

The Broken Rifle

Newsletter of War Resisters' International



Gay Pride march in London, July 2005

Photo by rsambrook

Eight reasons why antimilitarism needs queer

1 Militarism is not just a war, an army or a fighter jet. Militarism is a system, a logic and a set of norms that perpetuates and recreates our societies and our daily lives. Queer analysis of power is a political tool that can help us to challenge these norms. Queer liberation isn't about equality within a patriarchal and militarist system, it is about going beyond the politics of inclusion and creating future just societies that do not merely recreate systems of power under different names.

2 Militarism perpetuates rigid gender norms, and is rooted in heterosexist ideas of gender that define masculinity as physically powerful and aggressive and femininity as meek and passive. Queer and transgender people, and queer analysis and activism, challenge the legitimacy of these norms, and thus challenge the basis and ideas of militarism.

3 Militarism depends upon and recreates a racist and hierarchical world order that tells us whose life is worth defending and whose is not. The image of "the other" needs to exist as well as a united "we" (white, heterosexual, ablebodied, man.) whose life is

worth defending. Queer analysis that foregrounds, cultivates and nurtures difference is a challenge to the existence of this homogenous "we", and thus to the logic behind the existence of the military.

4 There's a long-standing opposition to the military from queer communities and other marginalised groups. These groups have since long realised that the military is not acting in their interests. Now other parts of the antimilitarist movement need to recognise this tremendous antimilitarist activism and join with all groups struggling for peace and justice.

5 Movements where queer and transgendered people - or any other group - feel excluded, not listened to and not taken seriously, of course fail drastically in accountability. Actively working to make our movements inclusive does not just make us a larger movement, it makes room for more perspectives and experiences and makes us more creative and effective in our work against militarism.

Editorial

Queer and antimilitarism is the theme of this *Broken Rifle*, and we hope this will create some debate within WRI and beyond. Most articles have been written especially for this issue, with the exception of Tamara K Nopper's article on Don't Ask Don't Tell, which we republish from *Against Equality: Don't Ask to Fight Their Wars*. Don't Ask Don't Tell was finally repealed in December 2010, but this does not make her arguments less important. Alvine Anderson presents eight arguments why antimilitarism needs queer - queer people and a queer analysis. Miles Tanhira follows from this arguing that war resistance needs to be an integral part of a queer struggle, and the recent events in Zimbabwe show how threatened queer people and organisations are in an escalated conflict. Pelao Carvalho uses the language and analysis of queer to look at the situation in Paraguay after the ousting of President Fernando Lugo during a parliamentary coup in June. Yu Min-Seok describes the problems queers and conscientious objectors face in South Korea, and links both to masculinity. And Tomato explores the discrimination she as a lesbian faced in the struggle against a new naval base on Jeju island. Finally, Ali Erol describes the difficult choices gays face in Turkey when they are confronted with compulsory military service. These articles show that there is a range of queer perspectives when it comes to militarism or military service, and there is not always an easy answer. But they also show how important and beneficial it might be for antimilitarists to take on a queer perspective when analysing militarism. As Alvine Anderson writes: "Actively working to make our movements inclusive does not just make us a larger movement, it makes room for more perspectives and experiences and makes us more creative and effective in our work against militarism."

Andreas Speck

Thanks also to Mr. Fish and Against Equality for lots of the images.

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Why resistance to war is a central and important part of a queer struggle

Steve Biko, an anti-apartheid activist, once said the oppressed aspire to be the oppressor. This is true when it comes to the effects of war on minorities such as LGBTI people. In most African countries for instance, the issue of homosexuality has been used by power hungry politicians to hoodwink people into believing that homosexuality is the cause of their misery.

For example in Zimbabwe, whenever the chips are down for politicians they find a social issue that is highly emotive and try to use it to prosecute their private wars, that's why people are not interested in understanding LGBT people, they are interested in the existence of the issue and meting out instant justice. Politicians feel the urge to keep society at an emotional level so that whenever things are not going right for them or their political parties they invoke the issue of homosexuality, because people share the same hatred and fears as them.

Politicians and some religious leaders pick on an issue that brings numerical advantage, meanwhile the minority of homosexual people become a perfect field for those prosecuting personal wars. So by bringing in an issue that many people do not fully understand, and blocking any avenues for people to access information, these politicians hope to get people to rally to them.

There is no doubt that war breeds untold misery for those who are in positions of less power, as the power dynamics come into play. When people are polarised along political, racial, and

gender lines, the weakest link, in this case LGBTI people, bear the brunt of war. The media, especially the state-owned, is at the forefront of churning out homophobic rhetoric and sensationalising stories involving LGBTI people. Most of the reports are meant to incite hatred and violence.

Hate speech against LGBTI people fuels the flame of homophobia, making them a target of frustrated people who feel they have carte blanche to harm minorities. In such a scenario there is no redress even if LGBTI people were to report cases to the police.

War leads to oppression and injustices being perpetrated against people. All forms of war contribute to human rights abuses and the curtailing of constitutional liberties such as freedom of association and freedom of expression. During war situations people find it difficult to get access to basic rights like food, water and health. State-instigated homophobia fuels wider homophobia and has negative effects on the lives and living conditions of LGBTI people. When it comes to accessing health services for instance, they are driven underground and most die in silence because of a system which criminalises their conduct.

Fundamentalism gains momentum in war situations as people become guarded over the things that they believe in; any diversity is treated with suspicion and is oppressed. Those people with dissenting voices become a target. This affects activists who try to do their work in such a volatile environment. As Africa witnesses

a spate of activity in the Global Culture wars being influenced by some American conservatives pushing an anti-homosexuality agenda in churches, Zimbabwe has not been spared. Some religious fundamentalists who were advocating the death penalty for homosexuals in Uganda have also been to Zimbabwean churches preaching the gospel of hate.

Not to be outdone, traditional leaders also deride homosexuality as a western disease and un-African. This homophobia – deeply ingrained in cultural practices – leads to family and urban violence against LGBTI people and their allies.

Zimbabwe has been described by many as a military state: the heavy presence of gun-wielding police officers and soldiers on street corners, coupled with the recruiting of youths into national youths service camps, bears clear testimony to this. Most of the youths who undergo the military training are appendages of the ruling party and are trained to unleash terror on anyone with dissenting opinions. Being given credit for "work" carried out gives them carte blanche to attack LGBTI people as an act of patriotism. The ruling party ideology blames the opposition for inviting targeted sanctions on the country, hence bringing about suffering. This has managed to invoke anger in many people who view the opposition as the source of their misery and, because they are funded by the west, they are also seen as sympathetic to the LGBTI agenda. This link between the sanctions, the opposition and homosexuality has been made reference

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6 LGBTQ people remain under attack by militaries and governments all over the world. The state discriminates against and sanctions violence against LGBTQ people, hate crime rates rise in militarised communities, at the same time as the possibilities for norm breakers and other marginalised groups are restrained. Radical movements must stand in solidarity with those most affected by militarism, which include LGBTQ people.

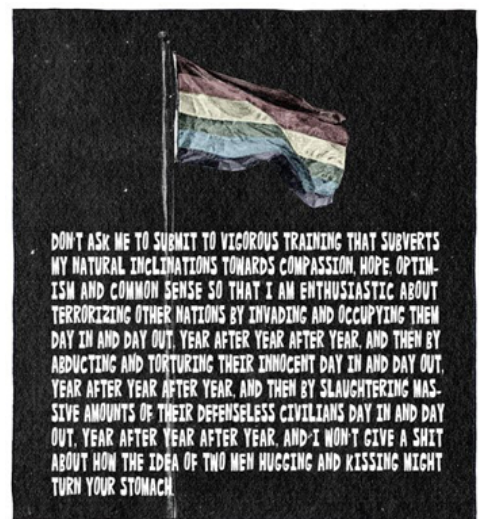
7 The military is currently using LGBTQ communities to legitimise their activities. By creating a (false) public image of a "modern" and "open" military, they seek to create acceptance for militarism and military "solutions".

Queer people are organising against this "pinkwashing" of their struggles, and refuse to be used to legitimise death and destruction. Together we must show that an antimilitarist world is a really secure world for LGBTQ people and others.

8 Any change starts at home. A heterosexist, patriarchal culture promotes and legitimises war. A movement working against war must challenge these norms within their own movements and communities as well as in society as a whole. We must address all issues of structural, personal, and intimate violence wherever they exist, to create truly secure and sustainable cultures that promote peace and justice.

Alvine Andersson

Alvine Andersson is active in the Swedish antimilitarist network Ofog.



MR FISH



A common sight: police monitoring the Milton park neighborhood; GALZ offices are in this area. (Photo by Miles Tanhira)

to so many times, making LGBTI people a target for hate and violence.

War and militarism reinforce gender norms and roles, and punish those who go beyond these, hence LGBTI people are ostracised and under attack. This is evidenced in the militarisation of sport, resulting in adverse effects on some LGBTI people who are into such disciplines. Young people are lured into joining sporting teams, which are supported by the army, and once they join they automatically have to be involved in the military forces. This is particularly true for young women into soccer. These women are forced to dress and behave in a societally accepted way, and those who cross the boundaries are pushed into line with harsh punishment or dismissal from both the team and army.

Aside from sexual and domestic violence, women also suffer other forms of gender-specific violence before, during and after conflicts. For example, women may not have access to adequate reproductive health services in times of crisis, and women and LGBTI communities may experience a backlash against their sexual rights.

According to reports, one consequence of militarism is the use of sexual violence to assert power over others. Militarism tends to privilege a particular form of aggressive masculinity, and thus rape is often used as a tactic of war, to drive fear and to humiliate women and their communities. Sexual violence in conflict and post-conflict situations is used to reinforce gendered and political hierarchies. On a different level, intimate partner violence is another form of exerting control – particularly

when the abusers experience a decrease in power in other aspects of their lives. Access to small arms, military training, or exposure to intense violence and trauma in conflict situations, may exacerbate intimate partner violence, with impunity for military personnel in cases of violence against women, violations committed by peace-keeping forces, and violence and abuse of women living and working around military bases. Militarised governments may also use force against their own civilians, suspend the rule of law in an “emergency” period, or use “anti-terrorism” laws to suppress pro-democracy movements or to silence human rights defenders. Institutions such as police forces, aid organisations, religious establishments, the media, schools, and the judiciary, can also be militarised so that the lines between military and civilian life are blurred.

As militarism rears its ugly head in Zimbabwe, the LGBTI community has been at the receiving end. The strategy to instill fear in the hearts and minds of the masses under the guise of maintaining peace and security is itself a threat to the peaceful existence of people as, it often leads to violation of minorities’ rights.

Miles Rutendo Tanhira

Miles Rutendo Tanhira is a journalist, human rights defender, LGBTI rights activist, peace activist and feminist. Miles also has a passion for photography and other creative ways of speaking out against injustices. Currently Miles is the Information and Communications Officer of WRI's affiliate Gays and Lesbians of Zimbabwe (GALZ).

WRI on the harassment of GALZ

War Resisters' International (WRI), the international network of pacifist organisations with more than 80 affiliates in more than 40 countries, calls for an end to the harassment of our affiliate Gays and Lesbians of Zimbabwe (GALZ) and to the physical attacks on members of GALZ. Furthermore, WRI strongly condemns the violation of basic human rights of the members of GALZ, such as freedom of association, freedom from arbitrary arrest, and freedom from torture and degrading treatment.

On 11 August 2012, GALZ launched its report on violations of LGBTI rights in Zimbabwe with a press conference at the GALZ office in Harare. Following the press conference, GALZ members celebrated the successful launch with a party, which was then raided by police, who detained the 44 members of GALZ present - 31 men and 13 women. All were subjected to beatings and abuse while in detention, but released the following morning without charge.

A few days later, the police started a hunt for those detained on 11 August, detaining three who they encountered at home for questioning, and ordering those who they did not find to report to their local police station. While those detained have been released, this hunt again serves as intimidation - a clear attempt to make GALZ's work impossible. Subsequently, on 20 August, police raided the office of GALZ and seized computers and literature. The present harassment of GALZ and its members follows earlier attempts at intimidation. In May 2010, police raided the office of GALZ and arrested two members of staff. A few days later the police also raided the home of the director of GALZ, who was not at home at the time. Both staff who had been arrested were released after a few days, and acquitted a few months later, but items seized during the raid have not yet been returned.

Established in 1990, GALZ has been affiliated with WRI since 2001, taking an active role in our activities and currently helping us prepare our 2014 international conference in South Africa provisionally titled “Resisting the continuums of violence”. We are fully aware of the extent of Zimbabwe state violence against its own citizens. Whether fuelled by greed, the lust for power or homophobia, these forms of violence are connected. The violation of any human right weakens respect for human rights themselves. Above all, the harassment of human right defenders - such as GALZ, who have prepared a serious report on Zimbabwe's violations of lesbians, gays and transsexuals - is a warning to all those who oppose the abuse of state power.

Why I oppose repealing DADT & passage of the Dream Act

One of the first books I read about Asian American feminism was the anthology *Dragon Ladies: Asian American feminists breathe fire*. In one of the essays, author Juliana Pegues describes scenes from a “radical Asian women’s movement.” One such scene involves lesbian and bisexual Asian and Pacific Islanders marching at Gay Pride with signs reading “Gay white soldiers in Asia? Not my liberation!” and “ends with the absence of all soldiers, gay and straight, from any imperialist army.”

Although it has been over a decade since I read this passage, I return to this “scene” as I watch far too many liberals and progressives praise the possible repeal of Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell (DADT) as well as the possible passage of the DREAM Act (Development, Relief, and Education for Alien Minors Act).

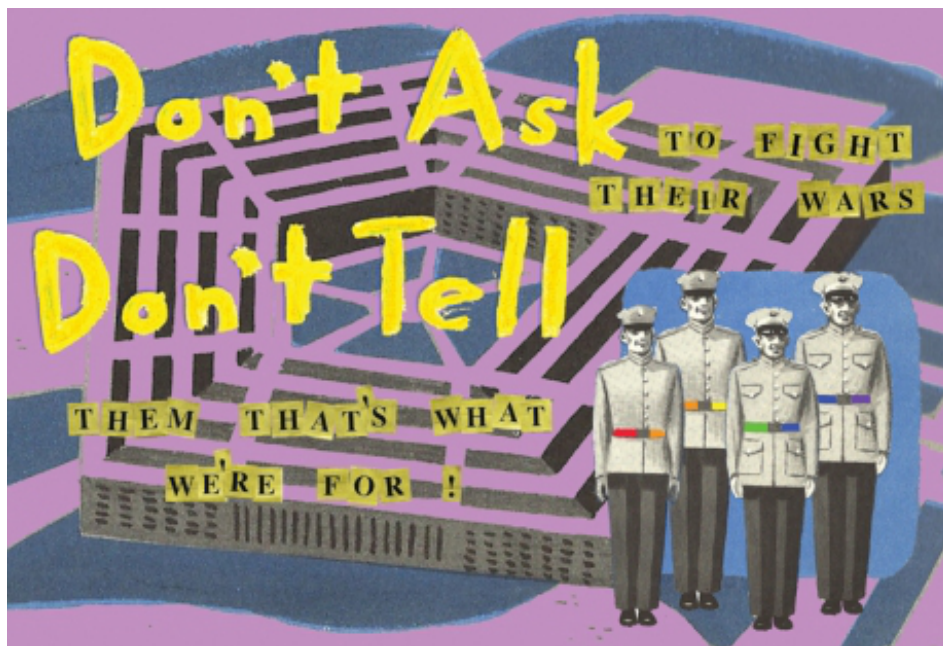
In some ways, I understand why people are supportive of such gestures. The idea that certain identities and status categories, such as gay or lesbian or (undocumented) immigrants are either outlawed or treated as social problems has rightfully generated a great deal of sympathy. And the very real ways that people experience marginalization or discrimination—ranging from a lack of certain rights to violence, including death—certainly indicates that solutions are needed. Further, far too many non-whites have experienced disproportionate disadvantages, surveillance, and discipline from both DADT and anti-immigrant legislation. For example, Black women, some of whom are not lesbians, have been disproportionately discharged from the U.S. military under DADT. And anti-immigrant legislation, policing measures, and vigilante xenophobic racism is motivated by and reinforces white supremacy and white nationalism.

Yet both the repeal of DADT and the passage of the DREAM Act will increase the size and power of the U.S. military and the Department of Defense, which is already the largest U.S. employer. Repealing DADT will make it easier for gays and lesbians to openly serve and the Dream Act in its present incarnation may provide a pathway to legal residency and possibly citizenship for some undocumented immigrant young people if they serve two years in the U.S. military or spend an equal amount of time in college.

Unsurprisingly, the latter, being pushed by Democrats, is getting support from “many with close ties to the military and higher education.” As the Wall Street Times reports:

Pentagon officials support the Dream Act. In its strategic plan for fiscal years 2010-2012, the Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Personnel and Readiness cited the Dream Act as a ‘smart’ way to attract quality recruits to the all-volunteer force...

‘Passage of the Dream Act would be



The image was created by Chris Vargas for Against Equality: Queer challenges to the politics of inclusion.

extremely beneficial to the U.S. military and the country as a whole,’ said Margaret Stock, a retired West Point professor who studies immigrants in the military. She said it made ‘perfect’ sense to attach it to the defense-authorization bill.

Louis Caldera, secretary of the Army under President Bill Clinton, said that as they struggled to meet recruiting goals, ‘recruiters at stations were telling me it would be extremely valuable for these patriotic people to be allowed to serve our country.’

Additionally, in a 2009 Department of Defense strategic plan report, the second strategic goal, “Shape and maintain a mission-ready All Volunteer Force,” lists the DREAM Act as a possible recruitment tool under one of the “performance objectives”:

Recruit the All-Volunteer Force by finding smart ways to sustain quality assurance even as we expand markets to fill manning at controlled costs as demonstrated by achieving quarterly recruiting quality and quantity goals, and through expansion of the Military Accessions Vital to the National Interest (MAVNI) program and the once-medically restricted populations, as well as the DREAM initiative.

What concerns me is that far too many liberals and progressives, including those who serve as professional commentators on cable news and/or progressive publications (and some with a seemingly deep affinity for the Democratic Party) have been praising the passage of the DREAM Act. Unsurprising is that many of the same people support the repeal of DADT. While a sincere concern about discrimination may unite both gestures, so too does a lack of critical perspective

regarding the U.S. military as one of the main vehicles in the expansion and enforcement of U.S. imperialism, heterosexuality, white supremacy, capitalism, patriarchy, and repression against political dissent and people’s movements in the United States and abroad. Far too many liberals and progressives, including those critical of policies or the squashing of political dissent, take an ambivalent stance on the U.S. military. It is unclear what makes some of these folks unwilling to openly oppose the military state. Perhaps it’s easier than dealing with the backlash from a variety of people, including the many people of color and/or women who are now building long-term careers in the military. Or maybe it’s more amenable to building careers as pundits in both corporate and progressive media, both of which may be critical of some defense spending or “wasted” (read unsuccessful) military efforts but not necessarily of U.S. militarism.

Whatever the case, the inclusion of more gays and lesbians and/or undocumented immigrant youth in the U.S. military is not an ethical project given that both gestures are willing to have our communities serve as mercenaries in exchange for certain rights, some of which are never fully guaranteed in a homophobic and white supremacist country. Nor is it pragmatic. By supporting the diversification of the U.S. military we undermine radical democratic possibilities by giving the military state more people, many of whom will ultimately die in combat or develop PTSD and health issues and/or continue nurturing long-term relationships with the U.S. military, including a political affinity with

its culture and goals. We will also have a more difficult time challenging projects of privatization, the incurring of huge amounts of debt, and the erosion of rights and protections in other countries—efforts buttressed by the threat of military action—which ultimately affects people in the United States.

Of course I am not the first person to raise these concerns. As the comment from Pegues, with which I began, reveals, there are gay, lesbian, bisexual, and transgender folks, many of them non-white and non-middle class, who promote a queer politic that challenges the heteronormative desires of mainstream movements, including that pushed by some LGBT organizations and their purported “allies” within the Democratic party and heteronormative people of color organizations. Some of these folks organize for better economic opportunities, access to housing, and safer existences in the civilian sector for poor and working-class LGBTs. And some also openly oppose military recruitment or challenge the push for gays and lesbians to (openly) serve in the military by countering with “Don’t serve” as a slogan. For example, Cecilia Lucas, who grew up in a military family, writes in a 2010 Counter Punch article:

“Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” is bad policy. It encourages deceit and, specifically, staying in the closet, which contributes to internalized as well as public homophobia, thus perpetuating discrimination and violence against LGBT people. Banning gay people from serving in the military, however, is something I support. Not because I’m anti-gay, nope, I’m one of those queer folks myself. I’m also a woman and would support a law against women serving in the military. Not because I think women are less capable. I would support laws against any group of people serving in the military: people of color, tall people, people between the ages of 25 and 53, white men, poor people, people who have children, people who vote for Democrats—however you draw the boundaries of a group, I would support a law banning them from military service. Because I support outlawing the military. And until that has happened, I support downsizing it by any means necessary, including, in this one particular arena, sacrificing civil rights in the interest of human rights...

It is tricky to write an essay that accepts discrimination as a means to an end. In what remains a homophobic, racist, sexist society, I fear enabling a slippery slope of arguments for identity-based discrimination. Although, of course, the entire notion of citizens who are “protected” by a military discriminates against people based on the identity factor of nationality. Hence my point about human rights trumping civil rights. My argument that we should be fighting against, not for, gay people’s inclusion in the military is not actually about gay people at all. Nor is it about wanting others to do our dirty work for us. As I said, I think everyone should be banned from military service. But if the goal is demilitarization, fighting for even more people to have the right to join the military makes no sense. There are plenty of other civil rights denied gay people for which we still need to fight—civil rights that do not trample on others’ human rights.

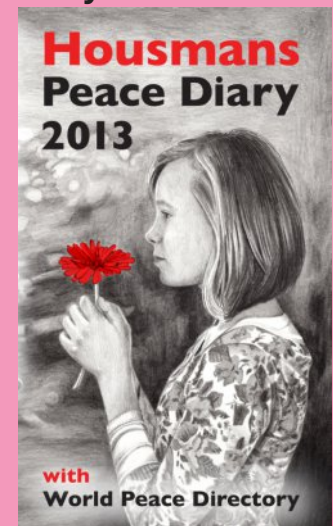
As Lucas’s comments reveal, opposing LGBT folks from serving openly in the military is not to condone the harassment and unfair surveillance that they experience; nor is it meant to support a

culture that suggests they should stay in the closet in the name of military stability and national security. Rather, it is to discourage the attractiveness of military enlistment as well as martial citizenship, a process that provides marginalized groups a “pathway to citizenship” via military service. More, opposition to people serving in the military is also grounded in an understanding that the military negatively impacts practically everyone in the world (including those in the United States), and in particular people of color and/or women and/or gays and lesbians, and not just those who are discriminated against while serving or who are expected to serve as pathways to citizenship or access to education.

Along with folks like Lucas, there are immigrants and their allies challenging us to rethink the possible passage of the DREAM Act because of its pro-military provision and for basically “making a pool of young, bilingual, U.S.-educated, high-achieving students available to the recruiters.” Some have withdrawn their support for the current version of the act in objection to its terms. For example, a letter from one such person, Raúl Al-qaraz Ochoa, states:

Passage of the DREAM Act would definitely be a step forward in the struggle for Migrant Justice. Yet the politicians in Washington have hijacked this struggle from its original essence and turned dreams into ugly political nightmares. I refuse to be a part of anything that turns us into political pawns of dirty Washington politics. I want my people to be “legalized” but at what cost? We all want it bad. I hear it. I’ve lived it. But I think it’s a matter of how much we’re willing to compromise in order to win victories or crumbs...So if I support the DREAM Act, does this mean I am okay with our people being used as political pawns? Does this mean that my hands will be smeared with the same bloodshed the U.S. spills all over the world? Does this mean I am okay with blaming my mother and my father for migrating “illegally” to the U.S.? Am I willing to surrender to all that in exchange for a benefit? Maybe it’s easier for me to say that “I can”

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because I have papers, right? I'd like to think that it's because my political principles will not allow me to do so, regardless of my citizenship status or personal benefit at stake. Strong movements that achieve greater victories are those that stand in solidarity with all oppressed people of the world and never gain access to rights at the expense of other oppressed groups.

I have come to a deeply painful decision: I can no longer in good political conscience support the DREAM Act because the essence of a beautiful dream has been detained by a colonial nightmare seeking to fund and fuel the U.S. empire machine.

Unfortunately, the willingness of folks like Lucas and Al-qaraz Ochoa as well as others to critically engage military diversification or the passage of the DREAM Act given its military provisions have gotten less air time or attention among liberal and progressives actively pushing for both measures. In terms of repealing DADT, it is unfortunately not surprising that the rejection of military inclusion by LGBT folks has gotten minimal attention from professional progressives, some of whom are straight. Too many straight people who profess to be LGBT allies tend to align themselves with the liberal professional wings of LGBT politics given shared bourgeois notions of "respectable" (i.e., not offensive to straight people) gay politics that also promote a middle-class notion of democracy—and supports the Democratic Party. Additionally, it's more time efficient to find out what professional LGBT organizations think since they are more likely to have resources to make it easier to learn their agendas without as much effort as learning from those who politically labor in the margins of the margins given their critical stances toward the political mainstream. Yet given the tendency for many professional progressives to be on the internet and social media sites, it is a bit telling that many have supported DADT without addressing the critical stances of some LGBT folks against the military state that are easily available on the internet. This noticeable lack of engagement raises some questions: Why is it that the straight progressives are more willing to have gays and lesbians serve in the U.S. military (or get married) than, let's say,

breaking bread with and seriously considering the political views of LGBT folks who take radical political stances against the military state (as well as engage in non-middle-class aesthetics)? And why do many straight progressives fight for LGBT folks to openly serve in the military—one of the most dangerous employment sites that requires its laborers to kill and control others, including non-whites and/or LGBTs, in the name of empire—but rarely discuss how working-class, poor, and/or of color LGBTs are treated and politically organize for opportunities in the civilian sector job market where they are also expected to remain closeted, subject to homophobic harassment and surveillance, or excluded altogether?

Also concerning is the willingness of many progressives to support the DREAM Act despite it possibly being tied up to a defense-authorization bill and having support from a diverse group of people united by a commitment to military recruitment. While some support is due to a righteous critique of white supremacy that shapes pathways to citizenship, some (also) support the DREAM Act because it serves as a form of "reparations" for foreign policies and colonialism toward third world or developing countries once called home to many of the immigrant youth or their families targeted by the legislation. That is, the famous quote "We're here because you were there" seems to be the underlying mantra of some pushing for the act's passage. Yet if "being there" involved the U.S. military, it is unclear how a resolution to this issue, ethically or pragmatically, calls for immigrant youth to serve for the same U.S. military that devastated, disrupted, undermined, and still controls many of the policies and everyday life of the immigrants' homelands.

Partially to blame for the uncritical support of the DREAM Act are different factions of the immigrant rights movement, as well as funders and some progressive media, that have pushed for an uncritical embrace of the immigrant rights movement among progressives. It is difficult to raise critical views of the (diverse) immigrant rights movement, even when making it clear that one rejects the white supremacy and white nationalism of the right wing (as well as

white-run progressive media and progressive institutions, such as some labor unions) without experiencing some backlash from other progressives, particularly people of color. In turn, critical questions about how immigrant rights movements may support, rather than undermine U.S. hegemony or white supremacy, have been taken off the table at most progressive gatherings, large and small. Subsequently, while some may express concern about the DREAM Act being part of a defense-authorization bill, there are probably fewer who will openly take stands against the bill given the threat of being labeled xenophobic by some progressives unwilling to reject the U.S. military state or interrogate the politics of immigration from an anti-racist and anti-capitalist perspective. In the process, the military may end up getting easier access to immigrant youth who may have difficulty going to college.

As the passage from Dragon ladies shows, some take into account the complexity of identities and political realities as well as maintain oppositional stances against those apparatuses that are largely responsible for the limited choices far too many people have. Many of us are looking for ways to mediate the very real vulnerabilities and lack of job security, as well as forms of social rejection that causes the stress, fear, and physical consequences experienced before and especially during this recession. And given the recent upsurge in explicit gestures of white supremacy and white nationalism as demonstrated by the growing strength of the Tea Party, it may be the most expedient to play up on the shared support of the U.S. military among a broad spectrum of people in order to secure, at least on paper, some basic rights to which straight and/or white people have gotten access. But progressives who support the repeal of DADT and passage of the DREAM Act might instead consider other political possibilities explored by some of those who are the subjects of such policy debates; these folks, some of whom are desperately in need of protection, job security, and safety, encourage us to resist the urge for quick resolutions that ultimately serve to stabilize the military state and instead explore more humane options—for those targeted by DADT and the DREAM Act as well as the rest of the world.

Tamara K. Nopper
19 September 2010

Thanks to Bruce A. Dixon's commentary on the DREAM Act in Black Agenda Report (BAR), which gave a link to the 2009 DOD Report, to which a reference was inserted in this article after Dixon's appeared in the September 22, 2010 edition of BAR.

Taken from Tamara K. Nopper's blog at <http://bandung1955.wordpress.com/2010/09/19/1156/>



against equality
queer challenges to the politics of inclusion

This work would not have been possible without the work of Against Equality, an online archive, publishing, and arts collective focused on critiquing mainstream gay and lesbian politics. As queer thinkers, writers and artists, Against Equality is committed to dislodging the centrality of equality rhetoric and challenging the demand for inclusion in the institution of marriage, the US military, and the prison industrial complex via hate crimes legislation.

Against Equality want to reinvigorate the queer political imagination with fantastic possibility!

<http://againstequality.org>

Out of the Closet

"In the time of a parliamentary coup d'etat, the machos bloom, everything becomes heroic and manly. Among the abusers and the abused, nobody wants to be history's pansy. We are all men according to that which is imposed as the official dispute. Many flags, many anthems, much shouting, many orders, everything very militant. Luckily the resistance is odd and so there is resistance to such orthodox masculinity and militarism, from the right to the left. There is a preference for abandon, laughter, rashness and non-cooperation, for busting our asses before screwing, tickling and disarming. We resist and refuse to be hero or heroine, unless it comes in a syringe."

In the middle of the cold season in our post-coup Paraguay, the hot political climate has created blasts of heat that have pushed many people out of the closet. If the concept of 'coming out of the closet' speaks of truths, power and relationships, and at the same time speaks of impostures, cover-ups, and disguises – how one presents oneself within the dynamics of social networks and constructs – then the term 'to come out of the closet' should be applicable to non-queer contexts, thus queering them.

Our Paraguayan society, hierarchical and hierarchy-making, dominated and domineering, stigmatised and stigmatising, is like all others in that it aims for final perfection, obliging itself to keep the erratic and erroneous, the diverted, the imperfect, the abnormal and abject in the darkness of the closet, partially by force, and partially by choice. The things that are hidden are those that irreparably deviate from normality, from the forced consensus on what is tolerably acceptable to everyone. This normality is statistical, suggestive and symbolic. Normality is established by coming to consensus on a symbolic 'just equilibrium' which is the ideal for every historic, political, social and generic context. A set of influences allows it, based on this ideal just equilibrium, to expand the borders of inclusive normality. So the symbolic negotiations allow, sometimes, for the inclusion of what was excluded at other times.

The arrival of Fernando Lugo to executive power in Paraguay allowed for the renegotiation of the borders and even the symbolic just equilibrium of Paraguayan normality. A sort of LGBTBI scene achieved not only visibility, but also came to be a political 'object of desire' for the political parties, especially those on the left. This heterocentric and family-centric normality centres around the ideas of 'tolerance' and 'acceptance'. The borders expanded to the left and below, more or less to the height of the genitals –

as long as the left wasn't too scandalous about it. Those same borders shrunk above and on the right: the church could give its opinions in order to try to gain influence over the executive branch once again.

Taking this normality back to the previous situation, with a 'just equilibrium' that is more reactionary and conservative, formed a part of the public agenda for Christian fundamentalist organisations, especially the Catholics. Pro-life and anti-abortion marches, parliamentary lobbying against legislative proposals on reproductive and sexual health, training of pro-life activists by their US counterparts and anti-LGTBI protests all formed a part of the range of efforts to return to the past that were carried out by the fundamentalist right.

In order to compensate for this, the executive power established a strong militarist agenda which strengthened the right, both around the middle and at the feet: police and military training at the hands of the armies, US and Colombian counterinsurgency, long-term military operations in the north of the country, anti-kidnapping and anti-guerrilla hysteria promoted by the Ministry of the Interior and amplified by the (invasive) mass communications media, which is also in the hands of the right. Unjust imprisonment of peasants, criminalisation of social movements, fear, torture, terror, abuse and corruption become entrenched in the north of Paraguay at the hands of the police and armed forces. In the rest of the country, the leftist participation in government allows for the amicable demobilisation of social movements.

Over the course of the last year, fundamental aspects of this situation changed: some social movements, both old and new, recovered their voice and action and went out into the streets to mobilise, without waiting for the government to negotiate with them a solution to their problems. The Ministry of the Interior was given to a progressive minister with a certain affinity for human rights. From there, the hard right promoted a radical return to the former landscape. The massacre of Curuguaty came to provide a path: first Lugo put forward a rightist and recalcitrant anti-leftist as Minister of the Interior, providing a sort of self-coup, and then to close the circle, the parliament removed the president from office, installing the pro-life and anti-LGBTBI Vicepresident in charge of the executive.

This landscape of barely disguised coups, of the forced solution of political problems, restructuring of the country's political framework towards the right, has allowed the just equilibrium of normalisation and the borders of inclusion to be modified...towards the right. In the

weeks after the coup we have seen how the rightists have come out of the closet.

The parliamentary coup d'etat of 22 June 2012 and its consequences have allowed for a movement of the symbolic social normality and what it permits. The result has been the appearance of discourses that are xenophobic, homophobic, transphobic and lesbophobic...the whole range and across the entire spectrum of political discussion, demonstrating how the changes in the imposed symbolic normality affect everyone who relates to the change. The response to the aggressive and intolerant discourse of the right is a preferably intolerant and aggressive discourse from the left. Faced with the patriotism and machismo of the right, the left presents itself as more patriotic and masculine. In the gay world this gives rise to some complex scenes which play out: one can be a 'whore', but from the logic of a resistance embodied in hetero masculinity.

They come out of the closet, these inner fascists, these micro-fascists, the neighbourhood fascists who corroborate with the great fascism that the new government embarrassingly shows as an image under construction. For the national holidays of the 15th of August, for example, a 'patriotic' parade for a free, sovereign and independent Paraguay has been announced, with students and their teachers and professors required to attend. The concept of 'sovereign' is a key word in the semantic dispute which the right continues to win. The concept hides xenophobia, militarism, machismo, warrior heroism and reference to Paraguayan 'martyrdom'. The right has imposed it on the left, who have created a variation of the concept in order to define what a good sovereignty would be, one that doesn't hide those terms.

The fascists and fascisms come out of the closet, the abusers and the abuses come out of the closet, arrogance, discrimination and persecution prevail. The context of the coup allows and justifies this macho and fascist emergence from the closet.

*Pelao Carvalho
in resistance
Asunción del Paraguay
17/07/2012*



South Korea, a Difficult Place for Queers and Conscientious Objectors

South Korea is a conservative country with strong patriarchal and heteronormative traditions, where queers and conscientious objectors have difficulty fitting in. Especially because the South Korea military maintains a conscription system, the military strongly influences the way in which Korean men's gender identity is shaped. "Masculinity" is something that I don't have, but in the conservative South Korean society people find it odd and make queers like me feel ashamed and embarrassed - which often leads us to blame ourselves for not being able to satisfy society's criteria of normality. It's a kind of "false consciousness". Besides the harsh treatment of sexual minorities in the Korean military, the attacks on and social stigma attached to conscientious objectors who refuse to go into the army are quite serious. Queers remain conflicted with the military whether they accept it or not.

Family Trouble

In South Korea, refusing military conscription puts you in jail for one-and-a-half years, and you get to face social prejudices and exclusion. The military in South Korea is considered natural, like the air or water, so questioning or objecting to the military is virtually forbidden. Hence conscientious objectors have a hard time receiving support from their families. Queers also face a similar situation, since coming out of the closet is still not well received in most of the



conservative Korean families that consider their children's homosexuality somewhat akin to crimes.

Militarism, nationalism, gender

It could be said that many Korean men live with two kinds of national trauma, namely the colonial experience which hurt their pride, and the sense of deprivation due to their military service. That is to say, nationalism and gender are in a way the points where the contradictions and problems within Korean society are most clearly seen. South Korea is a country with very strong nationalism, heterosexuality, male chauvinism, and militarism. People also think that men become real men only after they finish military service. This vicious circle of militarism and masculinity functions as a device to oppress social minorities and many other marginal social discourses. Korean men who have finished their military service often project their sense of deprivation onto less powerful groups and social minorities - such as women, queers, and conscientious objectors.

Also, it is hard to find a place where the discrepancy between rich and poor is greater than South Korea. The military is a place that conceals and blocks class inequality and wealth discrepancy. While the majority of Korean men live lives unequal to the small wealthy class, because they consider the military a place where every man must serve equally, the military functions as a device to hide such inequality. Naturally, Korean men show sensitive reactions to alternative

discourses which are opposed to the current military system. They tend to turn violent and produce hate messages when they run into news reports about someone evading or refusing military service.

Still hoping for a better future

Even now, there are many people who feel ill at ease with their own gender and sexuality. There are also people who are in prison to uphold their conscience. If Korean society does not want to appear a brutal society, such violence must disappear. Although things are still quite rough in Korea, a number of civil rights organisations, including gay or queer rights organisations, continue to fight against injustice in South Korea. In particular, World Without War has continued to support and organise legislative movements for conscientious objectors for more than ten years. While there still remain many hurdles for us living in Korea, we are at the same time fortunate to have many comrades and friends who are with us. Despite the conservative atmosphere in our society, queers and conscientious objectors in Korea continue to fight by allying with one another.

*Yu Min-Seok, Conscientious Objector
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Yu Min-Seok is a conscientious objector and a member of World Without War.



Unnatural Sexual Relation or Psycho-Sexual Deficiency: Is A Third Way Impossible?

Within Turkish society, which is dominated by a spiral of 'masculinity' and 'military service', sexism and homophobia are ever present. Militarist institutions humiliate and label homosexuals, they treat them carelessly and make their life miserable, especially when it comes to the 'military service'. Firstly, the army as an institution has been presented as a gift that remains out of reach if one is gay. The fact that the institution called 'the army', known as the fortress of 'masculinity' and of institutional militarism, excludes women and homosexuals does not mean of course that they are unable to serve in the army or to fight. The fact that women and gays are being excluded is a result of the ideology of masculinity.

This ideology, and its spearheading institution, the army, where this ideology is engendered, perceives homosexuality solely as 'faggotry', humiliating the gay individual by treating him not as a human being and assaulting his soul and character. It insults him, it makes him worthless.

The army, as an institution where authority is made almost absolute, is always a threat, not only to the insiders but also the individuals who remain outside. This threat is not restricted to what has been experienced in wars. In fact, everything the army opposes becomes institutionalized. The military opposes only what has been done without its permission, what it cannot detect and

supervise. It is against immorality, but it perceives women completely as a sexual commodity, it never refrains from sexual harassment and rape. The army does not allow a military officer to cohabit with a woman whom it does not find appropriate, but it is not a problem for the institution when it calls this woman for 'striptease' parties for soldiers. It is claimed that today there are no female soldiers who are raped or sexually harassed in the US army. But all armies do this because all armies are 'male'.

In Turkey, military psychiatry provides a basis for the ideological approach of

Continued on page 10

Facing discrimination within our struggle

This morning I read an article entitled "Queer young South Koreans getting on the march" published in the Hankyoreh, a daily newspaper in South Korea. The article was about a Korean high school lesbian couple who has been together for almost 100 days (an important milestone in a South Korean relationship). The reporter wrote about how they loved each other but faced difficulties and discrimination as a sexual minority. As usual, some people on the internet responded to the article with hateful and unreasonable comments. I am very much used to such hatred but I was still hurt. This was especially so because of what I have been through in Gangjeong village on Jeju island, where the villagers supported by activists from all over South Korea resist the construction of a new naval base in their village (see *The Broken Rifle No 91*, April 2012).

Recently I heard that my being a lesbian was a hotly debated issue at a Gangjeong village joint meeting between major activists and villagers. It was because someone in the village saw my girlfriend and I secretly smooching when I was at Jeju City Hall. (I was there to stage a protest as part of a Gangjeong village's attempt to raise awareness in other parts of the island.) The villager thought that my behaviour was something unthinkable, and told other activists about it. I learned that not from the villagers or the activists who were at the meeting, but from my friend who heard it from someone else at the meeting. I do not even know how many times I was outed before the news reached me.

Since I first arrived there, I was worried that my sexual preference would be problematic for some villagers. It was because I found the village very

conservative; they were asking me not to smoke in a public space because I am a woman: they also talked down to me without considering it might be offending. In the end my concerns came true, and it got me thinking about various things.

I went to the Gangjeong village to support people there. The government was trying to repress, dismantle and take away the community that villagers worked so hard to build. The government unilaterally decided that building the Gangjeong naval base is a must for national policy without giving any further explanation or trying to have a conversation with the villagers. Many activists, for a variety of reasons, came to the village, fought the injustice, encouraged each other, and had a lot of fun. The time we spent together gave me a great comfort, but at the same time, the place was filled with violence. Some villagers said that they oppose to the building of a naval base there because it will create a red light district. At the moment of confrontation, they asked female activists to be at the front line, saying that "it looks nice with all the girls at the front". The village was a place where there was no respects toward sexual minorities, sex workers, feminists, environmentalist and activists of various issues who had gathered there to support the village.

The village itself is a minority. When there is a news release about the village, people criticise the fact that villagers and "outsiders" are threatening national security and are just making a scene. Some people even mock them saying that they are "followers of North Korea", or that they are greedy for compensation. The villagers are not so different from me: a minority. Then, why are they being so

violent toward other minority groups, while they lament how they are disadvantaged for being a minority?

I remember one of the villagers telling me to go smoke somewhere else when my friend and I were smoking on the street. He said that there are too many eyes watching, especially the press and the people who support building of the naval base.

The village's definitions of community, family and gender are so narrow. There is almost a paranoia that their village must be harmonious and beautiful, their family be "normal" and the mainstream roles of gender be maintained.

The village is facing harsh discrimination and criticism right now. Like some sexual minorities struggling especially hard to survive and succeed in the similarly harsh world, I see some villagers doing the same; they are ostracising others who are not considered to be in the range of "normality". There is a collective fear towards watchful eyes checking that everything is normal. There is an ironic phenomenon of one minority group trying to repress others to escape the stigma of being a minority.

When I look back at what happened there, I also ask myself the same question. Did I commit any violence to others in order to hide the fact that I am a minority?

This is not only a problem of Gangjeong village, but an unresolved one that we all have to address together.

Tomato, South Korea

Tomato is an activist at Solidarity for LGBT Human Rights of Korea. She is also active in the struggle against the naval base on Jeju island.



Continued from page 9

militarism. Military psychiatry still makes use of DSM II (Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders) from 1968 of the American Psychiatric Association (APA). So, according to military psychiatry, homosexuality is a psycho-sexual pathology, in opposition to the current literature of psychiatry. Those who have a psycho-sexual "deficiency" cannot be recruited even if they want to be. If it is the case that his "deficiency" is revealed after the process of joining up, then there is the same approach. In this stage the law concerning "unnatural sexual relation" is put into practice. Through this law the soldier who has "homosexual relations" is not only discharged, but it is also told in the first place that the relationship is not natural! However, in reality the situation may not always occur as it is prescribed. There are people who are recruited because they hide their homosexuality, and others who, even if they are not gay, have sexual relations in the barracks - these are facts of life!

When what happened is revealed, one of three approaches is: to overlook, to ignore the situation so that the force may not fall into disgrace; to exile the people involved to different places; and especially, if one defines oneself as homosexual, to issue a medical report and to discharge the person concerned. As one may surmise, which one of these approaches will be put into practice depends on the place and the military officers in charge.

Turkey has military conscription. The right of conscientious objection is not recognised. The response given to conscientious objectors who do not obey forcible recruitment orders is arrests and imprisonment on the grounds of civil resistance. TSK (the Turkish Armed Forces), defining homosexuality as an illness, fires gay military officers and

labels gay privates through medical reports. Gays, labelled with "psycho-sexual deficiency: homosexuality", are exposed to physical and psychological discrimination in working life and the violation of their rights through this label. Turkey is the only army among the NATO countries which defines homosexuality as an illness.

According to Article 17 of the army regulations, which defines "obvious homosexuals who cannot be recruited", homosexuality, as well as transvestism and transexualism, are a "psycho-sexual deficiency to the highest degree", a psycho-sexual pathology; however, psychology and psychiatry as sciences do not accept that homosexuality is an illness today. Yet military psychiatry uses DSM-II which uses criteria of psychiatry and psychology from before 1973 and defines it as an illness. It is not known when GATA (Gülhane Military Medical Academy) will accept (or whether it will ever accept) the criteria of DSM IV-TR (the current manual), that is, that homosexuality is not an illness or a psychosexual problem, that it is rather a sexual orientation, or whether it will progress the intra-professional regulations of the military in order to get rid of this problem from the perspective of "science" of "scientificity". It seems that the entire problem is entangled in "masculinity". Everybody knows that the Turkish Armed Forces do not need to count heads, as there are more than enough men at conscription age. If in Turkey, as the sole NATO country which regards homosexuality as an illness, military psychiatry will persevere to try to regard itself as "scientific", this approach must be revised somehow, from the aspect of possible EU membership as well. Until now the prevalent approach was to keep it within military logic. Until now they were not interested in ways of managing what might ever injure or harm "masculinity"; but tomorrow they will have

to think about it in new ways.

Through conscientious and/or total objection the military may be questioned, and one can struggle against every kind of militarism. Moreover, in the context of demanding equality in every sphere, some gay and bisexual men may regard this situation as a discriminatory practice. On the other hand, professional soldiers and military officers may regard article 153 (concerning "unnatural" sexual relations) as discrimination against sexual relations within the scope of the law. At least these areas may be possible areas of progress.

In the medium run, things may be at sixes and sevens, since people experience problems or are exposed to discrimination and are deprived of constitutional equality. The recognition of conscientious objection may be dealt with more comprehensively in order to find a middle way for gays who do not want to undertake military service but at the same time do not want to be labelled.

If article 153 for military officers, and DSM-II of military psychiatry for privates were to be annulled, what would be the new situation? An exemption based upon a declaration which is in itself sufficient, equality, and the right to conscientious objection?

Since there are more choices than those between the devil and the deep blue sea, as it were, we are reaching a stage where no one knows how to handle the situation. Formerly, from the perspective both of the military and of gays, more precisely of "homosexuals", things were handled somehow, everybody was rubbing along. The question is how much one sees from one's own angle, but it is a fact that in the last 15-20 years everything has changed so rapidly in Turkey. Now will these winds of change cause devastation or will there be a restructuring where everyone will be included? Even if it is not as obvious as needed yet (it is not at a stage where it is discussed enough in public yet) two dimensions of the problem come to the fore. The military front believes that it may continue the game indefinitely thanks to the present legal regulations by making difficulties for gays. And gays are complaining constantly but cannot decide to choose which of the three ways forward mentioned above should be chosen.

The problem is obvious from many aspects: According to psychiatry-science and scientificity, according to civil servants working in the military, from the perspective of professional discrimination on the grounds of sexual orientation, equality in working life and in working life regarding the situation of military officers, according to the legality of mortgaging one's remaining life in its entirety due to a report given by the military in which the service refers to a very specific time and place, from the aspect of what Turkey has accepted through the international agreements with UN and the EU, from the



Conscientious objectors demonstrating in Sıhhiye Square on 9 November 2001. Photo: Kaos GL archive.

aspect of the necessity of decisions being accepted by members and candidate members of these international bodies ... Unfortunately the military is one of the areas where gays are most humiliated and oppressed. This situation is no different anywhere else in the world. Even Clinton's "don't ask don't tell" did not work. To ponder upon this subject is indeed a must for the gay struggle. Without ever diluting the issue and without strangling each other because of national interests, we should think about this issue. For many gays are getting hurt...

"You are a brave and honest person. I believe that you are sincere in what you said. However homosexuality is not a problem for us. We may be homosexuals as well, there is no problem. Your homosexuality is not obvious; you do not have feminine behaviours. You do not have to say that you are homosexual. Do your military service just as a man."

"If it suits you, you say "do your military service as a man"; if it suits you, you label homosexuals as perverts and ill. If homosexuality is not a problem, then why do you dismiss people from the army on the grounds of being homosexual? In fact you are the one who is not honest."

"Alright, as you wish. You are suitable. See your status at the information desk. You may leave."

"I am not leaving. You will do what is written in law and regulations. Do your obligations."

Decision: D/17 F-4

<http://www.kaosgl.org/node/746>

Ali Erol, Kaos GL, Ankara, Turkey.
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Ali Erol, is an activist for LGBT rights from Turkey. In the early 1990s he started grassroots activities for the rights and liberties of LGBT individuals. In September 1994 he began to publish Kaos GL, which is the first Turkish LGBT magazine, together with Ali Özbaş. He is among the founders of the Association Kaos GL, having the same name with the magazine. In July 2005, Kaos GL officially became an association under the name of Kaos Gey-Lezbiyen Kültürel Araştırmalar ve Dayanışma Derneği (Kaos Gay-Lesbian Cultural Research and Solidarity Association). The regulations of Kaos GL have become a basis for LGBT organisations which want to become recognised associations.



"Mom, Dad - I have something terrible to tell you: I'm gay."

WRI Council meeting 2012

15 Sep 2012 - 17 Sep 2012

The War Resisters' International Council meeting 2012 will take place from 15-17 September 2012 in Bilbao, Basque Country, state of Spain.

As the Council meeting will begin on 15 September in the morning, you should plan your travel to arrive on 14 September in the afternoon/evening.

As a reminder: this Council meeting had to be organised on short notice, without the chance to also organise a seminar which would have allowed us to do some fundraising. This was because Red Juvenil decided to cancel the planned seminar and Council in Medellin in February 2012.

Nevertheless, we hope for an exciting Council meeting, which will be a bit different from our usual Council meetings. Some of the agenda items are:

- A vision for WRI 2022 (this will take up a big chunk of the time)
- WRI report 2011-2012
- WRI Budget & Finances
- New affiliates (we received applications from Amargi in Turkey and Centre Delas in Spain)
- WRI's international conference in South Africa in 2014
- The "parliamentary coup" in Paraguay
- Some discussion on WRI's programme work

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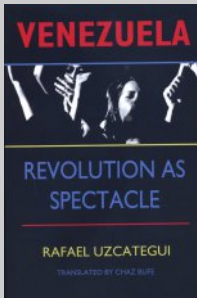
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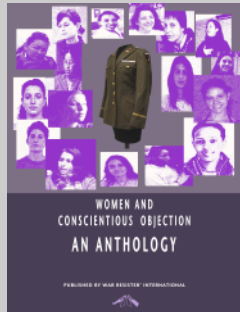
War Resisters' International offers a range of merchandise via its webshop. These and many other books can be ordered online — and some are even available for reading online or downloading as PDF.



Venezuela: Revolution as Spectacle analyses the Chávez regime from an antiauthoritarian Venezuelan perspective. It debunks claims made by Venezuelan and U.S. rightists that the Chávez government is dictatorial, as well as claims made by leftists that the Chávez

government is revolutionary. Instead the book argues that the Chávez regime is one of a long line of Latin American populist regimes that - "revolutionary" rhetoric aside - ultimately have been subservient to the United States as well as to multinational corporations. The book concludes by explaining how Venezuela's autonomous social, labour, and environmental movements have been systematically disempowered by the Chávez regime, but that despite this they remain the basis of a truly democratic, revolutionary alternative.

Rafael Uzcátegui
See Sharp Press, 2011
ISBN: 978-1-884365-77-5
Publication date: January 2011
Orders: £11.00 + postage

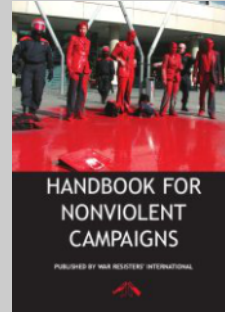


Conscientious objectors are generally seen as male — as are soldiers. This book breaks with this assumption. Women conscientiously object to military service and militarism. Not only in countries which conscript women — such as Eritrea and Israel —

but also in countries without conscription of women. In doing so, they redefine antimilitarism from a feminist perspective, opposing not only militarism, but also a form of antimilitarism that creates the male conscientious objector as the 'hero' of antimilitarist struggle.

This anthology includes contributions by women conscientious objectors and activists from Britain, Colombia, Eritrea, Israel, Paraguay, South Korea, Turkey, and the USA, plus documents and statements.

Published by: War Resisters' International
Edited by Ellen Elster and Majken Jul Sørensen
Preface by Cynthia Enloe
ISBN 978-0-903517-22-5. 152 pages.
Publication date: April 2010
Orders: £8.00 plus postage



Social change doesn't just happen. It's the result of the work of committed people striving for a world of justice and peace. This work gestates in groups or cells of activists, in discussions, in training sessions, in reflecting on previous experiences, in

experimenting and in learning from others. Preparing ourselves for our work for social justice is key to its success.

There is no definitive recipe for successful nonviolent actions and campaigns. This handbook, however, is a series of resources that can inspire and support your own work, especially if you adapt the resources to your own needs and context.

This handbook has been a collaborative effort of people working in nonviolence within the WRI network from Australia, Belgium, Britain, Colombia, Chile, Germany, Italy, Israel, South Korea, Scandinavia, Spain, Turkey, and the USA.

Published by: War Resisters' International
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Check out the WRI webshop at <http://wri-irg.org/webshop>

The Broken Rifle

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If you want extra copies of this issue of *The Broken Rifle*, please contact the WRI office, or download it from our website.

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