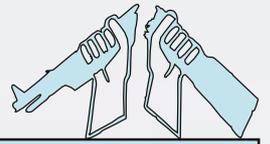
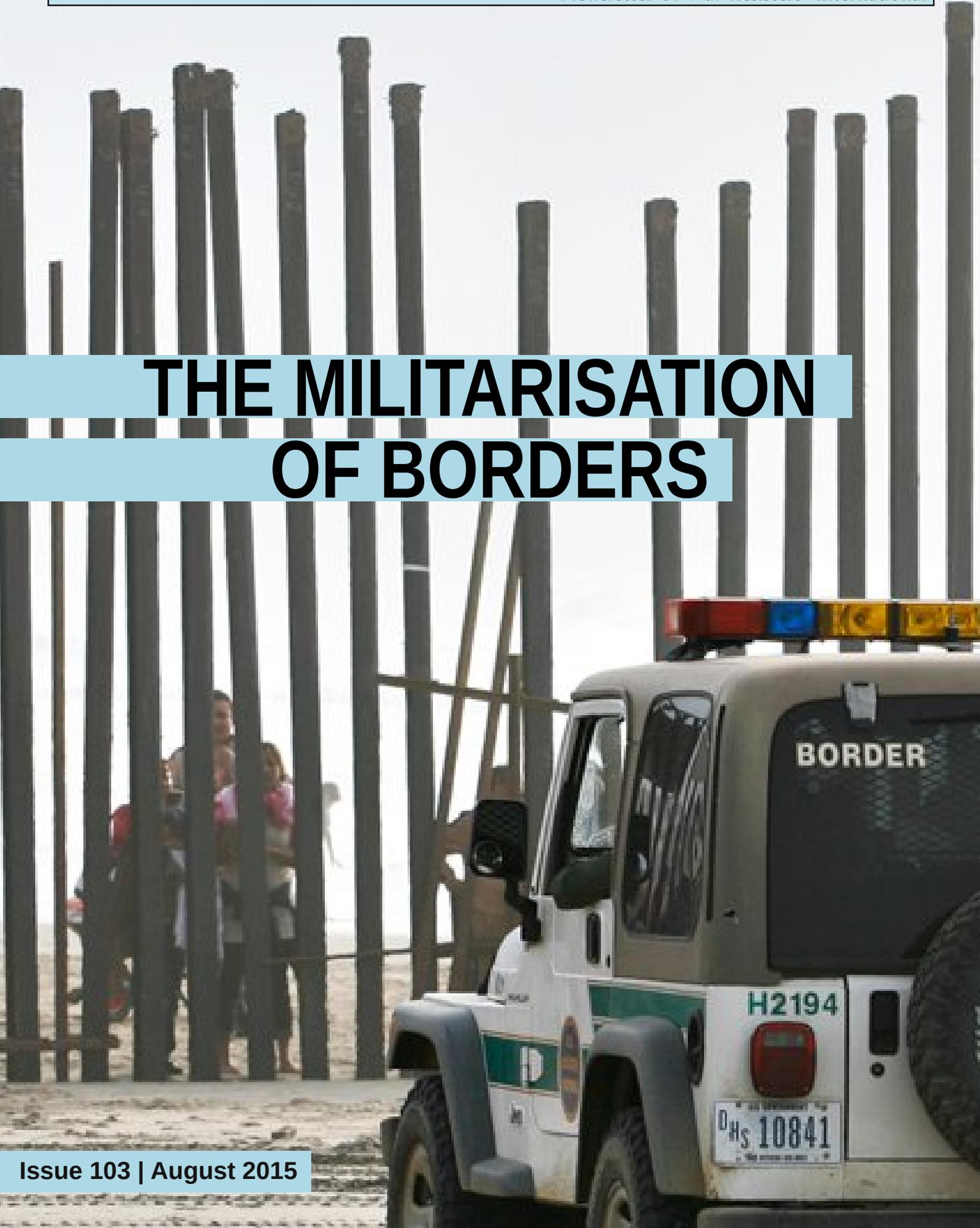


# The Broken Rifle



Newsletter of War Resisters' International

## THE MILITARISATION OF BORDERS



Issue 103 | August 2015



# Editorial

On social media we try and highlight these instances of militarism all around us using #EverydayMilitarism. Seeing something everyday, it's hard either to notice or reject it. Like a fish in water, you do not feel the weight. In our work on youth militarisation, we are logging the ways that young people get exposed to that militarism so early, and the things we are doing to resist this. Look at our website here to read more.

The article, from West Midlands police, finishes "They add to the diversity of the area and people love to see our troops. Just like the song 'All nice girls love a sailor' well in this case all nice girls love a Red Cap!" We wondered whether a direct action arresting those 'Red caps' who arrest citizens might be a fun evening out...

Perhaps inevitably, many of the articles in this edition are about police militarisation. Whether in South Africa (article by Laura Pollecut), Britain (article by Betsy Barkas), Turkey (written by WRI's new staff member Semih Sapmaz) or the USA (piece from War Resisters League's Ali Issa and Tara Tabassi), police forces are a form of social control. They lend themselves to being dragged along the spectrum of violence and militarisation towards more visible and immediate brutality, usually on the basis of how threatened those with power feel their privilege to be. The point of police forces is coercion (whether through direct violence, restraint, or the threat of punishment): to keep the people in line, for better or worse.

Other articles in this edition of The Broken Rifle show militarisation infiltrating state functions far beyond the armed forces or the police: we have Cesar Padilla on the militarisation of extractive industries in Latin America, Prasanna Ratnayake on militarisation in Sri Lanka over the last ten years, and Maren Mantovani (of Stop the Wall) and Henrique Sanchez

(of MOPAT - Movimento Palestina para Tod@s) on the 'security' services provided by Israeli companies across the world. Frances Guy shares experiences of working in Iraq after the 2003 invasion, focusing on the relationship between delivery of humanitarian assistance after (often militarily-created) crises, and 'security' and 'defence'.

You cannot keep the lid on the logic that militarism rests on - the control by violence, hierarchical uniformity, the racism, patriarchy and nationalism that makes it all possible, as well as - of course - reliance on weapons. It spills into the education system, architecture and public spaces, culture and entertainment, health care (in short, into everything) as this collection of articles demonstrates. And of course, 'keeping the lid' on militarism is not at all the point anyway. The lie that the existence of armed forces both keeps the rest of us safe, and prevents us from having to take up arms ourselves (essentially limiting militarism, confining it to a small 'band of brothers' so the rest of us can go about our non-militarised business), is both pervasive and ridiculous.

On social media we try and highlight these instances of militarism all around us using #EverydayMilitarism. Seeing something everyday, it's hard either to notice or reject it. Like a fish in water, you do not feel the weight. In our work on youth militarisation, we are logging the ways that young people get exposed to that militarism so early, and the things we are doing to resist this. Look at our website here to read more.

Hannah Brock

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# Levels of Militarisation - an essay in images

assembled by David Scheuing



# The Walls and Abysses of Fortress North

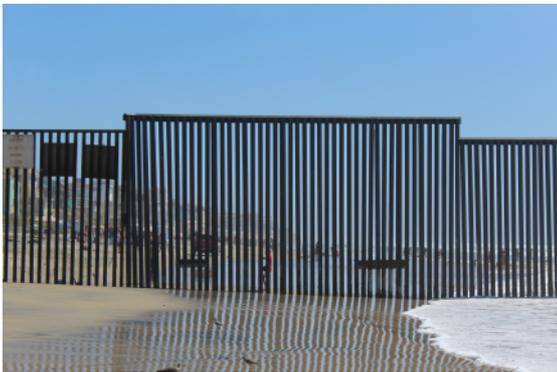
Léopold Lambert

The easiness of traveling within the Globalized North for its citizens only equals the difficulty for someone to access this part of the world. The map presented here attempts to illustrate this antagonism between Fortress North and the rest of the world. Schengen, the United Kingdom, Ireland, Cyprus, Israel, North America, Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore, Australia and New Zealand form the Globalized North and their borders with other countries are militarized to insure the control of migration towards them. The following list will briefly describe the numerous apparatuses that materialize borders, control bodies, and sometimes even see the latter die.

(1) cf. Léopold Lambert, *Weaponized Architecture: The Impossibility of Innocence*, Barcelona, dpr-barcelona, 2012, and *The Funambulist Pamphlets Volume 6: Palestine*, Brooklyn: punctum books, 2013.

## United States – Mexico border:

The construction of a 14-foot high wall over 600 miles between both countries was ordered by the George W. Bush administration in 2006 under the Secure Fence Act. Migrants who manage to cross its securitarian line often have to cross dozens of miles of desert and risk being shot by civilian border vigilantes. Every year, about 500 people die during their clandestine crossing of the border, most of them of dehydration. At its Western extremity, the wall ends in the Pacific waters and thus separates the beach of Tijuana and the militarized Border Field State Park.



**Bordered Beaches:** The US-Mexico Border Fence near Tijuana

## Mediterranean Sea:

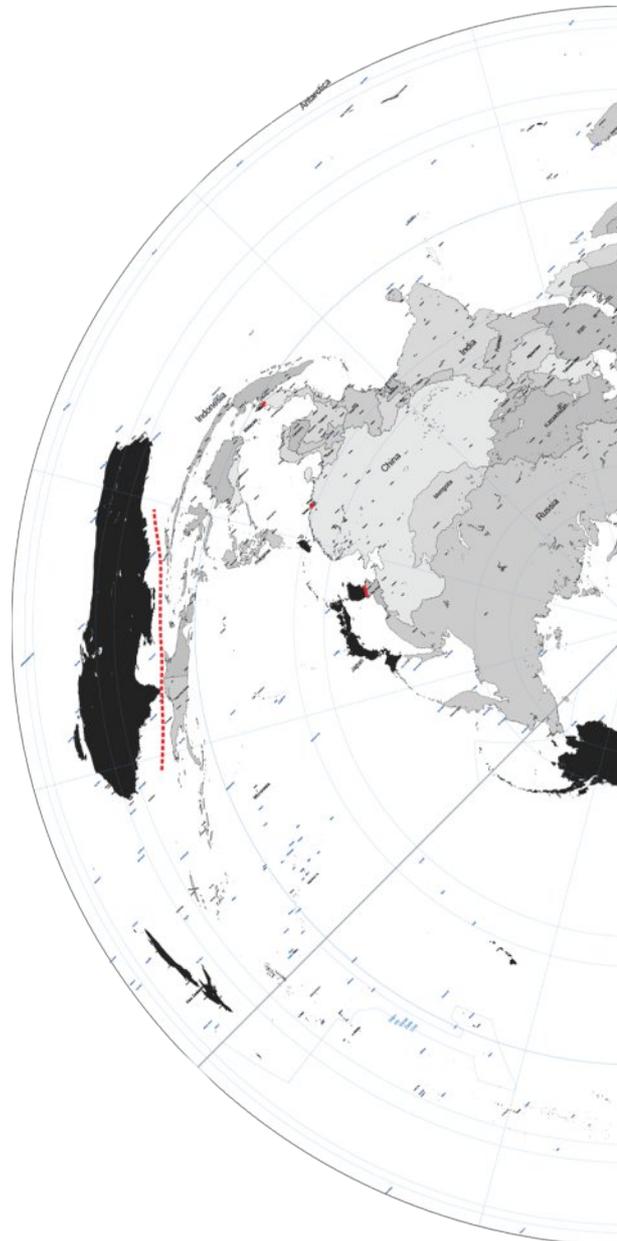
The sea that separates Africa, the Middle East and Europe is an abyss where thousands of migrants die from trying to reach the coasts of Spain, Italy or Greece (about 22,000 deaths since 2004). The Mediterranean Sea is nonetheless highly militarized; islands like Lampedusa or Malta have been historically used as Allies' bastions in the control of North Africa during the Second World War. Between March and October 2011, NATO navy and air force also attacked the Qaddafi administration in Libya, as well as its supporters. The control of the sea is crucial for Fortress North, since it conditions the access to the Suez Canal both for container and hydrocarbon ships from the Middle East and Asia, and for military ships operating in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf.



**Invisible Border:** European Navy vessel

## Fortress Israel:

Israel operates as a militarized colonial outpost of Fortress North in the Levant since 1948. Its borders operate under the paradox to be simultaneously rigid and malleable. Its army occupied the Sinai Peninsula from 1967 and 1982, as well as South Lebanon between 1982 and 2000. The fence that separates it from Syria is built in the Eastern parts of the Golan Heights, occupied since 1967. The infamous "Separation Wall," also called Apartheid Wall, separates most Palestinians of the West Bank from the rest of Palestine, including Jerusalem, while an important amount of Israeli civil settlements in the West Bank are situated on its Western side (where the malleable function becomes important).<sup>(1)</sup> As for the Gaza Strip, it is separated by a highly militarized border from the rest of Palestine and Egypt, the Israeli Navy sealing the maritime border, thus condemning 1.8 millions of Palestinians to live in what has been rightfully called "the largest prison on earth."



tions demilitarized Buffer Zone in Cyprus has been implemented in 1974 after the Turkish invasion that split the island into two parts, although the Republic of Cyprus is still internationally recognized as legal sovereignty over the entirety of the territory. Like most demilitarized zones, its borders are very much militarized, including the British military base of Dhekelia in the East of the zone.

**Spanish Enclaves of Melilla and Ceuta:**

The strait of Gibraltar presents the curious geopolitical characteristics of being framed by the British enclave of Gibraltar in Spain and the Spanish enclave of Ceuta in Morocco. A bit further east along the Moroccan coast, we find another Spanish enclave, Melilla. Because of their particular geographical situation which is deemed to favour immigration, both Ceuta and Melilla are surrounded by high, policed fences punctuated by watchtowers. Despite the risk it represents, groups of African migrants occa-

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**Fortress North is a complex architectural and administrative structure**  
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sionally attempt to climb up without being caught by custom police patrols. As often in such abundance of police/military technology and its architectural means, we can wonder if the budget allocated to them could not serve instead the hospitality sought by refugees and migrants.

**Schengen Space:**

Implemented in 1990, this European space without internal border

controls that now counts 26 countries (including Iceland, Norway, and Switzerland, which do not belong to the E.U.) can be characterized by its contrastingly strict controls at its periphery. The Schengen strategy also includes a strong effort of "externalization" of its immigration policy to neighboring countries where migrant passages are important, like Serbia or Bosnia Herzegovina. Essentially these countries are offered applicants' status to the European Union if they first undertake the sub-contracting task of controlling migration towards the Schengen area. The militarized architecture of Schengen's borders is, however, less present in its border, than in its administrative system of detention and expulsion of migrants judged as "clandestines".



**Sporting a fence:** Spanish territory in Melilla

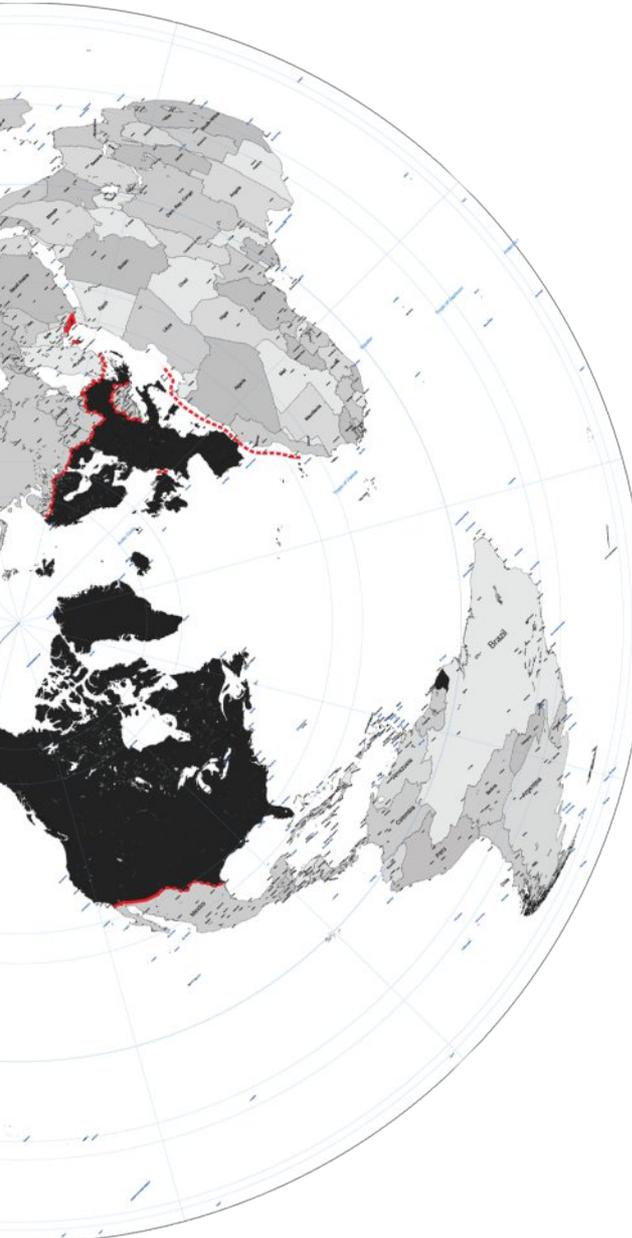
Whether in Lampedusa, Calais or Belgrade, the migrant detention centers are nothing less than a carceral environment with unhealthy conditions for the bodies they forcefully imprison.

**Korea's Demilitarized Zone (DMZ):**

Created in 1953 following the Korean Armistice Agreement, this 250-km long and 4-km wide territory separates the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North) and the Republic of Korea (South). Both borders of this zone are heavily militarized but the zone also counts special-status villages whose architecture ostensibly shows their supposed prosperity to the other side.

**Australia's Maritime Barrier:**

In its current immigration policy that aims to drastically reduce and criminalize clandestine arrivals in the country, Australia can count on its island territorial characteristics. In 2014, the Abbot administration started a large communication campaign paired with the military, Operation Sovereign Borders, in 17 languages to discourage any attempt by asylum seekers and undocumented migrants to reach the country. One poster and its video narrative by military commander of the operation, Angus Campbell, in particular shows a dangerous sea with the words "No





Way. You Will Not Make Australia Home.” A graphic novel was also issued and it depicts the alleged story of an Afghan asylum seeker and the tumultuous fate of hardship that awaits him while trying to reach Australia. Like Schengen, the country counts many migrant detention centers, some of which are delocalized on remote islands, such as Christmas Island or Nauru Island, more than 1,000 kilometers from Australia.

Fortress North is thus a territory on which the free circulation of its citizens strongly contrasts with the difficulty others experience to access it or inhabit it with an undocumented status. Although the map presented here insists on its walled and abysmal borders, we should insist that the architecture of this fortress also intervenes within and beyond its territory. Asylum seekers centers, migrant detention facilities, and other administrative processing sites,

where migrant bodies are condemned to wait for weeks or months, often in extremely precarious conditions, are the main architectural embodiments of the internal fortress. However, we are missing the point if we do not add to them, the quasi-totality of the built environment whose walls make sure to implement the segregation of included and excluded bodies.

Fortress North is a complex architectural and administrative structure that controls movement to the Global North and often prevents it, whether by exclusion or incarceration. Capitalism implemented the globalization of monetary and goods exchange in the world; it also facilitated the movement of its beneficiary but prevented the migration of its subjects with the help of architectural and territorial apparatuses whose budget could arguably be used alternatively to allow or even foster it instead. ■

## οχι! - NO!

Paolo Novak

I write this as the results from the Greek referendum on the bailout programme proposed by the Troika (EU, IMF and European Central Bank) make headlines in newspapers and bulletins (July 2015). The resounding NO (oxi) to austerity that the referendum results returned may seem somewhat detached from the concerns of this TBR issue –and yet they are not, in a number of ways.

First, while the referendum was often framed as a way to re-assert Greek sovereignty and democratic principles against the impositions of a finance-driven European order, political claims associated to the OXI campaign had little to say about migrants and the militarisation of Greek borders. Indeed, the anti-austerity platform of the Tsipras government rests on a coalition between his own party, Syriza, and ANEL (Independent Greeks) a party from the right of the political spectrum, which advocates for a reduction in the number of migrants to be hosted on Greek soil. Syriza itself had little to say about migration, other than calling for an increased redistribution of migrants who arrived in Greece between the EU members. Clearly the financial crisis may have put austerity and the negotiations with the Troika at the top of the agenda. The point however is: can we say NO to austerity within Europe without linking this "no" to the other side of the coin, i.e. to what happens outside Europe or at its borders? Can we say NO to neoliberalism

without, at the same time, saying NO to border-related deaths?

Greece has been at the frontline of the recent “migration emergency” across the Mediterranean, with more than 50,000 migrants arriving at its shores through irregular means since the beginning of 2015 (i.e. since the elections that brought Syriza to power). While couched in a humanitarian narrative, European countries’ responses to the harrowing scenes of unseaworthy boats full of people and to the accounts of their wrecks have effectively resulted in a (further) militarisation of its external border, with Greece a crucial site for implementing these responses. Poseidon Sea and Poseidon Land are two of the more than 20 FRONTEX Operations “hosted” by Greece since 2006, which aim at controlling irregular migration flows towards the territory

of the Member States of the EU with “a desired prevention effect, and to tackle cross-border crime” (1).

According to the EU, border surveillance (read militarisation) helps saving lives (2), and yet the border minefields on the Greek side of the river Evros (marking the border with Turkey (3)), the unlawful push-backs in the Aegean Sea, and the shipwrecks never reaching shore, have turned Greek borders into cemeteries for thousands of people attempting to seek a bet-



(1) See FRONTEX Archive of Operations online, URL: <<http://frontex.europa.eu/operation-s/archive-of-operations/?host=Greece>>

(2) European Commission (2013): Lampedusa follow up: concrete actions to prevent loss of life in the Mediterranean and better address migratory and asylum flows. Press release. <[http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release\\_IP-13-1199\\_en.htm](http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-13-1199_en.htm)>

(3) These mines were buried in 1974 at the time of the Greek-Turkish standoff over Cyprus.

ter life away from their place of habitual residence. Greece is not to be singled out in this respect.

A recent IOM report suggests that the number of deaths in the Mediterranean in the period January to 1st-July-2015 amounts to 1,875 (one thousand eight hundred and seventy five), which make 70% of the total border-related deaths across the world during the same period. Since the year 2000, in excess of 30 thousand people have died trying to reach Europe, and over 40 thousand across the world (4). Fences, walls, drones, and various military techniques and technologies have become the norm across the world in matters of border security and, as a consequence, a concrete aspect of migrants' everyday life -and death.



Second, while the 100 million Euros or so secured for and spent in FRONTEX operations every year, or even the USD2.2 billion that, according to an Amnesty report (5), were spent by the EU to secure its external borders between 2007 and 2013, are certainly dwarfed by the billions in financial debt at the heart of discussions between the Greek government and the Troika, this money is but one indicator confirming that, even in times of austerity, resources for military operations are not scarce. Can we say NO to (our!) money being spent in this way? Can we say NO to budget allocations that privilege deterrence and surveillance to integration and solidarity?

Finally, institutions like the IMF do not operate in Europe alone. Indeed, the Structural Adjustment that is currently being negotiated with Greece has been "imposed" to developing countries for over four decades, with devastating consequences. The privatisation of land, the reduction of state provisions to its citizens and of agricultural and other subsidies, the sell-offs of national assets, the mining concessions granted to transnational corporations, and the many other measures associated to the neoliberal agenda (in other words, the establishment of market sovereignty across all domains of social life) have disrupted the livelihood mechanisms of millions of people around the world, and defined the material conditions pushing them to roam around in search of opportunities for a life in dignity.

Can we say NO to recipes for economic growth that have produced so much poverty and have so much increased inequality?

Can we say NO to the wars in the Middle East, Afghanistan and across various regions in Africa, which force people to leave their homes and seek refuge in Europe and which are, at the same time, a testimony of the historical and contemporary responsibilities of those

same countries who prevent (through border militarisation) the possibility for these peoples to seek asylum?

Sadly, we may well answer NO to all of the above questions, but we are never really asked. And this is not even the beginning of the problem.

The philosopher Etienne Balibar, amongst others, says that borders are the non-democratic pre-condition for democracy. We can have a demos only by differentiating who is in and who is out, and yet that choice has historically escaped any democratic control. This is a first democratic deficit. The second democratic deficit is evidenced by the above questions, which all point to a series of decisions mostly escaping our democratic control. Herein lies the contradiction. We, as an un-democratically defined demos, should strive to bring decisions about financial austerity, budget allocations, border militarisation, etc., under democratic control. And yet in doing so, we, acting as such demos, simultaneously risk reinforcing the first democratic deficit. The militarisation of borders splashes this contradiction onto our faces.

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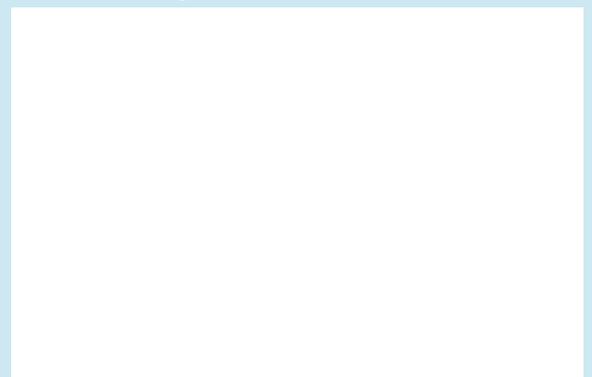
By the time I write this last paragraph, more than a week has passed since the Greek referendum. The resounding OXI it expressed does not seem to have produced the desired effects (or at least the effects that many of us outside Greece were hoping for) vis-à-vis the impositions of further austerity measures, the privatisation of state assets, and further reductions in state provisions. Is it all possible to address the second democratic deficit without tackling the first one head on? It is in that question, I believe, that our democratic future hinges upon. ■

(4) See: **Missing Migrants Project** of IOM.

URL: <<http://missingmigrants.iom.int/>>

(5) **Amnesty International (2014)**: The human cost of Fortress Europe. Human Rights violations against migrants and refugees at Europe's borders. URL: <[http://www.amnesty.ca/sites/default/files/eur\\_050012014\\_fortress\\_europe\\_complete\\_web.pdf](http://www.amnesty.ca/sites/default/files/eur_050012014_fortress_europe_complete_web.pdf)>

## Countering the Militarisation of Youth International Week of Action | xx-xx October 2015



# Violence along the Indo-Bangladesh Border

*Ranabir Samaddar*

It has been rightly said that the twentieth century will be remembered as a century of partitions. Partitioned borders that is to say borders produced out of partitions of countries (like Korea, erstwhile divided Germany, India) are violent borders. Military presence marks the borderlands. Partition leads to forced migration - refugee flows and flows of other types like immigrants from stranded minority communities in homelands.

Partition also makes the question of return crucial. Do partition refugees have right to return? If they have the right to return, then what is the period within which they will enjoy the right of return to the countries they came from? Also, will there be certain conditions, in as much as we know that there may be forced return. This is the prism in which we can learn the histories of violence, bloodshed, and massive displacement in the erstwhile united Ottoman Empire, Germany, Palestine, Korea, Ireland, and India. These are some of the major events to shape the story of forced migration in the last century.

The present state system in South Asia, in particular the state system of the sub-continent, is a result largely of the partitions in the eastern and western parts of the erstwhile united India, giving birth to three states - India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. The borders dividing these countries are markers of past bitter history, current separate, distinct, and independent existence, and the sign of the territorial integrity of these states.

The bitterness of the past, the lack of mutual confidence at present, the security concerns of all these states, at the same time the existence of thousand and one linkages of the pre-partitioned time make the South Asian borders unique. They are the lines of hatred, disunity, informal connections and voluminous informal trade, securitised and militarized lines, heavy para-military presence, communal discord, humanitarian crisis, human rights abuses, and enormous suspicion, yet informal cooperation.

While the Indo-Pakistan border (including the Line of Control) is in the eye of world attention, therefore closely monitored, the border in the East - Indo-Bangladesh border - remains neglected in terms of attention. Security concerns overwhelm all other equally legitimate concerns and values. Military security dominates over human security in the border region.

As a result of this, States often forget that borders are not only lines to be guarded, they are also lines of humanitarian management, because borders are not lines but borderlands - that is to say these are areas where people live, pursue economic activities, and lead civilian lives attuned to the realities of the borders. Human security in the borderlands would mean first security of the civilian population along the borderlines.

Some of the aspects of the situation of forced

migration along the Indo-Bangladesh border are:

1. Many immigrants are prima facie accused of illegal entry and do not get due recourse to law;
2. The border security forces on both sides engage in forcible push-backs - extreme harsh methods of deportation resulting in loss of limbs, lives, money, and dignity;
3. The daily economic activities of segments of population like fishermen fishing in river-borders are hampered greatly resulting in sustained distress;
4. Long and undue detention at jails and sub-jails;
5. Rampant sexual abuses, and killings in no man's land by border guards;
6. Undue harassment of immigrants on the suspicion of being terrorists;
7. Extortion of money of the ordinary people allegedly working as part of smuggling;
8. Distress of inhabitants of border enclaves;
9. Boundaries running through villages and consequent harassment of villagers;
10. Fencing and electrifying the fence with high voltage;
11. Forcibly stranded people on the no-man's land as security forces on both sides refuse to accept them;
12. Communalisation of border villages and subsequent killings of apprehended immigrants;
13. Shifting river-borders
14. Different types of boundaries in different sectors (river, village, train line, no natural demarcation, hills, etc.
15. Existence of stateless population
16. Widespread trafficking in labour, sex, animals, and goods

Four main themes pertaining to human rights and humanitarian protection of the victims of border violence emerge out of these issues: (a) border violence and civilian life around the Indo-Bangladesh border; (b) the vulnerability and insecurity of life of the people in Indo-Bangladesh Enclaves, and (c) rights of the so-called illegal immigrants, particularly women in prisons, and the related issues of dignity, rights, and humanitarian protection; and finally (d) the ways in which floods, disasters, and increasing salinity of land and water contribute to forced migration across the border.

In order to appreciate the enormity of the abuses of the rights of the migrants, we have to trace the historical perspective of the current situation marked by the realities of push back, trafficking, groups of population in protracted displacement situation, and violence of the border forces. The situation that the world faces in the form of repeated boat disasters in the Mediterranean is the same that we face along the Indo-Bangladesh border.

# South Africa: Borders, State Militarism & Xenophobia

South Africa- Borders, State Militarism and Xenophobia

The South African government's official policy on borders and immigration is couched in the language of human rights and opening up colonial era boundaries in Africa. But the reality is more authoritarian and brutal – economic migrants and asylum seekers, particularly from other African countries, are regular targets for violent harassment by the police, are illegally denied access to basic services like hospitals or sent to detention facilities. State officials are heavily invested in rhetoric about border security and constantly make ominous statements about foreign threats to the South African homeland, from transnational drug smuggling to rhino poaching. Of course, this is not novel or particular to South Africa. States have historically used physical borders and violence to delineate outsiders from citizens, while also combining military operations outside their territory with domestic policing. This is becoming even more apparent with the modern wars on drugs and terror, in which wars and operations abroad are combined with the extension of surveillance and restrictions on civil liberties.

The media regularly repeats alarmist, unsubstantiated figures about illegal immigrations making Malthusian claims about how scarce jobs and services are being stolen. It has become increasingly acceptable to blame South Africa's problems, such as massive inequality, huge rates of unemployment and pervasive violent crime, on migrants. The rhetoric used in the media and government were crudely, but accurately, mirrored by the participants in the xenophobic pogroms which last erupted in April 2015- "they" take our jobs, "they" bring crime. But simultaneously, the government expects the rest of Africa to welcome the expansion of South African big business with open arms. South Africa's self-image is of a hegemonic force on the continent, sealed off from poorer and less stable countries, a thinking which underpins much of border strategy.

The state response to xenophobic attacks in April 2015, which saw armed mobs hunting foreigners and attacking their small businesses in several cities, was to launch the national Operation Fiela (which depending on the translation means to sweep the streets/sweep the dirt). The police and military flooded the streets of trouble spots with armoured personal carriers and made mass arrests. But in practise, undocumented migrants were as much of a target as suspects implicated in xenophobic violence, and Government officials bragged about how many hundreds they had apprehended. However the state has vigorously denied that the Operation has become an attack on often desperately poor migrants, claiming that anyone abiding the law would have nothing to fear. But on the ground a more sordid picture emerged of the arrested being denied access to lawyers, torture in police custody and families rounded up on dark winter mornings. Even

people with legal documentation to be in the country were simply arrested without explanation. This Kafkaesque situation, in which even being on the right side of the law provided no protection from the security services, is further evident in how officials refute that this has any xenophobic intent, while making inflammatory comments about foreign criminality. "In a press conference parliamentarian Tekoetsile Motlashuping claimed that there was no evidence that the April attacks were xenophobic but then threatened that anyone in the country illegally would be arrested "without mercy.... They (foreigners) roam; they go to townships to occupy the economic space". The phrase 'no mercy' is common in South African political language, with officials using it to underscore their ruthless approach towards both foreign and domestic enemies. This bellicose rhetoric is operationalized in regular mass raids and clampdowns, highly theatrical undertakings which in practise primarily serve to criminalise the poor. In the last two years, for instance, the city of Johannesburg held an 'Operation Clean Sweep' which attempted to purge the city of street traders and 'Operation Ke Molao' (It is the Law) which extended to vagrants, including police showing 'no mercy' by arresting blind beggars and impounding their crutches. In all these operations, nationality is less of a factor than class- the state will assault and arrest any poor people considered to be a social nuisance regardless of which papers they do or do not hold. Operation Fiela itself has now acquired a grandiose subtitle – Reclaim 2015, and alongside immigration will 'address' "drug dens, prostitution rings" and the illegal occupation of land and building by squatters. The last one indicates how the state's solution to informal settlement of land, a popular response to the countries severe housing shortage, is to bring down the iron fist rather than to negotiate. Such a de facto militarised response integrates external border policy with domestic social control.

The promotion of regime of border surveillance and domestic sanitation operations can be understood as part of a deepening authoritarianism within the South African state. Although this preceded the presidency of Jacob Zuma regime, under his rule the government has become at once more secretive and more enabled to get away with often extreme violence against 'security' threats, most notably in the case of the Marikana massacre where police gunned down striking miners. Simultaneously, the Zuma years has seen the strengthening of conservative forces, with a lot more overt ethnic chauvinism and nationalist demagoguery entering the political discourse. At the very least the current hard-line border approach is just a matter of scapegoating foreigners for the structural inequality and poverty of daily life in the country, an easy source of frustration. However it seems more likely to encourage worse violence down the road, with the state viewing even more of both its citizen-subjects and people from elsewhere as 'dirt' to be swept



away with an iron broom.

# Contributors

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**Ranabir Samaddar** has worked on issues of forced migration, the theory and practices of dialogue, nationalism and post-colonial statehood in South Asia. This work has culminated in the much-acclaimed "The Politics of Dialogue", as well as his recent "The Materiality of Politics" (2007), and "The Emergence of the Political Subject" (2009) challenging prevailing accounts of the origins of states and signaling a new turn in critical postcolonial thinking. He is currently the Director of the Calcutta Research Group. Mail: [ranabir\[at\]mcrgr.ac.in](mailto:ranabir[at]mcrgr.ac.in)

**Sanjar Saidov** is a political scientist and historian currently employed at Urgench State University, Uzbekistan. He has a longstanding relation to questions of energy security, armed forces reform and diversified democracies. His most current research focusses on the rise and development of civil society in Uzbekistan.

**Stephanie Demblon** travaille sur la campagne contre le commerce des armes "I stop the arms trade" pour Agir pour la Paix. Elle milite activement et pacifiquement contre les armes nucléaires et pour la liberté de circulation.

**Ainhoa Ruiz Benedicto** has specialised in social and armed conflict at masters level, and has participated in educational projects in Peru, as well as activism in Palestine and conflict resolution projects with gangs in Colombia. She is collaborating with Centro Dalás on various peace campaigns, and is a social activist in Barcelona.

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Editor: Owen Everett  
 Publisher: War Resisters' International  
 Year published: 2013  
 ISBN: 978-0-903517-27-0

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Edited by Ellen Elster and Majken Jul Sørensen, Preface by Cynthia Enloe  
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## The Broken Rifle

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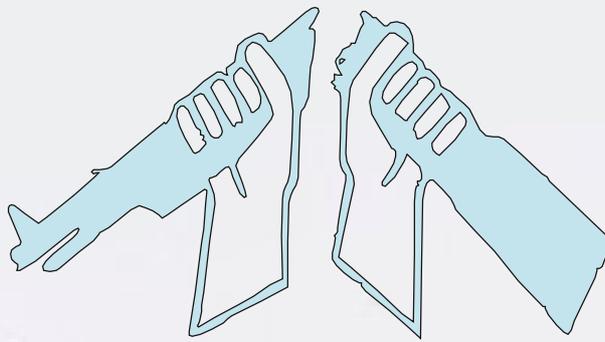
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