

Whose Priorities?

A guide for campaigners
on military and
social spending



INTERNATIONAL PEACE BUREAU

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1. INTRODUCTION

“Warfare is the product of cowardice; it takes bravery to forego easy answers and find peaceful resolutions.” ~Padmé Amidala¹

How to make an impact on governments?

How to stop them spending billions of dollars on weapons and war, while millions starve and suffer needlessly, and the planet overheats?

How to persuade the private sector – and rich financiers - to invest in products and services that respond to human need and ecological sustainability, rather than threaten our security in the name of protecting it?

How to mobilise our fellow citizens and taxpayers, to gather people together and make a difference?

Such are some of the fundamental questions asked by so many people around the world in our time. This book does not attempt to analyse all the whys and wherefores of these weighty issues. Rather, it attempts to show what some people have done, and are doing, to challenge the military madness of our times, to question military spending and investments, and to propose alternatives. In addition, it offers some thoughts and resources to aid those who are determined to work out ‘what is to be done’, and how best to do it.

FARMS NOT ARMS - BOOKS NOT BOMBS....

How easy it is to recite a slogan. How much harder to make it come true. But essentially, these **are** the fundamental choices. It is all a question of priorities.

IPB’s adoption of the issue of military and social spending emerges from its engagement with the broader theme: ‘*Disarmament for Development*’. This in turn is a product of our earlier work on Human Security (see www.ipb.org). We have identified this issue because, from a human security perspective, the opportunity costs of investment in the military system are resources lost to the struggle for sustainable development and social justice. No one can contemplate the rise in annual world military spending to **\$1200 billion** (SIPRI, 2006 figures) without imagining how this vast treasury could be used differently: to save lives, develop poor communities, protect the environment, promote renewable energy sources and much more. It should be self-evident that - like so many social and economic problems - the issue is located in a complex of web of related issues: threat perceptions, security doctrines, geo-political strategy, vested interests, inherited industrial infrastructure, and more. These factors must be taken into account if any impact is to be made. However, putting the spotlight directly on spending priorities allows us to focus political attention and public concern on an issue that, for most of the time, exists in the shadows.

Given the scope of this challenge, IPB has committed itself to a long term programme of work on this topic.

¹ a fictional cinema character from George Lucas’s science fiction saga *Star Wars*.

DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT AT THE U.N.

The question of the competing needs of military and social sectors is not only debated at the national level. In the 1980s **the disarmament-development relationship** was a central concern of the United Nations. The UN organised a celebrated conference on the subject in New York in 1987². Since then the topic has been almost entirely neglected. More recently, the 2004 Report of the **Group of Experts**³ to the UN General Assembly attempted to revive the issue. While not abandoning the spending question, it highlights new elements that were not part of the debate in the 1980s, yet which now represent important issues for civil society in many countries -- notably a discussion of landmines and small arms, and the issue is located within a wider context in terms of security and terrorism.

As we wrote at the time: *"The key questions are how seriously the report and the follow-up process will be taken; how hostile is the opposition from vested interests; and -- as so often -- how vigorous is the civil society response. IPB notes that among the recommendations in the UN Experts' Report is that civil society groups should take up the issue."*⁴ It must be said that so far the general reaction to the Experts' report has hardly been overwhelming. The issue is therefore: what else can be done to persuade governments and decision-makers and -formers to act? how can the issue achieve visibility?



THE SCOPE OF THIS BOOK

Whose Priorities? is a follow-up volume to *Warfare or Welfare? Disarmament for Development in the 21st Century: a Human Security Approach*, a 100pp text published by IPB in late 2005 (available from IPB Secretariat or via: www.ipb.org). The latter work combines (a) a factual and political presentation of the issues that fall under the heading *Sustainable Disarmament for Sustainable Development* (including human security, military spending, effects of weapons on development, and military bases) with (b) a parallel text offering short summaries of the work of a selection of IPB's member organisations.

Whose Priorities? extends this parallel text to encompass a wider range of civil society groups. At the same time, the thematic focus is narrower. As the title suggests, the focus of the activities described in the current (very modest) volume is essentially the question of **spending and resources** -- both public and private. While IPB's **Disarmament for Development programme** covers the wider terrain described above, it is beyond the scope of the current compilation to feature examples of NGO work in all these areas.

The hope of the author is that the material presented here -- both the general campaigning approaches advocated, and the examples of projects conducted around the world -- will inspire others to engage with the issue and find their own ways to make an impact.

Colin Archer, IPB Secretary-General, Geneva, October 2007

² (A/CONF.130/39, via: <http://disarmament2.un.org/cab/d&d.html>)

³ <http://disarmament.un.org/cab/d&d.html>

⁴ *Warfare or Welfare? IPB, 2005*

2. Frequently Asked Questions

Q: 'Sustainable disarmament for sustainable development' – what does it mean?

A: It refers to efforts to reduce both military spending and the negative impacts of weaponry on developing countries and poor communities.

Q: What is the biggest taboo in the development field?

A: Military spending. Everyone wants more money devoted to sustainable development – but almost no-one talks about the resources locked up in military budgets.

Q: What level has military spending now reached ?

A: Annual world military spending has now reached **US\$1200 billion**, according to SIPRI. (figures for 2006).

Q: How fast is military spending growing?

A: This represents an increase of 3.5% over the 2005 figure, and is 37% more than a decade ago.

Q: Who are biggest spenders?

A: In 2006 the USA accounted for nearly half the total, with \$529 billion, followed by the UK, France, Japan and China with 4-5 % each of the overall world total.

Q: But haven't levels of military spending fallen since the end of the Cold War?

A: They did fall, between 1990 and 1997, but they then rose again from 1998 onwards, and since 9-11 they have rocketed.

Q: What has the Iraq war cost, so far?

A: The figure given by the National Priorities Project is **US\$ 456 billion** up to end of Sept. 2007 – essentially the 'supplementary appropriations' made by the Bush administration since 2003, i.e this is ON TOP of the regular US military budget.

Q: Do all countries and regions have the same patterns of military spending?

A: No, levels of military spending vary widely between different countries and regions. In some levels are decreasing, in others they are stable, and in others increasing. But the overall trend is up.

Q: How can we transfer the money spent on the military to other purposes ?

A: This is the most difficult question. At the national level, decisions regarding the public purse are taken by parliaments, with heavy influence from government and civil servants. At the international /UN level, no mechanisms yet exists, though many proposals have been made over the years.

Q: What should be cut?

A: This is a decision for the democratic process, but in IPB's view the priority items are weapons of mass destruction, space weaponry, and weapons that are especially injurious to civilians (landmines, cluster munitions, uranium weapons...) as well as those conventional systems that have little or no use in 'legitimate uses' (emergency functions, peacekeeping etc). This could include such items as aircraft carriers, bombers, and military bases.

Q: Shouldn't the military be maintained, to be used for peacekeeping and emergency relief?

A: See 'legitimate uses' above.

Q: Is it possible to create a national or an international fund for development? Could this be done via the UN or not?

A: Many funds have been established to promote development, of which the largest is the World Bank. However no fund has yet been established specifically to channel money released from the military sector. But proposals along these lines have been put forward and there is no reason why such a fund (probably under UN auspices) could not be established. What is lacking is the political will.

Q: Would it be possible to tax the arms trade?

A: There are several problems with this:

- it could be argued that this would legitimise the trade. However since it is already deemed 'legitimate' by governments, maybe this would not be a real objection.
- much of the arms trade is illegal and would by definition escape such a tax. It might have the perverse effect of encouraging some traders to avoid the extra costs imposed by the tax by taking the illegal route.
- nevertheless, since the plan (put forward by France) for an international tax on airline tickets has been taken up, a model does now exist. Further research should be done.

Q: Didn't the UN try all this 20 years ago ?

A: Yes – note in particular the proposals made in the report of the major UN Conference on Disarmament and Development held in New York in 1987. But it is a different time now and a new effort should be made. The UN recognised this by setting up the **Group of Experts on Disarmament and Development** in 2004. The disarmament-development challenge still remains, especially as military spending level are now higher than ever.

Q: What are the effects of weapons on poor communities?

A: Weapons have all kinds of negative effects, but they are especially devastating in developing societies and poor communities generally. Examples include landmines and cluster bombs (land rendered unusable, farmers mutilated); small arms (increasing crime levels, high medical care costs); depleted uranium (radioactive contamination of areas affected by military activity); conventional weapons (destruction of people, housing, crops, land, infrastructure...). Sustainable disarmament programmes promote sustainable development through removing a whole series of dangers for local communities, and by empowering them to respond collectively to these challenges.

Q : What civil society efforts can we point to ?

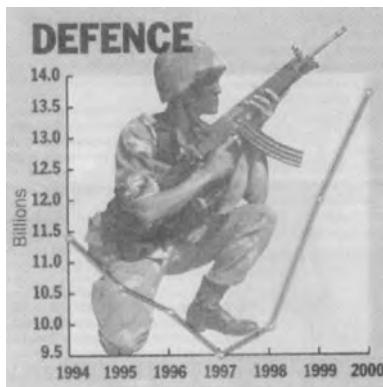
A: There are civil society campaigns and networks operating on all the issues mentioned above. See chapter 5 for examples

Q: What are the wider problems associated with all this?

- military bases: US bases in particular now ring the entire globe and represent a huge financial and human investment. Have they really made anyone safer?
- culture of militarism: underlying the specific challenge of military spending lies a general culture of militarism, which supports warlike solutions, even to problems (like terrorism) that cannot be effectively tackled in this way.
- gender policies and attitudes: a key element in this militaristic culture is the deeper problem of patriarchal culture with its macho attitudes, fascination with weapons and its preference for 'tough' over 'soft' solutions. These approaches are the basis for heavy handed military and policing policies.
- need for education: change will not come without much greater public awareness of the issues raised in this campaign. Education plays a vital role in preparing citizens to take political action.

Q: How can we make common cause to have an impact on these policies?

A: We need a strong alliance of development agencies, social justice movements, peace and disarmament groups, and other bodies. Such alliances need to exist primarily at the national level, since that is where the key decisions are made, and where it is easiest to create coalitions.



South Africa defence budget since 1994
Source: Cape Times 24 February 2000

*The war in Iraq
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end Sept. 2007*

3. Factual background

In this section we will take a very brief look at the issue from a factual point of view. Without a clear sense of what the issue is, it is impossible to undertake effective campaign work. For more detailed analysis, we refer the reader to the websites and publications listed at the end of the book.

Military expenditure keeps on rising

Total world military expenditure in 2006 is estimated to have reached US\$1204 billion, a figure that exceeds even the Cold War peak of 1987-88. According to SIPRI, this represents an increase of 3.5 % in real terms since 2005 and of 37 % over the 10-year period since 1997. Average spending per capita has increased from \$173 in 2005 to \$184. This expenditure is very unevenly distributed, since the 15 countries with the highest spending account for 83% of the world total. The USA is responsible for 46%, followed by the UK, France, Japan and China with just 4-5% each.

It is no surprise to learn that the rapid increase in **US military spending** is mainly due to continued costly military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. Most of the increase resulted from supplementary allocations in addition to the regular budget. Between September 2001 and June 2006, the US Government allocated \$432 billion in annual and supplemental appropriations for the '**global war on terrorism**'. Significantly, this massive increase has - according to SIPRI - "been one of the factors contributing to the deterioration of the US economy since 2001". In addition to the direct impact of high military spending, there are also indirect and more long-term effects. According to the National Priorities Project, **the war in Iraq** has so far cost the US government \$ 456 billion as of end Sept. 2007. However according to one study looking at long term health care burden of the war¹, the overall past and future costs until year 2016 to the USA for the war in Iraq could be as high as **\$2267 billion**.

Although military expenditure is not accelerating in other countries, in most regions it is increasing. The main exceptions are Western Europe, with a relatively slow growth, and Central America, with a continuous reduction in military spending. It should be noted that, although the US pays by far the largest defence bill, the poorest countries are those that have the highest military burden, give the lowest priority to social expenditures and have the greatest development needs.

China has continued its steep increase in military expenditure, for the first time surpassing that of Japan and thus replacing it as the leading military spender in Asia, and as the fourth biggest spender worldwide. **Japan** has been engaged in intense debate on the appropriate level of military spending. The decision, for the 5th consecutive year, was to reduce its spending while focusing its military effort on missile defence.

SIPRI points out that the quality of military expenditure data is in most countries very satisfactory. *"There is a great need to improve transparency and accountability in the defence policy, planning, programming and budgeting processes. This would also most likely have an effect on the level and trend in military*

¹ Soldiers Returning from Iraq and Afghanistan: The long-term costs of providing veterans medical care and disability benefits, (Stiglitz-Bilmes Report) Jan. 2006

expenditure, since it would bring about a more informed public debate, and in those poor countries where the voters have some influence over policy, a redirection to other types of expenditure that would benefit the poor.”²

However, one cannot expect the conditions faced by the mass of poor people in developing countries to be improved solely by reallocating resources within these countries. What is needed is also a redistribution from the rich countries to the poor. Even a small share of the military expenditure of the rich would, if appropriately attributed, make a substantial difference to the struggle against poverty in the developing world.

Millenium Development Goals:

The MDGs are the objectives (targets) for the reduction of poverty that were agreed upon by the world’s governments at the Millennium Assembly in 2000. Comparing the figures below with those of the big military spenders is instructive.

- Cost of meeting Millenium Development Goals calculated at \$121 billion in 2006-10-13, which is about a tenth of the \$1,204bn spent on military worldwide in 2007
- Water and sanitation goal: WHO (2004) estimates that to halve the proportion of people without access to safe drinking water between 1990-2015 would cost \$11.3bn annually, and \$22.6bn annually to reach the entire unserved population by 2015
- Health goal: The World Bank (2002) says to achieve health-related MDGs would cost an additional \$20-25bn per year. WHO (2001) puts cost at \$40-52bn per year
- Universal primary education goal: The World Bank (2002) estimates it would cost \$10-30bn per year to ensure children everywhere completed a full course in primary schooling
- Housing goal: UN Habitat estimates \$11.5bn per year needed to significantly improve lives of at least 100 million slum-dwellers by 2020.
- Poverty goal: The World Bank (2002) estimates \$39-54 needed to halve the proportion of people whose income is less than \$1 a day
- Debt relief goal: CAFOD 2006 - cancellation amounts to \$ 300bn, or \$ 30bn for each year in the next decade.

Even a small share of the military expenditure of the rich would, if appropriately attributed, make a substantial difference to the struggle against poverty in the developing world.



Sudan Children play at the Lologo transit camp for internally displaced persons (IDPs), 30 km southeast of the southern Sudanese capital of Juba, September 2006

© Manoocher Deghati/IRIN

² SIPRI Yearbook, 2005

Contrary to common mythology, the bulk of the budget is not spent on weapons, but on salaries and other related items

A definition of military expenditure

(from Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, SIPRI)

Where possible, SIPRI military expenditure includes **all current and capital expenditure on:**

- * the armed forces, including peace keeping forces
- * defence ministries and other government agencies engaged in defence projects
- * paramilitary forces when judged to be trained, equipped and available for military operations
- * military space activities

Such expenditures should include:

- * personnel
 - all expenditures on current personnel, military and civil
 - retirement pensions of military personnel
 - social services for personnel and their families
- * operations and maintenance
- * procurement
- * military research and development
- * military construction
- * military aid (in the military expenditures of the donor country)

Excluded military related expenditures:

- * civil defence
- * current expenditure for previous military activities
 - veterans benefits
 - demobilization
 - conversion of arms production facilities
 - destruction of weapons

Government military spending mostly benefits private military firms and contractors

Where does the money go? Contrary to common mythology, the bulk of the budget is not spent on weapons, but on salaries and other related items (see box **A definition of military expenditure**). However huge sums are nonetheless spent on procuring arms and services related to arms. Let us take the biggest spender of all, the Pentagon. The current US administration's military spending mostly profits the big private sector companies and contractors. The proposed US military spending total for the 2008 financial year is \$647 billion. This spending level is accompanied with a comparable growth in prime contracts awarded to corporations like Lockheed Martin, Northrop Grumman and Boeing. Pentagon contracts are up from \$144 billion in 2001 to over \$294 billion in 2006, an increase of 10%.

Table 1: **Total Department of Defence Prime Contract, Financial Year (FY) 2001 to FY 2006**
(Figures in billions, with percentage change from year-to-year noted)

2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	% change 2001-2006
\$144.6	\$170.8	\$208.9	\$230.7	\$269.2	\$294.9	103%
% change year to year	+\$18.1	+22.3%	+10.4%	+14.3%	+8.7%	

Table 2: **Top Ten Defence Prime Contractors, FY 2005 to FY 2006**
(Figures in billions, with percent changes from 2005 to 2006 and 2001 to 2006)

Rank, Company	FY 2006	FY 2005	% change 2005/06	% change 2001/06
1. Lockheed Martin	\$26.6	\$19.4	+36.8%	+81.2%
2. Boeing	\$20.3	\$18.3	+10.9%	+52.1%
3. Northrop Grumman	\$16.6	\$13.5	+23.0%	+222.6%
4. General Dynamics	\$10.5	\$10.6	-.9%	+53.3%
5. Raytheon	\$10.1	\$9.1	+10.9%	+80.6%
6. Halliburton	\$6.1	\$5.8	+5.2%	+1325.2%
7 L-3 Communications	\$5.2	\$4.7	+10.6%	+950.5%
8. BAE Systems	\$4.7	\$5.6	-16.1%	+442.3%
9. United Technologies	\$4.5	\$5.0	-10.0%	+36.4%
10. Science Applications International Corp	\$3.2	\$2.8	+14.3%	+83.6%

More at... <http://www.worldpolicy.org/projects/arms/reports.html>

Developing country example: Ethiopia

The Ethiopian Defence Force is one of the largest in Africa. Its military rank no. 29 (by total personnel) in the world. In January 2007 during the war with Somalia, the Ethiopian forces were said to total about 200,000 troops. Ethiopia's high military spending dates back to the era of Mengistu in the 1990s. In the late 90s during the final years of the regime, it was estimated that military expenditure of Ethiopia was about \$1 billion, draining up to 14% of GDP.

Despite the downward trend in the Ethiopia's military expenditure in recent years, the government still allocates large financial resources to the military at the expense of education and health. In the eyes of former Nobel Peace Laureate Oscar Arias, *"Such budgetary priorities underline a grotesque irony: many of the poorest states hoard supplies of tanks and weapons to "defend" citizens who are far more threatened by malnutrition and preventable diseases"*. The total military expenditure of Ethiopia is now estimated to be about \$296-300 million, which represents around 9% of total government spending and 3.4% of GDP. (UNICEF estimate)

For comparison, we see that about 6% of Ethiopia's budget was spent on health in 2005 according to UNICEF. This amount is less than the overall government spending on the military, which gives an indication of their relative priority. Since the Zenawi government undertook in December 2006 to invade neighbouring Somalia in order to counter Islamist forces there, the costs have risen, though precise figures are scarce. The military burden weighs heavily on the Ethiopian taxpayer, if we consider the opportunity cost. Between 1 and 2 million people up to the age of 49 are living with HIV/AIDS, but only some 24,600 people of the same age group were able to receive anti-retroviral treatment (WHO, 2005). The \$300 million spent on the military could have provided vaccinations for more than 20 million Ethiopians and could have doubled the number of patients taking life-saving HIV treatments.

In addition to health care and education, the Ethiopian government needs to consider other human security issues as spending priorities. For example refugees, IDPs, severe malnutrition (especially in children), poor water and sanitation are not given the same priority consideration as the military. According to the humanitarian agency Concern, 2.5 million people in Ethiopia are currently in urgent need of humanitarian aid. In 2006 alone, humanitarian assistance for Ethiopia from USAID amounted to \$64,446,971 including \$2,300,000 for refugees from the UNHCR.

Looking at this data, there is - in IPB's view - no justification for a developing country such as Ethiopia plagued with grave social problems and dependent on foreign aid, to allocate such huge amounts of money on the military. It is no secret that Ethiopia has received the strong backing of the USA in its role as regional policeman. But such tutelage brings with it a price in terms of 'the road not taken'. From a human security point of view, good basic education and health care, as well as adequate food and clean water are the crucial forms of security that a government should provide. It can also be argued that the swelling of the armed forces and the deployment in neighbouring states of thousands of active military men will only exacerbate tension in the medium- to long- term, draining away scarce resources from the hunger-stricken poor and bringing more insecurity. Meanwhile human rights abuses persist and the opposition have been silenced.

Conclusion

Almost every country has a military vs social spending issue to be explored. The fact that one military giant dwarfs the spending of all the others should not obscure the fact that poorer societies are paying proportionally as high a price, or higher, for their military capacity. Conversely, the fact that smaller, usually authoritarian, states are investing in arms - not farms - should not distract the focus of activists from the central problem, which resides in the Western military-industrial-political complex, whose role is to ensure the continued domination of the globe by the rich and powerful.

4. DEVELOPING CAMPAIGNS ON SPENDING PRIORITIES

I say: Know your enemy and know yourself; in a hundred battles, you will never be defeated. When you are ignorant of the enemy but know yourself, your chances of winning or losing are equal. If ignorant both of your enemy and of yourself, you are sure to be defeated in every battle. -- Sun Tzu

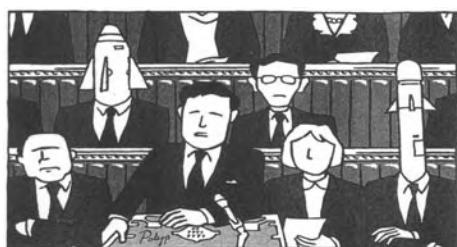
Investments in war and militarism take many forms. They can be divided into two broad categories: public and private.

Public : the public purse is the more visible of the two, since it is - in a normally-democratic society - the subject of many debates and more or less open processes: parliamentary discussions, committee hearings, governmental proposals, public enquiries, campaigns by different interests, media reporting, etc.

Private: far less visible are the private interests that fuel the military system: such as investments in the development of weapon systems and other military equipment and infrastructure; privatised military services; and arms businesses injecting resources into programmes of science and technology research. In addition the **public** money that is channeled through **private** hands – to contractors, arms producers, consultants, etc. - should also be taken into consideration. In general it is harder to track and control private financial flows, though recent scandals linked to private military contractors in Iraq, for example, do show that they too can be object of campaigning and diverse forms of legislative action.

The importance of the national level

While many private companies operate internationally, and governments are part of a web of interlocking global institutions, the fact is that the most accessible decisions take place at national level – and therefore that is the level that most of the campaign work needs to be focussed on.



Source: CAAT, UK

Parliaments and parties

Broad public education is vital on the issue of military spending – as on any other such issue – but the focus of lobbying efforts and pressure group work is normally on parliamentarians and the political parties who set the agendas and approve policies. Despite the growth of personality-driven politics in many western countries, and beyond, positions relating to fundamental issues such as national security and the general disposition of the armed forces are usually the subject of firmly established party positions. It must be said that there is often a bi-party and multi-party consensus on matters relating to ‘national security’. A good example being France in election year 2007; very few of the Presidential candidates took issue with the prevailing establishment view on defence, and the media gave almost no coverage to the issue.

The arms lobby

The difficulty is that these issues are subject to influence from powerful defence lobbies – the armed forces themselves, their supporters, and in particular the arms companies. Much of this influence is exercised behind closed doors. A good example of the problem is the UK scandal over corruption in the BAE arms deal with Saudi Arabia: the inquiry into the allegations was abruptly closed down by the Blair government in Dec. 2006 when the Prime Minister claimed it would “endanger Britain’s security” if the inquiry was allowed to continue. Thus, open debate of the details of the allegations was simply squashed. Then, on Sept 7, 2007, BAE Systems announced it would “clinch a £20 billion deal to supply 72 Eurofighter Typhoon jets to Saudi Arabia...one of the largest export orders ever won by the UK”. This disturbing outcome came about despite an intense campaign by Campaign against the Arms Trade and others to expose the corruption and insist on open debate.

The military system as a whole

Inevitably, perhaps, the bulk of NGO work in this field focuses on the ‘worst excesses’: such as arms trade scandals, the development of nuclear weapons, the landmines and cluster munitions campaigns etc. Where there are visible victims or blatant hypocrisies it is always easier to challenge those in power.

However there is a strong case to be made that campaigners should not focus exclusively on such ‘easy’ targets. The whole military system should be held up to scrutiny. Budgets should be looked at in their entirety. The problem is not simply the corruption that tends to go along with the arms trade; nor even exports per se; after all, arms purchases represent often a small fraction of the total spending. The issue is that inherited institutions and deeply-ingrained public attitudes have led to an over-reliance on the military to promote national defence and ‘national interests’. Meanwhile the world has changed dramatically and the nature of security itself is up for debate.

Strategy

Civil society has been ‘campaigning’ in some sense for centuries¹. But the last four decades in particular have given us a rich international inheritance of social justice work, from which we can learn. In all sectors and on all continents there are extraordinary and heroic mobilisations, ranging from mass movements against colonialism; to end poverty, racism and war; to promote gender equal-

¹ see for example accounts of the 18th - 19th century campaign to abolish the slave trade such as Adam’s Hochschild’s *Bury the Chains* (2005)



Inherited institutions and deeply-ingrained public attitudes have led to an over-reliance on the military to promote national defence and national interests

ity, workers' demands and human rights; and now, a campaign whose aim is nothing less than to save the entire biosphere. This global legacy offers us a huge library of lessons in how to educate, mobilise, dramatise, pressurise - and eventually win.

Many useful volumes (and films etc) have been published on the tactics of campaigning: how to organise a public meeting/write a press release/give a speech/lobby your member of Parliament/build a membership database, and so forth. See *Websites* section for details of some of the most useful. We shall concern ourselves here with the more strategic aspects - though in many cases the two levels are closely intertwined.

Chris Rose's book *How to Win Campaigns* (Earthscan Books, 2005) analyses brilliantly both the practical approaches and the strategic thinking necessary for a successful campaign. His examples, while mostly drawn from his Greenpeace experience, are often very relevant to issues such as military and social spending. Among his very many astute observations are the following:

- Campaigns are **wars of persuasion**, and - like marketing, which it closely resembles - campaigning technique is both an art and science.
- Most campaigning fails, since essentially it is about **communication** and campaigners often concentrate too much on the content of the message and not enough on **events** that both attract media attention and become reference points in the debate in a way that expressed opinions do not.
- **Campaign planning** needs to begin with defining one's ambition or objective, followed by issue mapping, combined with an analysis of who are the actors and where are the obstacles to progress. We need to understand the social 'weather conditions', identify our campaign assets (in all senses), and achieve clarity about exactly what we wish to communicate about. **See STAR chart p 20**
- The critical importance of **imagery** in a world where photographs transcend cultural and linguistic boundaries and tell an entire story in a flash. "If you can't photograph your objective - or at least imagine photographing it it's probably not much use, and quite likely not real".
- *Campaigning is a mongrel craft drawing from many other disciplines, so it's no surprise that lawyers tend to think campaigning hinges on making arguments, scientists want to progress campaigns by research, writers and academics by publishing, and teachers may believe education is how to change the world. Each can play a part in campaigns, it is true. Yet effective campaigns are usually better prosecuted by showing rather than arguing, by motivation rather than education, and by mobilisation rather than accumulation of knowledge. Doing this to order, means planning communication like a composer or film director.*
- Paying attention to the **ongoing media revolution** unfolding in our daily lives is essential for 21st century campaigns. While few can tell which of the many new phenomena are here to stay - blogs, podcasting, indymedia, SMS, the whole vast collection of participatory web 2.0 initiatives - we are

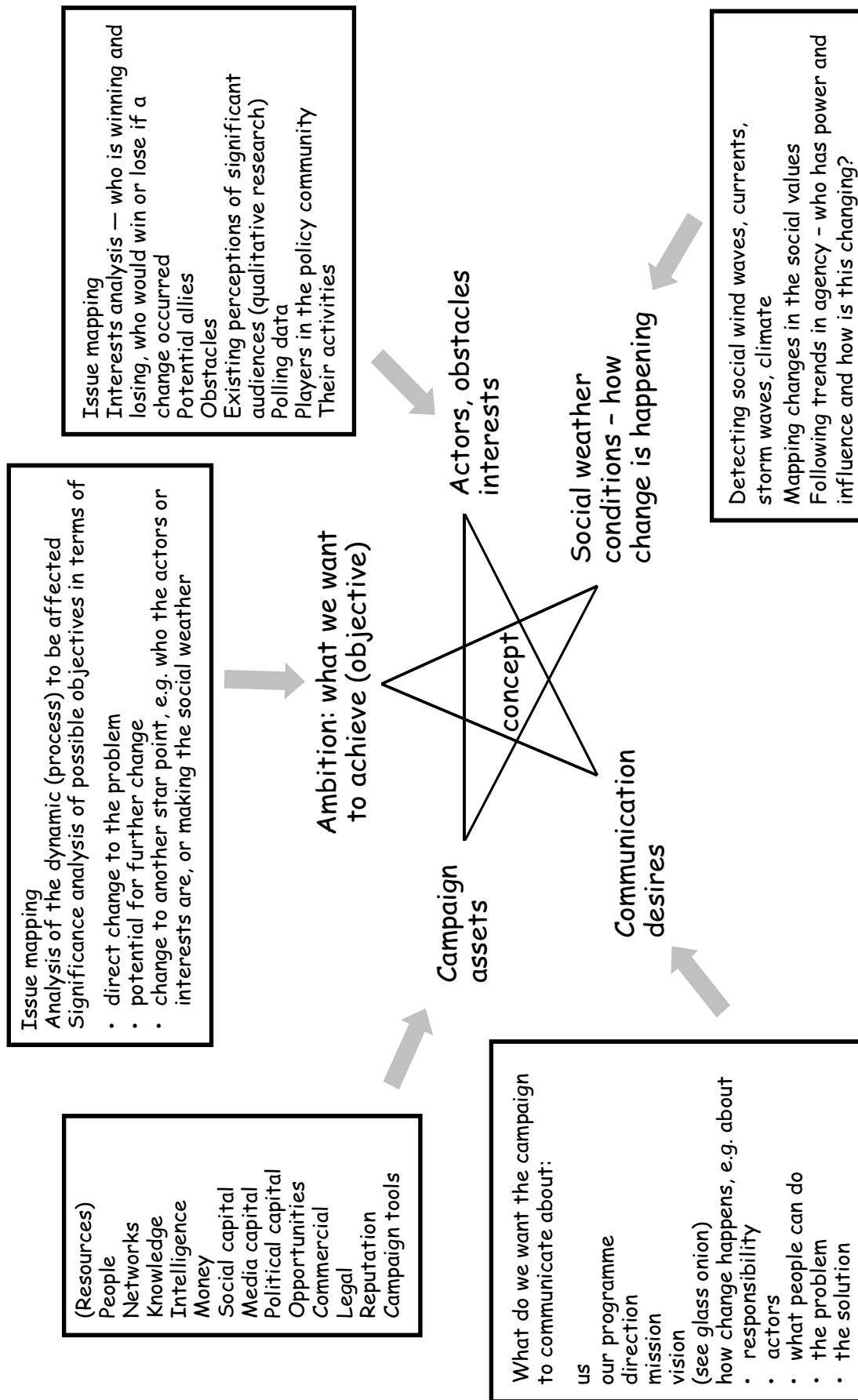


Figure 4.2 Campaign planning star, showing details

Source: Chris Rose, *How to Win Campaigns*, Earthscan Publications, via www.amazon.co.uk

learning a new grammar of public expression and interaction. This is one that campaigners are engaging with at varying speeds, depending on their geographical location, age, background and other factors.

- Campaigns have a kind of **life cycle**, in which an issue deemed marginal at the beginning can come to occupy a much more central position in the general public discourse and in time - if it is in tune with the social climate change - can become an accepted part of accepted policies and value systems. Campaigners then turn to a more radical edge of the problem or move on to another issue in their field. Example: recycling.

Applying all this, and the many other recommendations and good pieces of advice available from those experienced in the wars of persuasion, to the field of military and social spending, is the task of the movers and shakers in this field. Some of their work is featured in chapter 5.

Among the central issues to be faced are the following.

Note: ideas in the subsequent section are drawn from IPB's source book Warfare or Welfare?, published in 2005 as a first contribution to the campaign and the debate about priorities.

THE INVISIBILITY PROBLEM



AXALP, 10 October 2007

The first problem to tackle is to recognise that military spending statistics are not widely known among the general public, or even among lobby groups. There is a serious problem of perception, or rather of quasi-invisibility. Military spending, when it is seen and analysed at all, is certainly not viewed as part of the *development* equation. Let us take an example. The key issue in the early phases of the international response to the Asian tsunami in early 2005 was getting adequate relief supplies to the affected areas and then paving the way for the long haul of reconstruction and redevelopment. The USA immediately pledged \$350m in aid, later increased to \$950m. Certainly a significant sum, but not hard to spend given the scale of the reconstruction required. But compare this with the billions allocated for the occupation of Iraq,

an operation that has no clear end in sight, and whose economic fruits mainly benefit a limited number of US corporations linked to the Bush administration.

Yet this massive financial imbalance is one that, curiously, few analysts seem keen to point out. This is not new; the commentaries on government aid contributions published by the aid/development industry over the years have only rarely made the comparison with the vast sums spent by those same governments on the military.

Hidden spending

A second problem is that the official figures given for military spending are not always reliable. In many cases military expenses are hidden within non-defence budgets or do not appear at all. The US nuclear weapons complex costs, while

not entirely hidden, are largely found under Dept of Energy budgets. In other states, contingency funds are used for activities such as paying military debts or repairing military hardware; military budgets are supplemented with funds diverted from unspent budgets from the social sectors; military activities are portrayed as 'peace operations' or 'public security' activities and get paid for by non-military departments such as the police or social welfare.

Conversely, income for military activities can be generated from businesses or criminal enterprises (fuel smuggling, drugs/arms trafficking, diamond mining etc). In Indonesia, army-run businesses enjoy charitable status. In China, the PLA is among the country's largest enterprises. Many governments – Cambodia for example – find it difficult to avoid high off-budget military spending due to the integral role played by powerful military establishments in the political system. To deal with hidden spending ultimately requires stronger democratic governance of the defence sector, including the activities of both civil and military officials.

WHAT CAN BE DONE?

There are no quick fixes for this problem. Of course, detailed research into both absolute numbers and their relative importance within the overall national budget has to be done. But beyond that, the question is this: **how to transform the morally-obvious into the politically-practical?** Many among the political class in western countries appear to be aware of the size of the military bill, yet are unwilling to challenge it for fear of appearing politically incorrect. For parliamentarians there is also the fear of losing votes in constituencies hit by arms industry shrinkages or base closures. The challenge for peace and development movements, as for civil society more generally, is therefore to **build a wide alliance** of groups that would benefit from a realignment of the national budget, a coalition that can generate strong political pressure. The first step towards this is to create an awareness among both their leaders and their members.

There are three essential political issues to be addressed, which represent the three key stages in the process of mounting a challenge to existing priorities.

1. Threat Perceptions

Campaigners need to address the issue of **defining an appropriate level of security**. During the Cold War almost any level of spending seemed to be justified by the superpowers, since they were locked into the 'missile gap' numbers game. But the new threats to national security in the West are largely related to the threat of terrorism, which cannot be 'defeated' by traditional military means. Besides, the actions taken by military forces of the US and the UK in particular appear if anything to be increasing the danger – provoking terrorism - rather than diminishing it. To this we should add that policy makers should really be adopting **human security definitions of threat** rather than those inherited from centuries of military conquest and 'defence' technology.



CHIANG YING/AP

Civil society has two long term tasks: to contest the assumed threat perceptions, and to make the case for a human security budget

It is far from automatic that savings will be spent to improve health, education or social services for the less well-off, let alone to fund development programmes in poorer countries

Developing countries often have different threat perceptions from those in the West. For example, they may have well-founded fears of rebels or neighbouring states grabbing mineral resources or making territorial claims backed by force. But initiating a new regional arms race is not the answer. Far more resources should be devoted to regional security pacts, dialogue with rebels, efforts to ensure equitable distribution of power and economic investment etc. In so many cases the military has built up its political power base and it is hard for a regime dependent on the armed forces and related industries to cut back on forces that appear to ensure its own survival.

Thus civil society has two long term tasks: to contest the assumed threat perceptions, and to make the case for a human security budget – one where the bulk of the government's resources are devoted to the needs of the people – with the priority assigned to vulnerable and marginalized groups.

2. Making Reductions

Next there is the question of **what should be cut**:

- weapons systems? In which case which ones? What will be cost of disarmament?
- which services/regiments/battalions should be downsized?
- deployments in particular countries? Which ones, and at what speed should troops be withdrawn? Should they then be re-located elsewhere or laid off? In which case there will be redundancy payments, pensions, re-deployment and re-training costs.
- should military bases be closed? In which case which ones...the same questions apply.

Complex problems, indeed, for decision-makers, and ones that can only be solved at the national level, but they should not obscure the fact that in the long run scaling down military activities will produce very substantial cuts in spending – spending that is, of taxpayers' money.

There is also the important argument that the costs of disarmament should rightly not be considered an extra burden for which resources must now be found, but rather that they are inherent in the cost of acquiring the weapon in the first place. This principle is gradually finding its way into the personal computer trade, for example, at least in certain countries, where recycling/ecological disposal is now the norm, and where an extra tax is imposed on the purchaser for this purpose by the retailer.

3. Alternative expenditures

Finally there is the question of **how to spend the savings made**. Many governments will choose to reward the rich through tax cuts, or encourage private industry and commerce through subsidies and lower interest rates. It is far from automatic that savings will be spent to improve health, education or social services for the less well-off, let alone to fund development programmes in poorer countries. At each stage there will be a political struggle for alternative priorities. The IPB's basic position is that, in any genuine democracy, this is a matter that must be decided by elected representatives, since there are many competing priorities, all of which are vital for survival, human security and wel-

fare. Resources need to be diverted on a massive scale, away from investments in the military machine and its inflated bureaucracies, towards health, education, housing, employment, sanitation, transport, the environment and many other fields. At a time when the human family is confronted with a whole series of dramatic emergencies (from HIV-AIDS and climate change to hunger and extreme poverty on a massive scale) it is imperative that politicians be made to understand that our spending priorities have to change, and that the public demands it. How can this shift be brought about? By public education, coalition building, persistent pressure and intelligent organisation.

ALTERNATIVE TAXATION PLANS AND REDUCTION TARGETS

A variety of proposals have been put forward over the decades for securing additional, large sums of money for development. **Innovative Financing for Development** is a mini-industry in itself, though one in which military sources of funds are strictly taboo. Proposals have been forward for 'alternative' taxes on everything from financial transactions (the '**Tobin Tax**' promoted by AT-TAC), on carbon consumption, on credit card payments, and most recently on airline tickets (now established as **UNITAID**, a programme run by the WHO to fund low cost treatments for HIV-AIDS and other epidemics.^r There is already a **Digital Solidarity Fund**, launched by Senegal, with the backing of France, Nigeria and Algeria. (*BBC News 16 March, 2005*). Partnerships between leaders from North and South have been convened, such as the Lula-Chirac call for an international tax to end hunger (2004), which was soon supported also by Chile (Lagos) and Spain (Zapatero). So far it has not caught on with the other big powers, though it probably contributed to the July 2005 G8 decisions on aid and debt. But suggestions for a **tax on armaments** (or military spending) have met with little enthusiasm so far, even (or especially) from disarmament campaigners, who tend to view it as an obstacle to reducing arms sales, and in some sense legitimising militarism.

Calls, appeals and proposals have frequently been made by civil society groupings for a specific target for reductions in military spending, ranging from 1% per annum to 5% or more. For example, at the 1995 Beijing women's conference, a **Women's Peace Petition** was delivered, which called for a 5% reduction a year for 5 years in military spending and the reallocation of these substantial resources toward human security programs and peace education.. Similar calls were already made at the 1992 Rio summit, but found little echo at the government level.

MILITARY CONVERSION FOR SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Conversion can be defined as the reorientation of military-sector companies to civilian production. It is a difficult process that often implies partial restructuring, with diversification of the product range and partial conver-



sion through relocating and retraining personnel and reorientation of business practices. In the past, reorientation from military to civilian production was seen as the most promising form of conversion.

Conversion also includes troop reductions and the re-employment of ex-combatants in civilian life, conversion and re-use of military facilities, re-directing military research and development, and the destruction of weapons. The availability of former military sites for civilian purposes is also one among the most visible signs of disarmament.

While ‘tanks into tractors’ was at one time a popular slogan, the experience of recent decades tends to suggest that it is often more efficient to close arms production plants entirely, and re-deploy the workers into other sectors, rather than attempt to convert the factories directly into civilian production.

THE PROBLEM OF DEMOCRACY - OR LACK OF IT

In many authoritarian states, defence is perceived as such a sensitive subject that it is deemed the prerogative of the President or those at the apex of the state structure. Decisions are not taken at Parliamentary level, nor in some cases even at Cabinet level. Questioning the size or disposition of the nation’s military resources can therefore be considered as interference in matters that affect national security or even the survival of the regime. In such a context - and this applies to many states, especially in the Global South - one cannot expect to see the emergence of campaigns that explicitly focus on the issue. More important, and more likely, would be efforts to improve (or even introduce!) a democratic system, to develop its checks and balances, to enhance transparency and in general give civil society some role in the decision-making and consultation process.

5. EXAMPLES OF CREATIVE CAMPAIGNING

Introduction

In the following pages we highlight the work of just some of the NGOs and other civil society organisations (CSOs) who have taken on one or other aspect of the military and social spending issue - or in some cases, an aspect of the wider military culture.

We know there are many other groupings around the world also engaged in this ambitious effort. Space does not permit us to report on them all. We hope to remedy this by collecting other reports, and also longer editions of the present texts, on our website www.ipb.org

In general the material is taken from the groups' own websites or texts we have solicited for inclusion in this volume. We apologise in advance if any of the material is out of date or incomplete, and for the inevitable omissions.

What the material shows is the great diversity of countries, of social sectors, of size and style of group, and of approaches to the problem. "Let a hundred flowers bloom!"

We encourage readers to get in touch with the organisations mentioned, and also those included in the Websites section, and to look for opportunities in their own communities to strengthen this small but growing movement.

1. AFRI, Ireland - Just a Second.

Afri initiated the Just a Second Campaign during the first Gulf War to highlight the obscene wastage of resources on war while millions of people continued to die of hunger and preventable diseases throughout the Developing World.

The aim of the campaign was to raise awareness about the 'double immorality' of the arms trade, which, of itself is a threat to peoples' safety and security but which is also responsible for the diversion of resources away from the real needs of people such as food, clean water, shelter, health care and education. Our aim was to raise people's awareness and motivate them to take action for change.

The method we used was to calculate what the arms trade cost per second, because the annual expenditure was so large (US\$900 billion) as to be incomprehensible for many people. We called the campaign 'Just a Second' because it represented a creative attempt to momentarily cause people to stop, to think, to ponder the madness which had been unleashed in the Gulf Region, (the consequences of which are still being felt today.) Having calculated the amount,

we then set out, as part of our campaign, to raise the equivalent of one second of world military expenditure - 21,000 in 1992 - and to use it to provide food, clean water and health care for people in the Developing World as well as employment opportunities for people in disadvantaged areas in Ireland. This was a way of demonstrating in a clear and practical way, what could be achieved if the resources being wasted on war and preparations for war were used, instead for the betterment of humanity.

We believed that this was the kind of idea which would appeal to young people, especially, who are often more easily able to see the mistaken priorities in our world. Students in seventeen schools throughout Ireland participated in our campaign and we reached our target figure largely through their work and efforts. One of the students who took part in the campaign described it as follows: 'The Just a Second Campaign, startling in the simplicity of its message – that 21,000 per second is being spent on arms – awakened in students an awareness of the futility of war. At a time when the thin line between reality and fiction was confused in our minds due to the over-simplification of the news coverage of the Gulf War, Afri's direct message exposed the bitter irony that millions lay needlessly dying while our Western society squandered its resources on a horrific human slaughter. This shocked us into action so what did we do?'

Well, many creative ideas were used in order to raise awareness and cash. Activities included the making of a giant 'peace rug' depicting a very powerful image representing 'exchanging weapons for food'. There was also a rice day fast, peace chains made from coins, which were then donated to the campaign, cake sales, a sponsored car wash, a basketball marathon and even a bonny baby competition were all undertaken by students to get us to the target figure of 21,000. As an added incentive, Afri offered a visit to the Headquarters of the United Nations in New York to students from one of the participating schools.

The money was then dispersed by a committee of experienced people to projects in Ireland and throughout the world. Projects were supported in Peru, Kenya, Mauritius, India, Sierra Leone, Brazil, Pakistan, Haiti, El Salvador as well as Dublin and a small donation towards the 100th anniversary of the International Peace Bureau. We repeated the campaign in the late 1990s and will do so again in the future, adapting the figures accordingly. Afri has not, however, patented the idea, and we would welcome other people and groups taking it up and running with it.

Afri, 134 Phibsborough Road, Dublin 7, Ireland.

*Tel: *353 (0)1 882 7563/7581 Fax: *353 (0)1 882 7576, e-mail: afri@iol.ie*

<http://www.afri.ie/>

“Afri’s direct message exposed the bitter irony that millions lay needlessly dying while our Western society squandered its resources on a horrific human slaughter”



2. Aotearoa Lawyers for Peace - New Zealand Super Fund and Nuclear Weapons Contractors

The Norwegian Pension Fund has recently divested from a number of corporations in its investment portfolio for ethical reasons in accordance with the *United Nations Principles for Responsible Investment*. These include corporations which are involved in the production of nuclear weapons and cluster bombs; which contribute to significant environmental damage; or which exhibit human rights and labour rights violations.

The New Zealand Superannuation Fund is also a signatory to the *United Nations Principles for Responsible Investment* and has recently divested from a number of corporations for their involvement in the production of anti-personnel mines or the processing of whale meat.

However, there are a number of corporations involved in the production of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems and in the production of cluster munitions that have been removed from the Norwegian Pension Fund but remain in the NZ Super Fund portfolio. The manufacture and deployment of these weapons systems is contrary to New Zealand policy.

The New Zealand Nuclear Free Zone, Disarmament, and Arms Control Act of 1987 not only prohibits the manufacture, possession and control over nuclear explosive devices, but also prohibits any person – natural or legal – from aiding, abetting or procuring any other person to manufacture, acquire, possess or have any control over nuclear weapons (Section 5 (2) (b)).

According to the *Profile of the New Zealand Superannuation Fund* the Fund is a “Crown entity.” It would appear that it thus comes under Section 5 (2). Of the corporations listed in the Super Fund, the one most directly involved in the manufacture of nuclear warheads would be Lockheed Martin which is the prime contractor for Sandia National Laboratories, a nuclear weapons engineering and design lab funded by the U.S. Department of Energy. The company also has a major subcontract at the Nevada Test Site to carry out “subcritical testing” of new nuclear weapons designs. Lockheed Martin is primarily a weapons contractor and approximately 80% of its income is from military contracts. Super Fund money invested in Lockheed Martin would thus be supporting military programmes including nuclear weapons programmes. Lockheed Martin is also heavily involved in lobbying for nuclear weapons and defense programmes in the US congress contributing over US\$3 million to congressional campaigns in 2000 alone. Lockheed Martin’s work on nuclear weapons and its other defense work is highlighted on its website www.lockheedmartin.com.

Some of the other corporations in the New Zealand Super Fund portfolio - such as Boeing, Northrop Grumman, and BAE - along with Lockheed Martin, are manufacturing nuclear weapons delivery and control systems. It is possible that this might also be inconsistent with Section 5 (2) (b). Nuclear weapon delivery systems such as Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles, strategic nuclear submarines, Submarine Launched Ballistic Missiles and nuclear weapons Command and Control systems could fall under the clause ‘or have any control over any nuclear explosive device.’ It should also be noted that in many arms control treaties the nuclear weapons delivery systems are treated as an integral part of the nuclear weapon.

At the very least, there is an ethical reason for the New Zealand Super Fund to divest from any corporation involved in the development, testing and manufacture of nuclear weapons delivery and control systems.

Aotearoa Lawyers for Peace

Pacific Office of the International Association of Lawyers Against Nuclear Arms, www.ialana.net

P.O. Box 23-257, Cable Car Lane, Wellington, Aotearoa-New Zealand

alyn@lcn.org, www.peacelaw.org.nz

*Physical address: **Centre for Global Action**, Level 2, James Smith Building, 49-55 Cuba St, Wellington. Ph. +64 4 496-9629, Fax: +64 4 496-9599*

3. CODEPINK, USA - Women for Peace



CODEPINK is a women-initiated grassroots peace and social justice movement working to end the war in Iraq, stop new wars, and redirect our resources into healthcare, education and other life-affirming activities. We reject the Bush administration's fear-based politics that justify violence, and instead calls for policies based on compassion, kindness and a commitment to international law. With an emphasis on joy and humor, **CODEPINK** women and men seek to activate, amplify and inspire a community of peacemakers through creative campaigns and a commitment to non-violence.

Just the Beginning:

CODEPINK came to the face and space of the national leadership to protest the pre-emptive strike in Iraq. Medea Benjamin, Starhawk, Jodie Evans, Diane Wilson and approximately 100 other women kicked off this new women's initiative on November 17, 2002. They marched through the streets

of Washington, DC and set up for a four month vigil in front of the White House. The name **CODEPINK** plays on the Bush Administration's color-coded homeland security advisory system that signals terrorist threats. While Bush's color coded alerts are based on fear, the **CODEPINK** alert is based on compassion and is a feisty call for women and men to "wage peace."

Through March 8th, International Women's Day, they held a daily, all-day peace vigil in front of the White House. The Women's Peace Vigil inspired people from all walks of life, and from all over the country to stand for peace. Many organizations sponsored days: Greenpeace, WILPF, WAND, Public Citizen, NOW, Women for Women International, Neighbors for Peace and Justice, among others. On March 8th, this now growing movement celebrated women as global peacemakers with a week of activities, a rally and march to encircle the White House in pink. Over 10,000 people participated. Among them, Alice Walker, Maxine Hong Kingston, Jody Williams, Susan Griffen, Amy Goodman, Rachel Bagby and many others..

A worldwide network

Since then, **CODEPINK** has become a worldwide network of women and men committed to working for peace and social justice. There are over 250 active local groups around the country and the world. Some groups have 10 participants, others have over 100. Each group acts autonomously, and chooses significant campaigns and actions in their own communities, while using suggestions, action ideas and receiving support from the national team. Each group does its own dreaming, and scheming: some groups take over bridges while others hand out pink flowers with messages of peace attached to them.

CODEPINK national serves to connect the local groups with the international network of global peacemakers. By placing a contact email on their local website, local groups make themselves accessible to those in their area who would like to get involved. The national organization also supplies groups with a range of merchandise to increase visibility: pink scarves, buttons, bumper stickers, and tee-shirts. They also provide local groups with organizing tips, overarching national campaigns and initiatives in the weekly **CODEPINK** alerts that are sent out by email. Once a local group has started and they have contacted Rae Abileah, the locals coordinator, they will receive local coordinator alerts that help to refine and support various campaigns and strategies. By tapping into the network **CODEPINKers** coordinate our energies and efforts. More than 150,000 people currently receiving the weekly **CODEPINK** alert.

Besides grassroots organizing stateside, **CODEPINK** women have traveled to Iraq where they helped to establish the [Occupation Watch Center](#). Co-founder Gael Murphy has been key to the development of the international coalition of organizations. The first all-women **CODEPINK** peace delegation went to Iraq in February, 2003. We have since sent multiple delegations to Iraq, Jordan, Iran and Afghanistan to deliver humanitarian aid and make diplomatic and human connections. Please see the Past Actions section of our website for more information on **CODEPINK's** travels.

And the story continues...*join us at: www.codepink4peace.org/*

4. Global Article 9 Campaign - Japan

Article 9 as a Pledge to Asia and the World

1) Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of setting international disputes.

2) In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized.

Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution was legislated in 1946, immediately following the end of the Second World War.

Prior to, and during the war, Japan colonized the Korean Peninsula, Taiwan, the islands in the Pacific, and invaded China and other countries in the Asia Pacific region. Japan is responsible for causing considerable harm to the people living in Asia, including inhumane acts and atrocities; such as the coercion of labor, genocide, human experiments, and “comfort women” (sex slaves). 20 million people are said to have fallen victim. At the same time in Japan, approximately 3 million people, many of them civilians, lost their lives in the air-raids, the ground war in Okinawa, and the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

In the Potsdam Declaration (July 1945) that Japan accepted at the end of the war, the wrongness of Japan’s war of aggression was confirmed. Article 9 was legislated under the understanding that the most effective means to guarantee that Japan would never wage war again, was not to possess any war potential.

Article 9 was legislated in deep reflection on Japan’s war of aggression and colonial rule. Therefore, Article 9; the renunciation of war, and the prohibition of maintaining any war potential, is Japan’s pledge and vow to the people of Asia, the Pacific, and the world, to never again repeat its mistakes.

Furthermore, in order for Japan to have fulfilled its war responsibility, it must have fully compensated for its past and must have apologized to the victims in Asia. It is only the least of fulfilling its war responsibilities for Japan to uphold its vow of never again waging war. We believe, that for this, and to stand by its pledge to the people of Asia, the Pacific, and the world, Japan must uphold and build on Article 9.



***“Article 9
has acted as
a restraint on
the further
militarization
of Japan”***

Following the end of the war, Japan acquired its Self-Defense Forces (SDF). Article 9 does not allow the maintenance of any war potential, and thus prohibits Japan to have any military forces. However, the SDF continue to expand, and Japan's military expenditure is now one of the highest in the world.

Some criticize that the principle of Article 9 is, in effect, not kept. Yet on the other hand, it is also true that Article 9 has acted as a restraint on the further militarization of Japan. Article 9 has also not allowed the SDF to wage war outside of Japan. Even during the War in Iraq, despite its dispatch of its SDF to Iraq under US demands, Japan was unable to exercise any military force.

Furthermore, many of Japan's policies and pacifist principles are based on Article 9. The Three Principles on Arms Export, for example, generally prohibiting the export of arms and weapons, is a progressive principle that does not see any other precedent in the world. The principle of Exclusively Defensive Defense and the interpretation not allowing Japan to exercise its right to collective self-defense have also been maintained. Japan, with its experiences of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, has also the Non-Nuclear Three Principles, which prohibits the possession, production and introduction into its territory of nuclear weapons. These various principles have played an important role in the establishment of trust relationships between Japan and the people of Asia and the Pacific, and the international society.

In other words, Japan's Article 9 is not simply a provision of the Japanese law, but is acting as an international peace mechanism by restraining war and an arms race. As its principle, the UN Charter calls for a peaceful resolution to conflicts; and Article 26 stipulates minimum of the world's resources be used for military purposes. Japan's Article 9 further strengthens this principle of the UN. Any revision or abandonment of Article 9 is connected to the loss of the above principles, and along with raising serious concerns for the security of the Asia Pacific region, and especially Northeast Asia, entails a grave impact on the peace and security of the world.

“Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution has been the foundation for collective security for the entire Asia Pacific region.”

(From the Global Action Agenda for the Global Partnership on the Prevention of Armed Conflict (GPPAC), submitted to the UN Secretary-General in July 2005)

[http://www.article-9.org/en/
article-9@peaceboat.gr.jp](http://www.article-9.org/en/article-9@peaceboat.gr.jp)

5. Ceasefire Campaign, South Africa

- A campaign for peace in South and Southern Africa;
- a campaign for more to be spent on people's basic needs and less on weapons of war;
- a campaign for disarmament and international war resistance;
- a campaign for demilitarisation.

Since the emergence of a democratic order in South Africa which aims to live in peace and harmony with its neighbours, there is no longer any excuse for massive military spending. We do not need to maintain a large army and an arms industry which absorbs huge resources at the expense of the population's basic needs.

Globally there is a move towards the scaling down of military spending; a recognition that conflicts are not best resolved by military means and a greater feeling of responsibility for our planet with its limited resources.

The Ceasefire Campaign seeks to be part of this global movement within South Africa. It is a voluntary association of concerned South Africans campaigning to raise public awareness of the dangers of continued militarism in state and society.

Membership of The Ceasefire Campaign is open to anyone who agrees with its objectives.

For more details and information on current activities, phone the office.

Ceasefire's objectives are:

To contribute to disarmament and peace in South and Southern Africa and, where possible, more broadly. To this end, The Ceasefire Campaign will:

- support credible and legitimate initiatives with similar objectives, both locally and internationally;
- work towards the demilitarisation of society;
- work towards the reduction and possible elimination of the arms industry in South Africa, as well as the reduction and eventual elimination of South Africa's participation in the international arms trade.

Ceasefire activities include:

- Campaigning
- Lobbying
- Networking
- Research and information gathering
- The dissemination of information

Ceasefire Campaign, P.O. Box 31740, Braamfontein, 2017, Johannesburg. S. Africa Tel: (+27-11) 403-5315, Fax: (+27-11) 339-7863



6. Christian Aid, UK - School kids strike 10 Downing Street !

Prior to the UN Summit on Small Arms in the summer 2006, some primary school pupils got the chance to express their thoughts about guns. These were young students of the Pilgrim Way school in London. The schoolchildren and their teacher handed in a petition signed by 4,000 children to 10 Downing Street.



(Photo - Christian Aid)

The children, their sculpture, the petition, their teacher Joanne Farguhar and Mark Thomas outside the gates to Downing Street.

The children were very enthusiastic about their action and had even made a peace dove out of their old toy guns. Their teacher, Joanne Farguhar, said that *"The kids have learned that once you hurt someone you've hurt them – there's no taking it back. Year six is now going to take the dove sculpture around all the classes in school and organise workshops."* She also said that the kids would probably be stricter about gun control than adults, if they were in charge. Children tend to be more honest and go to the heart of the issue. They simply do not grasp how the grown-ups allow for guns to be produced and sold, while they wish to create peace.

A children taking part in handing in the petition said that *"It was really exiting to take the petition up to the door. I think Tony Blair should listen to me because I'm a kid."* However, the children had some problems reaching number 10 with their statue, because of the security. It was probably the toy guns that scared the security guards!

Another child expressed that *"Blair should close all the gun shops and then people wouldn't be able to buy guns anymore."* The dove sculpture was exhibited in the school and they were eager to receive the reaction of the Prime Minister.

Christian Aid: PO Box 100, London SE1 7RT, call 020 7620 4444 or email info@christian-aid.org.

<http://www.christianaid.org.uk/>

Story from: <http://www.abolishwar.org.uk/news6.pdf>

7. DFG-VK, Bavaria, Germany - On the road for peace, disarmament and a civil Europe

"Auf Achse für Frieden, Abrüstung und ein ziviles Europa"

Political activists from all over Germany met in Munich in the summer of 2006 for a bicycle tour organised by the German War Resisters International section DFG-VK, to demonstrate for peace and disarmament. On a 9 day tour they visited bases of Bundeswehr and locations of weapon's industry in Bavaria and Baden-Württemberg. A highlight was the destruction of weapons in front of the gun company Heckler und Koch in Oberndorf. The reactions were friendly and interested people as well as reports in local newspapers, always with picture and peace slogan, also in the local radio and tv.

The bike tour :

- Advertises for steps towards disarmament and a civil foreign and security policy
- Advertises for a nuclearfree Europe, together with Mayors for Peace
- Demands a steady decline of military spending and for a conversion from military towards civil products
- Argues against weapons export
- Tries to talk to people who are working for the weapon industry
- Visits bases of Bundeswehr
- Collects signatures for "Steps towards disarmament"
- Makes the campaign address www.schritte-zur-abrustung.de visible

The local media honored the local aspect: to be received by the local mayors, especially members of „Mayors for Peace“ (Memmingen, Wangen, Friedrichshafen, Überlingen, Tübingen). The activists tried to involve people in discussions about nuclear arms, general disarmament, less military spending and conversion from arms to civil products. Information stands were made, material spread, 3500 flyers (Each Euro spent on weapons comes from your pockets) and 600 peace cookies given out. During the tour two vigils were held in front of the office of „European Aero-





Courtesy CAAT

**“Globalization’s
most perverse
secret”**

nautic Defence and Space Company” (EADS), the biggest arms company of Europe, in Ottobrunn/Munich and in front of the EADS-base Immenstaad/Bodensee. Flyers were distributed to the workers of the arms company MTU in Friedrichshafen.

<http://www.dfg-vk.de/bayern/pdf/pax-an-2006-2.pdf>

8. European Network Against Arms Trade - No export credits for arms trade

Export Credit Agencies’ support for the export of arms should be stopped. All its policies should become available for public scrutiny. Here are some suggestions.

‘Globalization’s most perverse secret’ they were once called. Export credit agencies (ECAs) account for the largest flow of official finance to developing countries and the largest source of developing-country debt. Yet, few people ever heard of them, let alone know what they are doing. Export Credit Agencies are frequently involved in financially supporting the export of arms and military equipment, even to war-torn countries. Thanks to ECA support, expensive British and Swedish military aircraft is sold to South Africa in spite of the resistance of South African civil society, Saddam Hussein was able to build his atomic bunker and to further develop his scud rockets and Dutch naval vessels worth more than ten years of development aid will be sold to Indonesia.

According to a rough estimation, between twenty to thirty percent of the overall amount of government backed export credits is military. By ECA support the risk of an arms deal is transferred to the taxpayer, which makes arms exports more profitable and attractive for the arms industry.

For the European Network Against Arms Trade (ENAAT), the government backed financing of arms trade is unacceptable. Why should public money support the flow of arms to developing countries and contribute to the risk of oppression, armed conflict and terror? Why should public money support arms deals that contribute to the debt burden of countries that cannot afford to send all their children to school or have a good public health system?. Export often happens without considering the ethical aspects like the human rights, welfare and security situation in the country of destination.

Revealing what is happening unnoticed is an important part of the Export credit campaign. The ENAAT Research group will publish a paper to sheds light on the connection between: a) arms trade and development, b) debt and military expenses and c) corruption and arms acquisitions in twelve EU countries. Getting the facts right is a first step into tackling this largely unknown contribution of public money to the global spread of arms.

Export Credit Agencies policies can be addressed at local, regional, national and international level. E.g. in some countries private banks are involved in facilitating the handling of the policies. This opens a range of consumer actions at community level.

Establishing contacts with ECA-Watch (which already started an email list on eca's and arms), campaigns on finance and arms exports (Banco Armata, Netwerk Vlaanderen, Dutch Campaign Against Arms Trade) and aiming for a higher profile of ECAs in the activities of ENAAT (as a network and by the national organisations) is what we currently are involved in.

After the report of the ENAAT Research Group is published, early 2007, we will start to draw up a inventory of past actions and lessons learned, what is needed and who is able to provide it, common activities and positions.

See:

- Flyer: Export Credit Agencies: financing arms trade, A call for action, **What you can do?** (July 2006).
- 'European Export Credit Agencies and the Financing of Arms Trade,' Marijn Peperkamp, Dutch Campaign against Arms Trade (16 June 2006).

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

9. Global Alliance for Ministries and Departments of Peace – A Vision for the Future

Recently, we have witnessed the establishment of a movement to create Departments of Peace around the world. One of the purposes of such departments of government is to introduce a new approach to ending nuclear war. This would construct essential infrastructure to address root causes of violence, reinforcing effective, practical means of peaceful relations on national and international levels.

The Global Alliance was launched at the first People's Summit for Departments of Peace, held in London in 2005, with the intention of supporting national-level campaigns to establish departments of peace in governments throughout the world. These Departments would operate in the foreign affairs sector as well as at home. Their work abroad would include monitoring the world scene for signs of conflict and taking pre-emptive measures as appropriate in partnership with other nations and world bodies, helping with the non-violent resolution of conflicts that exist, and assisting with rehabilitation and reconciliation work after the cessation of conflicts. Their work at home would involve fostering a culture of peace at all levels of the community by transforming conflict in the home, the workplace, the school, and in all aspects of government.

The initiative strives to promote justice and democratic principles to expand human rights and the security of persons and their communities, consistent with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, other related UN treaties, conventions and the Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace(1999); to promote disarmament and strengthen non-military means of peacemaking and peace building; encourage the development of peace initiatives from local communities, faith groups, NGOs and the formation of civilian

Already in 1792, Benjamin Rush acknowledged the need for such an institution. From this starting point over 100 bills have been submitted, but all have been rejected

non-violent peace forces; facilitate the development of peace and reconciliation summits to promote non-violent communication and mutually-beneficial solutions. The vision is of a world in which peace, toleration, and justice prevail, within and between nations. Where all ethnic, racial, and religious differences are welcomed; in which territorial, cultural, and human rights are respected; and in which national and international structures are created to ensure that such rights prevail.

The initiative is currently made up of 23 countries, of which 12 have or have had active campaigns. The Solomon Islands has already set up a Ministry of Peace and Unity, and Nepal established its Ministry of Peace and Reconstruction in March 2007.

The movement for a US Department of Peace

In the US a Department of Peace is at present suggested by legislation in the House, supported by members of Congress. However this is not the first time a similar proposition has been put forward. Already in 1792, Benjamin Rush acknowledged the need for such an institution. From this starting point over 100 bills have been submitted, but all have been rejected. The US government seems unwilling to institutionalise peace in its federal government. 2003 saw a new emergence of an active campaign for a Department of Peace, today all 50 states are involved in the process of enforcing this bill. The subsidiary student campaign was launched in March 2006 and is active on 30 campuses around the country. 20 city councils have endorsed the legislation, including big cities such as San Francisco and Chicago.



For a US department of peace

Uganda

In war torn Uganda the campaign for a national Ministry of Peace is driven as a part of the Uganda Peace Foundation Initiative. The principal functions of a ministry would here be to promote national peace and security, a culture of peace, non-violence among the population, sustainable development and to enhance the understanding, tolerance and solidarity among its people. Uganda is scarred by internal and external conflict ever since its independence in 1962. The organisation considers the establishment of a Peace Ministry vital for the common understanding of non-violent conflict solution and peace-building. The campaign was launched prior to the Peoples' Summit in London in 2005 as a national strategic pillar for

advocacy. This far, most of the work has consisted of mapping strategies and designing the campaign, but already the initiative has received support from politicians in- and outside government, including parliamentarians and peace building organisations. The UPFI is making efforts to consolidate the action.

<http://www.mfp-dop.org/index.php>

10. Grupo de Apoyo Mutuo, Guatemala - civil society monitoring of defense spending ¹

The Guatemalan Peace Accords of 1996 recommended a 33% reduction of military personnel and a military budget which should not exceed 0.67% of GDP, a level which was achieved in 2000. The UN mission to Guatemala, however, found out that, because of budget manipulations, no real reduction of the armed forces, nor of the military budget had taken place.

From 2002 onward, the challenge of promoting the implementation and follow-up of the peace accords was taken by civil society and in particular by the human rights organization Grupo de Apoyo Mutuo (GAM) and Centro Internacional para la Investigacion en Derechos Humanos (CIIDH). With support from the Civil Society Participation Program of UNDP, a project was established in 2002 to monitor and analyze the defense spending in Guatemala with the aim of questioning the implementation of the peace accords in this aspect and to promote a re-orientation of the nation's budget in favor of social development. The project was made viable by the availability of a web-based access to the national budget launched by the Ministry of Finance (SIAF-Integrated System for Financial Analysis) and by the involvement of journalists, local media and critical members of the Congress.

The project to monitor defense spending was initiated during the fiscal years of 2002 and 2003 with the aim of alerting members of Congress, the international community and the citizens in general about this mismatch and lack of effective control of the spending priorities, and has revealed important information on how questionable transfers took place. GAM and CIIDH became specialized in using the web-based tools provided by SIAF for budgetary analysis, and insider contacts in the ministries supported with information and could confirm transactions. The findings from the analysis were used in Congress to demand explanations from the Minister of Defense. Finally, the press made the analysis available to the broader public.

From 2004 onward, a positive new trend was inaugurated in Guatemala and already in 2005 the monitoring team admitted that the Ministry of Defense had become aware of its obligation to inform the population and that the national budget was definitely on the correct course as social budgets were on the increase while the military budget was being reduced.

The Guatemalan case clearly illustrates how civil society organizations, using new democratic and transparent mechanisms, can be powerful actors, especially in alliance with elected officials and investigative journalists.²

The Guatemalan case clearly illustrates how civil society organizations, using new democratic and transparent mechanisms, can be powerful actors

<http://www.gam.org.gt/>



¹ Adapted from Hans Petter Buvollen, Civil Society Participation Program - PASOC, UNDP

² More information at PASOC www.pasoc.org.gt
Ministry of Finance in Guatemala www.minfin.gob.gt
SICOIN-SIAF <http://sico.in.minfin.gob.gt/sico.inweb>

11. Group for a Switzerland without an Army - campaign against Swiss arms exports



The Swiss NGO opposing the maintenance of national armed forces, GSoA/GSSa, has launched a campaign against Swiss arms exports. When the Swiss Federal Customs Administration published the numbers of arms transfers in 2006, these almost amounted to a value of CHF 400 million (EUR 250 million), almost beating the peak from 2004. The GSSa started collecting signatures for forcing a referendum on the national arms transfers at the end of 2006 and is striving to obtain approximately 125 000 signatures by September 21 when they are to be handed over to the federal authorities in Bern. They are expected to exceed the expectations as they already by the end of July had received

130 000 signatures. The purpose of the campaign is to enforce national neutrality and enhance government responsibility. Today the incoherency of the Swiss foreign policy is frustrating. On one hand, Switzerland is preaching peace and certifies its neutrality. While on the other, they contribute to war through arms exports, profiting from it economically. More than half of all exports in 2006 went to target zones in the international 'war on terrorism', e.g. to Afghanistan and Iraq. By contributing to these conflicts the Swiss government supports the resource wars instead of finding alternative solutions. Switzerland has also exported weapons to known human rights abusers such as Saudi Arabia, India and Egypt.

<http://www.materieldeguerre.ch/index.htm>

12. Netwerk Vlaanderen - My Money. Clear Conscience?

A successful campaign against investments in the arms industry.

Netwerk Vlaanderen, a Belgian NGO for sustainable investments, shows the financial world what its responsibilities are. Banks work with our money. They invest that money in various companies, including companies in the military sector. We demand that banks are open about which companies they finance. We oppose their investments in the arms industry. The campaign 'My money. Clear Conscience?', which is run in close co-operation with the peace movements Vredesactie (B), Friends of the Earth Flanders and Vrede (B), has led to substantial changes in the investment policy of banks, and to groundbreaking legislation against investments in arms. The campaign model has been taken on in other European countries.

How we get things moving

Netwerk Vlaanderen regularly published a report revealing the financial links between banks and arms producers. The research is based on financial databases and developed in co-operation with a specialised research bureau in the Netherlands. These reports provoke a strong reaction in the press and amongst clients, as they are mostly unaware of what banks do with their money. This in turn puts pressure on the banks to change their investment policy. The information about the investments is made public through documentaries, debates, press conferences, websites, newsletters, and actions at bank branches. We developed a wide range of creative action methods and imagery, going from ad-busting through petitions, streettheatre, art projects and critical questions at Annual General Meetings of the banks, to setting up a fake bank which is honest and open about investments in the arms industry and broadcasting television ads about controversial investments. Netwerk also goes into direct discussion with the management of the banks and talks to interested politicians about legislation against investments in the arms industry. Towards bank clients, we offer a critical analysis of all financial products which are marketed as 'sustainable', pointing out which funds effectively stay out of the arms industry.

Banks disarm

Some financial institutions have, under the pressure of campaigns and new legislation, severed their investment relationships concerning weapons producers. The extent to which they exclude arms producers differs greatly, but the general trend is the realisation this topic can no longer be avoided. It is not just banks, but also institutional investors, who are facing up to their responsibility. After a revealing documentary about their investments, several Dutch pension funds have decided to no longer invest in cluster munitions producers. The Norwegian Government Pension Fund also excludes these weapons producers.

Legal initiatives against investments in the arms industry

Research into the investment in the weapons industry reveals that self regulation by the financial sector leads to patchy results. Therefore, stemming the capital flow towards the arms industry needs stronger international regulation and widespread national legislation. A government simply cannot allow investments by its resident financial institutions that are in opposition to its principles or policies. During the last years there have been signs that some politicians have taken up this challenge.

In February 2007 after years of campaigning by Netwerk Vlaanderen, the Belgian Parliament voted a law forbidding any investment in cluster munition and landmine producers by Belgian financial institutions. The law states "Financing a Belgian or foreign company active in production, usage, repair, offer, sale, delivery, import, export or stocking of submunition in the sense of this law, is also forbidden." The law also instructs the Belgian government to produce a list of cluster munition producers. Belgium is the first country banning investments in landmines and cluster munitions.

In July 2005 a European Parliament Resolution "calls on the EU and its Member States to prohibit through appropriate legislation financial institutions under their jurisdiction or control from investing directly or indirectly in companies



Activists gather around the "Golden Calf"

Some financial institutions have, under the pressure of campaigns and new legislation, severed their investment relationships concerning weapons producers

involved in production, stockpiling or transfers of anti-personnel mines and other related controversial weapon systems such as cluster sub-munitions". This resolution forms the perfect starting point for national legislation against investments in weapons producers and traders in other European Countries.

Take this on in your country!

The campaign model has been taken on by several European groups (Italy, Spain, the Netherlands and France). The initial phase is quite simple: order a report about the investments by 'your' banks in the arms industry and get the information published in the press. Then raise awareness amongst clients through articles, ads, actions at bank branches, petitions, etc. You can also take the information to politicians, and ask them to follow the Belgian example and forbid legislation in (specific) arms producers. You can refer to the EU resolution to strengthen your argument. And last but not least: use your own power as a client and pressure your own bank to stop these investments. Amnesty International France has withdrawn from AXA after they refused to stop their investments in landmines and cluster munitions. And don't forget: never give up. Four years of actions, petitions and all kinds of public pressure, have finally led to a change in AXA's policy.

Netwerk Vlaanderen is happy to share its expertise and experiences with any organisation that wants to work on this topic.

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www.mymoneyclearconscience.be

13. The Peace Foundation, Aotearoa-New Zealand

In New Zealand we have made some progress in promoting the links between peace, disarmament and development. The IPB programme *Sustainable Disarmament for Sustainable Development* has been useful in supporting this work. As an IPB Vice-President I have been honoured to be able to promote this campaign in particular through our links with development and human rights organizations.

- **Council for International Development (CID).** This is the major coalition of development organizations in New Zealand. 79 non-governmental development agencies are members. CID has excellent relationships with the government and with government agencies in both policy development and aid distribution. The Peace Foundation – one of the only New Zealand member organizations of IPB – is a member of CID and has made the link

between peace, disarmament and development and integral part of CID's programme. The CID Code of Ethics, for example, states "issues of justice, peace, human rights and the protection of the environment cannot be separated from development." As a result of CID embracing this link, we have been able to secure CID funding for travel to international peace and development events including the World Peace Forum, the World Social Forum, the ICJ plus 10 conference, NPT Review Conferences and United Nations disarmament meetings. In addition, our proposals on peace and disarmament have been included in CID documents and in CID input to intergovernmental conferences such as those of the UN Commission on Sustainable Development.



- **Make Poverty History.** This is the major public education campaign on the elimination of poverty. Make Poverty History actions have included 10s of thousands of New Zealanders, received nationwide coverage on all media (TV, radio, newspapers...) and had an impact on government policy. We have used the IPB *Sustainable Disarmament for Sustainable Development* campaign to educate the Make Poverty History partner organizations about the direct link between militarisation and poverty. As such, a major plank of the Make Poverty History campaign is a call for the re-distribution of military spending. Here is a section from the Make Poverty History website:

"The New Zealand government should advocate for reduction of excessive military expenditure worldwide and for the redirection of those funds to social spending that meets human needs. Our world has never been richer, but too little of the world's wealth is going to the people who need it most. The amount of money spent on the tools of development is tiny compared to the amount spent on the tools of destruction. Global military expenditure last year was US\$1,035 billion - on average more than US\$2.8 billion every day. Official aid to developing countries in 2004 was US\$78.6 billion, the highest level ever but still less than 8% of what governments choose to spend on maintaining and equipping armed forces. The estimated amount of aid required to achieve all of the MDGs is fewer than twenty-five days of global military expenditure. The need for all governments, rich and poor, to reprioritise their spending to meet human security rather than military security has been agreed by United Nations member states since 1945, but has not been put into practice. If governments are serious about reducing poverty, it is time for them to act on this now."

We have also managed to include disarmament and development education as a key programme plank for the Make Poverty History campaign.

We have used the IPB Sustainable Disarmament for Sustainable Development campaign to educate the Make Poverty History partner organizations about the direct link between militarisation and poverty

- **Centre for Global Action.** In order to enhance the collaboration on peace, development and human rights initiatives and campaigns, the key human rights and development organizations, along with the Peace Foundation, in January established the Centre for Global Action in the Central Business District of Wellington – New Zealand's capital city. The Centre houses the offices (plus shared space and facilities) for Amnesty International, the Council for International Development, the Development Resource Centre, Oxfam NZ, The Peace Foundation, Transparency International, United Nations Association NZ, UNICEF and UNIFEM.
- **Other joint programmes.** The Peace Foundation is able to bring IPB *Sustainable Disarmament for Sustainable Development* into other programmes run jointly with its partners in the Centre for Global Action, including the *Schools as Human Rights Communities* programme and various training workshops such as *Gender and Development*.
- **Government aid policy.** Peace Foundation has used the IPB *Sustainable Disarmament for Sustainable Development* programme to support and strengthen New Zealand government policy linking peace, disarmament and development. The [NZ Aid](#) (New Zealand government aid agency) website notes that "NZAID works with multilateral agencies and programmes which provide a proven and effective means for New Zealand to address poverty, conflict, governance issues and humanitarian crises worldwide." As such, New Zealand's aid has increasingly focused on disarmament and peace including weapons retrieval in Solomon Islands, de-mining in Sri Lanka and civil conflict resolution in Bougainville.

D.I.C.K. NZ Award

The recipient of this year's Supreme D.I.C.K. NZ Award was **Rakon Ltd - Auckland, New Zealand**. Rakon was, until May of this year, a privately owned company which manufactures quartz crystal oscillators used in Global Positioning Satellite (GPS) systems, and in products such as cell phones, navigation systems ... and 'smart' bombs. In 2005, Rakon was the winner of the NZ Trade and Enterprise (NZTE) Export Awards. They have received government corporate welfare including an \$183,000 Technology New Zealand grant in 1996, and a \$351,000 Technology New Zealand grant in 2003/04.

Last year the NZ Herald revealed that Rakon's crystal oscillators were being supplied to US company Rockwell Collins, for use in their navigation products for precision-guided missile and munitions systems. Rockwell Collins's precision-guided munitions products are outfitted in 90 percent of all US Department of Defence guided tactical weapons, including Joint Direct Attack Munitions, Standoff Land Attack Missiles, Tomahawk cruise missiles, and the Small Diameter Bomb.

In response to the publicity about this, Rakon put out a media release that said: "the company respected the commercial confidentiality of its contracts with customers, and was not privy to the end-use systems, equipment or applications developed by its customers"[1]. Rakon was awarded a 2005 D.I.C.K. NZ Award in because of their exports to Rockwell Collins, and because their media release revealed "either a startling level of irresponsibility or of duplicity".

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14. Peace Action USA - Peace Voter 2006 Successes: *Summary of Electoral Activities*

Clearly, Iraq was on everyone's mind on Election Day, and a dedicated and informed public, led by Peace Action activists and supporters, changed the entire dynamic of the House and Senate. Hopefully, this new Congress will respond to voters with greater peace-mindedness and diplomacy as we work to end the war in Iraq, prevent war with Iran, and address other pressing foreign policy concerns.

In 2006, the national office and about 40 devoted affiliate groups led several different projects in 55 different races under Peace Action, Peace Action PAC, and Peace Action Education Fund (our c-3 sister organization).

Our Peace Action campaign:

- Wrote and distributed hundreds of thousands of non-partisan voter guides in 18 competitive areas around the nation: Pennsylvania's 7th and 8th Districts, Wisconsin's 1st, 2nd and 6th, 3rd and 7th, 4th and 5th, and 8th District and Senate races, New Hampshire's 2nd District, New York's 13th District, Maine's 1st District and Senate, and New Jersey's 7th District and Senate and 4th District and Senate. Ultimately, millions of voters read our voter guides.
- Initiated and supported over 40 different resolution campaigns across Wisconsin, Illinois, and Massachusetts to end the war in Iraq. These resolutions passed in every single district where they were on the ballot, often with over two-thirds of the vote.

Peace Action PAC

Our Peace Action PAC endorsed a total of 52 candidates, including 27 existing members of congress who have 100% voting records on peace issues. Of the 52 candidates that Peace Action PAC and their affiliates endorsed, 43 won in their races.....

Campaign for a New Foreign Policy

Our country deserves a break from the failed policies of the past. Our arms sales and military aid programs have created widespread anti-American sentiment. Our nuclear weapons policies are encouraging nuclear proliferation. Our approach to the international community is leading to growing isolation and foreclosing meaningful leadership. Huge increases in military spending won't make us safer, but they will take funds from education, health care and other programs and harm the quality of life for all Americans. Eliminating civil liberties will threaten our constitution and undermine the very values that make our nation great. We'll make our country safer by affirming our values, not abandoning them.

*We'll make our
country safer
by affirming
our values, not
abandoning them*

Three Steps To A Safer World

1. Support Human Rights and Democracy

We should exhibit international leadership by opposing the policies of human rights abusers, not rewarding them with weapons.

Democracy and human rights are ideals that the American people hold dear. Our elected officials have not held true to these values. Sadly, our country leads the world in providing arms sales and military training to human rights abusing governments and dictatorships. When US weapons are used to prop up governments hated by their own people, bitterness is the result. When we sell weapons worldwide, those arms end up being used against our own troops.

2. Reduce the Threat from Weapons of Mass Destruction

Our nation should lead a worldwide campaign to reduce and control the threat from weapons of mass destruction - a policy we could be proud of.

We face no greater threat than nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. Such weapons are only effective as a means of terror - that can be aimed at us as well as others. The only way to be safe from this threat is to destroy the stockpiles and secure those facilities that make nuclear materials. Instead of leading efforts to secure and dismantle nuclear weapons, the Bush Administration wants to build new ones. In addition, spending billions on a missile defense that won't work while building new nuclear weapons will only speed the pace of nuclear proliferation.

3. Cooperate with the World Community

We should play a positive leadership role in the world community, planning strategies for a future we can all live with.

The Declaration of Independence urged "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind." Our foreign policy isn't reflecting that core value. Our elected officials have abandoned or blocked a host of international agreements on arms control, human rights, the environment, and the International Criminal Court. Instead of promoting "pre-emptive strikes," the US needs to promote policies that address the larger needs of the world community and that minimize the potential for hate and anger. The US has the strength and ability to better the working and living conditions of human kind, and to increase our own security in the process - but only if we lead through cooperation.

*Peace Action Education Fund
1100 Wayne Ave, Suite 1020, Silver Spring MD 20910, USA
<http://www.peace-action.org/>*

15. Peace Tax Campaigns - diverse countries

Introduction

The campaigning for so called Peace Taxes has been actively driven by the Quaker Council of European Affairs. Peace Taxes are related to conscientious objection and are an alternative form of taxes lobbied for by those who reject the compulsory military service. Generally, recruits pay a form of military tax but conscientious objectors should be relieved from these and instead be offered the possibility to submit a Peace Tax, which is to be used by the government for societal benefit. According to the Quakers, Peace Tax is simply *what alternative service is to conscription; i.e. it is the idea that conscientious objectors should be able to redirect the funds that would otherwise have been directed to the military budget towards a special 'Peace Tax Fund' which would be spent on non-military activities*. This is originally based on the thought of extending the human right to conscientious objection. In fact, paying military taxes is a form of conscription.

Paying Peace Tax does not imply that you would pay less tax in the long run. The government still possesses the right to impose taxes based on democratic decision making. There is, of course, a small risk that governments start using a bigger proportion of other peoples' taxes to satisfy their military budgets. However, people should enjoy the right to have a say in the use of the taxes they are charged of. This is a manner of redirecting military spending into social spending. Transparency in government budgeting is essential to certify the distribution of national resources in the first place, later on it is up to the government to decide for which non-military purpose they use the Peace Tax. Regular Conferences on War Tax Resistance and Peace Tax Campaigns are held to invoke government responsibility. Action is especially urgent in countries where not even conscientious objection is allowed. The last conference was held in October 2006 and resulted in a draft on "the human right to direct and indirect military conscription". The next conference is to be held in 2008.

QCEA: <http://qcea.quaker.org/briefings/peacetax/ptbp4new.pdf> :

UK: Robin's Tax – Money Down the Drain

Since the start of the Iraq war, Robin Brookes of Peace Tax 7 has been withholding part of his taxes because he believes that taxes paying for war is morally wrong, but on May 5th in Swindon he was forced to pay his taxes. Using the slogan '*Money down the drain*', Robin walked to the Inland Revenue Office to pay his taxes accompanied by around 30 members of Peace Tax 7. Some of the group carried £20 notes that made up part of Robin's taxes, and placards saying what they would rather their taxes were spent on. While Robin made a mock drain for the money to go down, someone else carried a sink plunger and a placard saying '*Unblock the Way to Peace*'.

Outside the Inland Revenue building Robin read out a letter of protest, which the other people in the group signed, and then put their £20 notes in Robin's drain. Robin then had to continue to the nearby post office to actually pay



Money down the drain ...”

While Robin made a mock drain for the money to go down, and someone else carried a sink plunger and a placard saying “Unblock the Way to Peace”



Robin's tax protest

the taxes. Once inside the Post Office Robin took the money out of the drain and made the payment. Robin and his supporters then returned to the Inland Revenue Office where he handed in his letter of protest and proof that he had paid his taxes. The group then marched back through the streets, explaining to passers-by what they were doing. The event received good press coverage and heightened awareness of the peace tax issue. For more information about the groups activities visit www.peacetaxseven.com.

Colombia

Colombia has witnessed armed conflict for more than a half century. Conscientious objection is according to national legislation forbidden, despite the fact that conscience freedom is allowed in the constitution. All Colombian men are obliged to take up arms in defence of the national independence, and can only be exempted from their duty on grounds other than conscientious ones. In fact, conscientious objection is neither illegal, nor allowed in law, but nevertheless, objectors are considered remiss and can consequently not attend university or obtain a passport. Thereto, they are regarded as deserters, for which the penalties prescribed vary from six months to four years, depending on if the state is in war or not.

The background tells us that men who reject military service face great chances of being prosecuted, however their strong conviction is more important to them. A major concern of the conscientious objection campaign in Colombia is the huge military spending by all parties to the conflict. They are considering introducing some form of war tax resistance but need international support to carry it through.

On the Independence Day anniversary, 20th July 2006, the capital was taken over by a major military parade. Meanwhile, the objectors prepared a street theatre to draw attention to the disadvantages of the ongoing conflict. First, they illustrated the frustration and distress of the near ones to all the persons who have disappeared, been displaced or sent to prison without trial. Secondly, they organized an alternative parade to the official military one. Here, some people acting informants picked out random people from the audience and seized them. finally, schoolgirls dressed in rainbow colours danced into a happier future. Afterwards, they reported the success of their action:

"Everything went well during the non-violent action. The weather was good and there were many people in the street so that we could give our message to all these people. The actors did a good job showing the hidden reality of the military structures and the carnival was a real party. Through the interviews we did with the people in the street and the reactions we received, we know that many people support our actions any way of thinking. During the action we didn't have any problems with the police. Only after the action when we were returning we had a little confrontation with a police agent because some of us were walking in the middle of the street, but as we were 80 persons he couldn't take us with him to the police station and after 10 minutes of discussion he let us go."

Bolivia

Bolivia is a landmark case in the campaign for war tax resistance. Recently, in October 2005, the case of Alfredo Días Bustos was brought up in the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, with the astonishing result of the complainant being freed from military taxes because he is a conscientious objector! In this friendly settlement before the commission Bolivia agreed to relieve Bustos from unarmed military service, even in future armed conflicts, but he would still be provided the 'necessary' document of completed military service. This was to be done *"free of charge, without requiring for its delivery payment of the military tax stipulated in the National Defence Service Act, or the payment of any other amount for any reason or considerations of any other nature, whether monetary or not"*.

The Commission stated that Bolivia is violating the established human rights in the American Convention by not allowing conscientious objection. This is against every individual's right to conscientious and religious freedom. The Bolivian state agreed to include the right to conscientious objection to military service in its draft of the amended regulations for military law it is presently considering. Apart from this, they are to encourage congressional approval of military legislation including the right to conscientious objection.

Conscience and Peace Tax International

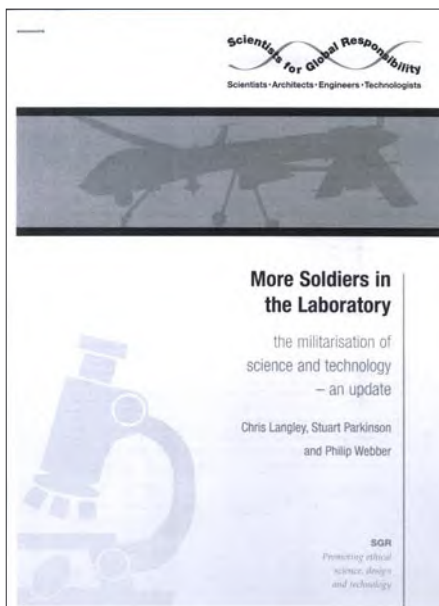
see: www.ohchr.org/english/bodies/hrc/docs/Ingos/CPTI-austria_en.pdf

*A landmark case
in the campaign
for war tax
resistance*

16. Scientists for Global Responsibility, UK - the military involvement in science, technology and engineering project

The organisation:

- promotes ethical science, design and technology, based on the principles of openness, accountability, peace, social justice, and environmental sustainability.
- is an independent UK-based membership organisation of about 850 natural and social scientists, engineers, IT professionals and architects
- carries out research, education, and lobbying centred around the military, environmental and political aspects of science, design and technology
- provides a support network for ethically-concerned professionals in these fields



A one-year research project on the military involvement in science, engineering and technology (SET) in the UK was launched as a Report entitled: *Soldiers in the laboratory: Military involvement in science and technology - and some alternatives* at the UK Houses of Parliament on 19th January 2005. The Report used data from the research literature, websites, personal contacts and publicly available databases.

Ian Gibson (the then Chair, House of Commons Select Committee on Science and Technology) and Professor Steven Rose from the Open University, who has extensive experience of the military involvement with science and technology, together with the Report's author Chris Langley spoke at the fully subscribed launch. Coverage followed in the lay and professional press including *Nature*, *Guardian*, *Science and Public Affairs* and *New Scientist*. In the week following the launch over 300 copies of the Report were downloaded from the SGR website. More than 3000 copies of the Report and a similar number of the executive summaries have been downloaded, purchased or otherwise distributed since the launch date to 31st October 2006.

Professor Steven Rose described the Report as "the most comprehensive document in this field in the last 35 years" and stressed that the Report be used as a "platform for action". Ian Gibson complimented SGR on the Report and also pointed to the important role that the Report should play in making scientists more politically aware, he added that the findings were policy-relevant and the various analyses were broad-ranging in scope.

The Report comprises six chapters and describes the involvement of the military sector with scientists, technologists and engineers in weapons-based high technology research and development (R&D) - detailed analysis covers a variety of partnerships involving the military corporations, government departments with various UK universities which was launched in 2002. The Report also describes how the expertise and funding currently employed by the military sector

could be diverted towards a broader security agenda, especially addressing the drivers of conflict such as poverty, climate change and resource depletion. A number of fundamental recommendations are made.

The dissemination phase - through 2005 to the present - has included making a variety of presentations in the UK, especially at the Royal Institution, but also in Europe. Chris Langley spoke in Copenhagen (at an international Symposium concerning teaching ethics to science and technology students) and Paris (at a UNESCO/Pugwash Conference on military science and the legal framework for dealing with conflict). Both events have resulted in publications which are being made available to a broad range of interested groups in science, technology and the governance of science.

In the UK the findings and recommendations of the Report, concerning the widespread military involvement in science and technology, together with the urgency of making positive approaches to security have been presented to more than twenty-five different groups. Audiences have been very varied - from King's College London to Lancaster University; at the Praxis Centre at Leeds Metropolitan University and to sixth-form students in Southampton. A further series of presentations have been made in 2006-07.

More than thirty articles have appeared concerning the report, most notably in *Nature*, *New Scientist*, *Science & Public Affairs*, *Green World*, *Resurgence*, *Physics Education* and *Professional Engineering*. More are in the pipeline. We have been approached by the media throughout Europe for information on various aspects of military research and development.

SGR also helped the UK Parliamentary Office of Science and Technology brief incoming MPs on the military R&D budget and the place of positive security. Also in Parliament we joined Greenpeace in discussing the role of military science and the future of Trident with Ian Gibson MP.

SGR have had many encouraging discussions and exchanges of information with peace and ethical science groups throughout Europe and the UK. We have also produced a briefing to assist young people make choices in their careers in science and technology – the briefing entitled *Scientist or soldiers? Career choice, ethics and the military* is authored by Chris Langley has been widely distributed and is one of the most popular.

We have continued to make a wide variety of individual formal and informal contacts across academia, the policy area and also civil society. Many of those contacted and the networks created will be using SITL in university courses for teaching purposes.

The Report, subsequent dissemination activities and our outreach programme have reached a cross-section of disparate interest groups - these include science and engineering professionals/ students; policy-makers and policy analysts in science/ security policy; peace and green groups; the specialist and general media; and members of the public.

Recent media interest has focused on robotics and the military with briefings

*It is high time
that science
and technology,
both in the UK
and globally,
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giving far greater
prominence
to ethical
and practical
concerns*

being given by SGR to The Independent on Sunday and radio and television. We have also continued to be active in external events with Stuart Parkinson, the Director of SGR running two workshops on military involvement with science education at the Peace Education Network Conference in Birmingham in March 2007 and an international conference held in Berlin by SGR's international partner INES.

As well as continuing further dissemination of the findings of the Report we have used the UK Freedom of Information Act to better understand military funding from a variety of sources, both corporate and governmental, in science and technology research. Data from the first phase of this research was published in August 2007 and this will be followed by more research in a larger sample of universities together with an outreach programme to influence those policy makers in the scientific and military sectors, government and professional societies. We are also keen to strengthen and broaden our extensive links with the peace, disarmament and ethical communities in the UK and throughout Europe. Such a network of contacts provides not only support for broad-based challenges to the prevailing UK military strategy with its heavy dependence upon weapons and their support platforms, but also adds a 'scientific' dimension to the issues of social justice and sustainable approaches to the many security threats such as global warming, resource depletion and marginalised groups in society.

August 2007 report:

More Soldiers in the Laboratory – the militarisation of science and technology – an update

"It is high time that science and technology, both in the UK and globally, were redirected, giving far greater prominence to ethical and practical concerns, which impact on both humans and the environment."

This update illustrates the main developments of military involvement in science and technology in the UK and overseas during the past three years. *"By drawing on new information, including some gained through the use of the new Freedom of Information Act (FoIA), the briefing highlights how the military involvement in R&D continues to support a narrow weapons based security agenda. We argue that this marginalises a broader approach to security, which would give much greater priority to supporting conflict prevention by helping to address the roots of conflict."*

US R&D spending is anticipated to reach \$78 billion in 2007, which would be 30% higher than its Cold War maximum. Development and research in other sectors such as the economic and social ones, will consequently suffer. The UK spending is the third highest in the world and amounts to approximately £2.6 billion annually. The military sector involvement is increasing on all educational levels in the country, especially in the universities, whose research is extensively sponsored by enterprises in the military sector.

The conclusions made by the SGR are the following:

1. The narrow-minded security perspective, focusing on a high-technology and weapons-based approach, remains dominant with the major military spenders the US and the UK, but as well elsewhere.
2. To further involve military R&D in universities is advancing, even though the situation has not been discussed in scientific or technological communities. This endangers the academic freedom.
3. The civil sector is deprived of skilled labour in the area of technology and science because of the large-scale focus on military development.
4. The need to launch an inclusive and open debate about military policy and the role of science and technology is urgent.
5. The universities are supposed to produce independently thinking individuals questioning the wrongfulness of society. A high military involvement in education easily marginalises dissenting opinions.

<http://www.sgr.org.uk/index.html>

Scientists for Global Responsibility, Ingles Manor, Castle Hill Avenue, Folkestone, Kent, CT202RD UK. Tel: +44 1303 851965, Mobile: +44 7771 883 696 email: info@sgr.org.uk

17. Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation - Human security and disarmament

Human security and disarmament are intimately connected. As long as there are weapons in the world, they are going to be used. Military armament poses a threat to humanity, not only because of the increased risk of war. It devours enormous resources in the form of research, money, raw materials, energy and land, at the same time as a billion human beings subsist on less than two dollars a day. The program consists of three parts:

Small arms

The type of weapon that destroys life for most people today is the so-called small arms, weapons that can be carried by one or more people. Approximately 500 000 people die every year because of small arms - in armed conflicts, in accidents in the home, or because of armed criminality. Small arms have become the world's real weapons of mass destruction. SweFOR's work to stop the proliferation has been going on since the end of the nineties and forms the core of the program.



A peace-sign made of bits of destroyed weapons at a campaign day against small arms in Stockholm in 2006.

Disarmament and the arms trade

In 2004 Sweden was the ninth greatest exporter of weapons in the world, in spite of the fact that exporting arms helps to strengthen dictatorships, undermine respect for human rights and prevent an effective campaign against poverty. SweFOR works with information and advocacy work for a more restrictive policy as regards the arms' trade, both on paper and in reality.

The debate on security

All armed conflicts can be prevented at one stage or another. It is possible to eradicate war if the world uses its resources in a preventive way. In the debate on security, SweFOR argues that the European Union and Sweden should support preventive actions more than they do today. We have also taken part in military exercises to indicate the peace-building role that organisations in civil society can and should play, before, during and after an armed conflict.

For more information about the human security and disarmament program, please contact Håkan Mårtensson, phone +46-8-453 69 94, E-mail hakan.martensson@swefor.org.

18. War Resisters International - Global Initiative against War Profiteers

The Global Initiative against War Profiteers is a project of War Resisters' International that aims to coordinate campaigns against corporations who are profiting from war.

War Resisters' International is committed to working towards ending war and all its causes. Those who profit economically from war form a powerful lobby that support military expenditure and war preparations. Wars create markets and are a means for advertising weapons and war-related products. This is the reason why we believe that economic beneficiaries of war, not only profit from war but also support war for profit.

The aims of the Global Initiative against War Profiteers are to:

- Support groups working against war profiteers
- Encourage more antimilitarist groups to campaign against corporations and anti-corporations groups to campaign against corporations that profit from war
- Coordinate the production and sharing of resources relevant to war profiteers
- Coordinate international actions and support local non-violent direct actions against the corporations

Effective work against war profiteers must include a variety of strategies. Groups choose which corporations to target and create their own strategies. The Initiative facilitates an exchange of information so that groups can support each others work and exchange ideas. We facilitate the coordination of actions against the profiteers.

By co-ordinating resources we help share information between different campaigners. This ensures that campaigners are informed about who the profiteers are, what they do, where they are, and what their vulnerabilities are. We also co-ordinate information on projects and activities that organisations and groups are already working, sharing information about different campaigns, who they focus on, and which strategies have been most effective and why.

It is a huge challenge to campaign against war profiteers. It isn't possible to use anti-corporation tactics such as boycotts because these companies do not produce consumer goods for the general public consumption.

Methods that the initiative is working on and promoting are:

- Monitoring the companies and the policy committees and boards they sit on. Visibility is their vulnerability. Expose them as war profiteers. Describe the effects of their weapons, and the human rights violations of the countries they sell to.
- Educating the taxpayers about government use of their money to fund war profiteers.
- Exposing the bribery prevalent within the war profiteers world. There are many examples that the general public needs to be aware of, and creative and dramatic ways in which to do so.
- Pressurise governments into regulating these companies, by demanding transparency and corporate accountability. War profiteers are unable to meet such standards.
- Looking at the role banks and Export Credit Agencies play in supporting and subsidising the war industry with loans and credits. How do taxpayers and bank depositors feel about their money being used for weapons production?
- Encouraging shareholders, either organisations or individuals, to put pressure on corporations through shareholders resolutions and at annual meetings.
- Encouraging pensions funds, universities and municipalities not to invest in companies that profit from war (which includes all war profiteers, not just weapons manufacturers).
- Coordinating non-violent direct actions against the profiteers, and organising days of actions against war profiteers.

Since WRI is a network of antimilitarist and non-violent activists, many of our affiliates are already engaged in campaigns. For example our Belgian affiliate Forum voor Vredesactie has been campaigning against financial institutions and their involvement with the arms trade. With their campaign *My Money Clear Conscience* they have managed to persuade banks and other financial institutions not to stop investing in cluster bombs manufacturers. They are now trying to encourage them to stop investing in nuclear weapons manufacturers.

During the 2006 WRI International Conference in Germany "*Globalising Non-*

violence" we held a War Profiteering theme group that met for five days. This brought together campaigners from different organisations, including from *My Money Clear Conscience* in Belgium, *Campaign Against Arms Trade* in the UK, *Campaigns against Export Credit Agencies* in Belgium, *Campaign Against Arms Trade* from the Netherlands, *Union Pacifist* in France, and *War Resisters' League* in the USA. The Conference was also attended by representatives from non-violent and antimilitarist groups who have been motivated by our Initiative to start campaigning against corporations in Israel, South Korea, Finland, Colombia, Chile, India, Germany.

As part of the Initiative, WRI has also reached out to people beyond our own network by presenting workshops at gatherings such as the European Social Forum in London 2004, Alternative Social Forum in Venezuela 2006, European Social Forum in Athens 2006.



WRI action in front of Alliant Tech, a US producer of cluster bombs. This was at the Stop the Merchants of Death conference, 2006.

Further steps that have been taken towards the creation of a WRI global initiative include two events that took place in the Americas. In South America a *US Intervention and Military Expenditure* event was held by Red Juvenil de Medellin in Colombia, and in September 2006 in North America, a *Stop the Merchants of Death Conference* was organised by the US War Resisters'.

So far we have achieved a number of things. Many groups involved with the WRI are starting to develop their own campaigns against war profiteers, and WRI has become a central point for coordinating these campaigns. One way to support these groups has been through the production of resources on war profiteers. Two editions of WRI's newsletter, *The Broken Rifle* have been dedicated to the subject, and an e-mail newsletter, *War Profiteers' News* is sent out every two months with news about the latest developments in anti war profiteers campaigners. The newsletter also contains special sections including the war profiteer of the month, the campaign of the month and a list of events from different campaigns. To subscribe to the *War Profiteers' News* you can go to <http://lists.wri-irg.org/sympa/info/warprofiteersnews>. We have also developed a Wiki system web-page where activists can edit and add new information to our website on topics related to war profiteering: <http://wri-irg.org/wiki/index.php/WarProfiteers>

Future plans include: organising an internationally coordinated day of action against war profiteers, publishing a manual on how to campaign against war profiteers and government policies on arms trade, developing a database so that campaigners can research corporations, and providing non-violent training for campaigns that are dedicated to taking non-violent direct action.

By Javier Garate, info@wri-irg.org

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<http://wri-irg.org>

6. DEVELOPING THE CAMPAIGN NETWORK: THE WORK OF IPB

THE NEED FOR COORDINATION

IPB's research into NGO activity in the field of military and social spending has clearly indicate a lack of international coordination. Quite a few studies on disarmament and development have been done by academic bodies over the years, but the international advocacy and partnership aspect lags far behind that found in areas such landmines, climate change, developing country debt, the International Criminal Court, and other causes well-known to the general public.

In part this is because budget decisions are made primarily at the national level, and the focus of campaign work has tended to be national. However, there is much that can be learned from campaigns in other countries; and far more needs to be done to raise awareness and generate partnerships at regional and global levels – for example through the UN and its agencies.

Thus IPB sees it important to link together a number of distinct types of groups who do not currently interact in a systematic way on the spending issue, including:

- peace movement groupings in the West
- newer think-tanks and advocacy groups
- development agencies and their field partners
- civil society movements in the Global South and East

In addition, the issue has potential to attract substantial support from: Political parties; Parliamentarians; Local authorities; Religious bodies; Youth & students groups; Trade unions; Women's organisations; Social service and humanitarian agencies; Scientific and environmental groups.

IPB ROLES

In order to lay the ground for the establishment of a coordinated network, IPB decided to focus on two main activities:

- 1) organisation of meetings, seminars, workshops and conferences around the theme of Disarmament for Development and military spending; and
- 2) publications of different types as resources for those interested in pursuing the work in their own countries and sectors.

We began by focussing its attention on Western Europe, a region where IPB is relatively strong, with long-established democratic traditions and a vibrant civil society. It is also a region with high military spending and home to many of the world's largest arms export enterprises.

LAUNCH MEETINGS AND NETWORK-BUILDING AT NATIONAL LEVEL

While the programme had been in gestation for some time prior, it was formally launched at an international consultation in **London** in late 2005. The IPB book *'Warfare or Welfare?* was also launched at this event. A lot of interest was generated in the idea of a national coalition or campaign. The following June IPB held a workshop in **Paris** at the Salon des Initiatives pour la Paix, and a day-seminar in **Geneva** in collaboration with the World Council of Churches. All three of these meetings demonstrated the grave concern with which civil society views the issue of 'wrong priorities' in public spending and the need for urgent action to control the spread of small arms, landmines and other weapons systems that threaten sustainable development.

TRIENNIAL CONFERENCE

The major event of 2006 was the IPB's Triennial conference, held in **Helsinki** in September. The Secretariat worked closely with our Finnish partners over many months to prepare this. The first day was devoted entirely to our main programme theme, and was also entitled *'Sustainable Disarmament for Sustainable Development'*. A video message was received from IPB's Hon. President, Amb. Jayantha Dhanapala of Sri Lanka. A full page article by the IPB Secretary General was earlier published in the magazine of the Finnish Peace Committee. The other days were devoted to the Assembly, Council and Board meetings, at which strategies for developing the programme were discussed in detail. The Secretary-General made a speech on the theme at the Asia Europe People's Forum which was held just prior to the governmental Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM). Discussions were also held during the course of the IPPNW World Congress, which was held the day following IPB's conference. This confluence of several meetings during the same week allowed various communities of activists to interact.

OUTREACH IN EUROPE

The aim of establishing a series of national networks has been brought closer by the decision of IPB members in two countries (**UK** and **Greece**) to hold seminars, focussing on the specific theme of Disarmament for Development. In Greece, following a serious accident involving Greek and Turkish military aircraft in late May 2006, a Day of Action was declared to launch a **campaign for reduced military spending** in both countries.

Especially strong links have been established in **France**, where an action plan is being developed, contacts are being made with development agencies and municipalities, and in addition a French edition of *Warfare or Welfare?* is under way. In March 2006 the IPB Secretary-General made a speech in the Disarmament-Development theme at a conference organised by Abolition 2000-France and the text was reproduced in the national magazine of the Mouvement de la paix. This trip provided an opportunity for a discussion with staff from the major French development agency CCFD on the question of how to raise military spending issues.

A visit to Scandinavia in 2006 provided an opportunity to explore the development of **Swedish** and **Danish** networks. This, combined with contacts from **Norway** and **Finland** during the Helsinki Triennial, bodes well for the creation of a regional **Nordic network**.

Other European meetings were held in late 2006: in **London**, organised by World Disarmament Campaign; **Copenhagen** (planning meeting with National Peace Council); **Brussels** (Board meeting and appointments with member organisations); and **Paris** (meetings with publishers and development agencies).

TAKING THE PROGRAMME TO AFRICA

In January 2007 the programme was presented for the first time in Africa. A session was organised at the **World Social Forum** in **Nairobi**, in collaboration with Frères des Hommes, who have a similar campaign entitled **Disarmament to Combat Poverty**. Much of 2007 was given over to preparations for an important event in the Arab world, to be held in November 2007 in Alexandria, **Egypt**: an international seminar '*Books or Bombs?*', at the Bibliotheca Alexandrina. Out of this we hope a new regional network will be born.

COMMISSION ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD

The IPB Secretariat was active in 2006 and 2007 in developing a special working group to look at how the issues of spending priorities can be raised at the Geneva-based Commission on the Rights of the Child. A meeting was held in Sept. 06 with Swedish Save the Children, an organisation who have done detailed work over the years on national budget analysis. Following this, a detailed IPB paper was written for presentation at the CRC Discussion Day on Resources, Sept 21, 2007. (available at www.ipb.org), which argues that adequate resources for promoting children's rights cannot be secured without tackling the huge funds locked up in the military sector. This is a long-term project which will take time to show results. However we believe it is a promising avenue and one that is innovative in the way it combines human rights, development and peace issues.

PUBLICATIONS

Apart from our **basic sourcebook** *Warfare or Welfare?*, and the present volume, IPB has put considerable resources into the production of tools for campaigners.

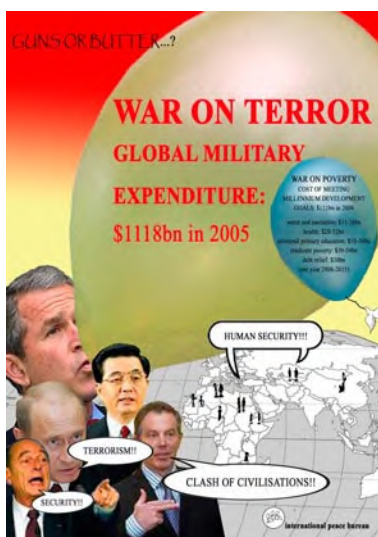
IPB members in London have worked with the Secretariat to produce an A3 **campaign poster** '*Guns or Butter?*' (in colour) on the theme of military spending vs spending to achieve the MDGs. This was released at the Helsinki conference in September 06.

A new **electronic newsletter** *IPB News* has been re-launched. It is issued on a fortnightly basis and the majority of the items relate directly to the Disarmament for Development programme.

A series of **IPB studies** have been published on diverse aspects of the programme, such as Corruption in the Arms Trade, Climate Change and Conflict, Small Arms and Development, and others.

A major **IPB photographic exhibition** is being developed with the help of media professionals.

All these materials are available at the new **IPB website** <http://www.ipb.org/>



GLOBAL NETWORK

Over the period 2006-7 we have been able to advance considerably towards the longer term goal of a global network, through cultivating our contacts in all continents. Among these is the **inter-religious platform** known as *Globalpriorities.org* which is also focussing on these issues. The collaboration with Frères des Hommes and their grouping known as **Disarmament to Combat Poverty** is also promising.

IPB itself is now a federation of 282 organisations in 70 countries, many of whom are working on the themes discussed in this book. We have developed a worldwide **directory of groups** active in this field.

FUTURE PLANS

The main feature of IPB's future work will be developing the partnerships with key groups emerging in different countries in support of the programme. We very much hope to build strong relationships with groups working on spending priorities in Asia, Eastern Europe and Latin America. We hope to produce a number of translations of our materials and ensure wider international distribution. Workshops, seminars and conferences will be organised according to the needs expressed and the resources available. Central to these discussions and debates will be to look at ways of generating effective campaign strategies and sustaining the work over the long term.

7. WEBSITES

A. MILITARY AND SOCIAL SPENDING

International:

Bank Track
www.banktrack.org

Control Arms
www.controlarms.org

Economists for Peace and Security (ex-ECAAR)
www.epsusa.org

Fatal Transactions
www.fataltransactions.org

Disarmament to Combat Poverty campaign:
www.france-fdh.org/campagnes/disarmament/disarmament-to-combat-poverty.htm

Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of the Armed Forces
www.dcaf.ch

Global Priorities.org
www.Globalpriorities.org

Global Security.org
www.Globalsecurity.org

INES, International Network of Engineers and Scientists for Global Responsibility
www.inesglobal.com

INESAP
www.inesap.org

International Action Network on Small Arms
www.iansa.org

International Alert
www.international-alert.org

International Peace Bureau
www.ipb.org

International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War
www.ippnw.org

International Peace Research Association
www.ipraweb.org

Pax Christi International
www.paxchristi.net

Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
www.sipri.org

UN Development Programme
www.undp.org

UN Environment Programme
www.unep.org

UNESCO
www.unesco.org

UNICEF
www.unicef.org

UN Institute for Disarmament Research
www.unidir.org

War Resisters International
www.wri-irg.org/from-off.htm

Global Initiative Against War Profiteers:
<http://www.wri-irg.org/nonviolence/cawp.htm>

World Council of Churches
www.wcc-coe.org
+ Decade to Overcome Violence:
www.overcomingviolence.org

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
www.wilpf.int.ch
www.reachingcriticalwill.org
www.reachingcriticalwill.org/corporate/corporateindex.html

Regional:

Educating Cities – Latin America
www.rosario.gov.ar/sitio/paginainicial

European Network Against Arms Trade
www.antenna.nl/enaat

NPI-Africa
www.npi-africa.org/

Belgium:

Netwerk Vlaanderen
www.netwerkvlaanderen.be/en

Groupe de Recherche et d'Information sur la Paix et la Sécurité
www.grip.be

Canada:

Canadian Peace Alliance
www.acp-cpa.ca

Costa Rica:

Arias Foundation for Peace and Human Progress
www.arias.or.cr

France:

Centre pour la Recherche et d'Information pour le Développement
www.crid.asso.fr

Comité Catholique contre la Faim et pour le Développement
www.ccfcd.asso.fr

Frères des Hommes
www.france-fdh.org

Mouvement de la paix
www.mvtpaix.org

Germany:

Bonn International Center for Conversion
www.bicc.de

Informationsstelle Militarisierung (IMI)
www.imi-online.de

Guatemala:

Grupo de Apoyo Mutuo, Guatemala
www.gam.org.gt

Japan:

Article 9 campaign, Japan
www.article-9.org/en

South Africa:

Ceasefire
<http://www.ceasefire.org.za/>

Spain:

Fundacio per la Pau, Catalunya
www.pangea.org/perlapau/fundacioperlapau/qui_som/index_eng.php
campaign against military research:
www.prouinvestigaciomilitar.org

Sweden:

Save the Children - Sweden

www.rb.se/eng

Swedish Peace and Arbitration Society

www.svenska-freds.se/english

Swedish Fellowship of Reconciliation

<http://www.swefor.org>

UK:

Arms Reduction Coalition

www.arcuk.org

British American Security Information Council, BASIC

www.basicint.org

Campaign Against the Arms Trade

www.caat.org.uk

Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

www.cnduk.org

Movement for the Abolition of War

www.abolishwar.org.uk

Oxford Research Group

www.oxfordresearchgroup.org.uk

Scientists for Global Responsibility

www.sgr.org.uk

USA:

Alliance for the Global Wellness Fund Treaty

www.globalwellnesstreaty.org

Arms Trade Resource Centre, World Policy Institute

www.worldpolicy.org/projects/arms

Borgen Project

www.borgenproject.org

Brookings Institute

www.brook.edu/FP/projects/nucwcost/weapons.htm

Centre for Defence Information

www.cdi.org

Centre for Arms Control and Non-Proliferation

www.armscontrolcenter.org/military

Federation of American Scientists
Arms Sales Monitoring Project
www.fas.org/asmp

Friends Committee on National Legislation
www.fcnl.org

Global Security.org
www.globalsecurity.org

National Priorities Project
<http://costofwar.com/numbers.html>

Peace Majority
www.peacemajority.org

Peace Action
www.peace-action.org

Western States Legal Foundation
www.wslfweb.org

Women's Action for New Directions
<http://www.wand.org>

World Policy Institute/Arms Trade Resource Center
<http://www.worldpolicy.org/projects/arms/>

B. CAMPAIGNING AND STRATEGY

AVAAZ
<http://www.avaaz.org/en/about.php>

Amnesty International
campaign handbook
<http://web.amnesty.org/pages/campaigning-manual-eng>
and
<http://www.amnesty.org/campaign/>

Campaign Strategy (Chris Rose)
www.campaignstrategy.org
explores ideas for structure & strategy applicable to most campaigns
see esp. the impressive collection of invaluable resources at:
<http://www.campaignstrategy.org/resources.html>

Cluster Munitions Coalition
<http://www.stopclustermunitions.org/dokumenti/dokument.asp?id=152>
and especially:
http://www.minesactioncanada.org/tool_kit/en/index.html

Frameworks Institute
www.frameworksinstitute.org/

Friends of the Earth
<http://www.foe.co.uk/campaigns/>

International Action Network on Small Arms
Information Kit on Women and Armed Violence
<http://www.iansa.org/documents/index.htm>

International Campaign to Ban Landmines
<http://www.icbl.org/tools>

International Freedom of Expression Exchange
Handbook for advocates
www.ifex.org

START
Study, Think, Act, Respond Together
<http://www.startguide.org/>

Stop Esso
<http://www.greenpeace.org.uk/climate/stop-esso>

The Yesmen (radical impersonators)
<http://www.theyesmen.org/>

Training for Change
<http://trainingforchange.org>

Wikileaks
a place for journalists, truth tellers and everybody else
<http://wikileaks.org>

8. PUBLICATIONS

A. MILITARY AND SOCIAL SPENDING

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Makupula, C.N., 'Disarmament and Development: a South African Perspective', in *Disarmament Forum*, UNIDIR, 2003

National Peace Council, Sri Lanka, *Cost of War*, Colombo 1998

Palme Commission, *Common Security: A Programme for Disarmament*, Pan, 1982

(Ch. 4: Economic and Social Consequences of Military Spending)

Paukert, Lisa and Richards, Peter, eds., *Defence expenditure, industrial conversion and local employment*, International Labour Office, 1991

Mehta, Vijay, *Arms No More*, Arms Reduction Coalition, London, 2005

Roche, Douglas, *Bread not Bombs: A Political Agenda for Social Justice*, University of Alberta Press, 1999.

Sachs; Jeffrey, *The End of Poverty*, Penguin, 2005

Schwartz, Stephen, ed., *Atomic Audit: the Costs and Consequences of US Nuclear Weapons since 1940*, Brookings Institution, USA, 1998.

Sivard, Ruth Leger, *World Military and Social Expenditures*, (16 editions, from 1974-96), World Priorities Inc., Washington DC

Staples, Steven, *Breaking Rank – A Citizens' Review of Canadian Military Spending*, Polaris Institute, 2002

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Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, *SIPRI Yearbook*, 2007 - and *Military Expenditures Database* at www.sipri.se

United Nations, *Human Development Report*, UNDP, 2007

UN LiREC, *Basic Guidelines for the Development of Defence White Books*, www.unlirec.org

World Council of Churches

World Military Expenditures: a compilation of data and facts related to military spending, education and health

http://overcomingviolence.org/fileadmin/dov/files/wcc_resources/dov_documents/MilitarySpendingReport.pdf

B. CAMPAIGNING AND STRATEGY

Ashford, Mary-Wynne, with Dauncey, Guy, *Enough Blood Shed - 101 Solutions to Violence, Terror and War*, New Society Publishers; 2006

Hochschild, Adam, *Bury the Chains: Prophets and Rebels in the Fight to Free an Empire's Slaves*, 2005, Houghton Mifflin, USA.

Lattimer, Mark – *The Campaigning Handbook*, Directory of Social Change, London, 2000. <http://www.dsc.org.uk/acatalog/Volunteering.html>

Moyer, Bill with MacAllister, JoAnne, and Finley, Mary Lou and Soifer, Steve, *Doing Democracy: The MAP Model for Organizing Social Movements*. New Society Publishers, 2001

Rose, Chris, *How to Win Campaigns: 100 Steps to Success*, Earthscan Publications, 2005. <http://shop.earthscan.co.uk>

9. THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE BUREAU - OVER 100 YEARS OF PEACEMAKING

The **International Peace Bureau (IPB)** is dedicated to the vision of a World Without War, and is the world's oldest international peace federation. IPB brings together people who are working for peace in many different sectors: not only pacifist organisations but also women's, youth, labour, religious and professional bodies. It was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1910 and over the years 13 of IPB's officers have been recipients of the Nobel Peace Prize. IPB's main function is to link its member organisations, and individual members, to form a global network bringing together expertise and campaigning experience in a common cause. Every year IPB awards the **Sean MacBride Peace Prize**.

Early history

IPB was founded in 1891, as a result of the Third Universal Peace Congress in Rome. The Danish politician Fredrik Bajer was its first President and The Swiss Elie Ducommun its first Secretary-General. Among its most dynamic leaders was the Austrian baroness Bertha von Suttner. IPB's office was initially located in Bern and IPB became the executive organ of the 'International Union of Peace Societies'. Its aim was *"to coordinate the activities of the various peace societies and promote the concept of peaceful settlement of international disputes"*. In its early years all national peace organizations affiliated with IPB and identified with its ideology and programme.

Important issues that the Peace Bureau focused on its early days included matters such as arbitration procedures, bilateral peace treaties, the creation of a permanent court of international justice and of some kind of intergovernmental or supranational body for cooperation and resolution of disputes between nations. To promote these ideas, the Bureau organised an annual peace congress, introduced peace education programmes, and lobbied at events such as the **Hague Peace Conference of 1899**. It also acted as a communication point for the various individuals and organizations working for peace, and distributed information through its fortnightly publication *Correspondance bimensuelle* and its yearbook *Annuaire du mouvement pacifiste*. IPB was influential in bringing peace concerns to the attention of both public opinion and politicians, and it was successful in promoting the idea of what eventually became the League of Nations.

The World Wars

World War I both obstructed the work of the Bureau and brought the International Union of Peace Societies to an end. With the war finished, IPB was unable to keep the same predominant position amongst international organizations and institutions. An intergovernmental body promoting the ideas of arbitration and mediation now existed, and it was no longer seen necessary for a nongovernmental organization to focus on these issues. In addition, the international peace movement took on a more diversified pattern of ideologies, interests, and projects, and it was no longer possible or desirable to have only

one coordinating body. IPB decided to concentrate its efforts mainly on communicating peace movement ideas and proposals to those responsible for decisions at the governmental and intergovernmental level. In order to maintain close contact with the new League of Nations and the diplomatic circle, the IPB moved its Secretariat to Geneva in 1924, where it has remained ever since.

During World War II, for both practical and ideological reasons, the work of the International Peace Bureau came to a halt, and its assets were temporarily placed under the supervision of the Swiss authorities. In 1946 some of its former member organizations met to reestablish the Bureau and its work. The result was a new international organization called the International Liaison Committee of Organizations for Peace (ILCOP). In January 1961, after several years of negotiations this new organisation was recognized by the Swiss Federal Council as the legal successor to the old International Union of Peace Societies. The assets of the Bureau were given to the ILCOP and its library deposited with the United Nations (UN) in Geneva. Shortly afterwards, ILCOP readopted the name International Peace Bureau, the name by which it is known today.

IPB today

During the Cold War IPB carried out work on issues such as disarmament, conscientious objection and UN peace-keeping. The membership gradually grew. In the early 1990s, IPB was active in the **World Court Project**, which secured a historic Advisory Opinion on nuclear weapons from the International Court of Justice. In May 1999, IPB played a central role in organising the **Hague Appeal for Peace** Congress, which led to the **Global Campaign for Peace Education**. (www.haguepeace.org). In 2004 IPB co-organised a major 5-day international peace conference as part of the **Barcelona Forum**, entitled *Towards a World Without Violence*. The topic of **Women in Peacemaking** was the subject of a two-year programme designed to commemorate the centenary of the Nobel Prize awarded in 1905 to Bertha von Suttner.

In 2005 IPB launched a major new programme, **Sustainable Disarmament for Sustainable Development**, designed to reflect widespread public concern at the rapid rise in global military spending; and the evidence that weapons (such as small arms, cluster bombs, landmines) seriously impede sustainable development. IPB advocates major reductions in defence budgets and the adoption of a 'human security' approach. Activities organised in pursuit of these goals include seminars, publications, website, e-newsletter, exhibitions, etc. National and international networks are gradually being developed. Other concerns include nuclear disarmament, conflict prevention and resolution, peace history and peace education.

Membership

By 2007 IPB's network had grown to 282 member organizations, comprising groups in over 70 countries. Today membership is open to:

- (a) international organisations working for peace and international cooperation
- (b) national peace councils or other federations coordinating the peace movement of their respective countries
- (c) national and local organisations working directly for peace and international cooperation

Associate membership is open to organizations and individuals who support the aim of the International Peace Bureau.

10. IPB PUBLICATIONS CATALOGUE

Warfare or Welfare?

Disarmament for Development in the 21st Century – a Human Security Perspective

First in a new series of documents linking peace and poverty. The intention of this new IPB programme is to revive the idea of Disarmament and Development (much debated in the 1980s at the UN), to update it and to set it in a 'human security' context. Main topics: **military spending, effects of weapons on development, military bases.**

By Colin Archer and David Hay-Edie, 100pp, 2005.
(English) 20 CHF (Available also at www.ipb.org)

The Life of Bertha von Suttner and her Legacy for Women Peacemakers Today

Booklet about the first woman to win the Nobel Peace Prize, also IPB Vice-President. Includes a survey of contemporary women's peacemaking work. Co-published with the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. (English) 36pp, 2005, 5CHF

From War to Peace

Examines lessons learned from achievements and failures in peace agreements over the past decade, drawing on 9 specific country studies of transitions from armed conflict to peace. It is intended as a practical handbook for peace negotiators (either governmental or non-state actors). Written by Caroline Guinard, Nonviolence International. (English) 186pp, 2004, 20 CHF.

Peace Is Possible

30 short, popular accounts of successful peacemaking written for the general public. Frank and personal insights from leading peacemakers such as the Dalai Lama, Nelson Mandela, Mikhail Gorbachev, Joseph Rotblat, and Jody Williams, with appeal to a wide circle of readers, young and old. Edited by IPB Former Vice-President Fredrik Heffermehl. **Now in 17 languages!** (English -Español - Bangla - Norsk - Suomi - Srpskohrvatska - Hindi Urdu - Japanese + soon 8 more)

150pp, 20CHF, see www.peaceispossible.info

Elie Ducommun: 1833-1906

Articles about the first Secretary-General of the IPB, Nobel Peace Prize 1902. Contains a chapter on the contemporary IPB. (Largely in French, one chapter in English) 300pp (illustrated), 20 CHF.

International Women's Day for Peace and Disarmament – May 24

Annual information pack on women's peace work around the world. 2007 edition focuses on the problems and struggles as well as achievements of girls and young women in Africa, Middle East, Asia and Europe. Published by IPB and International Fellowship of Reconciliation. English, 30pp, 5 CHF

Time to Abolish War! A Youth Agenda for Peace and Justice

A very popular booklet that emerged from the Youth Programme of the 1999 Hague Appeal for Peace conference. Compiled by Jo Tyler and Adam Berry and published with the support of the European Youth Foundation. Covers the whole range of Hague Appeal campaigns and issues and includes cartoons, poems, action ideas, contact lists, etc. Ideal peace education tool for classroom use or with youth groups. (English) 50pp, 8 CHF

Report of the Geneva International Peace Education Conference

Selections from various presentations over the fourday IPB conference which brought together adults and youth working to promote peace education. Chapters on the history, theory and methods of peace education, as well as examples of peace education being carried out around the world. Edited by IPB historical consultant Verdiana Grossi. (English and French) 116 pp, 20 CHF

Tackling the Flow of Arms

An international survey of initiatives against the arms trade. Ernst Gülcher, International Peace Information, Antwerp. (English) 179pp, 12 CHF.

Chernobyl: Environmental, Health, and Human Rights Implications

Breaking the silence and finally telling the truth: expert witnesses' testimonies document the role of the International Atomic Energy Agency in this humanitarian disaster and clearly reveal the impact of nuclear energy on the environment. Edited by former IPB Vice-President Solange Fernex and published in collaboration between IPB, the Permanent People's Tribunal, and the International Medical Commission on Chernobyl. (English, French editions) 230pp, 12 CHF.

The Right to Refuse Military Orders

Examines the application of the Nuremberg Principles to situations of war and oppression, including Vietnam, Romania, and the Occupied Territories. Issues include: resistance to nuclear weapons, military service, torture, and repression of strikers. Soldiers, lawyers, and activists have all contributed valuable perspectives. Edited by Merja Pentikäinen. (English) 112pp, 10 CHF.

IPB News

Now only available electronically. Please contact Secretariat for details.

IPB Annual Reports

Annual Reports are available at www.ipb.org

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