

AN INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR ON **WAR PROFITEERING**

“ *as long as violence remains profitable war will persist* ”



STOPPING THE WAR BUSINESS

TALKING TACTICS AND LINKING METHODS

OCT 16–17 2015
SEOUL, SOUTH KOREA



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 **아름다운재단**
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CO-HOSTED BY

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WORLD WITHOUT WAR

 **WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL**

 **평화를만드는여성회**
Women Making Peace

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Introduction

For antimilitarists, disrupting war profiteering means knocking out the economic pillars that make war inevitable. It goes far beyond the arms trade (although that is an important part of it), and includes all those who fund and profit from war and militarisation.

Disrupting war profiteering takes a whole range of activities, from research, lobbying and legal challenges to mobilisation, direct action and creative campaigning techniques.

This seminar will provide a space for activists using a whole range of different methods to gather together, learn how a spectrum of tactics interlink and help each other to be more effective.

It'll answer questions like 'How can we make our direct action more strategic using research?' 'How could a public campaign support our lobbying work?' 'What tools or methods can help my campaign be more effective?'

To explore the connections between different methods, we'll use case study campaigns and themes from around the world, including: arms fair disruption from South Korea to Britain, Adu Dhabi to Czech Republic; extractive industries and militarisation; war profiteering and gender; 'civilian' companies that profit from war and occupation.

We hope that this Seminar could sparkle a series of actions to challenge war profiteering in Korea.

Organisers

World Without War

World Without War was founded in 2003 as a pacifist and anti-militaristic organization. It believes that no war can be justified and all wars constitute crime against humanity and cause more problems in an attempt to solve one. It aims to eradicate war or various causes of war in our daily life and in our society. Currently, the organization's three main programs are Conscientious Objection campaign, Non-violence Program and Campaign against War Profiteering.



Women Making Peace

Women Making Peace is a specialized movement organization formed to realize reunification and peace on the Korean peninsula and to make peace in Asia and the world.



Women Making Peace was founded on March 28, 1997. It conducts research on the conditions and methods necessary for the peaceful reunification of Korea, and presents policies toward that goal from a feminist perspective.

War Resisters' International

War Resisters' International (WRI) works for a world without war. We are a global pacifist and antimilitarist network with over 80 affiliated groups in 40 countries. We remain committed to our 1921 founding declaration that 'War is a crime against humanity. I am therefore determined not to support any kind of war, and to strive for the removal of all causes of war'.



Programme

October 16th - Friday

10:00 - 12:00 [Plenary 1] What is War Profiteering?

Welcome | World Without War

Who are war profiteers, and why should we focus on them?

| Jordi Rufanges (Centro Delàs)

Extactive industries and militarisation

| Lexys Rendon (Laboratorio de Paz)

Police militarisation | Tara Tabassi (War Resisters League)

12:00 - 13:30 Lunch

13:30 - 14:30 [Plenary 1] What is War Profiteering? (continued)

Gender and militarism: focus on war profiteering

| Jasmin Nario-Galace (Center for Peace Education in Miriam College)

Civilian companies that profit from war and occupation

| Rosa Moiwend (PASIFIKA)

14:30 - 16:00 [Workshops 1] How to Challenge War Profiteers

Strategic Campaigning | Sarah Waldron and SarahReader (CAAT)

Researching War Profiteers | Wendela de Vries (Stop Waffenhandel)

Using direct action against war profiteers

| Mohannad Darabee (ISM), Bokhee (Jeju Island)

16:00 - 16:30 Coffee Break

16:30 - 18:00 [Workshops 2] How to Challenge War Profiteers

Repression of protests and militarisation - identifying

riot control weapons | Helen Close (Omega Research Foundation)

Using legal mechanisms to challenge war profiteering:

focusing on the South Sudan arms embargo | Moses John(ONAD)

October 17th - Saturday

10:00 - 11:00 [Plenary 2] The Arms Trade and Conflict in Asia

Introduction to the international arms trade | Andrew Feinstein
(Author of 'The Shadow World: Inside the Global Arms Trade')

Arming East Asia: geopolitical perspective |
Wooksik Cheong (Peace Network)

11:00 - 12:30 [Campaign Clinics 1]

An opportunity to hear about the campaign work of some of the seminar participants, offer comments and reflections, and learn how we can enhance and strengthen our campaigns.

12:30 - 14:00 Lunch

14:00 - 15:30 [Campaign Clinics 2]

An opportunity to hear about the campaign work of some of the seminar participants, offer comments and reflections, and learn how we can enhance and strengthen our campaigns.

15:30 - 16:00 Coffee Break

16:00 - 18:00 [Plenary 3] Celebrating Our Successes!

Reflectors

#StopTheShipment: How we stopped a tear gas shipment to Bahrain | Sarah Shehabi (Bahrain Watch)

Internationalising our campaigns against war profiteers

Closing Remarks | War Resisters' International

Workshops

[Workshop 1] Strategic campaigning

- Sarah Waldron and SarahReader, CAAT (UK)

[Workshop 2] Researching War Profiteers

- Wendela de Vries, Stop Waffenhandel (the Netherlands)

[Workshop 3] Using direct action against war profiteers

- Mohannad Darabee, the International Solidarity Movement (Palestine)
- Bokhee, activist from the Jeju Island (South Korea)

[Workshop 4] Creative Resistance

- Hülya Üçpınar, Nonviolent Education and Research Centre (Turkey)
- Subhash Kattel, HDNP (Nepal)

[Workshop 5] Repression of protests and militarisation - identifying riot control weapons

- Helen Close, The Omega Research Foundation (UK)

[Workshop 6] Using legal mechanisms to challenge war profiteering: focusing on the South Sudan arms embargo

- Moses Monday John, the Organization for Nonviolence and Development (South Sudan)

Campaign Clinics

One of the main aims of this Seminar is that participants are able to share their work, be inspired by hearing about the struggles of others, and get feedback and ideas for how to make their own campaigns more effective.

As part of this seminar, we're offering participants the chance to run a 'campaigns clinic'. These sessions will be an opportunity to tell people about your campaign work and invite comments, feedback and reflections from the group on how they could be more effective.

Confirmed Campaign Clinics includes:

- Land Reform Movements in Nepal
- Coalition of Women for Peace in Israel
- Aktion Aufschrei in Germany
- Global Campaign on Military Spending in South Korea

Pre-reading Materials

What is War Profiteering?

WAR PROFITEERING: THE NEOLIBERAL MILITARISM

Jordi Calvo Rufanges / Centro Delàs (Spain)

Professor of conflict analysis and defense economics at the Universitat Ramon Llull, Universitat Jaume I and Universitat Oberta de Catalunya. Researcher of defense economics, peace and disarmament at the Centre of Peace Studies Delàs. Board member of the International Peace Bureau.

War profiteering is explained with the military economy cycle which is based - as is most sectors of the economy - on neoliberal logic, the free market, privatization and reduction of regulations. It causes attitudes strictly related to personal enrichment and maximizing the economic benefit in the defense industry, forming the so-called neoliberal militarism. Moreover war profiteering goes beyond arms and defense sector. War needs lots of resources, not only weapons and armies, also logistics, transport, food, cleaning, translation services and private security. There are also wars for greed, which is not only power but also resources: oil, coltan, diamonds and whatever can be bought and sold in a market. Economic profits are part of war and wars are also made for profit.

Framework of war profiteering: the military economic cycle

The military economic cycle responds to an economic view of defense economics, also referred to as the 'arms cycle'. In any case both names refer to the cycle that describes the route that weapons production takes, from the decision to take military public budget to cover the alleged need for weapons to their final use.

The real beginning of the cycle starts in the arguments and discourses that legitimize the need for arms and armies depending on the identification of threats to a country's

security and defense to justify high levels of militarization and armaments. Thus, security doctrines developed by governments - directly influenced by research defense, security, conflict and peace centers, popularly known as think tanks - establish a certain level of armaments and militarization development of a given society.

Besides the occasional or permanent influence of think tanks on the policies of a country, the need to maintain armed forces depends on the culture of defense, militarized education, military and arms history and tradition, and tolerance for weapons in a society. We also have to consider the role of civil society and the fact that social movements may also determine levels of armaments and militarism.

The assumption of the need for maintaining armed forces opens the way to a political decision strictly related to the military or arms economic cycle, decisions on the military budget that appoints certain measures to objectives of discourses, doctrines and other views on the defense needs of a country. Military spending includes research and development (military R&D) of new weapons and their production in the defense industry, which is financed partly by public budget. Hence, when it comes to military spending, military R&D, companies and military industries and arms purchases, we have to pay attention not only to the defense budgets of the states, but also to budgets of other ministries such as industry. Together they finance the whole military business cycle. The other elements that form a part of the cycle are the arms trade, which also includes financial institutions that hold the entire cycle, as well as shareholders of military enterprises that finance the industry operations and the arms trade.

The active role of the military-industrial complex in war profiteering

The “military-industrial complex” term came into use in Eisenhower's farewell speech as US president in 1961. He used this term to refer to the lobbyists with the most influence in the White House. The so-called military-industrial complex is made up of the set of people and business and political organizations, including senior military officers of the departments or ministries of defense, who have the desire to influence decisions on military policy, including armaments purchases.

A number of companies as well as many people including politicians and government departments related to military enterprises are involved in this so-called military-industrial complex, that can range from the defense industry to Interior, and Foreign

Trade. On the level of administration, they form a part of the military-industrial complex, the high command of the armed forces, many of which have close ties to the arms industry and apply pressure to observe an increase in their weapons and equipment arsenals and thus, the ability to influence national and international policy. When it comes to the role of political office that has some defense responsibilities, a member of the armed forces or the military industry executive (sometimes being the same person), the revolving door phenomenon occurs in the defense sector.

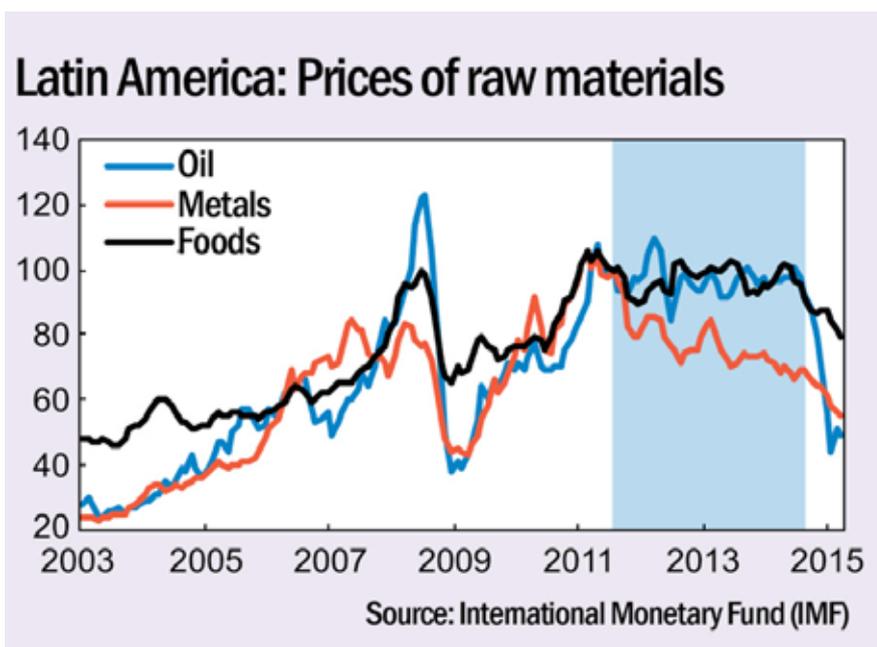
The military economic cycle can generate political and economic dynamics that put a country and economy in an ideal state for those who take advantage of this cycle in which defense economics converts into a permanent economy of war. It's important to analyze it to understand the military economic cycle as such: military spending, arms industries, exports and financing. Companies and individuals who are active in the military economic cycle comprise the military-industrial complex, which profits the most from war.

What is War Profiteering?

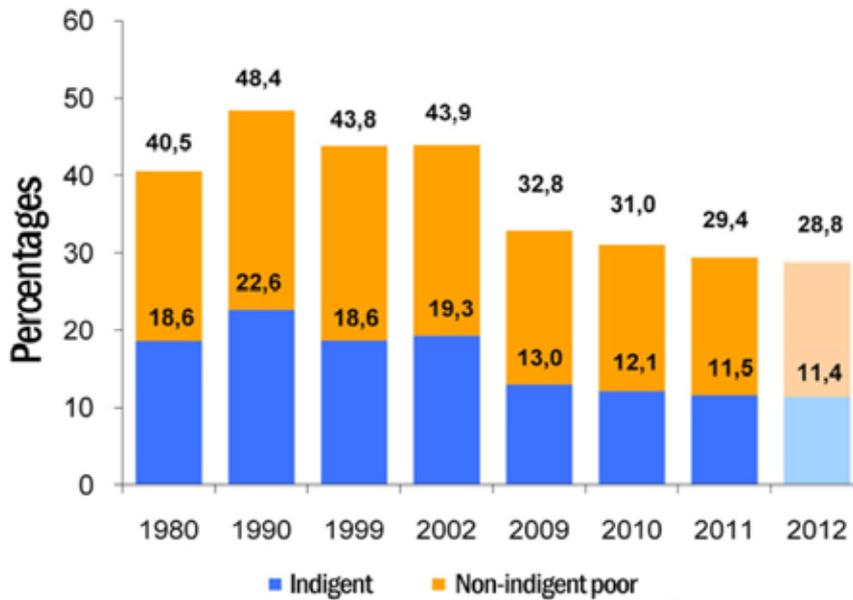
RELATION BETWEEN MILITARIZATION AND EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRIES: A LOOK FROM LATIN AMERICA

Lexys Rendón / Laboratorio De Paz (Venezuela)

Between 2003 and 2013 - while the rest of the world experienced a wave of economic crises - Latin America showed good economic indicators. The continent benefited from the “boom of price in raw materials”; historically, the region's main export products are energy resources like oil, gas, coal and other minerals, and this continues today. In 2011, for example, 13 of the 20 biggest companies in Latin America belonged to the oil, gas, mining and iron and steel sectors. The money that entered the region managed to reduce



Latin America: Evolution of poverty and indigence, 1980-2012 (CEPAL)



poverty; in 2012, the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) affirmed that the continent showed the lowest percentage of poverty (28.8% of total population) in the last 30 years.

However, the high economic incomes were not only destined to reduce levels of extreme poverty, they were also intended to modernise the armed forces of Latin American countries by a significant increase in arms purchases. In a study carried out by Peace Laboratory, based on figures from the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) it was revealed that Latin America had increased its weapons purchases by 150%, spending \$13.624 million between 2000 to 2010. Military spending worldwide in 2012 reached \$1.7 billion, or 2.5% of global Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

In Latin America, defence spending was about 4% of its total GDP, above the world average.

In turn, there is a clear relationship between the growth of a primary economy exporter based on the intensification of extractive companies, which is supported by both "left" and "right" governments, and the increased militarisation of the territories where this takes place.

On this, the researcher and Uruguayan journalist Raúl Zibechi said: “There is not extractivism without militarisation of society... This is not to be a mistake, militarisation is part of pattern. There is not surface mining, mega mining without militarism. One cannot see it in the city where you live, if you live in the city, but if it comes a little you will see an increasingly militarised environment.”

We understand “militarisation” not only as the physical presence of members of the armed forces in a determined territory, but also as the growing influence of the values of the military in society. If we qualify the period between 2003 and 2013 in Latin America as “the extractive decade”, we can say that after those 10 years the region has become much more militarised. This is clear not only in the high budgets for the operation of the armed forces and the increase in the purchase of weapons, but also in a process of criminalisation of peaceful protest of social movements, popular leaders and indigenous communities that drives it, which has become common practice in several countries. This process of criminalisation includes the reform, the creation and the current proposals of laws that establish as offences historical strategies of struggle in Latin American by popular movements, such as strikes, street closures or the use of masks or hoods by protesters. Latin American governments of different ideologies like Chile, Argentina, Venezuela and Ecuador, have adopted antiterrorism laws influenced by the reaction to the September 11th attacks in the United States, and the militaristic and Manichean vision by which the government of George W. Bush faced the collapse of the Twin Towers of New York. They declare - “preemptively” - all those who exercise acts contrary to the supreme interests of the State and the Nation as internal and external enemies.

In contrast, when the reasons for which the Latin American populations are mobilizing for their rights, we find that they are indigenous and peasant communities that are leading the protests against mega-mining projects in militarized territories. Extractivism and militarism have generated broad social resistance throughout the continent. According to the Latin American Observatory of Environmental Conflicts in Peru, during 2012 there were 184 active regional conflicts, five of them cross-border, involving 253 effected communities. Some of the main demands of the movement have to do with the land in which they live; demarcation and delivery of territories to indigenous communities, the right to be consulted before making energy extraction projects, the realization and dissemination of environmental impact studies, and the mobilization against soil contamination, water and air as a result of mining and extractive activity.

Today many indigenous and peasant leaders, as well as human rights defenders, have been arrested for participating in demonstrations, and are being subjected to trials in courts that do not guarantee an independent judiciary. Some protesters have been killed by the police or military forces, and their deaths remain unpunished.

In Latin America the challenges for antimilitarists are manifold. One of them is to continue to investigate and make visible the links between extractivism as a hegemonic development model after the eclipse of neoliberalism in the region, and the militarisation of bodies and territories. These points are not always clear for activists or for society itself.

Secondly we believe that comprehensive antimilitarism - which proposes a society whose operation is based on values other than militarism - can provide a view that, from another location, perform analysis and proposals to overcome the limitations of ideological debate between the "left" and "right". These are categories we now know match, at least in the Latin American case, the cult of the army, consider 'difference' as a threat or an enemy, and the use of force and the state monopoly on the use of weapons as methods for conflict resolution.

Then there is our accumulated experience in the use of nonviolent direct action as a promoter of cultural, social and political change in society. Because the history of Latin America, and the leaders of national liberation movements that used armed struggle to challenge the different colonialisms, social movements in the region continue to refer to the guerrillas or militaristic leaders like Che Guevara or Simon Bolivar. Part of the strategy of criminalisation by states is to hinder democratic and peaceful means of protest, so that the protesters resort to violent methods, which the state can then use to make a campaign of criminalisation precisely because the "violent" nature of "terrorist" protesters, which ends up isolating and fragmenting the movement itself. Antimilitarists can and should accompany these legitimate movements, the struggle for land, the environment, by areas of participation and enjoyment of human rights by trying to contribute in expanding the range of possibilities for real change through nonviolence.

What is War Profiteering?

BUILDING RESISTANCE AGAINST POLICE MILITARIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES

Tara Tabassi / National Organizer at the War Resisters League (USA)

How Urban Shield Sells Police Militarization

Urban Shield, one of the world's largest SWAT trainings and war-weapons expos was held in California's Bay Area, beginning on September 11th—the 14th anniversary of New York City's 9/11 tragedy. Hosted each year since 2007 in the Bay Area's Alameda County, with exercises all across the Bay Area, it is attended by hundreds of local, federal and international law enforcement agencies and weapons manufacturers trading tactics and military-grade weaponry. Urban Shield is just one such police militarization expo that happen around the world: a convenient “one-stop-shop” for anything a police department might need to turn regular beat-cops into SWAT-like robo-cops. Granted, US police forces were committing brutality long before Urban Shield first began in 2007, since the mid-1960s to 1980s as high-level military equipment and techniques were nationally transferred to police departments for “war-on-drugs” activities. However the centralizing and systematizing of militarism, and police militarization in particular, under the guise of emergency preparedness and public safety, is a relatively new and expanding aspect of the “war-on-terror” and international police militarization, with Urban Shield as one of the clearest and most spectacular examples of how the militarism of state violence drives deeper into US communities.

Urban Shield brings together police departments, SWAT teams, fire departments, and emergency medical services to partake in training exercises and attend the expo featuring global arms manufacturers' newest surveillance and weapons technology, from drones and armored vehicles to DNA-identification machines. Urban Shield appeals to growing fears of climate change emergencies and natural disasters, by selling itself as an “emergency preparedness exercise” for “high-threat, high-density urban areas”.¹ However, because Urban Shield is funded by the Department of Homeland Security, all training scenarios, workshop topics, and vendor goods at the expo are required to have a “nexus to terrorist threats.” Simply put, Urban Shield functions as an international counter-terrorism conference that sells militarism as the only possible response to climate change disasters and (physical & mental) health emergencies.



While Urban Shield’s flashier items for sale in Oakland, such as aerial weapons and armored tanks, continue to draw much media attention year to year, featured in 2015, were t-shirts sold with slogans such as “Black Rifles Matter” (shown above). Militarism comes in obvious forms, from weapons to surveillance technology, but the pervasiveness of militarism--the state of mind that is required in order to maintain global and national state control--this is sold through humor, “gaming” culture and a normalization of

1 www.urbanshield.org

2 Hurricane comic by Ethan Heitner for the War Resisters League



violence against those already deemed disposable, dangerous and/or “radical.” It is only then that militarized mentalities, mentalities that rely heavily on cultures of fear, white supremacy, heteropatriarchy and warfare logic, successfully permeate through agencies, such as police departments, and dramatically amplify the force of police violence through communities across the United States.

While it is clear how Urban Shield will trickle down and impact communities across the Bay Area, as well as any town and country whose police department attends, it is less clear what the impact of emergency respondents and fire-fighters attending militarized SWAT trainings rife with anti-Blackness and Islamophobic tropes might be. Urban Shield training scenarios increasingly involve "homegrown domestic terrorists" and political protesters. In 2014, Urban Shield-Bay Area hosted a training exercise based at the University of California, Berkeley, where competitors were presented with a scenario of a “Muslim man that took a Jewish man hostage” who had “read a website on jihad against Israel,” and was going to use chemical weapons to “hurt the Jew for what he’s done to his people.”³ This dramatic scenario only fuels the already normalized trope of “terrorist Muslim”, but also suggests that a military grade response, like those used in US wars against Iraq and Afghanistan or in support of the apartheid state of Israel against Palestine is appropriate for law enforcement to take in day-to-day contact with Arab & Muslim communities. These weapons and tactics can be even more harmful when they are aimed at a community already targeted as enemies inside the US. Black, indigenous, Chicana and Muslim communities, communities of colour and poor people, particularly homeless people, are most impacted by police militarization including SWAT raids (50,000 per year), extra-judicial killings, police brutality, racial profiling, suspicious activity reporting policies, Fusion Centers and the rapidly expanding prison industrial complex.

³ <http://english.al-akhbar.com/node/21498>

Though coordinated locally by the Alameda County Sheriff's Office, Urban Shield is actually made possible through the Urban Areas Security Initiative, or UASI. UASI is an almost \$600 million federal grant program of the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) that grants funding to agencies across the United States. UASI strengthens and unifies state repression across the United States, though they claim to be a program that assists 39 "high-threat, high-density Urban Areas in efforts to build and sustain the capabilities necessary to prevent, protect against, mitigate, respond to, and recover from acts of terrorism".⁴ UASI is expanding: UASI grew by nearly 30 million last year alone, and since 2007, Urban Shield has been hosted in California, Boston, Massachusetts, as well as central Texas (Fort Worth, Dallas and Austin). The highest recipient of UASI funding is New York City Area, at \$178 million in 2014 alone, followed by Chicago, Los Angeles/Long Beach, National Capital, Bay Area and Houston, all above \$20 million annually. While some UASI funding is spent on expos such as Urban Shield, other cities obtain war toys, such as Chicago's surveillance cameras, BearCat tanks in Fargo, ND and Keene, NH and Long Beach's armored cars.

Police departments from around the world, counter-terrorism units, and border patrol agencies come to Urban Shield to partake in the trading of tactics of state repression, crowd-control and weapons technology. In past years, agencies from Israel, Bahrain, Greece, Singapore, Brazil, Jordan, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and Canada have participated in Urban Shield. This year's Urban Shield hosted domestic police from Texas and Florida, and international teams from South Korea, Jordan, Uruguay, Colombia, Thailand and China. Not an anomaly, organizers of these types of gatherings often proudly claim that the next will be "more international than ever." And, Urban Shield's reach is felt globally, with platinum vendors featured such as Safariland. This key weapons manufacturer exports tear gas and other repressive technologies to Brazil, Bahrain and Canada, just to name a few. The day after Urban Shield closed, London's Defense and Security Equipment International (DSEI), the largest arms fair in the world begins, hosting many of the same vendors, such as BAE SYSTEMS, the third largest arms producer from warships to missiles.⁵

4 <http://www.economist.com/news/united-states/21599349-americas-police-have-become-too-militarised-cops-or-soldiers>

5 <https://www.caat.org.uk/issues/arms-fairs/dsei/exhibitors>

The Police and Military are not Solutions for our Future!

United States social movement history of communities resisting the domestic and international repression of policing and militarism is a fragmented one, often based on class and race divides. Social movements and uprisings against policing and police brutality, what we see as domestic repression, has historically been, and is currently led, by working class and poor Black communities and communities of colour, and more invisibly, by people working in street economies or unregulated markets, and/or LGBTQ communities. The past year has been a great year of consciousness-building across the country, with Black communities rising up in Ferguson and Baltimore, and Black Lives Matter nationally, spurred by police murder of community members, but also in response to structural oppression, such as unemployment and lack of resources.

Anti-militarist activism and movements, what we see as international repression, have had mixed constituency, though more often consisted of white and middle-class communities, focused on internationalist solidarity and building consciousness against the United States military industrial complex. While successful at mobilizing mass-momentum in the past, the anti-war movement often now exists as a siphoned and weak social movement, constituted primarily by white elders who are often isolated from other social movements around the country.

The War Resisters League (WRL), a 92 year-old national organization based in the United States, has historically focused on anti-war and anti-militarist direct action and organizing. Because WRL has a political commitment to organizing that is cross-movement and across communities, we believed we could bridge the separated and siphoned anti-policing and anti-war movements, both because the police and military industries in theory and practice collaborate and trade tactics, but also as an attempt to build more cross-movement opportunities for political alliance. Our work began a few years ago through our Facing Tear Gas campaign, by building an international network of activists being tear-gassed by police, to collectively target tear-gas manufacturers. However, upon learning of UASI, we developed a national campaign, called Demilitarize Health and Security, or DHS--a word play on our target, the other DHS, Department of Homeland Security. DHS has manifested in three places across the US: Boston, MA, through the STOMP Coalition (Stop Oppressive Militarized Police); New York City, through Dismantle Bratton's Army, and in Oakland, California through Stop Urban Shield Coalition.

The Stop Urban Shield Coalition, based in Oakland, CA, is a unique example of a cross-community grassroots effort united to resist militarization of Black and brown communities. From local, community-based organizations to national organizations, the Stop Urban Shield Coalition includes members from various race, faith, political and social backgrounds, though unites around following the leadership of those most impacted by policing and militarization. The coalition calls for “decreasing violence in our communities by ending police militarization, an end to the use of our communities as testing grounds for tactics of global repression, to affirm our right to community self-determination, and on our communities to continue fighting back and resisting state violence and repression.”⁶ In 2014, The Stop Urban Shield Coalition successfully pressured city administrators enough that on the first day of the expo, Oakland Mayor Jean Quan announced Urban Shield would no longer be held in Oakland city borders.⁷ While momentarily exciting, with time it became clear that Urban Shield merely moved to Pleasanton, a town near Oakland, and still in the Bay Area’s Alameda County. Because the coalition’s goal is to end Urban Shield and hold our cities and counties accountable in their collaboration in racialized repression and violence, the coalition again organized Bay Area residents this year to push city administrators to reject Urban Shield from Alameda County completely.



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6 <https://www.warresisters.org/stop-urban-shield-2015>

7 <http://wagingnonviolence.org/2014/09/oakland-mayor-announces-urban-shield-will-returning-oakland/>

8 by Ethan Heitner for the War Resisters League

From organizing a national call-in day to Alameda County's Board of Supervisors, appealing to them to stand with communities, not war profiteers, to blocking traffic with guerilla theatre and hosting a rally outside of the Alameda County Sheriff's Office building, the Stop Urban Shield coalition used many organizing tactics to draw attention to the real impacts of police militarization on communities, particularly people of color. Just under 10,000 people signed a national petition calling for an end of Urban Shield, and hundreds flooded the Board of Supervisors, asking them to not approve contracts for Urban Shield in the coming years. Far from training agencies for emergency preparedness, Stop Urban Shield Coalition argues that Urban Shield normalizes the constant state of militarized emergency in Black, Arab and Muslim, migrant and poor communities across the nation.

However, the Stop Urban Shield coalition does not only organize because of the ways police militarization impacts the communities involved. The coalition represents what happens when a people of colour led coalition is powerful, and has visions of a world that is not ruled by police and military. The coalition provides a unique example of how to build power across difference of races, religions, classes and sects, and connect urban area to urban area to resist militarization nationally. If Stop Urban Shield Coalition pushes Urban Shield, a product of the global War on Terror, out of the United States, and disempowers police departments and Department of Homeland Security, we delegitimize the United States war machine at its core. Then we can really begin to resist US militarism around the world.

<http://www.redareacommand.org/>

What is War Profiteering?

GENDER, DEFENSE AND WAR PROFITEERING

Jasmin Nario-Galace /
Center for Peace Education in Miriam College (Philippines)

Jasmin Nario-Galace is Executive Director of the Center for Peace Education in Miriam College in the Philippines. She is National Coordinator of the Women Engaged in Action on 1325 and President of Pax Christi-Pilipinas.. She is a member of the Women Peacemakers' Program-Asia and is in the Steering Committee of the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders.

In 2014, according to the IHS Global Defence Trade Report, global defence trade increased to \$64.4 billion, up from \$56.8 billion the previous year. The report underscored that the US supplied one-third of all exports followed by the Russian Federation, France, UK and Germany. Seven of the top 10 defence importers were from Asia-Pacific: India, China, Taiwan, Australia, South Korea, Indonesia and Pakistan. The top 5 company exporters are Boeing, Lockheed Martin, Raytheon, Airbus Group and UAC. The first three are US companies while the last two have headquarters in France and Russia, respectively.¹

¹ IHS Newsroom. Saudi Arabia Replaces India as Largest Defence Market for US, IHS Study Says . (March 7, 2015). Retrieved September 19, 2015, from <http://press.ihs.com/press-release/aerospace-defense-terrorism/saudi-arabia-replaces-india-largest-defence-market-us-ihs->

SIPRI reported that global military expenditures in 2014 reached US\$1776 billion with China, India, Japan, South Korea and Australia on the Top 15 of countries with the highest military expenditures.²

While countries beef up their defence systems to “protect” their people, their territorial integrity and national sovereignty against internal and external threats, those who profit from the huge spending on defence and military and from wars, in general, make tons of money.

Huge military and defence spending has many costs. The defence trade, profitable for a few, engenders, fuels and sustains armed conflicts. The IISS reported that there were 42 active armed conflicts in 2014 with 180,000 fatalities.³

The traditional notion of defence presupposes that there is always danger, threat or attack. The meaning of defence has been constructed in a way that has led governments and non-state actors to build up their weapon arsenals and prepare for counter-attack. Defence has become synonymous with violence and militarism.

This notion of defence has gendered implications. Defence has become male territory supporting gendered power of men against women. This notion of defence has fuelled, sustained and exacerbated armed conflicts where rape is used as a tactic of war. Such notion has led to displacement where, “women and girls comprise about half of any refugee, internally displaced or stateless population”, according to UNHCR. Women camping out in evacuation centres suffer from a lack of health-related services making lives doubly miserable for those who are pregnant, menstruating or lactating. Reports of sexual harassment are also high in evacuation camps.

Indeed, the notion of defence which militarises society puts women at more risk, making war profiteering and gender-based violence a vicious cycle. Additionally, women who feel unsafe begin to arm themselves against male violence, further beefing up arms sales.

2 Sam Perlo-Freeman, Aude Fleurant, Pieter D. Wezeman and Siemon T. Trends in world military expenditure, 2014. Retrieved September 19, 2015 from http://books.sipri.org/product_info?c_product_id=496

3 IISS. Armed Conflict Survey 2015 Press Statement. (May 19, 2015). Retrieved September 19, 2015 from <https://www.iiss.org/en/about%20us/press%20room/press%20releases/press%20releases/archive/2015-4fe9/may-6219/armed-conflict-survey-2015-press-statement-a0be>

This traditional notion of defence - masculine and reinforcing of patriarchy - has led to excessive global military spending which impacts on the ability of governments to deliver basic social services such as health, livelihood and education especially for women; thereby reducing further, the chance for gender equality.

But women, in history, have not just been watching as war profiteers laugh their way to the bank. Women peace activists have always questioned the dominant security paradigm that invests money in the military-industrial complex rather than on services that will support human development.

Women have been in the forefront of campaigns against the institutionalisation and glamorisation of violence. They have been in the forefront of campaigns for the enactment of treaties in the global level and laws in the local levels that will help prevent sex and gender-based violence. They have been in the forefront of efforts to educate for peace so that the future generations may know that war solves nothing, and that there are nonviolent solutions to the conflicts that confront the community of nations and communities within nations. Women are at the forefront of efforts at disarmament and arms control knowing that the proliferation of weapons can trigger violence that will put them, their loved ones and their communities at risk. They have been in the forefront of campaigns to cut military expenditures and calls to divert these resources to development, aware that armed conflicts are often caused by poverty and injustice. They have been working in communities to prevent and mediate in conflicts, as well as in addressing their root causes.

And they are at the forefront of efforts to go beyond women, understanding that men have a stake in challenging militarisation where they are major actors and victims.

They do all these, because they cannot reconcile how weaponization can bring security, as war profiteers proclaim. The security they know is anchored in the ability of people to resolve their conflicts constructively and nonviolently; in the ability of their government to deliver services that will guarantee their rights and well-being. Despite the odds, they will persist in using their agency to get to peace and human security.

What is War Profiteering?

RESISTING COLONIALISM AND DEVELOPMENT AGGRESSION IN WEST PAPUA

Rosa Moiwend / PASIFIKA (West Papua)

A former Dutch colony, West Papua was occupied by the Indonesian military in 1963. The international framework that allowed this occupation to take place was based on the economic and political interests of the United States and supported by its allies the Netherlands, the United Kingdom and Australia. The United Nations actively denied West Papuans right to self-determination and supported the Indonesian occupation. During the first few years of the Indonesian government's occupation West Papuan resistance was brutally crushed through military operations and aerial bombardment. Two years before the United Nations formally facilitated the transfer of Dutch sovereignty to Indonesia – all without West Papuans consent – the United States and Indonesia established a massive gold and copper mine in West Papua. From the beginning the Freeport mine was declared a national asset and security project protected by a massive Indonesian military presence. Old fashioned colonialism marked by territorial occupation by a foreign military force remained but was augmented by neo-colonialism: intensive capital investment in the extractive industries and the influx of large numbers of Indonesians to displace indigenous West Papuans. In the early years the Indonesian government's transmigration program was funded by the World Bank. Although on paper the project was designed as development to benefit 'the poor' in reality the Indonesian government's sole objective was to protect its territorial integrity. It was militarised development that in actual fact generated poverty.

Along the Papua New Guinean border from Arso in the north to Sota in the South indigenous Papuans were displaced by large-scale logging which then gave way to palm oil. In the northern region of Keerom, for example, indigenous Papuans went from being 100% of the population to 40%. The border was also secured by military bases and the insertion of Indonesian military personnel into every level of society including the most remote village. Colonial occupation and neo-colonial investment and transmigration was supported by a range of political policies, most recently UP4B (the Unit for the Acceleration of Development) and MP3EI (Master Plan for the Acceleration and Expansion of Indonesia's Economic Development). In the South of West Papua foreign companies, including Korean companies, were invited to participate in MIFEE, the Merauke Integrated Food and Energy Estate, a massive 1.2 million hectare land grab, that will displace tens of thousands of Indigenous West Papuans who have lived on their land since time immemorial. All of these companies have connections with Indonesian military officers.

West Papuan resistance to colonialism, neo-colonialism and militarism existed since the beginning of the occupation, whether we are talking about Dutch or Indonesian rule. Defending customary land is the foundation of a larger resistance movement for self-determination. Since 1998 that resistance has been overwhelmingly through nonviolent means. In the south of West Papua where the MIFEE project is being established the indigenous Malind Anim people have occupied the offices of companies trying to access their land. Members of the Malind Anim, for instance, blocked the road, turning company access roads into food gardens. These daily streams of small everyday acts of resistance are in the process of converging into a raging river of political dissent.

In the wider political movement resistance has been growing. In 2014 the three largest resistance groups came together to form an umbrella organisation: the United Liberation Movement for West Papua. The ULMWP's first campaign goal was to seek membership of the Melanesian Spearhead Group, an important sub-regional forum with status at the United Nations. Inside West Papua over 500 people were arrested, scores tortured and one person was killed. The centrepiece of this campaign was a paper petition signed by over 55,000 people. Outside the country – in the Melanesian nations of Fiji, Vanuatu and the Solomon Islands in particular – massive mobilisation compelled governments to support the West Papuan cause. As a result, the ULMWP gained observer status at the MSG. This effectively creates a permanent forum for political negotiations with Indonesia. Colonialism, development and militarism show no sign of abating in West Papua but the West Papuans are more determined than ever before to continue their struggle for freedom, dignity and the right to self-determination.

The Arms Trade and Conflict in Asia

CORRUPTION AND THE ARMS TRADE

Andrew Feinstein /

Author of 『The Shadow World: Inside the Global Arms Trade』 (South Africa, UK)

Andrew Feinstein is the author of “The Shadow World: Inside the Global Arms Trade” A film based on the book will be released in early 2016. A former ANC Member of Parliament in South Africa, Andrew is currently Executive Director of Corruption Watch UK in London.

The global trade in arms is a business that counts its profits in billions and its costs in human lives. It is arguably the most damaging of all trades, accounting for around 40% of all corruption. It has massive influence on the way our governments operate, ensuring that war is a preferred option to diplomacy, and that we spend billions of dollars every year on weapons we often don't need. It perpetuates, makes more deadly and sometimes even causes conflict and repression.

Global military expenditure is estimated to have totalled \$1.77 trillion in 2014, that is more than \$250 for every person on the planet. This was a fall of 0.4% on the previous year and is about 2.3% of global GDP.

Military spending in Asia and Oceania increased by 5 per cent in 2014 and by 62 per cent between 2005 and 2014, reaching \$439 billion in 2014. China's spending is second in the world, only to the US, which accounts for almost half of all global military spending. South Korea is the 10th largest military spender in the world, having increased its spending by 2.6% from 2013. Japan is 9th.

Even during the global financial crisis from 2007 to 2012, weapons spending increased by 24%. Arguably, Greece was pushed over the fiscal cliff by two multi-billion dollar, corrupt deals with Germany.

The small arms trade is worth at least \$8.5bn a year. But its deadly impact is far greater than the sum suggests. Across the world, it is estimated that every year about 526,000 violent deaths occur through warfare and murders. The majority of these deaths are caused by small arms.

While obviously an important dimension of national defence, a tool of foreign policy and a contributor (albeit overstated) to the economy, the arms trade, big and small, has additional profound impacts on the world: from the enabling, fuelling and perpetuation of conflict & repression, to the corrosion of democracy.

Arms deals, stretch across a continuum of legality and ethics from the official, or formal trade, to the grey and black markets, what I refer to as the Shadow World.

In practice, the boundaries between the three markets are fuzzy. they are often intertwined and dependent on each other. With bribery and corruption commonplace, there are very few arms transactions that do not involve illegality, most often through middlemen or agents. Many arms dealers who provide services to large defense companies and governments, continue to operate in the black and grey markets.

Joe Roeber calculated that the trade in weapons accounts for almost 40% of all corruption in all global trade. The US Department of Commerce, in a study of 5 years of corrupt transactions involving US businesses, found that half were in the defence sector.

Why is the arms trade so susceptible to corruption?

Roeber argues that the arms trade is hard-wired for corruption. The very structure of the trade explains the prevalence and nature of the corruption that characterises it. You have contracts worth a vast amount, being decided on by a very small number of people behind a national security imposed veil of secrecy; these are perfect conditions for rampant corruption.

The consequences of this corruption, and the efforts to conceal them, include the corrosion of democratic institutions and the rule of law in buying and selling countries, greater instability in fragile states, massive opportunity costs especially in relation to socio-economic development and sometimes an undermining of the very national security that the deals are supposed to bolster.

Those involved in the trade wield enormous political influence through the phenomenon of the revolving door: the movement of people between positions in government, politics, the military, intelligence agencies and defence companies. The consequences of this are a distortion of policy making - not just in the ascendancy of war-making over diplomacy, but also in foreign and economic policy decisions. A crucial dimension of these arrangements is the link between defence companies, arms dealers and political parties: the trade plays a crucial role in party political funding.

This national security elite wields enormous power while they are enriching themselves, and operate in something of a parallel legal universe, as they seldom face the legal consequences of their often illegal actions. By way of example, of the 502 violations of UN arms embargoes that we recorded, two resulted in legal action, one in a conviction. I experienced this industry at first hand in South Africa where the nascent democracy was profoundly undermined by a \$10bn arms deal, in which \$300m of bribes were paid to senior politicians, officials and my own political party, the ANC.

Asia has suffered greatly at the hands of the arms trade, as victim and perpetrator. Wars have been fought on the continent to ensure that the producing countries of the Global North are never short of demand for more and more weapons. While internally, most Asian countries have seen authoritarianism, military rule and, even in democracies, crony capitalism, all helping the domestic weapons industries to flourish, as arms were bought way beyond the needs of the purchasing countries.

The US spends almost as much on defence as the rest of the world combined. Its weapons business is built on a circle of patronage between defense companies, lobbyists, lawmakers, the White House and the Pentagon (where 84% of retiring senior officers in 2010 went into senior executive positions with the very companies to whom they had awarded contracts during their careers).

This system of legal bribery has numerous deleterious consequences: perpetual war, coups, and other undermining of client countries, as well as massively wasteful spending at home. This is evidenced in the F35, a fighter jet that will cost the American taxpayer near enough a trillion dollars but is irrelevant to the sorts of the conflicts the US is currently engaged in and is likely to be involved in for generations to come.

Another example is the political pressure exerted on South Korea to buy American in the early 2000s. The country spent \$4.5 billion dollars on an American plane that was more expensive and less able than rivals, but America made clear that South Korea would be deprived of American political support and prevented from accessing a range of military technologies. Worse though is the way in which the US continues to ferment antagonism and conflict in the region, to the benefit of its own global position and the well-being of the military industrial complex.

European arms makers are no better. The German company Ferrostaal paid over €1.1bn in bribes in 16 different countries, including over €42m to an agent in South Korea who had previous convictions for bribery and was known to have close connections to senior politicians in the country.

In the past few years the South Korea defence industry has moved its focus from its own domestic needs to exporting, particularly to the region. The country's exports have risen from \$144m in 2002 to \$3.6bn in 2014, with an average annual gain of 31% over the past five years. The impact of this growth, fuelled by technological co-operation with the US, is both destabilisation of the region and the further entrenchment of a militarist mind-set. South Korea has also sold weapons to conflict-ravaged Iraq, troubled Indonesia, belligerent Turkey and human-rights-abusing Azerbaijan, to name but a few. Crucially, the sale of weapons inevitably leads to "blowback" – the phenomenon of weapons being turned on those who provide them – in a vicious cycle of ever more weapons and growing conflict. The space for peace gets ever smaller, as the profits for the weapons-makers get ever larger.

The trade in weapons is astonishingly under-regulated, because there is no political will to control it. It is up to us to make the biggest arms dealers of all, our political leaders, change their ways, through boycotts both political and economic, protests and direct action. Because if we simply accept the status quo as unchangeable, the trade in arms will continue to make the world a poorer place, a less democratic place, a more corrupt place, and a more dangerous place.

The Arms Trade and Conflict in Asia

NORTH EAST ASIA-GEOPOLITICS AND ARMS RACE: WITH A FOCUS ON JEJU NAVAL BASE

Wook-sik Cheong / Representative of Peace Network (South Korea)

Wooksik Cheong is the representative of Peace Network, a non-governmental organization formed in 1999, working for peace and disarmament in the Northeast Asia and on the Korean Peninsula.

How can North East Asia best be defined geopolitically? Geographically one can say North East Asia includes North Korea, South Korea, Japan, all of territorial China and a part of the Russian territory. The de facto state of Taiwan occupies a very strategic and important place geopolitically. Although geographically not located in the region one cannot exclude the United States, a country that exercises the greatest influence and the most powerful state actor geopolitically in the region.

The Korean peninsula occupies a particularly important place geopolitically in North East Asia. Over the past centuries there has been a series of wars including the Imjin War (the Japanese Invasion of Korea in 1592) and the Manchu War of 1636, the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 towards the latter period of the Choson Dynasty, the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-1905, and the colonization of the Korean peninsula by Japan followed by the division of the peninsula, the Korean War and subsequent armistice. Geopolitically, the Korean peninsula has increasingly become a highly sensitive region. If maritime powers such as Japan and the United States continue to expand, territorial powers such as China and Russia will seek to use the Korean peninsula as a buffer zone to check this expansion. On the other hand if territorial powers continue their expansion then Japan and the United States would be very wary of the threat of territorial powers using the peninsula to exert force against Japan.

It's no exaggeration to say that this geopolitical scenario is the tragic consequence of the division of the peninsula and the ensuing war and truce. The ongoing tragedy continues to be played out with no perceivable end in sight.

Geopolitical sensitivity has triggered growing militarization which in turn has created the vicious cycle of igniting further geopolitical tensions. This militarization manifests itself in two ways. One is the increase in military spending by all state actors in the region. The military budgets of all parties to the 6 Party Talks which include North and South Korea, USA, China, Russia and Japan comprise 70% of the world's total military spending. Secondly are the alliances. The United States seeks to strengthen its separate alliances, the ROK-US alliance and its USA-Japan alliance while seeking to forge a ROK-Japan military relationship in order to build a triangular alliance. To counter this China and Russia have entered into a de facto alliance themselves.

To make matters worse is the construction of the Jeju naval base. The naval base is due for completion at the end of 2015.

The South Korean navy says that the naval base will serve as a homeport for its strategic maneuver fleet. The United States has stated that the base will serve as its port of call. The Island was designated a 'peace island' by the state and despite opposition and serious concerns raised by Gangjeong villagers, considerable numbers of citizens and International civil society the state has proceeded with its plan to militarize the island of Jeju.

What needs to be considered here is the fact that the naval base when complete and comes into operation will only serve to increase geopolitical tensions and not lessen them. In terms of the ROK-US alliance Jeju may provide a 'strategic location' but from China's vantage point it can only be viewed as a 'strategic threat'. The Jeju sea occupy the heartbeat of Chinese political and economic life and is key to its national security as its location represent the gateway to the Yellow Sea. In addition China and Japan are engaged in a territorial dispute over a group of islands in the East China Sea, known as Senkaku Islands to the Japanese and Diaoyu to the Chinese. The Taiwan Strait serves as an intermediate base that can restrain China's North Sea Fleet and the East Sea Fleet.

In this context the location of the Jeju Naval Base could carry the potential risk of a competitive collision between the United States and China. China is seeking to prevent the United States and its allies from intervening or projecting power on its coastline, within the first island chain which stretches from Kuril Islands and Japan through Okinawa and Taiwan to the Philippines and onward to the Strait of Malacca. China's Anti-Access/Area-Denial: A2/AD strategy is to be viewed in this context. As China seeks to prevent the United States and its allies from projecting power within this first



island chain they also hope to extend this line of defense by connecting the territories of Ogasawara, Guam, Saipan and Papua New Guinea and create a ‘second line of defense’.

However, China’s strategy coupled with the rebalancing of the United States military strategy in the region has dangerously placed the two powers on a collision course. The United States have prioritized the Asia Pacific region and have decided to concentrate 60% of its naval power there. China’s insistence on its first island chain line of defense is being breached by an increase in US base expansion and increasing numbers of ports of call. In countries of Southeast Asia such as Vietnam, Singapore and the Philippines etc. the United States have either negotiated new agreements or revived existing agreements sharply increasing its number of bases. The X-band radar has been deployed to southern Kyoto and despite strong opposition from residents in Okinawa the base construction at Henoko is being enforced. The strategy for Guam is continued base expansion.

The problem lies in the fact that the Jeju Naval Base is akin to oil being poured on the flames of the United States-Chinese hegemonic rivalry. Firstly, the Jeju Naval Base happens to be located within its first line of defense which represents the entry and exit points into the heart China’s area of influence and the gateway to the core of its naval strategy. Despite being fully cognizant of this the United States has said it will utilize

the Jeju Naval Base as a port of call. Together with the Pyeongtaek US base (Camp Humphreys), the Osan Air base, Kunsan Air Force Base, the Jeju Naval Base represents another card it holds in which it can use to keep China in check.

I am not alone in pointing this out. Commander David J. Suchyta of the US Navy states the following in his 2013 strategy research project ‘Jeju Naval Base: Strategic Implications for Northeast Asia’¹:

“The ‘Jeju Naval Base’ could also support Japan in a conflict with China over the Senkaku Islands. Together, the Yellow and East China Seas form approximately 70% of China’s eastern seaboard. During a conflict in the Taiwan Strait, Jeju-based U.S. ships, submarines and aircraft could easily intercept North Sea Fleet units heading south and harass the flank of the East Sea Fleet”

Suchyta in his analysis makes the following assertion that “Jeju Naval Base could offer great utility to the U.S’ and “China on the other hand is much more likely to view Jeju as a threat”. He states that it’s in the United States best interest to remain quiet about the naval base lest it causes China to overreact. “If mishandled, (one can derive from this the stated public intention of the United States to use the base) the base could provoke China to upgrade its strategic deterrent, sparking a regional arms race.”

However, the silence was soon shattered when Rear Admiral Lisa Franchetti, commander of the US Naval Forces Korea from Sept. 2013 until June 2015 said at a group interview following a change of command ceremony on August 5th that “the U.S Navy 7th Fleet really likes to send ships to port visit here in South Korea and any port we are able to bring our ships to, we will take advantage of that for great (navigation) liberty and great training”.

I have been convinced for a long time that with naval base construction been pushed through; rather it being perceived as a strategic asset for the Republic of Korea the base would instead represent a major burden. However the South Korean government and conservative media have all along rejected claims that suggest the base is a threat to China and have stated that there is ‘no evidence’ or grounds for concern that the base could undermine ROK-China relations and threaten peace and security in East Asia. Commander Suchyta from his report would seem to concur with the above claims. All along many people have expressed concerns about the United States having access to and utility of the port upon completion. Outgoing Rear Admiral Lisa Franchetti has recently publicly revealed the desire of the United States to utilize the naval base as a port of call. Sadly, it seems rather late to justify opposition to the base at this stage.

Translation: Patrick Cunningham

1 David J. Suchyta, Jeju Naval Base: Strategic Implications for Northeast Asia, March 2013.

Presentations

[Plenary 1] **What is War Profiteering?**

POLICE MILITARIZATION

Tara Tabassi / National Organizer at the War Resisters League (USA)



POLICE?

**What are the police?
Who do they protect?
Who do they hurt?**



POLICE MILITARIZATION =

Reagan, Raids, & Robocops

How our communities became militarized zones



1887

Posse Comitatus Act prohibits using the military for law enforcement.

1981

Ronald Reagan passes the Military Cooperation with Law Enforcement Act

Local, state and federal police now have access to military equipment, research and training

1986

Ronald Reagan declares drugs a threat to national security

1988

Edward Byrne Memorial Grant State and Local Law Enforcement Program is introduced

Federal grants are given to local police forces to prioritize drug arrests

1994

Dept. Of Defense and

Military technology and





Stop Urban Shield Coalition



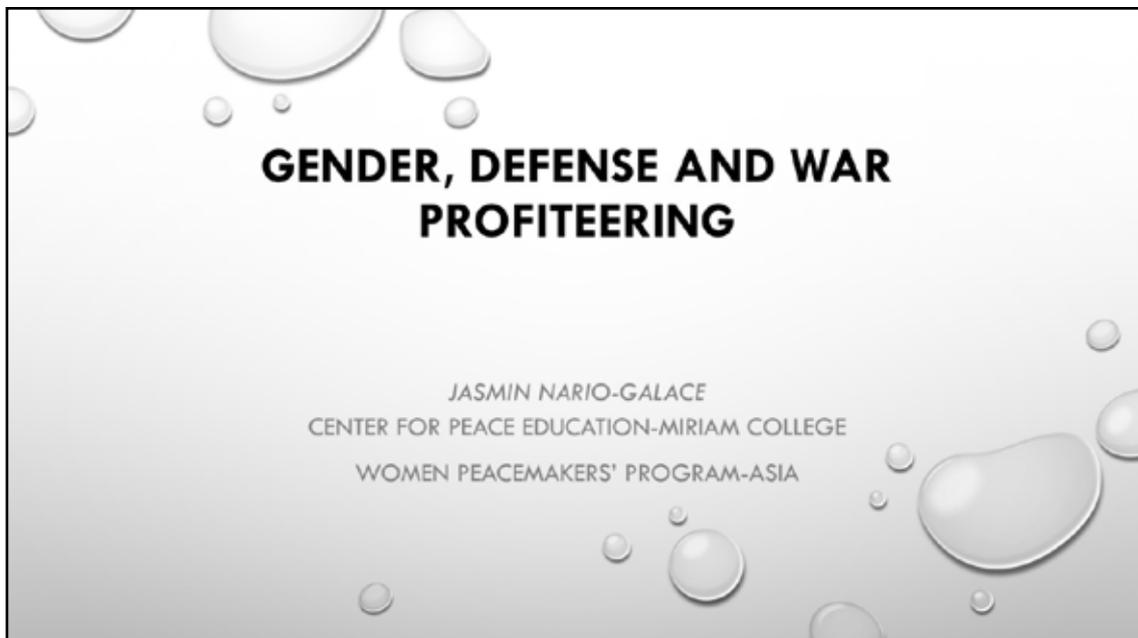
"We say no to Urban Shield anywhere; we say no to militarization everywhere!"

[Plenary 1] **What is War Profiteering?**

GENDER, DEFENSE AND WAR PROFITEERING

Jasmin Nario-Galace /
Center for Peace Education in Miriam College (Philippines)

Jasmin Nario-Galace is Executive Director of the Center for Peace Education in Miriam College in the Philippines. She is National Coordinator of the Women Engaged in Action on 1325 and President of Pax Christi-Pilipinas.. She is a member of the Women Peacemakers' Program-Asia and is in the Steering Committee of the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders.



GLOBAL DEFENSE TRADE IN 2014

- GLOBAL DEFENSE TRADE WAS AT \$64.4 BILLION
- TOP 5 EXPORTERS: US, RUSSIAN FEDERATION, FRANCE, UK AND GERMANY
- SEVEN OF THE TOP 10 DEFENCE IMPORTERS WERE FROM ASIA-PACIFIC: INDIA, CHINA, TAIWAN, AUSTRALIA, SOUTH KOREA, INDONESIA AND PAKISTAN.
- THE TOP 5 COMPANY EXPORTERS: BOEING, LOCKHEED MARTIN, RAYTHEON, AIRBUS GROUP AND UAC. THE FIRST THREE ARE US COMPANIES WHILE THE LAST TWO HAVE HEADQUARTERS IN FRANCE AND RUSSIA, RESPECTIVELY.

SOURCE: IHS GLOBAL DEFENCE TRADE REPORT

GLOBAL MILITARY EXPENDITURES IN 2014

- GLOBAL MILITARY EXPENDITURES IN 2014 REACHED US\$1776 BILLION WITH CHINA, INDIA, JAPAN, SOUTH KOREA AND AUSTRALIA ON THE TOP 15 OF COUNTRIES WITH THE HIGHEST MILITARY EXPENDITURES.

SOURCE: SIPRI

HUGE SPENDING ON DEFENSE, MILITARY AND WARS= HAPPY PROFITEERS



<http://independentfilmnewsandmedia.com/video-war-profiteers-steal-billions/>

CONCEPT OF DEFENSE CELEBRATED BY WAR PROFITEERS

- THAT THERE IS ALWAYS DANGER, THREAT OR ATTACK .
- THAT THIS PERCEIVED DANGER CAN BE BEST ADDRESSED BY BUILDING UP ARSENALS OF WEAPONS
- BUT THE BUILDING UP OF WEAPONS' ARSENALS HAVE ENGENDERED, FUELED AND SUSTAINED ARMED CONFLICTS. THERE WERE 42 ACTIVE ARMED CONFLICTS IN 2014 WITH 180,000 FATALITIES (IISS, 2015). WE ARE NOW CAUGHT IN A VICIOUS CYCLE OF DESTRUCTION!



IMAGE SOURCE: [HTTP://BLOG.CARTOONMOVEMENT.COM/2012/12/NEW-SHIRT-DESIGN-VICIOUS-CIRCLE.HTML](http://BLOG.CARTOONMOVEMENT.COM/2012/12/NEW-SHIRT-DESIGN-VICIOUS-CIRCLE.HTML)

GENDERED IMPLICATIONS OF THIS CONCEPT OF DEFENSE

- DEFENCE HAS BECOME MALE TERRITORY SUPPORTING GENDERED POWER OF MEN AGAINST WOMEN.
- THIS CONCEPT HAS FUELLED, SUSTAINED AND EXACERBATED ARMED CONFLICTS WHERE RAPE IS USED AS A TACTIC OF WAR.
- THIS CONCEPT HAS LED TO DISPLACEMENT WHERE, "WOMEN AND GIRLS COMPRISE ABOUT HALF OF ANY REFUGEE, INTERNALLY DISPLACED OR STATELESS POPULATION"(UNHCR) . WOMEN CAMPING OUT IN EVACUATION CENTRES SUFFER FROM A LACK OF HEALTH-RELATED SERVICES MAKING LIVES DOUBLY MISERABLE FOR THOSE WHO ARE PREGNANT, MENSTRUATING OR LACTATING. REPORTS OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT ARE ALSO HIGH IN EVACUATION CAMPS.

THIS CONCEPT HAS LED TO ARMS PROLIFERATION THAT HAS CLAIMED LIVES LEAVING MANY WOMEN WIDOWED OR FATHERLESS



Rorie



Trish



Mina



Gigi



This concept of defense has opened the gates for “warlordism”. The massacre in Maguindanao, Philippines on November 23, 2009 where a political warlord is accused, left 57 people dead, 21 of them women. Results of police laboratory tests found traces of semen in five of the 21 slain women, evidence that they were raped. The bodies of all five women had bruises or injuries in their genitals.

GENDERED IMPLICATIONS OF THIS CONCEPT OF DEFENSE

- WOMEN WHO FEEL UNSAFE BEGIN TO ARM THEMSELVES AGAINST MALE VIOLENCE, FURTHER BEEFING UP ARMS SALES.
- THIS TRADITIONAL NOTION OF DEFENCE - MASCULINE AND REINFORCING OF PATRIARCHY - HAS LED TO EXCESSIVE GLOBAL MILITARY SPENDING WHICH IMPACTS ON THE ABILITY OF GOVERNMENTS TO DELIVER BASIC SOCIAL SERVICES SUCH AS HEALTH, LIVELIHOOD AND EDUCATION ESPECIALLY FOR WOMEN; THEREBY REDUCING FURTHER, THE CHANCE FOR GENDER EQUALITY.

◦ CHALLENGING MILITARISM AND WAR PROFITEERING: WOMEN'S INITIATIVES

- INTERVENERS, NOT BYSTANDERS: WOMEN PEACE ACTIVISTS HAVE ALWAYS QUESTIONED THE DOMINANT SECURITY PARADIGM THAT INVESTS MONEY IN THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX RATHER THAN ON SERVICES THAT WILL SUPPORT HUMAN DEVELOPMENT.



◦ CHALLENGING MILITARISM AND WAR PROFITEERING: WOMEN'S INITIATIVES

- WOMEN HAVE BEEN IN THE FOREFRONT OF CAMPAIGNS AGAINST THE INSTITUTIONALISATION AND GLAMORISATION OF VIOLENCE



CHALLENGING MILITARISM AND WAR PROFITEERING: WOMEN'S INITIATIVES

- THEY HAVE BEEN IN THE FOREFRONT OF CAMPAIGNS FOR THE ENACTMENT OF TREATIES IN THE GLOBAL LEVEL AND LAWS IN THE LOCAL LEVELS THAT WILL HELP PREVENT SEX AND GENDER-BASED VIOLENCE



CHALLENGING MILITARISM AND WAR PROFITEERING: WOMEN'S INITIATIVES

- THEY HAVE BEEN IN THE FOREFRONT OF EFFORTS TO EDUCATE FOR PEACE SO THAT THE FUTURE GENERATIONS MAY KNOW THAT WAR SOLVES NOTHING, AND THAT THERE ARE NONVIOLENT SOLUTIONS TO THE CONFLICTS THAT CONFRONT THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS AND COMMUNITIES WITHIN NATIONS.



CHALLENGING MILITARISM AND WAR PROFITEERING: WOMEN'S INITIATIVES

- WOMEN ARE AT THE FOREFRONT OF EFFORTS AT DISARMAMENT AND ARMS CONTROL KNOWING THAT THE PROLIFERATION OF WEAPONS CAN TRIGGER VIOLENCE THAT WILL PUT THEM, THEIR LOVED ONES AND THEIR COMMUNITIES AT RISK



CHALLENGING MILITARISM AND WAR PROFITEERING: WOMEN'S INITIATIVES

- THEY HAVE BEEN IN THE FOREFRONT OF CAMPAIGNS TO CUT MILITARY EXPENDITURES AND CALLS TO DIVERT THESE RESOURCES TO DEVELOPMENT, AWARE THAT ARMED CONFLICTS ARE OFTEN CAUSED BY POVERTY AND INJUSTICE



Source: bodybagcatholic.com

CHALLENGING MILITARISM AND WAR PROFITEERING: WOMEN'S INITIATIVES

- THEY HAVE BEEN WORKING IN COMMUNITIES TO PREVENT AND MEDIATE IN CONFLICTS, AS WELL AS IN ADDRESSING THEIR ROOT CAUSES.



CHALLENGING MILITARISM AND WAR PROFITEERING: WOMEN'S INITIATIVES

- AND THEY ARE AT THE FOREFRONT OF EFFORTS TO GO BEYOND WOMEN, UNDERSTANDING THAT MEN HAVE A STAKE IN CHALLENGING MILITARISATION WHERE THEY ARE MAJOR ACTORS AND VICTIMS.



CHALLENGING MILITARISM AND WAR PROFITEERING: WOMEN'S INITIATIVES

- THEY DO ALL THESE, BECAUSE THEY CANNOT RECONCILE HOW WEAPONIZATION CAN BRING SECURITY, AS WAR PROFITEERS PROCLAIM. THE SECURITY THEY KNOW IS ANCHORED IN THE ABILITY OF PEOPLE TO RESOLVE THEIR CONFLICTS CONSTRUCTIVELY AND NONVIOLENTLY; IN THE ABILITY OF THEIR GOVERNMENT TO DELIVER SERVICES THAT WILL GUARANTEE THEIR RIGHTS AND WELL-BEING.



CHALLENGING MILITARISM AND WAR PROFITEERING: WOMEN'S INITIATIVES

- DESPITE THE ODDS, THEY WILL PERSIST IN USING THEIR AGENCY TO GET TO PEACE AND HUMAN SECURITY.



[Plenary 3] **Celebrating Our Successes!**

**#STOPTHESHIPMENT: HOW WE STOP A TEAR GAS
SHIPMENT TO BAHRAIN**

Sarah Shehabi / Bahrain Watch

**Bahrain Watch - Successes on
key issues**



Project 1: Arms and the abuse of tear gas – the Stop The Shipment campaign



KINGDOM OF BAHRAIN
MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR
Purchasing Directorate



مملكة البحرين
وزارة الداخلية
إدارة المشتريات

Ref: PD/RFQ-011/06-13
Date: 16th June 2013.

Subject: Request For Proposal

On behalf of the Ministry of Interior, the Purchasing Directorate is hereby pleased to invite you to submit your proposal for the following Tear Gas Cartridges and Sound Grenades:

No.	Description	Qty.
1.	CS Tear Gas Long Range Shell 37/40 mm	400,000
2.	CS Tear Gas Short Range Shell 37/40 mm	400,000
3.	CS Tear Gas Shell, Multiple Submunition (5Way) 37/40 mm	400,000
4.	Sound & Flash Grenade, 1 Bang	60,000
5.	Sound & Flash Grenade, 2 Bang	50,000
6.	Sound & Flash Grenade, 6-9 Bang	35,000
7.	CS Hand Grenades (One way)	45,000
8.	Tear Gas Hand Grenades (Five way)	45,000

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October 21, 2013 8:40 pm

Bahrain boosts supplies of tear gas as instability continues

By Simeon Kerr in Dubai and Simon Mundy in Seoul

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Bahrain is seeking large quantities of tear gas as it attempts to subdue daily



THE STREAM
WEB ONLY January 7, 2014
Bahrain #StopTheShipment tear gas effort scores victory
South Korea suspends planned exports in wake of global campaign.

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South Korea suspends tear gas exports to Bahrain
By Schama Elwazer, Mohammed Jamjoom and KJ Kwon, CNN
Updated 6:24 AM ET, Thu January 9, 2014

South Korea halts Bahrain tear gas exports
January 2014 Middle East

CNN Recommends AIRAS

Project 2: Surveillance Technology

- Colleague Bill Marczak – digital security expert has lead several investigations
- Bahrain uses Finfisher by Gamma International
- South Korea uses Hacking Team

BloombergBusiness  News Markets Insights Video

Cyber Attacks on Activists Traced to FinFisher Spyware of Gamma

by Vessan Silver

July 25, 2012 – 5:08 AM PDT   

The Fight to Uncover Spyware Exports to Repressive Regimes

May 13, 2014 // 01:00 PM EST

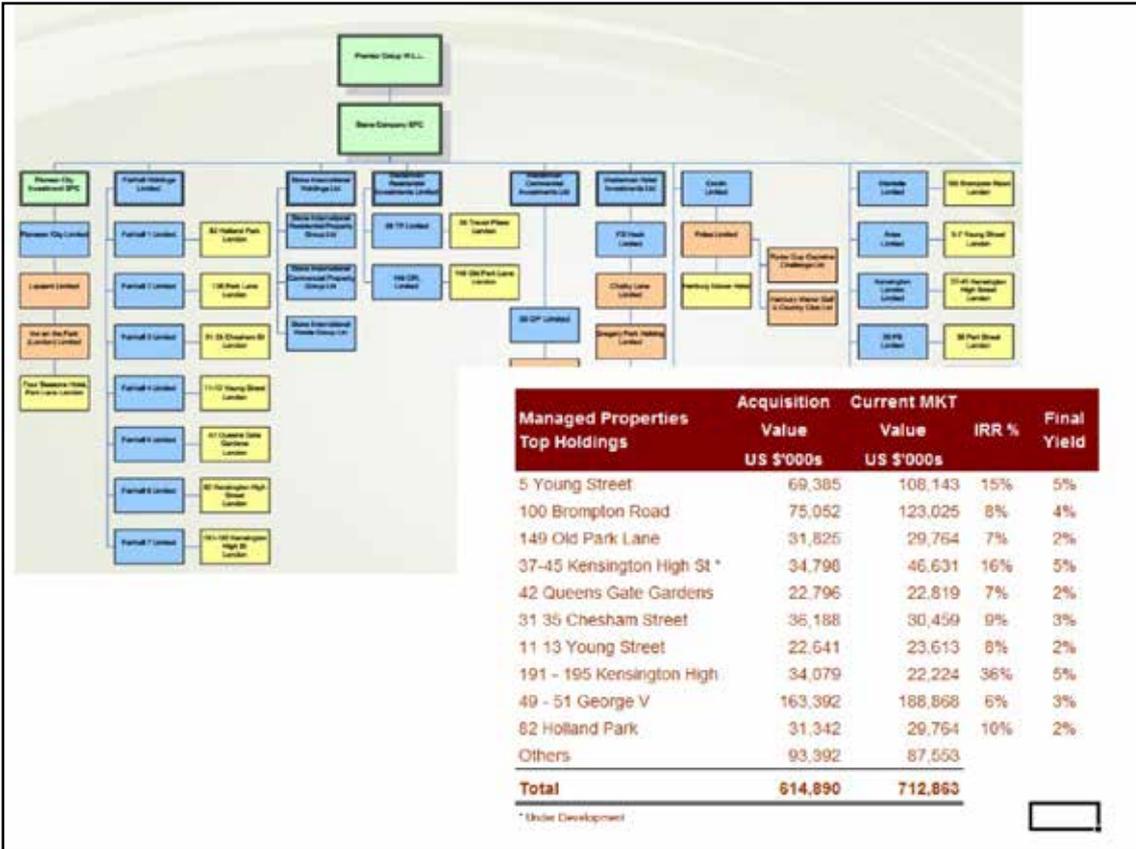
 Written by THOMAS BREWSTER

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December 10, 2014 6:54 pm

Disputed land development boosts wealth of Bahrain royals

By Cynthia O'Murchu in London and Simeon Kerr in Dubai

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