



War Resisters' International launches new Nonviolence Programme



First War Resisters' International conference on Nonviolence Training, Perugia, Italy, 1965

With the appointment of Javier Garate as new programme staff for War Resisters' International's Nonviolence Programme, WRI launches its "new" programme formally. Of course, although the programme is new, nonviolence is not new to WRI.

In 1928, War Resisters' International published a collection of essays on nonviolence in German language, titled *Gewalt und Gewaltlosigkeit* (Violence and non-violence). In the 1960s, War Resisters' International played an important role in spreading the theory and practice of nonviolence training, for example by organising a study conference on nonviolence training in Perugia in Italy in 1965 (see picture).

The new Nonviolence Programme

At the War Resisters' International Council meeting in Ohrid, Macedonia, in June 2004, it was decided to merge the WRI programmes "Nonviolence and Social Empowerment" and "Globalisation and Militarism" to a new programme called "Nonviolence Programme". The Nonviolence and Social Empowerment Programme goes back to the mid-1990s, and had focused on the Nonviolence and

Social Empowerment Study Conference, which took place in Puri, India, in February 2001. The last main project in this programme was the *Women's Trainers' Consultation*, which took place in October 2004 in Thailand (see p. 2). The Globalisation and Militarism programme goes back to the WRI Triennial Conference in Dublin. Its focus was the European Social Forum, which took place in London from 14-17 October 2004. Both programmes were in the past "network programmes", run entirely by working groups and volunteers, with no or little involvement of central office staff. Merging these two programme areas into a staffed position makes a number of new projects possible. The overarching aim of the Nonviolence Programme is to strengthen and deepen our understanding of nonviolence, nonviolent campaigning, and to develop and provide tools and support to groups using nonviolence. It builds on the former Nonviolence and Social Empowerment programme: "Social Empowerment is a process in which people find back to their own power, the power to shape their own lives and to influence the course of

events around them. They start to practice this power against oppression and exclusion, for participation, peace and human rights."

The key aspects of the Nonviolence and Social Empowerment project remain valid for the Nonviolence Programme:

- * the dimension of social empowerment should be a key element in considering the impact of any social movement activity;
- * that the framework of social empowerment offers a perspective for cooperation between hitherto competing or even conflicting approaches;
- * that strategies of empowerment are intrinsic to the effectiveness of nonviolent movements;
- * that the methodology of nonviolence offers specific insights

into social empowerment.

This is also reflected in WRI's approach to globalisation from below, as expressed in its 2001 statement, issued after the G8 protests from Genoa: "*A strategy of nonviolence needs to involve building our own strength as a movement, and developing alternatives to economic globalisation and corporate rule. A strategy of nonviolence needs to involve making use of the rich heritage of nonviolent movements from all over the world in preparing for nonviolent confrontation, drawing from experience in nonviolence training from the US Civil Rights Movement, the Gandhian movement in India, the landless movement in Brazil, the anti-Apartheid movement in South Africa, among many others.*"

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Editorial

This issue of *The Broken Rifle* marks WRI's launching of our new Nonviolence Programme. A process that has been going on since our Council meeting in June, we are looking forward to the arrival of our new programme staffperson, Javier Garate, who will be moving from Chile to London in March.



WRI exists to promote non-violent action against the causes of war. The promotion of nonviolence is one of our two main goals, along with promotion of antimilitarism. We are now merging WRI programmes to strengthen our ability to promote nonviolence. This work will be built on a history of promoting nonviolence in WRI, and by WRI Sections throughout the world.

WRI is in a unique position as we develop the programme. A secular pacifist organisation for 84 years, we are a network of grassroots groups committed to nonviolence, organizing non-violent actions, experimenting with the power of nonviolence. We are committed to education and action. Please read this *Broken Rifle* with an eye towards seeing how you and your group can be involved in this new programme. And please give as generously as you can so WRI can develop this work.

Joanne Sheehan
WRI Chair

The Broken Rifle

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This issue of *The Broken Rifle* was produced by Andreas Speck. Special thanks go to Joanne Sheehan, International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR), Trident Ploughshares, Forum voor Vredesactie, and others who provided the information used in this issue. If you want extra copies of this issue of *The Broken Rifle*, please contact the WRI office, or download it from our website.

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Upcoming War Resisters' International events

15 May 2005: International Conscientious Objectors' Day
Focus: conscientious objection in Greece. WRI and the Greek Association of COs are organising an international seminar, nonviolence training, and action in Thessaloniki from 9-15 May 2005. Contact WRI for more information.

June 2005: Seminar "Peace in North-East Asia"
In cooperation with South Korean groups, War Resisters' International is organising an international seminar "Peace in North-East Asia" for the end of June/early July 2005. After the seminar, WRI will hold its annual Council meeting. Contact WRI or check on the internet at <http://wri-irg.org/news/2005/council2005-en.htm> for more details.

G8 in Scotland Blockade at Faslane

Britain's nuclear weapons - the four Trident nuclear weapon submarines based at Faslane on the west coast of Scotland - have a destructive power 1000 times greater than the bomb dropped on Hiroshima. They are used, every day, to threaten the rest of the world, and to defend Britain's "vital economic interests" like oil supplies and shipping lanes. Trident benefits the big multinational corporations who see their investments protected around the world, and also the weapons companies who benefit from big arms contracts.

The G8 is an annual meeting of the eight most powerful countries in the world (US, UK, France, Italy, Germany, Canada, Japan and Russia). The 2005 summit will be held in Gleneagles, Scotland from 6-8th July

The Action

We intend to disrupt the work at Faslane as much as possible, primarily by blockading the entrances during the morning shift change. We also hope that people will try to enter the base, whether by cutting or climbing the fence or by swimming in. More information on how to do this safely and effectively will be available nearer the time.

More information: <http://www.tridentploughshares.org/g8>

Nonviolence Programme staff appointed

We are very pleased to announce that War Resisters' International has hired Javier Garate from Santiago, Chile as staff for our new Nonviolence Programme.

Javier, who is active with Ni Casco Ni Uniforme (Neither Helmet nor Uniform), a WRI Section, brings a variety of experiences that will help him in his new work. Some of you may have met Javier when he attended the International Conscientious Objectors' Day training and activities in Israel in 2003. He was also one of the host organisers for May 15th in Chile in 2004. Javier will begin work in London in mid-March.

Joanne Sheehan,
WRI Chair



A word from Javier

My name is Javier Gárate. To be chosen for the job at the WRI gives me great joy, and at the same time, it is a big challenge. The challenge, that together all of us who are part of WRI can develop an active campaign on nonviolence and can struggle against the war profiteers. To meet this challenge, a strong network coordination and working together with commitment and cooperation is essential.

In this same spirit I intend to draw on the different experiences that have been developed in nonviolence, to create the materials to support the existing experiences and at the same time promote them so that new experiences can emerge in the nonviolence struggle.

I will bring all my experience gained during the seven years of work in the conscientious objection group Ni Casco Ni Uniforme in Santiago Chile. I am a founding member, and part of the first group to present ourselves as CO, a right that is still not recognised in Chile.

At the same time I hope to contribute with the perspectives that my anthropology studies give me in order to promote the values of cultural diversity.

I don't have more to say other than to invite you to join us in the big challenge that a nonviolence program has in today's world.

Javier Gárate

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Areas of work

The Nonviolence Programme will focus on three closely related and intertwined areas:

Nonviolence Resources

Development and distribution of resources on nonviolence and nonviolent strategies for use by the WRI network and the wider movement. Such resources include a handbook for nonviolent action, a collection of case studies of nonviolent campaigns, nonviolence training and campaign development materials.

In cooperation with WRI's Nonviolence Training Working Group and WRI affiliates, and building on the work of the former Nonviolence and Social Empowerment Programme, the programme will collect and develop resources on nonviolence, nonviolent action, nonviolent strategies, and nonviolent training, which draw on the experiences of nonviolent struggles from different countries and different movements. A first project could be the collection and publication of a "Handbook for Nonviolent Action", which can serve as a cross-cultural introduction to nonviolence and nonviolent action. Such a publication should be made available in print and online, in several languages.

War Resisters' International commissioned several case studies prior to the Nonviolence and Social Empowerment Study Conference. These case studies can form the base for a broader collection of case studies, and should also be made available in several languages online. The

questionnaire developed for these case studies can serve as a starting point for the commissioning of more case studies of recent movements/campaigns.

Nonviolence for Change

Networking with groups interested in using nonviolence for social change, coordination of workshops at gatherings such as Social Forums, making WRI's resources available to grassroots activists doing anti-militarist and globalisation from below work.

In 2002, WRI Council member Oscar Huenchunao represented WRI at the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, as did WRI Council member Jørgen Johansen, who also participated in 2003, and in Mumbai 2004. A number of WRI affiliates and other nonviolent groups are present at Social Fora, and other major events, or are involved in major activities of the movement for globalisation from below, such as Seattle, Genoa, and others. Last year War Resisters' International coordinated a pacifist and antimilitarist presence at the European Social Forum in London in October 2004. It will be an important aspect of the Nonviolence Programme to expand on these activities, and to network much more actively with groups from the WRI network and beyond. It is important to make resources on nonviolence available to all those willing to use them, such as WRI affiliate War Resisters League did prior to the protests at the WTO meeting in Seattle, when it printed and distributed 6,000 copies of its "Handbook for Nonviolent Action."



A nonviolence training with international participants in Turkey, 1998

Photo: Andreas Speck

A Nonviolent Campaign Against War Profiteers

Development of resources for WRI's war profiteering campaign. Networking with WRI affiliates working on such campaigns, supporting and coordinating nonviolent campaigns against war profiteers.

At the World Social Forum in Mumbai Arundhati Roy called for the movement "to be the resistance to the occupation of Iraq", and to focus on two major corporations profiteering from the occupation. WRI's war profiteering campaign will take up Arundhati

Roy's call, and will raise awareness for war profiteers as a cause of war, from a clearly antimilitarist point of view. The campaign needs to be based in the WRI network, bringing groups together that work on war profiteers, and providing resources and campaign materials. The Nonviolence Programme can provide some form of coordination and strategy development for the campaign, but the campaign itself will not be a mainly office run campaign.

For more information, check out <http://wri-irg.org/nv-home.htm>



May 24 International Women's Day for Peace and Disarmament

began in Europe in the early 1980s, when hundreds of thousands of women organised against nuclear weapons and the arms race. Since the 1995 UN World Conference on Women in Beijing, the International Fellowship of Reconciliation and the International Peace Bureau have published an annual information pack to raise awareness of and increase support for women's peace initiatives.

The 2005 Action Pack looks at women's nonviolent work for peace in the Pacific area, UN SC Resolution 1325 and women combatants.

More information at <http://www.ifor.org/WPP/whatyou.htm>

Asking the right questions: Nonviolence Training and Gender WRI/IFOR training in Thailand in October 2004



Photo: Some of the participants of the seminar

A new issue of WRI Women, the newsletter of the WRI Women's Working Group, devoted to the Asking the Right Questions: Nonviolence Training and Gender consultation, which took place October 3 to 8, 2004, in Chiang Mai, Thailand, has just been published, and is available on WRI's website.

The newsletter can only give a taste of the insights, enthusiasm, questions, energy, and tears that were shared during the consultation. A longer report of the consultation is available upon request from WRI or from the International Fellowship of Reconciliation's (IFOR) Women Peacemakers Program (WPP). The consultation was co-organized by WRI and IFOR's Women Peacemakers Program, with support from the International Women's Partnership for Peace and Justice, a Thai-based feminist nonviolence training centre.

Some 35 women participated in the consultation, from 22 countries. Casha Davis organized a skillful group of professional interpreters who provided interpretation into and from English, French and Spanish throughout the consultation.

You can read the newsletter online at <http://wri-irg.org/pubs/ww-200501.htm>

A Nonviolent Campaign Against War Profiteers

At the War Resisters' International Council meeting in Ohrid in June 2004, the possibility of a WRI campaign against war profiteers was one important part of the discussion on the new nonviolence programme. Many War Resisters' International affiliates work on issues related to war profiteers - such as the War Resisters League with its "Stop the merchants of death" campaign, or Forum voor Vredesactie in Belgium - but the debate also showed that war profiteering is an issue which is difficult to define.

War profiteering: Iraq

At the World Social Forum in Mumbai in February 2004 - about 1 year ago - Arundhati Roy called on us to "become the resistance to the occupation". She went on: "I suggest that (...) we choose, by some means, two of the major corporations that are profiting from the destruction of Iraq. We could then list every project they are involved in. We could locate their offices in every city and every country across the world. We could go after them. We could shut them down. It's a question of bringing our collective wisdom and experience of past struggles to bear on a single target. It's a question of the desire to win." So far, a variety of groups focuss-

es attention on the US company Halliburton, which is one of the main contractors of the US military and the US government in Iraq. According to Corporate Watch, "the biggest windfall in the invasion of has most certainly gone to the oil services and logistics company Halliburton. The company, which was formerly run by Vice President Dick Cheney, has won over \$8 billion in contracts in in 2003 alone." In Britain, Windrush Communications is one of the targets, as Windrush organises the Iraq Procurement Conferences, where contracts to plunder Iraq are negotiated. A variety of campaigning and action groups is involved in activities against the "plunder of Iraq", among others Voices in the Wilderness UK.

War profiteering: beyond Iraq

A brainstorming at the Council meeting showed the variety of companies/agencies involved in war profiteering: weapon manufacturers and arms dealers, war lords and states, the media, reconstruction companies (such as Halliburton) and the "humanitarian aid industry", facilities management companies, private military contractors (mercenaries), financial institutions (banks), and

raw material companies (oil, diamonds, minerals, etc.). This variety poses a challenge: what should be the focus of an antimilitarist campaign against war profiteers?

Most people felt that weapon manufacturers and arms dealers are dealt with by often very professional campaign against arms trade - in Europe mostly by groups affiliated to ENAAT (European Network Against Arms Trade). It was also felt that a focus on Halliburton as a US company will make it difficult for non-US groups to develop their own local campaign. While mercenaries - private military contractors (PMCs), as they prefer to call themselves - are the most scandalous part of the spectrum, many of the companies involved do not provide any other services, and the companies generally are not visible in public. Following down the "tip of spear" typology (see graphic), military consulting firms and military support firms are often companies also involved in other public spheres. According to P.W. Singer, the main difference between "military provider firms" and "military consulting firms" is "the 'trigger finger' factor; the task of consultants is to supplement the management and training of client military forces, not to engage in combat." Military support firms "provide rear-echelon and supplementary services. Although they do not participate in the planning or execution of direct hostilities, they do fill functional needs - including logistics, technical support, and transportation - critical to overall combat operations that fall within the military sphere." (P.W. Singer, in *International Security*, Vol 26, No 3, winter 2001/2002) Examples for military support firms are Halliburton subsidiary Kellogg, Brown and Roots (KBR), Sodexho (a French company providing catering and other services for many Armed Forces - especially the USA and UK). In addition to these areas, private companies play an increasing role in running military facilities (such as Serco in Britain, or the Serco, Lockheed Martin and BNFL joint venture that runs AWE Aldermaston, the UK nuclear weapon factory), and in financing military equipment. Lex Defence is one major UK player, which - accord-

ing to their website - "provides a unique range of skills and services to support the vehicle fleet requirements of the British Armed Forces around the world. Lex Defence is currently responsible for over £1 billion worth of MoD contracts, managing over 13,000 vehicles on behalf of the MoD, and is one of the largest suppliers of vehicles, fleet management and logistic services to the Defence Logistics Organisation."

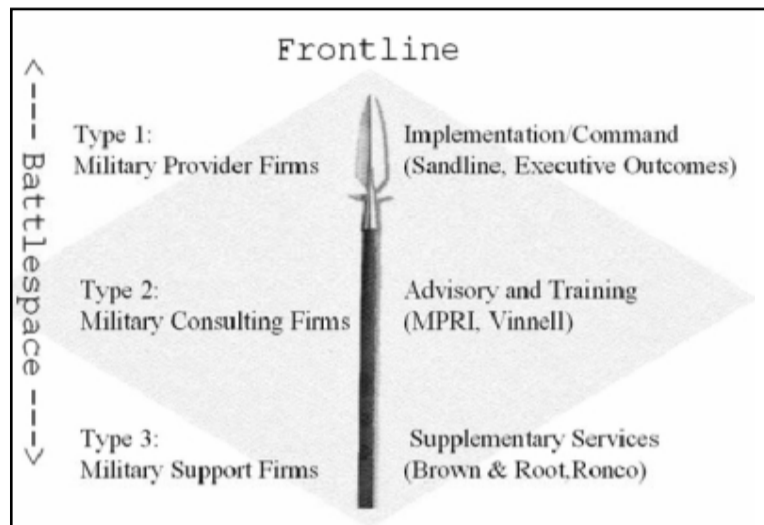
A nonviolent campaign against war profiteers

War Resisters' International start-

under a joint logo too. The development of such a campaign against war profiteering will be one important aspect of the nonviolence programme.

War profiteering provides a crucial link between economic globalisation and militarism/war. A WRI campaign against war profiteers can highlight these links, and combine them with clear antimilitarist messages, which go beyond a economic critic of globalisation. To get involved in the development of this campaign, contact the WRI office.

Andreas Speck



"Tip of the Spear" Typology of Private Military Companies. This typology distinguishes according to range of services and force levels.

Source: Corporate Warriors: The Rise and Ramifications of the Privatized Military Industry. *International Security* Vol. 26, No 3, Winter 2001/2002



Bomspotting XL is a mass action of civil disobedience in which we try to stop the preparation of war crimes by trespassing and inspecting nuclear weapon-related military bases and headquarters. We try in an open and nonviolent way to inspect these places for nuclear weapons or evidence about their involvement in nuclear weapons policy and to stop this preparation of war crimes. In the past we have carried out actions at the airbase of Kleine Brogel (where American nuclear weapons are stored), the political headquarters of NATO in Brussels and SHAPE, the NATO military headquarters, in Mons. On 16th April 2005 we go again to the three places on the same day. The fact that nuclear weapons can not be used without violating international humanitarian law is used as juridical legitimization for these mass inspections of nuclear weapon related places. On these places war crimes are prepared and our action is an attempt to prevent these crimes. Trespassing on a military base without permission is a crime according to Belgian criminal law, but we think our action is legally justified because this action is necessary to stop the preparation of war crimes. Until now, the Belgian courts have not sentenced anyone for these actions but have instead declared themselves incompetent.

Our actions are strictly nonviolent, and we want to keep them this way. The legal framework in which we operate legitimises our action but it cannot be used to legitimise everything. Since we base our action on legal arguments, we

have to respect the limits implied in them. Finally we try to get as broad support as possible for a change in NATO strategy. We want our action to be seen as something in which a lot of people can imagine themselves participating. So, a private war against NATO is not an option during the action. In this action there is no space for any sort of violent act. Every participant is required to sign an engagement declaration, in which they agree to accept the nonviolence guidelines. If you don't sign the declaration, you are not a participant in the action. We offer participants nonviolent action training before the action, to ensure that everyone is well prepared for the action and is able to help in keeping the action nonviolent. This preparation training is not an obligation but is recommended. We invite people and organisations from all over Europe to participate in this action and to use it as part in campaigns in your country of origin. If participants from abroad are coming, we ask to contact us so we can prepare accommodation, look into the possibilities for training, and make arrangements about press, etc. We prepare accommodation from 14th April evening till 17th April. Place is not scheduled yet.

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ed to discuss war profiteering as a campaign at its Council meeting in Macedonia in summer 2004. It was clear that as an international pacifist and antimilitarist organisation, the focus on war profiteering needs to go beyond Iraq, and also beyond the issue of profit. For war resisters, war profiteering is wrong not because it generates profit, mostly for private companies, but because it is one of the causes of war. The antimilitarist demand is not "take profit out of war", but to denounce war profiteering because "war is a crime against humanity" (WRI declaration). However, the challenge for the WRI network will be to develop a common campaign which allows for a different local/regional focus under a joint slogan, and maybe

Web Resources:

- <http://www.warprofiteers.com> - Website by Corporate Watch US on war profiteers, provides company profiles and news, mostly from a US perspective (little about non-US companies)
- <http://corporatepirates.gzzt.net/> - Information on the week of action against the Iraq Procurement Conference. The week of action will take place from 1-6 April 2005
- <http://www.voicesuk.org> - Voices in the Wilderness UK. Information on the occupation of Iraq, and profiteering from the occupation.
- <http://www.antenna.nl/enaat/> - portal of ENAAT, with news and links to European campaigning organisations against arms trade

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___	CONCODOC report: <i>Refusing To Bear Arms</i> (1998) A World Survey of conscription and conscientious objection to military service.	£55.30	€87.00	US\$115.25
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___	<i>Resistance and Reconstruction</i> (Institute for Total Revolution, Vedcchhi 1988)	£3.50	€7.25	US\$11.50
___	Devi Prasad & Tony Smythe: <i>Conscription: A World Survey</i> (WRI, London 1968)	£3.30	€7.00	US\$11.00
___	Brian Martin et al: <i>Nonviolent Struggle and Social Defence</i> (WRI, London 1991)	£5.95	€10.50	US\$14.00
___	 Mitzi Bales, ed: <i>Opening Doors to Peace: A Memorial to Myrtle Solomon</i> (WRI, London 1991)	£3.85	€7.00	US\$9.25
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Working against war profiteers

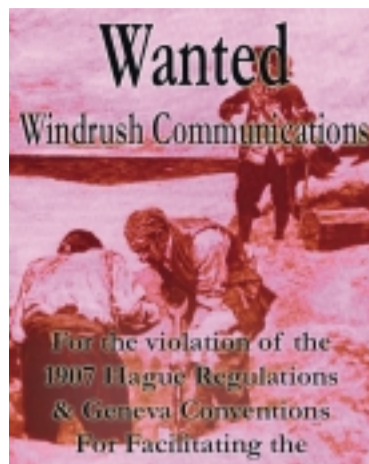
Some examples of campaigns by War Resisters' affiliates and others



Serco Group plc shareholder campaign: legal and fun!

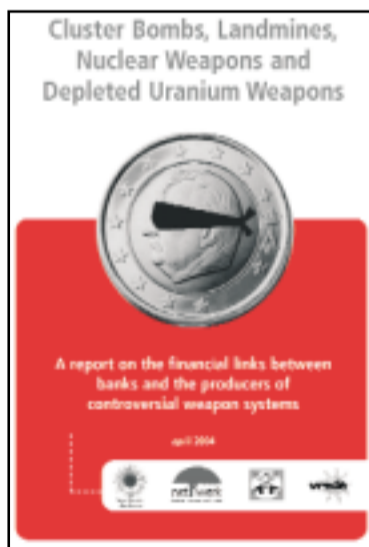
Serco is part of the consortium that runs Aldermaston. Since the company began its involvement with the British nuclear weapons programme, women from the Aldermaston Women's Peace Camp(aign) (AWPC) began organising a shareholder campaign. As Serco Group plc is a huge and rapidly expanding company AWPC had expected their AGM to be a moderately impressive affair: not a bit! Whilst the coffee and apple Danish were pretty classy, and the atmosphere reeks of money, privilege and power, the meetings themselves are very small and short. The first two meetings Aldermaston Women attended (2001 and 2002) consisted of a board of about ten people on the platform and an audience of about twenty people in a small conference room. They had no idea what to do with AWPC. Consequently, although there were only about five women from AWPC, they were able to hold the floor and rant about Aldermaston for about half an hour, get the meeting adjourned, interrupt it frequently, and end with a rousing poem and a colourful banner. The most recent AGM was held on 30 April 2004. Both men and women are needed to take an active part in this aspect of our protest, though only women may become shareholders in the campaign and participate in the AGM (this reflects AWPC's desire to create a women-only action inside the AGM). The Serco shareholder campaign is in its infancy and there are many avenues to explore and potential locations for applying pressure. As part of the resistance to Britain's nuclear weapons, Aldermaston Women will continue to investigate...

Contact: Aldermaston Women's Peace Camp(aign), www.aldermaston.net



Windrush Communications are the British company responsible for organising the Iraq Procurement Conferences. These regular events gather together multinational corporations and the US puppets that represent occupied Iraq, to "realise the enormous trade and investment potential of Iraq". That is, to plan and discuss the sell-off of Iraq's assets, properties and resources, all in contravention of international law (Hague Regulations of 1907 and Geneva Conventions 1949). Iraq Procurement conferences are sponsored by arms dealers, mercenaries and oil giants such as Erinys, Raytheon, Shell, Chevron and Bayer who meet to discuss the future of Iraqi agriculture and irrigation, finance and banking, infrastructure and construction, tourism, education, industry, oil and gas and transport." A week of action is being called for 1 - 6 April to oppose the corporate plunder of Iraq.

Contact: <http://corporatepirates.gzzzt.net/>



For the past year, four Belgian organisations (one of them being WRI affiliate *Forum voor Vredesactie*) have been running the campaign 'My Money. Clear Conscience?'. This campaign denounced the fact that banks are using their clients' money to invest in the weapon industry. During that year of campaigning, two reports have been released. These reports show the investments in (controversial) weapon systems by the 5 most prominent international banking groups in Belgium. They caused a lot of commotion within the Belgian public, press and financial sector. At this moment, the campaign has already

reached some very important and concrete results and we expect some new positive evolutions in the near future.
 Contact: <http://www.netwerk-vlaanderen.be/actie/read.php?campaign=1&article=95&lang=en> or <http://www.vredesactie.be>



The War Resisters League has decided to promote awareness of the *Merchants of Death* as a long-range strategy for resisting the new wars of the post-Cold War, globally corporatised world. Specifically, WRL sees that friends and business associates of the present administration - companies like Halliburton, Bechtel, DynCorp and others - have found a way into the "new" Iraq, trying to cash in on the disaster that a brutal dictator, years of U.S.- and British-led sanctions, and an unprecedented "preventive attack" have created. Oil companies and pipeline firms have already gotten a foothold in Afghanistan. Introducing, financing, and maintaining these companies have come at an enormous cost to the people of the United States and elsewhere: U.S., Iraqi and Afghan lives lost; an increase in the likelihood of attacks against U.S. residents and other occupiers both at home and abroad; an explosion in the opium trade from Afghanistan; increasing outrage among our allies in the Muslim world, in Europe, and elsewhere; injustices to people of color both here and abroad; and the diversion of more and more domestic resources to pay for military occupation and corporatisation. Since it is we, the ordinary people of the United States, who will pay the ultimate price, it is essential that we know the true course of our foreign policy: Who it is our leaders are actually representing, and the real reason our soldiers are killing and dying.
 Contact: War Resisters League, <http://warresisters.org>



Leafletting in front of the Lockheed Martin HQ in London Photo: IMC

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