major Japanese construction company to create a network of seawater lakes in a desert, connected by canals, with cities built on artificial islands in the lakes. (Re-accessed 2014-02-22.)

§ 6) Colossal / Eco Action

d) TED lectures on Sahara and desert reclamation

- 6-38 (2009-07) **MAGNUS LARSSON: TURNING DUNES INTO ARCHITECTURE**
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(accessed 2014-02-22)
- 6-39 (2010-11) **MICHAEL PAWLYN: USING NATURE'S GENIUS IN ARCHITECTURE**
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§ 6) Colossal / Eco Action

e) Macro-engineering

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Description:
<http://www.amazon.com/Engineers-Dreams-Willy-Ley/dp/9997483219>
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Dubos atmospheric vortex chimney, suitable for desert.
<http://vortexengine.ca/VSC/Dubos.pdf> (both accessed 2014-02-22)
- 6-42 (1962) Dr. Johan Van Veen, **DREDGE, DRAIN, RECLAIM: THE ART OF A NATION**, 5th ed. The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, p. 127.
- 6-43 (1974-04-23) Gene Keyes, **"SUPERORDINATE GOALS: COLOSSAL ACTION BY UNARMED MILITARY FORCES"** typescript, 102 p.
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unsolicited "co-author".

- 6-44 (2006) R.B. Cathcart & Viorel Badescu, **MACRO-ENGINEERS' DREAMS**, with Ramesh Radhakrishnan. Romania: Candida Oancea Institute.
<http://textbookrevolution.org/files/Cathcart-MacroEngineersDreams.pdf> (accessed 2014-02-22)

§ 7) Friendly Persuasion:

a) Websites

- 7-1 (accessed 2014-02-22) **PEACE BRIGADES INTERNATIONAL**
<http://www.peacebrigades.org/>
As of access date, only covers through 2012.
- 7-2 (accessed 2014-02-22) **WITNESS FOR PEACE**
<http://witnessforpeace.org/section.php?id=89>
- 7-3 (accessed 2014-02-22) **NONVIOLENT PEACEFORCE**
<http://www.nonviolentpeaceforce.org/>
http://www.nonviolentpeaceforce.org/sites/nonviolentpeaceforce.org/files/NP_FA_CT_SHEET_0.pdf

§ 7) Friendly Persuasion:

b) Analyses and Commentaries

- 7-4 (2010) Christine Schweizer, ed., **CIVILIAN PEACEKEEPING: A BARELY TAPPED RESOURCE**. Institute for Peace Work and Nonviolent Conflict Transformation, in cooperation with Nonviolent Peaceforce. 78 p.
<http://www.neag.nl/pagina's/NL&UK%20Docs/Christine%20Schweitzer%202010%20-%20Civilian%20Peacekeeping.pdf> (accessed 2014-02-22)
- 7-5 (2011-12-15) Ken Butigan, **"AN EMERGING FORCE FOR PEACE"**
<http://wagingnonviolence.org/feature/an-emerging-force-for-peace/>
About Nonviolent Peaceforce. (accessed 2014-02-22)
- 7-6 (2012-09) United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR), **"UNARMED CIVILIAN PEACEKEEPING: HAS ITS TIME COME?"**
<http://www.unitar.org/unarmed-civilian-peacekeeping-has-its-time-come>
Short article: "UNITAR co-organized a Briefing and Dialogue on "Unarmed Civilian Peacekeeping: Has Its Time Come?" in cooperation with Nonviolent Peaceforce (NP), the Manchester University Humanitarian & Conflict Response Institute and the Permanent Missions of Belgium, Benin, Costa Rica and the Philippines on 20 September 2012." (accessed 2014-02-22)
- 7-7 (2012-09-27) Tiffany Easthom, Nonviolent Peaceforce, **"UNARMED CIVILIANS PROTECTING CIVILIANS IN SOUTH SUDAN"** (YouTube of lecture at University of Ottawa Centre for International Studies, 45 min.

http://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=va1oJyrUSvA#!
(accessed 2014-02-22)

- 7-8 (2013-01-22) Farah Stockman, "**OUTSOURCING PEACE: PRIVATE FIRMS, UNARMED CITIZENS CAN HELP UN IN PROTECTING WORLD'S HOT SPOTS**". *Boston Globe*.

<http://www.bostonglobe.com/opinion/2013/01/22/united-nations-should-use-private-firms-unarmed-citizens-keep-peace/0YeydK4YJ50qxpwRN2Cel/story.html>

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§ 7) Friendly Persuasion:

c) Serious proposals

- 7-9 (1958) Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall, **DEFENSE IN THE NUCLEAR AGE**
London: Gollancz, p. 124, 129; chapters 7 and 8.

- 7-10 (1993-07-20; 1996) John Paul Lederach, "**PACIFISM IN CONTEMPORARY CONFLICT: A CHRISTIAN PERSPECTIVE**" in *The International Journal of Nonviolence*. 3rd. Issue. 1996, p. 88-108. [see p. 106-107] (Originally a paper commissioned by the US Institute of Peace, July 20, 1993.)

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§ 7) Friendly Persuasion:

d) Satirical proposals

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- 7-12 (1970-10-06) Philip Roth, "**A MODEST PROPOSAL**". *Look* magazine

- 7-13 (2013-04-02) John R. Talbott, "**THE NEXT THREAT — NORTH KOREA — SURELY YOU'RE JOKING, MR. FEYNMAN**" *Huffington Post*.
http://www.huffingtonpost.com/john-r-talbott/the-next-threat-north-kor_b_2997865.html (accessed 2014-02-22)

§ 8) Guerrilla Action

- 8-1 (1960-02; 1962; 1968) Dickey Chapelle, "**HOW CASTRO WON**" *Marine Corps Gazette*. Reprinted in Franklin Mark Osanka, ed., **MODERN GUERRILLA WARFARE**. Glencoe, IL, The Free Press, 1962, p. 325-335; or in Donald Robinson, ed., **THE DIRTY WARS**. NY, Delacorte, 1968, p 150-60.

- 8-2 (1962-11-10) Arthur Waskow, "**OPERATION ZULU**". *The New Republic*,

p. 15-18.

- 8-3 (1967-11; 1970) Arthur Waskow, "**GANDHI AND GUERRILLA**", *Liberation*, p. 26-28; reprinted in Waskow, **RUNNING RIOT**. NY: Herder, 1970) p. 106-112

(Greenpeace; and Sea Shepherd)

- 8-4 (accessed 2014-02-22) **GREENPEACE**
<http://www.greenpeace.org/international/en/>

- 8-5 (accessed 2014-02-22) **SEA SHEPHERD CONSERVATION SOCIETY**
<http://www.seashepherd.org/>
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(General websites on strategic nonviolent action)

- 8-6 (accessed 2014-02-22) Gene Sharp, **THE ALBERT EINSTEIN INSTITUTION**
<http://www.aeinstein.org/>
Many resources and free publications here.

- 8-7 (accessed 2014-02-22) **INTERNATIONAL CENTER ON NONVIOLENT CONFLICT** <http://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/>

§ 9) Police Action

- 9-1 (1957) William R. Frye, **A UNITED NATIONS PEACE FORCE**. NY: Oceana, p. 91.
- 9-2 (1970) Michael Harbottle, **THE IMPARTIAL SOLDIER**. Oxford University Press, chap. 17.
- 9-3 (1961-09-15) Kenneth Gouldthorpe, "**DEEDS BRAVE ENOUGH TO WIN MEDALS IN ANY WAR**". *Life*, p. 48.
- 9-4 (1962-04) Earl D. Osborn, "**DISARMAMENT WITHIN WEEKS?**". *War/Peace Report*, p. 11.
- 9-5 (1963; 1965) Arthur Waskow, **KEEPING THE WORLD DISARMED**. Santa Barbara, CA: Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions. 88 p.
Original 1963 title, **QUIS CUSTODIET?**; was a study by the Peace Research Institute for the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.
Has been digitized by libraries, but is locked out by copyright.
Ridiculous way to treat a classic out-of-print pamphlet.

- 9-6 (1971-05-31) "**NORTHERN IRELAND: SHOOT ON SIGHT**". *Newsweek*, p.46.

- 9-7 (2010-01-05) Sebastien Malo, "**UNARMED PEACEKEEPERS SWAP WEAPONS**

FOR WORDS TO BUILD TIES WITH LEBANON'S SOUTH". Lebanon, *The Daily Star*. <http://www.dailystar.com.lb/Spotlight/Jan/05/Unarmed-peacekeepers-swap-weapons-for-words-to-build-ties-with-Lebanons-south.ashx#axzz2OUgVRC93> (accessed 2013-04-30; no longer online 2014-02-22, but I had downloaded it.)

§ 10) Buffer Action

- 10-1 (1960-07-08) Salvador de Madariaga and Jayaprakash Narayan, **"TOWARD THE IDEAL FEDERATION"**, *The New Leader*, July 18, 1960, p. 17-20; revised in **PERSPECTIVES ON PEACE 1910-1960**. Re-titled **"BLUEPRINT FOR A WORLD COMMONWEALTH"**. Praeger, 1960; pp. 60-63.
- 10-2 (1962-09) See news accounts (Sept. 1-7, 1962) in the *Washington Post*, *New York Times*, *New York Herald Tribune*, *Peace News*, and *Time*.
- 10-3. (1966) David W. Wainhouse, et al., **INTERNATIONAL PEACE OBSERVATION: A HISTORY AND FORECAST**. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, p. 566.
- 10-4 (1972) William Hinton, **HUNDRED DAY WAR: THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION AT TSINGHUA UNIVERSITY**. N.Y.: Monthly Review Press, 288 p.

§ 11) Defense

Note: there being no books on military nonviolent defense as such, these works provide a context, or focus on the related field of civilian-based nonviolent resistance.

- 11-1 (1939; 1962) Krishnalal Shridharani, **WAR WITHOUT VIOLENCE**. NY: Harcourt, 1939, 351 p.; 2nd ed., Bombay: Bharatya Vidya Bhavan, 1962, 299 p.
- 11-2 (1942 and 1949) Mohandas K. Gandhi, **NONVIOLENCE IN PEACE AND WAR**. 2 vols. Ahmedabad: Navajivan. 519 & 393 p.
Vol. I online: <http://archive.org/details/NonVoilenceInPeaceAndWarVoll> (accessed 2013-05-02)
This is Gandhi's best anthology; it denounces "passive resistance" in favor of no-surrender "nonviolence of the strong". His back-and-forth debate with Dutch pacifist Bart de Ligt is instructive. [URL misspelling as in original.]
- 11-3 (1958) Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall, **DEFENSE IN THE NUCLEAR AGE** London: Gollancz. 234 p.
- 11-4 (1962) Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall, **POWER POLITICS IN THE NUCLEAR AGE: A POLICY FOR BRITAIN** London: Gollancz. 224 p.
- 11-5 (1964) Theodor Ebert, **"ORGANIZATIONAL PREPARATIONS FOR NONVIOLENT CIVILIAN DEFENSE"**.
Paper for Oxford Civilian Defense Study Conference; quoted by

permission of Adam Roberts; p. 10.

- 11-6 (1967; 1968; 1969) Adam Roberts, ed., **THE STRATEGY OF CIVILIAN DEFENCE: NON-VIOLENT RESISTANCE TO AGGRESSION**, London: Faber, 1967. Also published as **CIVILIAN RESISTANCE AS A NATIONAL DEFENSE**, Harrisburg, PA: Stackpole 1968, 320 p.; and with a new Introduction on "Czechoslovakia and Civilian Defence", Penguin, 1969, 366 p.
- 11-7 (1967) U.S. Air Force ROTC, **WORLD MILITARY SYSTEMS**. Montgomery, AL: Air University, Maxwell Air Force Base; vol. 1, p. 88.
- 11-8 (1972-07; 1981; 1985; 2007-10-26) Gene Keyes, "**STALIN'S FINLAND FIASCO: THE KUUSINEN GOVERNMENT RECONSIDERED**", *Crossroads: An International Socio-Political Journal*, Number 17, 1985; reprinted online with maps and additional material 2007-10-26, "**STALIN'S FINLAND FIASCO: NONVIOLENT DEFENSE CLUES FROM THE WINTER WAR**" http://www.genekeyes.com/Stalin%27s_Finland-Frames.html (accessed 2014-02-22)
- 11-9 (1973) Gene Sharp, **THE POLITICS OF NONVIOLENT ACTION** (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1973) 902 p.
- 11-10 (1980-06-05; 1981-06) Gene Keyes, "**STRATEGIC NON-VIOLENT DEFENSE: THE CONSTRUCT OF AN OPTION**" *Journal of Strategic Studies*, 6/4; 1981-06, p. 125-151 <http://www.genekeyes.com/SNVDCO.html> (accessed 2014-02-22)
- 11-11 (1991-01) Gene Keyes, "**HEAVY CASUALTIES AND NONVIOLENT DEFENSE**" *Philosophy and Social Action*, 17 / 1 & 2, p. 71-88. http://www.genekeyes.com/Heavy_Casualties.html (accessed 2014-02-22)

§ 12) Expeditionary Action

- 12-1 (1968) Ralph Bell, **RHODESIA: OUTLINE OF A NONVIOLENT STRATEGY TO RESOLVE THE CRISIS**. London: Houmans, 33 p.

§ 13) Invasion

- 13-1 (1959) Ralph Bell, "**ALTERNATIVE TO WAR**". London: Clarke, 83 p.

Supplementary updated references, 2013:
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(Most available online)

- 13-2 (2006-01-12) Jacob Mundy, "**HOW THE US AND MOROCCO SEIZED THE SPANISH SAHARA**". *Le Monde Diplomatique, English Edition*
"Despite the United States' denials, declassified records reveal that King

Hassan's success was made possible through US intervention."
<http://mondediplo.com/2006/01/12asahara>
(accessed 2014-02-22)

- 13-3 (2010) Stephen Zunes and Jacob Mundy, With a Foreword by George McGovern, **WESTERN SAHARA: WAR, NATIONALISM, AND CONFLICT IRRESOLUTION**. Syracuse University Press, 424 p.

- <http://syracuseuniversitypress.syr.edu/spring-2010/western-sahara.html>
- <http://wsahara.stephenzunes.org/>
- <http://wsahara.stephenzunes.org/author/stephen-zunes>
- <http://amazon.com/Western-Sahara-Nationalism-Irresolution-Resolution/dp/0815632193> (all accessed 2014-02-22)

Considered the definitive book on the subject.

- 13-4 (2010-11-17) Stephen Zunes, "**UPSURGE IN REPRESSION CHALLENGES NONVIOLENT RESISTANCE IN WESTERN SAHARA**" *Huffington Post*
http://huffingtonpost.com/stephen-zunes/upsurge-in-repression-cha_b_784639.html (accessed 2014-02-22)

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- 13-5 (2012-05-10) Jacob Mundy, "**THE WESTERN SAHARA PEACE PROCESS: TRAGEDY OR FARCE?**" *e-International Relations*
<http://e-ir.info/2012/05/10/the-western-sahara-peace-process-tragedy-or-farce/>
(accessed 2014-02-22)

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- 13-5 (2013-04-24) Naomi Dann, "**STALEMATE IN WESTERN SAHARA FRUSTATES ORGANIZERS**" <http://wagingnonviolence.org/feature/stalemate-in-western-sahara-frustates-organizers/> (accessed 2014-02-22)

How nonviolent and human-rights activists are suppressed by Morocco.

- 13-6 (accessed 2013-05-02) **SPS (SAHARA PRESS SERVICE)**

<http://www.spsrasd.info/>

<http://www.spsrasd.info/en> (both accessed 2014-02-22)

"...is a public service of Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic ... to publicize the facts and developments on the question of Western Sahara, a former Spanish colony which in October 1975, was militarily invaded and occupied by the Kingdom of Morocco."

- 13-7 (accessed 2013-05-02) **MINURSO: UNITED NATIONS MISSION FOR THE REFERENDUM IN WESTERN SAHARA**

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- Green March

- Western Sahara
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*2013-05-03: Book chapter MS submitted.*

*2014-02-23: Unabridged pdf version. (Slightly updated; URL availability re-checked.)*

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Gene Keyes 2014-02-23