

Welcome Pack

for the International Conference

Nonviolent Livelihood Struggle and Global Militarism: Links & Strategies

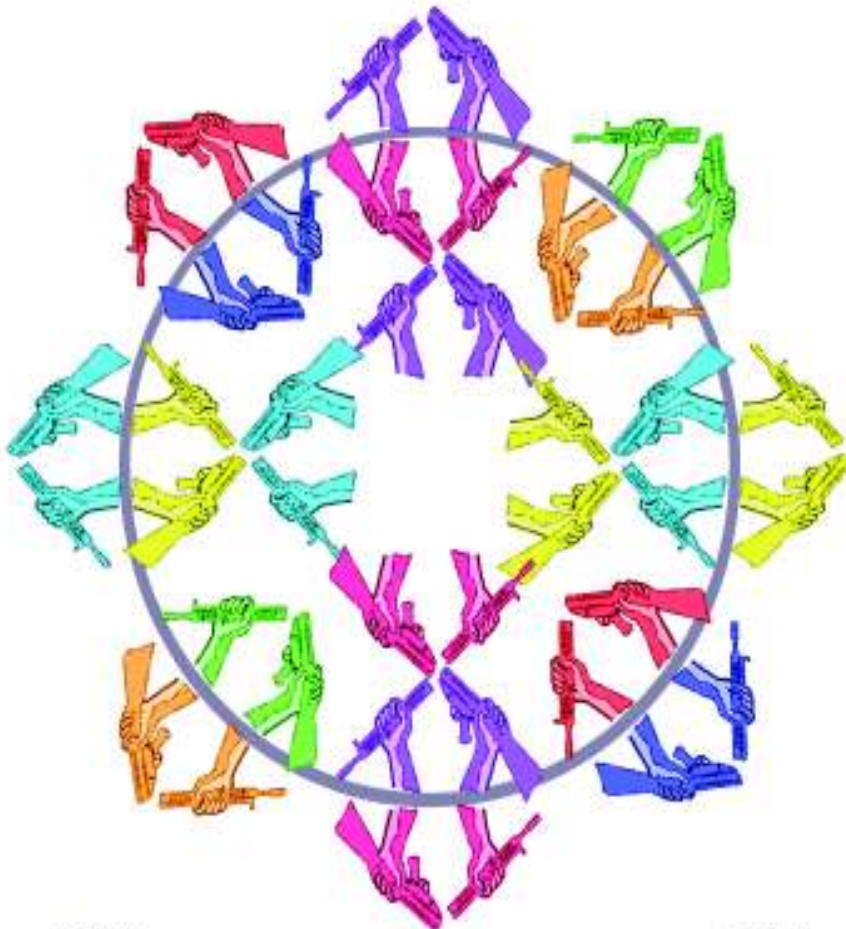
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NONVIOLENT LIVELIHOOD STRUGGLE AND MILITARISM: LINKS & STRATEGIES

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE, AHMEDABAD, INDIA, 22 - 25 JANUARY 2010

CONFERENCE ORGANISERS :

WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL

GUJARAT SARVODAYA MANDAL

GUJARAT VIDYAPITH UNIVERSITY

SAMPOORNA KRANTI VIDYALAYA

There is an inescapable link between the globalisation-induced displacement, dis-employment and dispossession that are results of internal wars and ravage local, traditional and indigenous natural-resource based communities everywhere. There is a linkage between these and the monstrous international wars - whether they are fought in Afghanistan, Iraq, Congo or Somalia. The biggest challenge therefore is to build alliances that are local and global at the same time, and those that not only resist injustice but also present alternatives.

Medha Patkar

Nonviolent Livelihood Struggles and Global Militarism - Links and Strategies

War Resisters' International Quadrennial Conference Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmedabad

Open Conference: 22 – 25 January
Excursion: 26 January
WRI Assembly: 27 – 28 January
WRI Council: 29 January
Gandhi memorial march: 30 January

PRE-CONFERENCE PACK

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Welcome to the conference

Howard Clark (chairperson of WRI)

Whenever the time comes to organise a WRI Triennial (now Quadrennial) conference, we search for a conference theme that will combine different elements of our vision. Just as Gandhi gave an activist twist to the ancient notion of ahimsa (non-harm), transforming it into "action based on the refusal to do harm", so WRI's "no" to involvement in war and war preparations leads us into involvement in and support for nonviolent action in a range of contexts. Ultimately it leads to our intention to build movements for nonviolent social transformation.

Our theme this time juxtaposes non-violent livelihood struggles - that is, nonviolent resistance by communities to localised threats - with menacing global forces, and in particular the global face of militarism. A community's campaign for its own survival and dignity has a very different character than a campaign by people who choose to involve themselves in dismantling the machinery of war. Yet somehow the solidarity generated by their coming together - the local and the global, the community whose livelihood is in danger with those concerned to challenge the power structures of their own society - can construct a counter-power to defy, perhaps withstand and one day stop the forces of destruction.

The history of nonviolent action - and indeed of war resistance - is typified by this dual dynamic: on the one hand local communities standing against the impositions of their rulers, on the other a sense of the global, of a common humanity that transcends frontiers and cuts through the structures of hierarchical power.

The conference programme

The conference will have five plenary sessions and numerous workshops. The opening plenary will be addressed by two of India's outstanding critics of the politics of capitalist globalisation, Arundhati Roy and Ashish Nandy. Three morning plenary sessions will take up central issues - mines, land, and transnational solidarity. These will have some warm-up slots - the news spot and the reflectors (explained in the next piece) - then a presentation and a commentary before open discussion.

Most of the conference time will be spent in workshops where participants will have the chance to contribute from their own experience and to ask what they really need to understand. If you'd like to set up a workshop, it's never too late to offer.

This will be WRI's third 'Triennial' in India. Our venue - the Gujrat Vidyapith

- is a university founded by Gandhi himself and whose most glorious achievement was probably to be closed three times during civil disobedience campaigns in India's freedom struggle. Our two other hosts are products of different eras of nonviolent struggle - the Gujarat Sarvodaya Mandal, founded in the 1950s to coordinate the Bhoodan (land-gift) campaign led by Gandhi's 'spiritual heir', Vinoba Bhave, and the Sampoorna Kranti Vidyalala (Institute for Total Revolution), founded by Narayan Desai in the 1970s to develop the nonviolent movement against the Emergency imposed by Indira Gandhi into a movement for total revolution. Narayan - WRI's chair from 1988-91 - will address the closing plenary. All three bodies remain closely involved with different types of nonviolent movement. These are our formal hosts. Informally, we would not be going to India at all were it not for three grass-roots nonviolent troublemakers living in Gujrat - Swati, Michael and Anand. In addition to the conference, there will be a choice of two excursions, on 26 January.

More than a conference

A WRI Triennial is more than a conference. It is, of course, is part of WRI's continuing work. The ideas we discuss should feed into cooperation and action, the people we meet might become co-workers, and so our networks grows in effectiveness and

numbers. The Triennials remain central in our effort to build a transnational community of resisters who will support each other, and amplify the message of any part of our network in the rest of the world.

Whatever is on the agenda, we try to make the most of a time when so many of us from so many countries will be together. Often people comment that the best part of a conference is what takes place out of session, in the lunch queue, in the evenings, etc. This also may be true of WRI conferences, but we also do our best to make the sessions themselves interactive - for instance, we propose to start each day with a few people preparing a 'news-paper theatre' sketch (one of the techniques associated with Augusto Boal's Theatre of the Oppressed).

I was 22 years old when I first attended a Triennial, in 1972, and it made a huge impression on me. Not for the quality of debate - to be frank, that was rather patchy. Nor even for giving me the opportunity to hang out with some recently released prisoners and some legendary activists (including two who have died this past month - Bill Sutherland and George Willoughby). First, I was struck by the sense of 'encounter', of finding the person behind a useful contact address. Second, I was impressed by the strength of feeling - how much we all

cared about this work for our common cause and beyond that for each other, for the people who despite all our difficulties keep on keeping on - there are so many persisters among the war resisters! I hope that anybody attending their first Triennial in Ahmedabad will have the same kind of experience.

The 'open conference' (22-25 January) is followed by what has usually been called a "business meeting", but which

Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi never attended a WRI meeting - but he sent in his place Dr Rajendra Prasad, who became vice-president of WRI and later was the first president of independent India. At WRI's behest, Gandhi agreed to convene a World Pacifist Meeting - deciding that it should not take place until India was free. Unfortunately by the time it happened, 1949, Gandhi himself had been assassinated.

The first WRI Triennial in India was in Gandhigram, 1960, the second in Vedchhi, Gujarat.

I'm trying to get renamed something like 'assembly' where we address organisational issues. All members of WRI (and WRI affiliates) are entitled to attend and speak at this, and others are welcome to observe. For WRI as an organisation, the Triennial/Quadrennial is a vital point of renewal - it's the time when new members come onto Council, perhaps new projects are set in motion, and where together we look afresh at the challenges ahead of us.



Here is the News ...

Every morning session will have a "news slot" at the beginning to connect with what's happening in the world outside the conference. This can be as straightforward as a conference participant telling us some news they have heard from home. However, it would set a good tone for the day if each day a few people would prepare a small piece of "newspaper theatre". That means using dramatic techniques, such as those associated with Augusto Boal and the "Theatre of the Oppressed", to reinterpret daily news items.

Here are some methods:

- 1. Shift context** - either a simple reading but outside the usual mass media context or perhaps create an incongruous context, such as a finance minister calling for austerity while stuffing himself with food. **Or even shift the historical or geographical setting** to highlight parallels or contrasts - Noah discussing climate change,
- 2. Crossed reading** - two different news items are read in alternation, one throwing light on the other - or **Complementary reading**, where you

add relevant information to the original news item.

3. Musical reading - either read the text with a rhythmic or musical backing, or sing it or declaim it rhythmically. Another version would be to put a soundtrack to the text, and yet another to use advertising jingles and publicity material as a comment to the main story.

4. Parallel action - mime the event while the story is being read, or perhaps show graphic material of the reality the mass media glosses over ('collateral damage', 'interrogation', 'displacement')

5. Alter ego - one person reads the text (say a politician's speech), while another says what the speaker is really thinking.

6. Improvisation - Act out the story - perhaps imagining dramas in the lives of those affected, perhaps different possibilities of where these events might lead. (There will be a time limit for this one!)

Please come forward and offer to do this. Try to make it visual, and it will help the interpreters if you prepare a brief written summary.

Workshop reporting-back ...

Verbal reporting of workshops is usually time-consuming and can be a

bit boring. So instead, this is the plan:

1. Each workshop should draw up a list of the points it wishes to share and stick this on a wall in the plenary room. Somebody from that workshop should stand by the piece of paper to answer questions. Then in the period just before dinner, people can stroll around the plenary room at their own pace - looking at what's been written (or maybe drawn), asking for any explanations they need.
2. In the plenary room, the organising committee plan to draw up a "web chart" (nothing to do with the internet!) illustrating how conference topics link

Bring on the Reflectors!

No, this is not the name of the coolest sound in Ahmedabad - although if they want to sing, they will be quite welcome. These are participants who have been invited to add coherence to the conference by commenting each morning and at the closing session on what they have heard and observed. Their role is to **"reflect"** the conference discussions back to the rest of the participants and then share their own

with each other. Workshops are welcome to add to this and to complete it.

3. Every morning there will be some comments from "reflectors" (see separate item on reflectors), including any points they might want to highlight from the workshops.
4. Any workshop that wishes to make recommendations or even practical proposals to the WRI for consideration can ask for a proposal form for the business meeting / assembly on 27-28 January.

reflections on the connections, where they see them leading, what they want to highlight, and what might need adding.

Five people from different continents will be chosen to play this role. They can flit between workshops, butt into conversations in food queues and basically do whatever it takes to form an impression of what is happening.

Confronting 'development'

Anand Mazgaonkar

Development-induced displacement uproots more people than any tsunami, cyclone or earthquake. For the common people, development usually can be distilled down to five 'D's': Displacement, Dispossession, Disempowerment, De-skilling, Destruction of natural resources and Dehumanisation. The development ideology brooks no dissent and rides roughshod over communities, cultures, traditional occupations and lifestyles. I shall just cite a few examples:

- dams and other development projects have displaced between 25 and 50 million people in the last 50 years.
- uranium mining in the eastern predominantly tribal state of Jharkhand causes genetic defects among families of mine-workers, and the authorities simply refuse to acknowledge the problem, while cities enjoy the benefits of nuclear power
- in Orissa, 13 indigenous people trying to protect their lands from acquisition by a steel manufacturer were killed by the administration-police-corporation nexus. Their private parts were mutilated during post mortem to teach the indigenous people a lesson (this is not the only instance of violence and killing in the state)
- ports and coast-based export-oriented industrialisation is displacing and dis-

employing fisherpeople across the country (the leader of the movement against the port in Gujarat died from police torture)

- for the farmers in the southern states of Andhra Pradesh, Kerala, the western state of Maharashtra and the northern state of Punjab, the reality of globalising export-oriented agriculture has prompted mass suicides (the official national statistics are 86,922 farmer suicides in 2001-2005).
- factory workers are either forced to go without pay for months, or are losing their jobs due to changing technology and shifting production facilities

This is the state of adivasis, farmers, pastoralists, fisher-people and factory workers – the primary producers in India's high growth economy. The map of '21st century', Information Technology driven high-tech, 'developed' India is blotched with the blood of the poor toiling majority. The result of mass suffering? 15-20% of the mainly urban middle class 'have never had it so good'.

The tragedy is that the forces unleashed by this cry for 'development' pit one set of victims/poor people against another: drought-affected versus displaced, the unemployed versus internal migrants, farmers versus factory workers and so

on. People end up fighting for a share of the same small pie. This is in contrast to the criminally wasteful use of natural resources that sustains the lifestyle of a small privileged sector of the population. First a scarcity is engineered, then the 'brilliant' solution of privatising resources in order to streamline their distribution is invented!

The details here may be drawn from India, but this story resonates throughout the world. This applies as much to the Ogonis of Nigeria, the Mapuche of Chile, the people of Cochabamba, Bolivia and the indigenous of Philippines. People everywhere witness their resources being appropriated in the name of more 'efficient management', 'choice', 'freedom'.

In recent years, there have been several nonviolent struggles in Gujarat. Local fisher communities have been resisting the construction of a mega-port in south Gujarat. Together with Adivasis (indigenous people) in other states, Gujarat Adivasis have won a major struggle after a campaign for a continued right to use their land. They had been evicted, allegedly 'in order to prevent environmental destruction'. A less successful campaign was challenging Gujarat state policy of specialising in hazardous chemicals. A fourth struggle has been to keep village commons available for marginalised

communities rather than handed over to industrial agriculture.

Each of these campaigns offers lessons: i) these battles were not only against state power but also against the dominant global ideology of liberalisation, privatisation and globalisation, and therefore against the cultural violence sweeping the world.

ii) a battle against state power is a challenge and success stories are few and far between.

The common people engaged in their daily struggle for survival do not have the time or energy to fight for change. They are often gullible. Their tendency is to seek an escape from problems rather than confront them. Therefore activists, NGOs, and thinkers act as advocates for the victims, without commensurate support from the affected. Activists can either be enablers and facilitators, or come to occupy leadership roles and decide for the affected. This has its own dynamics because they are 'outsiders' who do not suffer the plight of the victims and therefore cannot fully identify with them. Consequently there is the danger of preaching without practice.

iii) In India, a real effective movement takes off only when a traditional community identity is involved, where people live and work together, share together the risks and hazards of

survival -- as in the case of fishers and Adivasis. The odds are that migrants who constitute a disparate group thrown together in response to survival needs will not organise, as they do not constitute a community with a shared past or an anticipated shared future.

iv) Resistance, in order to be sustainable, has to be indigenous to the affected community. Outside support will not sustain it in the long run. It will in any case not be empowering if it depends on individual, charismatic, central, outsider leadership.

v) Resistance, to be empowering, must necessarily be nonviolent because nonviolence is the only tool that is universally accessible. Nonviolence involves an experiential journey as one tries to bring over opponents to appreciate one's viewpoint rather than defeat them. It can plant the seed for a mutually shared future.

vi) The state apparatus and the vested interests that are threatened by people's or people-oriented campaigns waste no time in neutralising the campaigners using fair means and foul - including the law, police, media and every possible tool to brand them as 'anti-development' or 'anti-national' and thereby marginalise the movement.

The above observations relate to 'outsider' roles in local resistance

movements, although such external involvement is by fellow-nationals. The role of international outsiders should also be exposed to the same critical analysis. Activists working for peace and justice have always stood for sharing of concerns and globalisation of the movement/s. It is only in the last two decades that the language has been hijacked for use in commerce

Any movement has to be a broad alliance between the affected victims, facilitator-enabler activists, media, conscientious experts, and the global solidarity element. Unlike transnational solidarity activists who have the space to engage symbolic protests, lobbying and letter writing, those engaged in struggle on the ground face a more direct battle and therefore have a very limited space to operate in and are often subject to grave physical threat.

Finally it is crucial to recognise that global solidarity should be a two-way process -- it should not be just 'one-way' support for resistance movements in 'problem areas' of the Third World. Third world movements can help first world movements question their lifestyles, their consumption patterns and the repercussions these have globally.

Alternative globalisation should embody a resounding 'no' to commerce driving all human actions, a 'no' to the subtle and not so subtle systemic

violence, a 'no' to displacement and dispossession of the poor and marginalised. It must be based on a call for a human centred development, involving a search for technologies that promote life in consonance with nature. It must embrace a two-way exchange and learning process that leads to a questioning of myths such as the need for 'development of the poor' and the

recognition that it is the poor who not only subsidise the rich but also sustain this planet.

Anand Mazgaonkar, a key conference organiser, will speak at the closing session. This is extracted from his chapter in Howard Clark (ed) *People Power – unarmed resistance and global solidarity* (Pluto 2009)

India: Mining in the Age of Terror

Throughout India, local communities - especially of adivasis (indigenous/tribal people) - have had their lives wrecked by mega-industrial projects promoted by a combination of Indian plutocrats and foreign investors. Repeatedly nonviolent protesters have been attacked by government forces and state-sponsored militia. The government now indiscriminately uses the term 'Maoist-led insurgency' to smear people's movements, and Indian prime minister Manmohan Singh has justified state violence against local populations by asserting that, after cross-border terrorism, the main threat to India's security is Maoist-led insurgency. This article describes the situation in Orissa where the authors - FELIX PADEL and SAMARENDRA DAS

Felix Padel and Samarendra Das are campaigning against plans to open new bauxite mines.

The aluminium industry occupies a vital position in the military-industrial complex. Supply links between mining companies and arms companies are at the heart of this complex, along with financial institutions that invest in both.

The mining industry is intrinsically destructive at both ends of the production line: the invasion of greenfield mines and factories onto indigenous communities and some of the world's last pristine environments, that these communities have preserved; and the end result of metal consumed in weapons systems and wars, at exorbitant economic as well as human costs. Producing a ton of steel consumes roughly 44 tons of water. Producing a ton of aluminium consumes a

staggering 1,378 tons of water and emits an average of 15 tons of CO₂. Clearly this expansion of aluminium plants threatens the population's access to water, both domestically and for cultivation.

New aluminium projects in East India, based on plans for mining some of the biggest mountains in south Orissa and north Andhra, are on a huge scale. Already Sterlite/Vedanta has built a new refinery and smelter, and Hindalco/Utkal is constructing the same, while other companies have advanced plans for more refineries. In the words of Bhagaban Majhi, a leader of the Kashipur movement against Utkal:

To destroy the millions of year old mountains is not development. If the government has decided that we need alumina, and we need to mine bauxite, they should oblige us with replacement land. As Adivasis, we are cultivators. We cannot live without land... If they need it so badly, they need to tell us why they need it. How many missiles will our bauxite be used for? What bombs will you make? How many military aeroplanes? You must give us a complete account.

Vedanta's Lanjigarh refinery was constructed right next to the Niyamgiri mountain range where, thanks to the care of the Dongria Kond tribe Nigar Dongar is one of the best forested

mountains in India. Vedanta is trying to construct a mining road and conveyor belt up this mountain, despite opposition from Dongria and other villagers. Dongria opinion was excluded in the Supreme Court case – one judge said that “tribal people have no place in this case”. But the Supreme Court judgement did extract a promise from the company to commit huge sums for tribal development, reforestation and wildlife management. Considering that tribal development is notoriously corrupt, and that tribal leaders have often said 'Don't flood us out with money', these plans are not in line with the wishes of most tribal people. The timber mafia is known to have been extremely active on new roads built into the Dongria hills to co-ordinate with Vedanta – and operates along new roads built for mining projects as a matter of course. Moreover, the plantations planned, or used to “rehabilitate” bauxite mines are mostly of foreign species such as eucalyptus – no substitute for the biodiversity destroyed. As for wildlife management, a leopard photographed on top of Niyam Dongar has already been shot.

Most Dongria strongly oppose the mine, but some have been bought up by the company, or believe its promises. A classic tactic of mining companies, as of colonial powers throughout history, is to divide the people like this, and the

situation replicates the scene in Kashipur, where massive construction of Hindalco's refinery is under way. Each mountain is a sacred entity for local Adivasis, who remain active against the mining companies.

Though Vedanta and Hindalco have built (or part-built) their refineries in south Orissa, as well as smelters in north Orissa, neither have yet been able to start mining bauxite, while mines of Vedanta's subsidiaries Malco and Balco have been closed or forbidden to expand by government orders, due to negative impacts on the environment and local communities. Farmers were promised water from the refurbishment of the Hirakud reservoir, but instead the smelters are drawing off so much water that faming canals are running dry.

Stronger than Steel

As with aluminium, so with steel. When Sir Ratan Tata signed a deal for a joint venture with Lockheed-Martin, India's main newspapers had a photograph of him smiling rather maniacally as he sat in the back seat of a F-16 for a test flight.

A movement of tribal people in Jajpur district against Tata's plans for a steel plant at Kalinganagar hit the headlines after police opened fire on protesters on 2 January 2006. Local people's 'Platform Against Displacement' kept up a

blockade on the north-south highway for a year after this, disrupting the transport of iron ore for export from Paradip. Near this port, attempts by Posco (Pohang steel company of South Korea) to build a new steel plant-cum-port have faced strong, sustained opposition by betel vine cultivators and fishers, one of whose leaders, Abhay Sahu (Communist Party of India), was arrested when he left his village for a serious medical condition.

Many of the mountains of north Orissa are already ravaged by iron ore mining, while some of the last intact areas are under threat from Tata, Posco, Mittal and other companies. When a Public Hearing was held for Mittal's iron ore project in Keonjhar, police arrested 250 tribal villagers to make sure they would not attend. The area around Kalinagar contains 98% of India's chromite, hence the concentration of steel plants, and the Sukinda chromite mines is included in the Blacksmith Institute's list of the ten most polluted places on earth.

The spate of new steel plants in Orissa started in the mid-90s with a Tata plant near Gopalpur that has never been built, where resistance was *Stronger than Steel* (title of Vandana Shiva and A.H Jaffris's book, co1998), yet several women in a *Nari Sena (Women's army)* were killed in police charges, and several villages displaced.

In Chhattisgarh, iron mining and steel

plants by Tata and other companies are at the heart of the war waged by the state government militia - the Salwa Judum -against Maoists. The Salwa Judum has burnt about 600 tribal villages, and turned over 100,000 villagers into refugees.

Resource Wars

These "resource wars" are driven by foreign investors keen to gain control of Eastern India's "mineral assets", with promises of a new age of

prosperity. In reality, the whole history of the "resource curse" shows that countries - and even more, regions of countries - that are rich in minerals or oil, far from benefiting from extraction, are launched into a cycle of poverty and violence worse than anything that came before.

Samarendra Das will be speaking at the plenary "Mining - threat to community, fuel for war" on 23 January. This piece is extracted from the Broken Rifle, No 83, September 2009 - <http://wri-irg.org/pubs/br83-en.htm>

India and the Arms Trade

India's official defence budget for 2009-10 \$28 billion - 2.5% of GDP. Capital expenditure (on arms and infrastructure) has risen from around \$3.5 billion in 2004-05 to \$7.5 bn in each of the following three years and then to \$11 bn in 2008-09 - more on the navy and air force than on the army.

Historically, India has aimed to have a high degree of self-reliance in military production. However, it imports some \$6 billion of arms, and is looking to modernise its arms industry with greater foreign investment and to become an arms exporter. This includes deals with Russia (aircraft carrier, lease of nuclear-powered submarines, mid-air refuelling tankers, fighter aircraft), Israel (early warning systems, anti-missile systems), France (diesel

submarines) and the USA (maritime reconnaissance and anti-submarine aircraft). India is about to order 190 advanced helicopters and 126 multi-role combat aircraft (MRCA).

This pattern of acquisitions reveals that the Indian military is expanding its capacity for force projection well beyond India's frontiers. Defence Procurement Procedures introduced in 2007 require that at least 30% of the value of all import orders over \$60 million must be spent on sourcing products and services from Indian firms. In exceptional cases, this could even be increased to 50%. Various ways are being found around this, such as Boeing supplying F/A18 fighters but sub-contracting part of the manufacture of their passenger planes.

Historically, the Indian private sector has had a limited role - limited to around 9% of all military orders, but the government has been encouraging an expansion, especially since 2001, setting a theoretical maximum foreign investment of 26% for defence contractors. So Tata Advanced Systems has been set up as a joint venture to manufacture Unmanned Aerial Vehicles and high-tech security systems with Israel Aerospace Industries investing \$50 million. Similarly, there have been tie-ups involving large

Indian companies such as Mahindra & Mahindra, Godrej, Larsen & Toubro and global players like British Aerospace, Italian Finmeccanica, Airbus manufacturer EADS Defence & Security, and Boeing from the USA. Indeed, the Indian industry is now campaigning for the government to increase the foreign investment limit from 26 to 49%.

Information based on article by D. Raghunandan in War Profiteer News, September 2009, No. 20 - http://wri-irg.org/publications/war_profiteers

Resisting the consequences of Agribusiness in Paraguay

CONAMURI, as the acronym indicates, is the national coordination which groups together rural and indigenous women's workers' organisations, the first of its kind in Paraguay. For the past decade, it has carried out a struggle for land in keeping with the principles of Via Campesina International, a global organisation which unites peasant workers, indigenous populations, populations of African descent and small-sized producers from 69 countries throughout the world. The organisation unites men and women in the struggle to ensure that their ways of

Maguiorina Balbuena

living and livelihoods are respected. It also works towards ensuring respect for their common interests, thereby rejecting the agro-export model and dependence-based economies which our countries suffer due to the dominance of foreign capital.

As mobilised, active women, our major concern is the advance of agribusiness in rural areas and its catastrophic impact on the local population, displacing 70,000 rural workers. This forces them into overcrowded cities where they fall into the clutches of poverty, surviving in a precarious

situation. Agribusiness promotes monoculture and the excessive use of chemical products, accelerating the degradation of biodiversity and the contamination of waters and soil.

Indigenous communities also suffer from the devastation of their ancestral lands. By hitting the most sensitive and vulnerable nerve in our society, these consequences are all the more deplorable, from all perspectives. A few weeks ago, for example, 13 members of the Mbya Guarani community, one of the most militant groups in the face of the colonial regime, died as a probable consequence of the exposure to pesticides used in the cultivation of transgenic Soya near their settlements.

We are certain that the agribusiness, interested in producing bio-fuels from our foodstuffs so as to satisfy the Asian and European markets, will do so to the detriment of our families, our lands and our natural resources. This will further increase unemployment, hunger and the needs of our people in general. The impact of this on family life can already be seen in the labour migration trends which show that many women have been forced to go to Spain and Argentina, thereby distorting the family nucleus of society. Via Campesina's response is to work for Food Sovereignty combined with Integrated Agrarian Reform. Both concepts are reflected in the struggles of

CONAMURI and the peasant movement in Paraguay

Our eagerness to stimulate debate on Food Sovereignty has led us to mobilise within various Departments within the country, bringing together people at grass roots level, providing information so as to raise awareness. We carry out, among other activities, departmental courses and workshops, community radio programmes, a news bulletin which is broadcast via the CONAMURI website and, above all, the successful Seed Campaign, which ended in July after two years of hard work.

Another activity is reporting cases of intoxication due to the massive use of agrochemicals in fields. The producers of soya and other transgenic crops form a caucus of landowners - many of them of Brazilian origin - who do not respect the minimum conditions stipulated in national environmental laws, such as maintaining the structure of natural barriers, not fumigating when it is windy, separating crops from human settlements, etc. Therefore the oligarchy expels men, women and children by destroying their ranches and animals, to expand their desert of green Soya.

The memory of the 11-year-old boy, Silvino Talavera, is still etched in our minds. He was sprayed with Round Up

Ready in 2003, and he died a few hours later in a hospital in the Department of Itapúa. His case was one of the few that came to court, and those responsible - two Brazilian tenant farmers - were sentenced to two years imprisonment in 2005. However, this sentence was reduced to a non-custodial sentence.

Continuing this logic of resistance, CONAMURI is part of the Coordination for Victims of Agrotoxics, founded in 2009, to increase visibility of the toxic effects of Glyphosate, as well as the multinationals who promote these substances. This coordinates cases and reports of people who have been affected by the use of toxic substances used in farming to the appropriate authorities. The effects of such substances vary from causing mis-

carriages and embryonic deformities to cancer and, in the worst cases, death.

One project underway in cooperation with Via Campesina International is for IALA, a Latin American Agro-ecology Institute for rural workers and indigenous people, using Guarani (the main indigenous language). IALA should become a cornerstone for grass-roots decolonised education, training professionals who will stand against neoliberalism and safeguard alternative values.

Maguiorina Balbuena is a representative of CONAMURI. She will speak about local nonviolent struggles for land in the morning plenary on 24 January. This text is extracted from the Broken Rifle, November 2009, No 84 - <http://wri-irg.org/pubs/br84-en.htm>

Colombia: Exodus of a country at war ... this bitter daily reality

Red Juvenil de Medellín

The number of displaced people in Colombia as a result of armed conflict since 1985 has reached 4.3 million (nearly 10% of the population), and each year the number mounts - the estimate for 2008 was 380,363 displaced. This has been caused by both official and illegal military groups (paramilitary and guerrilla groups). Only in Sudan has armed conflict

caused more internal refugees (4.9 million people). In addition to displacement as a result of armed conflict, rural communities in Colombia are also threatened by mega-projects promoted by multinational corporations and their local allies. The displacement of rural populations to the cities adds further fuel to conflicts there, the displaced themselves facing hostility

and stigmatisation while their presence offers a further pretext for the increased militarisation of state police forces.

This displacement continues because it is not in certain people's interests to end it. The government's military plans tend to coincide with the roads, installations and buildings necessary in order to ensure free trade for transnational companies. In contrast, social movements work to support the displaced in a struggle for dignity, for choice about whether to live in the city or return to work on the land.

Swollen cities

In Medellín, the capital of Antioquia, Red Juvenil works as part of a network of community organisations in peripheral areas of the city. The areas that 'receive' displaced people often lack drinking water, drains or access routes. There is hunger, unemployment, high levels of demographic growth, a large number of families lacking access to public services, violence spread by gangs, allegedly "demobilised" fighters (that is, former paramilitaries who have reached an agreement with the government), paramilitary groups, the police and army.

The Red Juvenil also works in a network called Roots to strengthen rural initiatives in Antioquia. By producing organic, fair-trade agricultural products and eliminating

intermediaries, several communities have made themselves less vulnerable to collective uprooting and loss of land.

Gender and displacement

Most displaced people are women, widowed, living with the suffering of losing their partners, with only their children left. There are thousands of cases but many similar stories:

"Madam, you and your family have to leave this place."

"This is private land, you can't live here."

"They killed my husband because he didn't want to join in with those carrying out violence and they forced me to leave our house and neighbourhood."

"This violence and the shootings every day, which is killing everyone, apart from those carrying out the shootings. This is what made me leave. I could no longer carry on hiding under the bed, for fear that a bullet might go through the wall."

"We had to leave the countryside because the army first tried to take our children and then the rest."

"My daughter used to play, take care of and walk around with the children, so as to prevent them from joining the armed forces. She was stabbed. They didn't do this to kill her but to force her to leave the area."

Displaced women therefore become the main financial breadwinners and emot-

ional support for the family, while the men who survive distance themselves and take solace in alcohol. The need to survive often leads to these women going into prostitution amidst a total ignorance of their sexual health.

The constitutional court, presented with cases of women forcibly displaced, commissioned an impact study analysing how women's bodies and lives are affected by forced displacement in a patriarchal society with a longstanding tradition of violence against women. Some of the effects of such violence, as well as the risks and other forms of violations are as follows:

- * Violence and sexual abuse, including forced prostitution, sexual slavery or human trafficking for sexual purposes.
- * Domestic violence and violence within the community.
- * Ignorance and violation of the right to health, including sexual and reproductive rights, especially serious violations being carried out on girl children and adolescents, as well as pregnant or breast feeding mothers.

The report went on to show that, as family breadwinner, displaced women find it hard to gain access to basic education, training, job opportunities, or access to land. They are exploited economically, including sex trafficking. In general, there is a lack of psycho-social care, but worse there is hostility from those officials responsible. Mean-

while displaced women's rights to political participation are minimised, and most are ignorant of their rights as victims of an armed conflict to justice, truth, compensation and guarantee that the same events will not happen again. Women who publicly show leadership are likely to face violence. This social discrimination is even more severe for displaced women of indigenous or African descent.

The struggle for land

Bigger economic interests use the 'war against drugs' as a front for their own plans. The national coordination of rural workers considers "the national and international policy towards illicit farming as a joint political, military and economic strategy for the peasant farmers' lands, which mainly favours multinational companies linked to the war and other sectors of the global economy".

This is well illustrated in the north and north-east of Antioquia. In the 1990s fighting between different illegal armed factions forced some 40,000 families to abandon their lands. They were evicted to make way for illegal cultivation, the felling of forests, the expansion of the agricultural lands, and exploitation of water, mineral and wood resources. While paramilitary groups were harassing families to flee, the government was carrying out studies of energy production and planning for the

Pescadero-Ituango hydroelectric plant, to be built in a municipality where in 1997 paramilitary groups (with army support) killed 15 people (allegedly members of the FARC guerrilla), burned down 43 house, stole cattle and forcibly displaced 900 people.

Since then the city centre of Ituango has been controlled by the police and paramilitaries, while in the isolated outlying areas, a sense of anxiety and armed confrontation remains. The hydroelectric project is scheduled to become operational in 2017. When in 2008 various public areas were declared as being for the use of the Pescadero hydroelectric project and its access routes, a bombing took place that Colombia's president Arike blamed on the FARC. This is doubtful as it has all the appearance of an action staged to justify augmenting the military presence in the municipality.

Conclusion

Militarisation is a mechanism used by government and counter-insurgency factions to intimidate, harass and banish people living on the land. This instrument of fear is used to implement "counter-agrarian reform" and open the way for "development" and progress as prescribed by the multinationals.

The areas with most displacement tend to be those chosen for mineral and oil

exploration or with abundant natural resources. The displacement, therefore, is a useful tool for structural violence - in the name of economic growth and productivity, offering the country for exploitation by the multinationals. These multinationals in turn demand a strong police presence while also hiring security companies and paying bribes to paramilitaries in order to remove or assassinate opponents of privatisation.

The phenomenon of displacement shows two visions of the world: one of the rural workers, native indigenous population and those of African descent, who see the land as life, home, the mother earth and the life source for their communities throughout history; and then there is the other, where land is seen as a source of wealth, progress for individual exploitation.

Human rights mechanisms here are a smokescreen, while the proliferation of international "norms" in the treatment of displaced people has not guaranteed their rights. On the contrary, aid programmes tend to opt for relocation rather than ensuring the population can return to their lands. Forced displacement in Colombia is a recurring crime caused by a war. Those responsible for the daily disappearance of fundamental and collective rights are the State and governments.

Red Juvenil de Medellín. Adriana Castaño

Román, from the Red Juvenil (and also a WRI Council member) will be a resourceperson for a workshop on displacement. Extracted from the Broken Rifle, No. 83, September 2009 - <http://wri-irg.org/br83-en.htm>

Uprooted! Foreign military bases and forced displacement

Wilbert van der Zeijden

The English arrived, Mr Englishman arrived in Chagos, / The English arrived, the English uprooted us, cut off our food supply, / I will not forget, / Never, I will not forget my family, / The whistle blew three times to board the Mauritius¹, / It dumped us in Mauritius.

I will not forget, / Never, I will not forget my mother, / I will not forget those we left there in the cemetery.

Mimose Bancoult Furcy, who composed this song, was 13 years old in 1971 when she was deported from the Chagos Archipelago in the Indian Ocean. The UK government, sometimes aided by the US Navy, forcibly expelled the entire Chagossian people, putting them on overloaded ships where many fell ill, and dumped them hundreds of miles away in Mauritius and the Seychelles. Without compensation or explanation, without a resettlement plan or any possessions. Why? To make way for a US military base that is now a military stronghold - Diego Garcia - from which the US projects power in the Indian Ocean,

Central Asia and East Africa. The US Pentagon - the world's largest land-owner - spends some US\$140,000 million annually on maintenance and construction of military bases. Fearing that the Indian Ocean might become "a communist lake", the Pentagon sought strategic islands such as the Australian Cocos (Keeling) Island, the Seychelles, and Diego Garcia in the British colonial ruled Chagos Archipelago. Originally slaves (from Africa) or indentured workers (from India), the inhabitants of Chagos for generations built their society around coconut-oil plantations. However, when Britain offered Chagos as a US base, the US demanded the

¹ The cargo ship Mauritius used to deport the author. Song "I was 13 years old" reprinted in David Vine, *Island of Shame - The Secret History of the US Base on Diego Garcia* (Princeton University Press, 2009). The author of this article acknowledges this book as a both a source and a motivation for this article.

removal of the 1500-strong population, and Britain agreed. The Chagossians had no say at the time and during decades of exile have been obstructed in their fight for justice.

Forced displacement is much more than "just" removal from home, land or ancestral grounds. The displacement of a whole community, such as the Chagossians, can cause illness, depression, impoverishment, loss of self-esteem, and even death. Arriving in Mauritius and the Seychelles, the Chagossians found themselves in a strange land, where locals regarded them as competitors for scarce jobs. Without schooling or property, most could not obtain proper housing or jobs. Many failed to "fit in" to this alien, and often hostile, society, experiencing depression and stress and feeling guilty that they could no longer provide for their children. In the first year of exile alone, 44 Chagossians died in grief and poverty.

There are 17 similar recorded cases of forced *mass* displacement of populations to make space for foreign military bases as far apart as Greenland, Puerto Rico, Okinawa and Chagos. Also there are a multitude of cases where smaller numbers of people have lost housing, livelihood or religious sites. Expulsion, or displacement is one of many problems caused by foreign military presence.

Communities also report other economic, social, cultural, health and environmental damage, the exploitation of women, increased crime, loss of self-determination, and the inability of citizens to hold military offenders accountable in court. Military bases often house young men far from home, and consequently raise the levels of rape, assault, and even murder in the surrounding communities.

The problems around foreign bases are felt locally but occur globally. With more than 1,000 overseas military facilities in more than 100 nations, the US has a global military infrastructure. European countries in addition maintain about 150 such military outposts. Russia keeps about half a dozen bases in former Soviet republics; India has one military base in Tajikistan. Many facilities are direct preparations for warfare, but bases function as listening posts, storage for nuclear or conventional weaponry, testing ranges for new weapons, early warning radar stations, treatment or "rest and recuperation facilities" for soldiers, throughput stations for troops on their way to or from a war, even administrative port facilities allowing a country to circumvent local custom procedures for dodgy arms trade deals. In 2003 communities around foreign military bases came together to form the International No-Bases Network. For many communities, the realisation

that hundreds of other communities face similar problems has been profoundly empowering. Sharing information, learning from each other's successes and failures, the No-Bases groups are now better equipped to jointly struggle against the unjust arrangements accompanying foreign bases. They are strengthened by the statements of solidarity in hard times, but also draw inspiration from the successes of others.

One success is in Vieques, Puerto Rico. After years of struggle the inhabitants managed to regain access rights to large parts of their island that had been used for decades as a testing site for new weapons, and for training. Their struggle is far from over, as the US refuses to clean up the toxic waste and unexploded shells. Still, it shows that local communities can stand up to the most powerful governments and claim back their land, and that relatively small nations can stand up to the

world's most powerful army and eventually make them go home.

The Chagossians' fate is, against their will, linked to that of US forces. Surveys show that men and women serving on isolated island bases like Diego Garcia often suffer from home sickness, restlessness or depression. The Chagossians, expelled to make way for them, similarly experience a painful longing for their lands and community life. US soldier, or Chagossian exile, both are uprooted and misplaced and both deserve to go home.

Extracted from the Broken Rifle, No 84, November 2009 - <http://wri-irg.org/pubs/br84-en.htm> Wilbert van der Zeijden, Coordinator of the International No-Bases Network (www.no-bases.org), is a Transnational Institute associate (www.tni.org). He is convening a workshop on Military Bases and Displacement.

Profiteering globally, acting locally: campaigning against war profiteers

Javier Gárate

Act locally, think globally - a fine motto. For four years, War Resisters' International has worked to make global connections between campaigns against war profiteering. The challenge has been how to have a global impact while acting locally. Through this process there has been a lot of discussions on the focus, strategies and scope of the work against war profiteering by WRI.

Focus

Discussions about a WRI global campaign against war profiteers started in 2004. The war in Iraq showed the intrinsic connection between war and economics. We discussed focusing on one or two corporations, following Arundhati Roy's speech at the 2004 Mumbai World Social Forum that the movement should pick two major corporation profiteering from the destruction of Iraq. A natural focus seemed to be Halliburton - one of the biggest corporation making profits in Iraq and with direct links to decision-makers such as then Vice President Dick Cheney (former CEO of Halliburton). However, especially as Halliburton does not have any

consumer products to boycott, it was hard to envisage how an international campaign could be effective. Therefore, in line with WRI's general role of trying to link groups, it made more sense to play more of a role in connecting groups already campaigning in their own countries and with their own targets.

How do we define who are war profiteers? War profiteering clearly goes beyond the arms industry but how far? Our latest discussion concluded by including the following activities:

- arms and other products sold to the military. What companies to target is defined not just by the product but also by the client.
- the private military sector, a booming business especially in the Iraq and Afghanistan wars and with the US programme of re-organising its overseas military bases into super-bases.
- military entrepreneurship i.e. where the military uses its position to dominate economic sectors, as in Indonesia, Turkey and Pakistan.
- companies directly exploiting war (e.g. those "reconstructing" Iraq,

those making profits from the occupation of Palestine, etc.)

Strategies

What makes a good strategy against war profiteers? Successful campaigns have been effective by combining different types of tactics. Neither direct action nor lobbying a military factory will be effective by themselves. You need a combination where you can put direct pressure against the corporations, like with direct action, as well as activities more involving the general public, such as boycotts. Companies that produce consumer goods like CATerpillar or have direct links to the public as banks, are easier to target as they depend on consumers to stay in business. Corporations as Private Military Constructors (mercenaries) are harder to campaign as they have no direct links with the public, they make their deals behind closed doors and recruit without public notice. Here is where we need to use a combination of tactics in our campaigns, lobbying governments telling them that the presence of mercenaries in conflict zones is illegal, exposing these corporations to the general public for what they are – mercenaries - supporting the work on counter recruitment in all fronts, etc.

As an international organisation WRI is especially conscious of the contribution that transnational alliances can make to

successful campaigns. For example forming alliances between organisations against the arms trade in the Netherlands campaigning against the export of Dutch weapons to Indonesia, and Indonesian organisations working with local communities and the impact of violent conflicts in the region and the sharing of information on military budgets and export deals can strengthen our level of impact.

Some success stories...

Honeywell, a company based in Minneapolis, USA, produced cluster bombs. In 1968 a group of people in Minneapolis formed a campaign group, beginning with six months of research to know as much as possible about the corporation. Then they started leafleting outside the company. A year after the group was formed, they called a demonstration during Honeywell's Annual Shareholders Meeting. More than 14 local groups formed to work in the campaign and speaking tours took place. After years of campaigning they organised nonviolent action training and began twice-a-year direct actions aiming to shut the headquarters for a day. The campaign included media work by getting presence at TV shows and having famous people at their actions. In 1989 Honeywell tried to sell their weapons division, and - when it could not - created a new company, Alliant Tech. Honeywell said the closure had nothing to do with the

strong protest against them, but the facts show otherwise. Alliant Tech continues to exist and to produce cluster bombs. (See <http://wri-irg.org/node/3101>)

My Money Clear Conscience is a Belgian campaign that initially began asking the banks to disinvest from arms producers, later, the goal became disinvesting from controversial arms producers. From the beginning it brought together peace organisations with ethical bank watchers, where the ethical bankwatchers did the research on the financial links, the peace organisations did the research on the arms producers. The campaign started by researching Belgian banks with investments in the arms trade, publishing a public report which banks could not ignore. Then the campaign combined creative street actions at bank buildings with lobbying and public awareness work asking the banks' clients to write to the banks demanding disinvestment from the arms trade. The campaign has had several successes, including getting banks to withdrawal from companies producing cluster bombs and a law in Belgium that bans investments in cluster munitions. (See <http://wri-irg.org/node/6288>)

DSEi is one of the biggest arms fairs in the world, taking place in London every two years. Until 2007 the arms

fair was owned by Reed Elsevier, a well known academic publisher. The campaign against DSEi has included, direct action at the fair, big demonstrations during the event, shareholders action, etc. After years of pressure against Reed Elsevier, and especially after leading academics criticised an academic publisher for helping promote the arms trade, the company decided to sell the fair. The fair was bought by Clarion Events who specialise in organising events and don't feel the link with the arms trade will harm them. (See http://www.caat.org.uk/campaigns/arms_fairs/reedelsevier.php)

All these campaigns have included a combination of tactics, starting with good research on the corporations and a diversity of actions, including direct actions, lobbying, big demonstration, shareholders actions, etc. Having a range of actions helps different people get involved in different ways. Some feel that the way to change things is through acts of civil disobedience, other are prepared to take part in big demonstrations and others see that their contribution to the campaign can be in the form of writing letters. We need a space for all.

In peace campaigning there are few absolute victories, and so it is with these three cases. In the first case the company changed name and continued

to be involved in the same business. In the second one, banks have not disinvested in all the arms trade and the producers of cluster bombs continue to receive investment from financial institutions outside Belgium. In the case of DSEi, the fair is again taking

place in September 2009, where deadly agreements will be made. Nevertheless, each campaign should be seen as an achievement, a step along the long road of making war profiteering visible and holding war profiteers to account.

Arundhati Roy's call

"I suggest ... we choose, by some means, two of the major corporations that are profiting from the destruction of Iraq. We could then list every project they are involved in. We could locate their offices in every city and every country across the world. We could go after them. We could shut them down. It's a question of bringing our collective wisdom and experience of past struggles to bear on a single target. It's a question of the desire to win."

Arundhati Roy at the World Social Forum, Mumbai, 16 January 2004

Arundhati Roy will be speaking at the opening session on 22 January.

The latest programme (still provisional!)

There remains space for participants at the conference to propose new workshops. Workshop rooms will be announced every day.

16.00 - Day 1: Opening Session

- Welcome from *Sudershan Iyengar*, vice-chancellor of Gujarat Vidyapith
- Speakers: *Arundhati Roy* and *Ashish Nandy*
- Towards a participatory conference:
 - a) Here is the News:
 - Audiovisual Messages
 - "Newspaper theatre"
 - b) Introductory exercises between participants

Day 2: Displacement, 'Development' and Militarism

09.30: Morning session

- a) Here is the News
- b) Introduction to the "Reflectors"

Mining - threat to community, fuel for war

Speaker: Samarendra Das on mining in Orissa

Commentator: Elavie Ndura from Burundi/USA

14.30: Afternoon workshops

Workshops:

- **Mining fuel for war** (following up morning session): *Samarendra Das*, *Felix Padel* and *Mines, Minerals & People*

- **Displacement and indigenous communities:**

Firu of Rompiendo Filas on Mapuches in Chile, *Nandini Oza & Shripad Dharmadhikari* of *Save Narmada Movement* in India and *Rosa Moiwend* of West Papua

- **Displacement of people and land issues due to wars and local people's struggle:** *Saibou Issa* of Cameroon

- **Military bases and displacement:**

Wilbert van der Zeijden Coordinator of *No Bases Network*, *Xavier Leon* of the *Campaign against the Manta base in Ecuador*, *Park Kyung Soo* on resistances to military bases in South Korea, *Alain Ah-Vee* of *LALIT* in Mauritius, *Ulrike Laubenthal* and *Hans-Peter Laubenthal* of the campaign against Bombodrom in Germany, *Peter Jones* and military bases in the Pacific

- **Violence against Regional Identities**

(Jammu & Kashmir, North East of India.): *Abdul Quadir Dar* of *Peoples Rights Movement* in Kashmir

- **Military recruitment: exploiting the vulnerable:** *Andreas Speck*

- **"What does the War on Terror mean for social movements?":** *Jørgen Johansen*

- **Women and development-induced displacement:** *Bela Bhatia* India and *Adriana Castaño* Colombia
- **Military spending versus Sustainable peace with a special focus on South Asia:** *Yeshua Moser-Puangsuwan*
- **Disarmament - small arms and armed rebel groups:** *Subhash Kattel*, *South Asia Peace Alliance* in Nepal, *Boro Kitanoski*, *Peace Action* in Macedonia and *Gunvant Govindjee* of the *Cease Fire Campaign* in South Africa

Day 3: Nonviolent resistance from local communities

9.30: Morning session

- Here is the News - 10 minutes
- Reflectors - 25 minutes (5 x 5 mins)

Nonviolent struggles for land

Speaker: *Maguorina Balbuena* - *CONAMURI/Via Campesina Paraguay*
Commentator: *P.V. Rajagopal* from the Indian landless movement *Ekta Parishad*

14.30: Afternoon workshops

Workshops:

- **India – the struggle for land rights** (following up morning session): *P.V. Rajagopal*
- **Militarism and energy development projects in Latin America:** *Rafael Uzcategui*

(Venezuela), *Silvana Lafuente* (Bolivia), *Firu* (Chile), *Pelao Carvallo* (Chile/Paraguay) and *Xavier Leon* (Ecuador)

- **Constructive work and sustainable living as nonviolent resistance focus: food sovereignty** *Kapil* (jatan trust) and *Karuna* (Samvad)
- **Another development vs. overdevelopment:** *Mozda Collective*
- **Resistance to a globalising NATO:** *Andreas Speck* (WRI) and *Carlos Barranco* (AA-MOC in the state of Spain)
- **Peace issues in Western and Central Africa:** *Saibou Issa*
- **Resisting Zionism: nonviolent resistance in Palestine and war resistance in Israel:** *Hitham Kayali* and *Sergeiy Sandler* of New Profile in Israel
- **Gandhian Guides for Action:** *Michael Sonnleitner* and *Gujarat Vidyapith Peace Research Department*
- **Towards nonviolent livelihoods: class, peace and conversion:** *Milan Rai*
- **The essence of a strategic perspective on nonviolent struggle:** *Vanessa Ortiz* of the *International Center on Nonviolent Conflict* (ICNC) and *Cynthia Boaz* (ICNC)
- **Corporate Gujarat:** *Sagar Lakhan* and *Krishnakant*

Day 4: Forming transnational alliances

9.30 - Morning session

- Here is the News
- Reflections on Day 3

Building transnational alliances

Speaker: *Medha Patkar* of the *Narmada Bachao Andolan*

Workshops:

- **Transnational campaigning against war profiteering – making links with the arms trade movement (ENAAAT) and the local communities:** *Wendela de Vries* of the *Campaign Against Arms Trade* in the -*Uma* (*Sanghamitra Desai Gadekar*) and *Surendra Gadekar*
- **The role of nonviolent accompaniment in supporting the return of displaced communities:** *Christine Schweitzer* and *Eric Bachman*
- **Nationalism and the anti fascist movement:** *Olga Miryasova* of Russia, *Helena Rill* of Serbia and *Boro Kitanoski* of Macedonia
- **Nuclearized India: Military and Civil Implications:** -*Uma* (*Sanghamitra Desai Gadekar*) and *Surendra Gadekar*

- **Open source as an example of transnational cooperation:** *Michael Mazgaonkar* and *Andreas Speck*
 - **Law and activism:** *Stellan Vinthagen*
 - **Resources for Nonviolent Change:** *Vanessa Ortiz* (ICNC), *Cynthia Boaz* (ICNC), *Howard Clark* and *Joanne Sheehan*
- ##### Closing plenary
- chaired by *Dominique Saillard*
 - *Narayan Desai*, *Institute for Total Revolution*, Chancellor of *Gujarat Vidyapith*, and former chairperson of *WRI*
 - *The Five Reflectors*
 - **Local host:** *Anand Mazgaonkar*
 - That was the News
 - *Chairperson of WRI:* *Howard Clark*

As a final participatory activity, *Narayan Desai* will write an appropriate text connected to the topic of the conference for a Garba (Gujarati folk dance) that is easy to learn and where everybody can join in.

Notes on the workshops planned

Day 2

Mining fuel for war

Mining/metal companies supply arms companies, and are therefore among the biggest profiteers of war. Big mining companies all have supply agreements with the main arms companies, and the banks investing in both coincide.

In India today, minerals are mainly in tribal areas, and due to the intensity of exploitation + remoteness, these are also the main areas where Maoist insurgency is on the increase. Strong movements that have managed to stall vast aluminium and steel projects in Orissa & neighbouring states have been labelled as Maoist, even though they are not. The sad truth is, a major resource war is being manufactured in east-central India, masking a massive takeover of tribal lands, for the metals industry that feeds the world's wars.

Military bases and displacement

The US and its European NATO allies maintain a global network of over 1000 military bases scattered across the world. Next to that, Russia keeps about half a dozen such bases in former Soviet Republics, and India has one base in Tajikistan. Foreign military bases play a key role in the preparation and conduct of wars. Further, the aggressive function of military bases

also means that on the ground level, communities around bases experience many negative effects such as high crime rates, violations of women rights, pollution, health hazards, economic dependency etc.

One of the most visible direct forms of aggression caused by those bases is the displacement of local populations to make way for new bases or for the enlargement of existing ones. Whether in Korea, Chagos, Ecuador, Germany or Greenland, the problem of disempowered local communities facing a powerful global system of militarism is seen anywhere around the World. Representatives from citizens campaigns from several countries share their experiences, speak about current campaigns and discuss future plans.

Military Recruitment: exploiting the vulnerable

Military recruitment works differently in different parts of the world. Conscription is being phased out in most of Europe, and never existed in many parts of the world. However, with or without conscription, it is often the poor and vulnerable who serve in the military – immigrants, unemployed, displaced people, even children. This workshop will examine recruitment practices and discuss strategies to counter military recruitment.

The war on terror and social movements

This workshop will focus on two areas:

- * The impact of the 'war on terror' on social movements and their activities.

- * What can social movements do to reduce 'terrorism' and 'state-terrorism'? The 'war on terror' changed the political landscape for many social movements. Escalating surveillance, travel restrictions, labelling groups 'terrorists', curbing civil liberties, reduced legal protection are just a few of them. We will map the problems and discuss counter strategies.

'Terrorism' is a minor world problem, especially if you don't include 'state-terrorism'. More people are killed by a partner than by 'terrorists'. But the fear is real and the Security Mafia makes a lot of profit.

So far the problem of 'terrorism' has been mainly left to the military and the police. How can civil society actors have a positive influence here?

Military spending versus Sustainable peace

Military spending is on the increase in every region of the globe. This trend has been measurable for the past 10 years. Spending on meeting the Millennium Development Goals appears poverty stricken in comparison. This workshop will reveal some of the global trends, with a special focus on South Asia, as well as examine how demilitarisation might be accomplished. Sustainable peace governance

structures will be necessary to facilitate this change, and some of these are starting to emerge, albeit piecemeal and incomplete.

Disarmament - small arms and armed rebel groups

Africa is awash with with small arms and light weapons -- about 100 million. The effects on Africa have been devastating. Many have been used in civil wars, but also by criminal elements. The use of small arms by rebel groups has contributed to a lack of development, destruction of infrastructure, the abduction of children who are gang-pressed into becoming child soldiers, refugees and IDPs. African countries have begun to address the problem by taking initiatives at a national, regional and continental level. Unfortunately there are major difficulties in implementing effective measures to deal with this menace.

Day 3

Corporate Gujarat – with special reference to land

Gujarat has been known not only for its trade and commerce but also its diversity in natural wealth, cultural diversity. However, more recently, a more balanced view of its cultural, natural and economic diversity has given way to a much narrower focus on economics. This is evident from the

feverish pace at which the state is being industrialized and urbanized.

While the economic advancements of the state are being projected, the dark realities are pushed underneath. Various groups like fisher-folks, farmers, tribals and livestock-herders have suffered severe setbacks. Problems such as large scale displacement, loss of livelihood, influx to the cities and insecure employment have rendered the community at large in Gujarat more vulnerable.

Rather than bowing down to the economic development driven by 'profiteering' and exploitative nexus of the government and corporate sector, communities all over the state have taken to nonviolent struggles to assert their rights over natural resources and protect their livelihoods.

Another Development vs. Overdevelopment

In the world of overconsumption, here is an experiment of supporting lifestyle of indigenous peoples/culture of sustainable living. Mozda is a village in the eastern adivasi belt of Gujarat where Mozda Collective has been active for the past 19 years. The Collective works with the people on soil and water conservation, self-help group, alternate energy and technology (making and installing parabolic solar cookers, solar photovoltaic lighting systems, wind electric generators and LED lights), training young people on

technology as well as using right to information, implementation of the forest rights act and the National Rural Employment Guarantee Act.

Members of the Mozda Collective will share their learnings and experiences.

Resistance to a globalising NATO

This workshop will first look at NATO's increasing global role and expansion (see for example: A global NATO? From NATO to a "global alliance of democracies"?, the *Broken Rifle* No 79, February 2009, <http://wri-irg.org/node/6721>). It will then explore growing nonviolent resistance to NATO in Europe, and discuss how to make more links globally.

Militarism and energy development projects in Latin America

Economic globalisation in Latin America includes building the infrastructure and exporting materials. In this context, activists from Ecuador, Bolivia, Chile and Venezuela will speak of their experiences, the role of the Armed Forces, the impact and consequences for citizens and communities, and the resistance by local social movements.

The Strategic Dimensions of Nonviolent Struggle

This workshop will examine the strategic logic of effective nonviolent campaigns, with Iran and Burma as contemporaneous case studies. We will

consider critical concepts such as the role of leadership, messaging, unity, nonviolent discipline, driving up the cost of repression, political 'jiu jitsu', pillars of support, the difference between strategy and tactics, and conversion of the security forces, amongst others. We will start with an introduction to the general concepts and then examine the specific strategic strengths and weaknesses of the two struggles named above. Robust audience participation is encouraged.

Constructive work and sustainable living – a nonviolent resistance

This workshop will talk about how corporations are taking control over Indian agriculture and food system through introduction of Genetically Modified Organism (GMOs). It has been observed that to introduce GMO's into the system, corporations have violated laws or taken liberties at various levels. Issues of intellectual property rights, GM crops and life-style experiments will also be discussed.

Gandhian Guidelines for Action

Gandhi developed at least 12 guidelines which, collectively, make his satyagraha actions both distinct from most other nonviolent resistance strategies and difficult for many to accept on a tactical level. As seen in the context of his worldview, each guideline creates fertile ground for discussion which may clarify issues that need to be addressed

by local communities well as by those seeking to build against militarism and related injustices.

Towards nonviolent livelihoods: class, peace and conversion

When campaigning against the military-industrial complex, it is all too easy for us as peace activists to fall into the trap of simply blaming workers for the military work that they do, rather than out to researchers, technologists, factory workers and others to offer and support in a common struggle to make their work worthy of their talents and their humanity. This workshop will explore the issues of class and peace, and the potential for conversion of military industry along the lines of the famous Lucas Aerospace initiative in 1975: <http://www.tni.org/es/node/68979>

Day 4

Law and activism

The workshop deals with the (often complicated) relationship between the law and activism, exploring possibilities of influencing the legal system, and risks of co-optation or depoliticisation of nonviolent resistance. Based on a research project and the facilitator's own experience from participation in over 15 trials in different countries, an introduction to the area is given. Most of the workshop will be our mutual discussion and development of issues, questions, problems, methods, cases and experiences of legal

mobilization and nonviolent resistance.

Transnational campaigning against war profiteering – making links with the arms trade movement (ENAAAT) and the local communities

Global arms trade is on the rise, with the 5 biggest exporters dominating 80% of the international market. Only a few people are involved in decision making, which leads to secrecy and corruption. How do we find facts and figures? Who pays for the arms trade? Who profits? This workshop will include an introduction on the global arms trade and share experience on campaigning.

Resources for nonviolent change

This workshop will introduce participants to new tools being developed for educators, organizers,

There will be more news about workshops – including additional workshops and the room allocation – available every morning.

policy makers, and the general public on the dynamics of civil resistance. Tools featured include digital, print, web and film media, and samples will be previewed.

The role of nonviolent accompaniment in supporting the return of displaced communities

This workshop will mainly look at the work of Nonviolent Peaceforce.

Nuclearized India: Military and Civil Implications:

Despite 60 years of extremely poor performance, the nuclear sector in India is thriving. The nuclear tests of 1998 have reinvigorated the programme and there is a new drive towards further and extensive nuclearization. This has severe military and civilian implications for the region.

Evening programme

23 January

1) **Lakirein – Borders:** A musical presentation by Loknaad.

This song presentation shares the experiences of living along the visible and invisible borders created by humans. It also tries to draw some lessons from our rich history to reaffirm the spirit of collective resistance and dreams.

It has been composed and sung by Charul Bharwada and Vinay Mahajan, Architect and Engineer respectively, who have been studying the livelihood issues of pastoral nomads and other marginalised communities of Gujarat.

2) **Tribal Dances:** Two dances will be performed by tribal students of Gujarat Vidyapith. The first, performed by women students, will be from Gamit tribals of Surat district, and the second from the Dangs district.

3) **Tipni Nritya** Tippani Dance: This is a typical folk dance form performed by the women folk of Chorwad region in Saurashtra. A Tippani, in older times, was used in housebuilding to beat and press lime into the foundation or floor. It has a square wood or iron piece ‘Garbo’ (block) at one end of a long

stick. The dance was developed by workers who spent their days monotonously breaking stones and leveling the ground. Women holding each other to the accompaniment of a folk song. A special feature is the vigorous swiftness and rhythmic cadence of footsteps and Tippani stepping.

Zanz, Manjira, Dhol and Shehnai are the major musical instruments used to control the tempo and pace of the movements.

24 January

“**Gandhi's message today**” - US activist Bernie Meyer portrays Gandhi in six scenes addressing contemporary issues, including nuclear weapons and power and climate change, as well as the underlying message of right-living.

VIDEOS – videos brought by participants will be shown indoors every evening after dinner.

There is time to organise other evening activities too!

Excursions on 26 January

Excursion 1: NAVSARJAN near Sanand - 30 km away

Navsarjan – the largest Dalit organisation in Gujarat and one of the most effective in India - is a grassroots organisation dedicated to ensuring human rights for all. Our mission is to eliminate discrimination based on untouchability practices, to ensure equality of status and opportunities for all, regardless of caste, class or gender, and to ensure the rule of law.

It is active in more than 3,000 villages, as well as in the cities. Some 80 fieldworkers - most coming from the communities where they work - keep Navsarjan in tune with people's needs.

A core goal is to establish an independent consciousness, so that people can fight oppression and inequality without Navsarjan's help. To that end, the field staff organises thousands of meetings and training programs. Groups on women's rights and land rights groups, and groups of youths, village paralegals, agricultural workers and others are organised and trained to exist independently of Navsarjan, though with Navsarjan's support.

After nearly 20 years of work, Navsarjan has grown to be widely respected (and feared by those who work against equality).

Excursion 2: GRAM SEVA KENDRA Dethli Village, Dt. Anand – 65 km

Gandhi is known worldwide for his philosophy and method of *satyagraha*. Less known is that many institutions were established by Gandhi during India's freedom struggle, and by his successors after independence in 1947 to implement constructive programmes. Their work ranges from education to employment generation to women's empowerment to alternative economics and technologies.

Gram Seva Kendra (Rural Service Centre) - run by Gujarat Vidyapith - was established in 1954, under a tree, in a socially deprived area with low literacy levels. It now runs a pre-school centre, 3 schools, and is self-sufficient in food and milk. The centre also runs an Agriculture Development Centre and a women's Self Help Group. Visitors can meet and dialogue with students, teachers, volunteers of the Self Help Group, Gandhi museum.

Some practicalities

Emergency phones:

Michael: +91-(0)94271-88044
Swati: +91-(0)94295-56163
Anand: +91-(0)94276-01780

Venue - Gujarat Vidyapith

Address: Nr. Income Tax Office,
Ashram Road
Ahmedabad - 380 014
Fax: + 91 (0)79 27542547

Gujarat Vidyapith is in the heart of Ahmedabad city, hence food, medicine, transport, internet, khadi and gift shops are all handy. The landmark for taxi and autorickshaw drivers is "Income Tax crossroad" (statue of Gandhi in centre),

Currency

Next to the entry to the Vidyapith, a branch of the State Bank of India is now expecting international customers. It also has a cash machine (ATM). Exchange rates are roughly:
1 US\$ = Rupees 45
1 € = Rupees 65
1 GB£ = Rupees 73

Health Precautions

- There will be three water stations to refill bottles with filtered water.
- Food: Avoid raw fruit and veg,

unless you can peel it - especially if it's cut. When eating outside the conference, avoid food that has been standing for hours in the heat.

- *The toilets will get blocked if you flush toilet paper down them.*

Internet Access

The Vidyapith library has 20 computers for our use at set times. Most hostel rooms have a wired connection. (You'll need your own cable.)

Cultural Sensitivity

The Vidyapith campus is a no-smoking, no-alcohol zone – please respect that while on the grounds. For practical reasons, it is best not to expose your flesh to the sun and mosquitoes, but also out of cultural sensitivity, please don't display your thighs or breasts. You can buy khadi clothes from a store opposite the Vidyapith entrance.

It is not culturally offensive to greet an old friend with a hug or kiss, but please no snogging in public. Certain Indian participants attending the conference are controversial figures in Ahmedabad and we don't want to give their critics other excuses for taking offence or paying unwanted attention to this event.

Conference organisers

War Resisters' International

War Resisters' International (WRI) was founded in 1921, and is based on the WRI declaration:

War is a crime against humanity. I am therefore determined not to support any kind of war, and to strive for the removal of all causes of war.

War Resisters' International exists to promote nonviolent action against the causes of war, and to support and connect people around the world who refuse to take part in war or the preparation of war. On this basis, WRI works for a world without war.

WRI has autonomous 40 affiliates in 80 countries. Beyond basic coordination, the work of the international office in London is organised around two programmes: the Right to Refuse to Kill programme primarily deals with conscription and conscientious objection, while the Nonviolence programme includes the production of resources on nonviolent action plus a regular email bulletin in English and Spanish on war profiteering. This conference is part of the Nonviolence programme.

Gujarat Sarvodaya Mandal

Established in the 1950s, Gujarat Sarvodaya Mandal was the central organisation in the Bhoodan (land gift) movement, led by Vinoba Bhave.

Today it is involved in raising awareness on development issues, organising people against unjust and destructive development projects, and the search for alternatives in fields such as agriculture, energy etc.

Gujarat Vidyapith (University)

Founded by Mohandas Gandhi in 1920 to train Indian youth in the nonviolent struggle for India's freedom, today it is one of the few national universities seeking to promote Gandhi's ideals of service-oriented education.

Sampoorna Kranti Vidyalaya ('Institute for Total Revolution')

This training centre for nonviolent activists was founded by Narayan Desai in the 1970s during the movement for "total revolution" led by Jayaprakash Narayan (at the time of the Emergency imposed by Indira Gandhi). It has also played a significant role in challenging India's commitment to nuclear energy.

Places Around

At a stone's throw from the venue of the conference is Gandhi's Sabarmati Ashram. His first ashram at Kochrab is also in the city. Ahmedabad has famous temples and mosques, some ancient

structures, the old walled city and modern tourist places and educational institutions such as the National Institute of Design, the Indian Institute of Management, shopping malls and cinemas.

Gandhi Memorial March, 30 January

On 30 January the Gujarat Sarvodaya Mandal and Gujarat Vidyapith will be holding a Gandhi Memorial March and meeting, beginning at the Vidyapith and culminating at the Sabarmati Ashram – from which the Salt March began in 1930.

Conference sponsors:

International:

Global GreenGrants Fund, <http://www.greengrants.org/>



Haëlla Stichting, <http://www.haella.nl/>



Hivos, <http://www.hivos.nl/>



AJ Muste Memorial Institute, <http://ajmuste.org>

Stiftung Umverteilen, <http://www.umverteilen.de/>



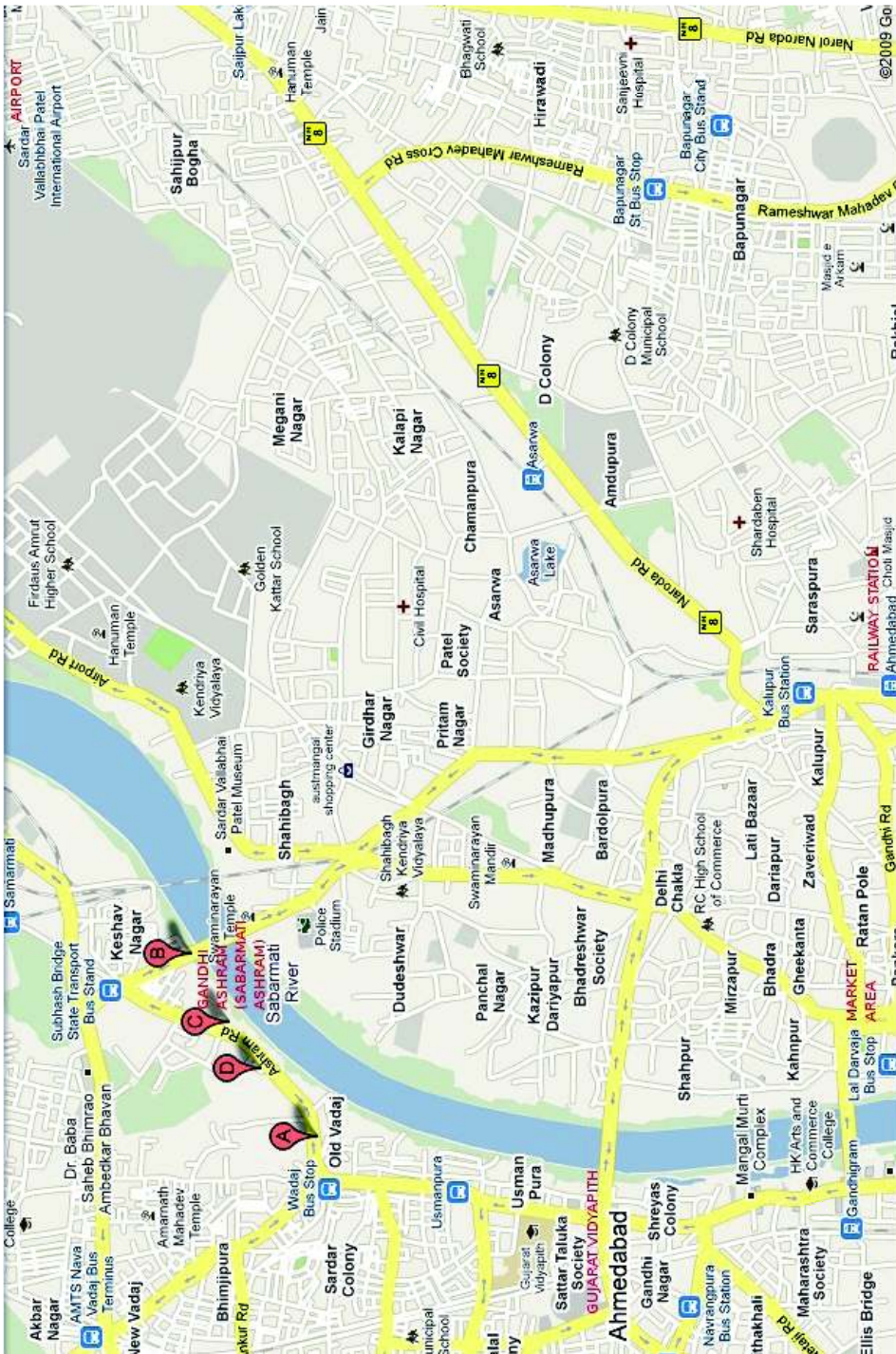
Oxfam-Novib, <http://www.oxfamnovib.nl/>



India:

Gujarat Vidyapith, <http://www.gujaratvidyapith.org>





Nonviolent Livelihood Struggles and Global Militarism: Links and Strategies
Ahmedabad, January 2010