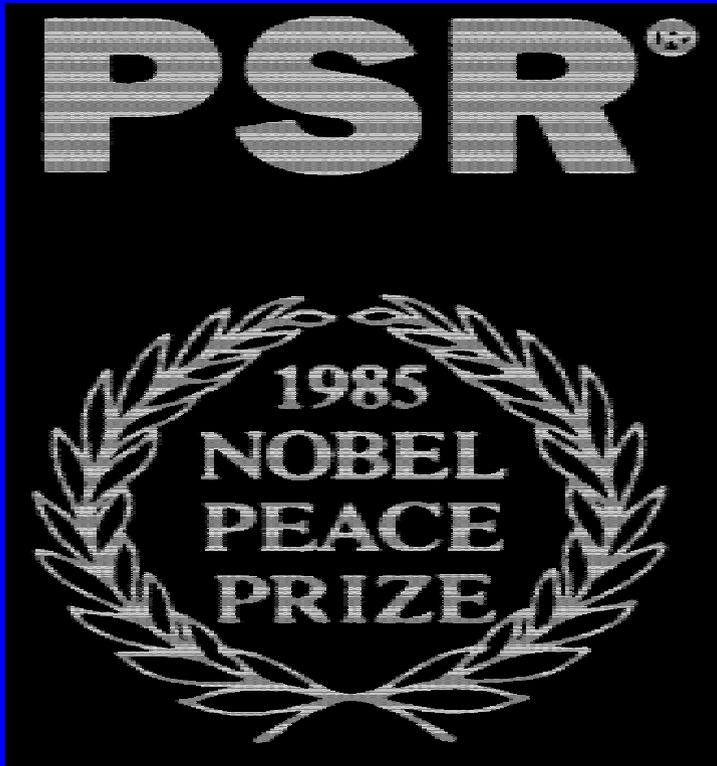


Militarism and the Epidemic of Gun Violence in the USA

Robert M. Gould, MD
Physicians for Social Responsibility
rmgould1@yahoo.com

Human Target
International Congress on Social and Health Effects
of the Global Arms Trade
Villingen-Schwenningen, Germany
May 31, 2013

I wish to express my great appreciation for Bill Durston, MD of PSR, and Maria Valenti of IPPNW for the use of many of the slides and much of the information used in this presentation.



PSR is the U.S. affiliate of
International Physicians for the
Prevention of Nuclear War



PSR co-founders Drs. H. Jack
Geiger, Victor Sidel, and Sidney
Alexander pose with the 1985
Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo.

Our Mission

Guided by the values and expertise of medicine and public health, Physicians for Social Responsibility works to protect human life from the gravest threats to health and survival



Armed Violence is Public Health Issue

“Violence is a leading worldwide public health problem”



WHO Resolution WHA 49.25 (1996)





United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in
Small Arms and Light Weapons in All Its Aspects
New York, 9-20 July, 2001

“Violence is ... an important *health* problem – and one that is largely *preventable*. Public health approaches have much to contribute to solving it.”

WHO, *Small Arms and Global Health*, 2001



The 20 Children Killed at Sandy Hook Elementary School December 14, 2012



Other High Profile Mass Shootings in the U.S. (partial list)

- 8/5/12 Oak Creek, Wisconsin Sikh Temple (6 killed, 4 wounded)
- 7/20/12 Aurora, Colorado movie theater (12 killed, 58 wounded)
- 1/8/11 Tucson, Arizona political forum (6 killed, 13 wounded including Congresswoman Gabrielle Giffords)

Other High Profile Mass Shootings in the U.S. (continued)

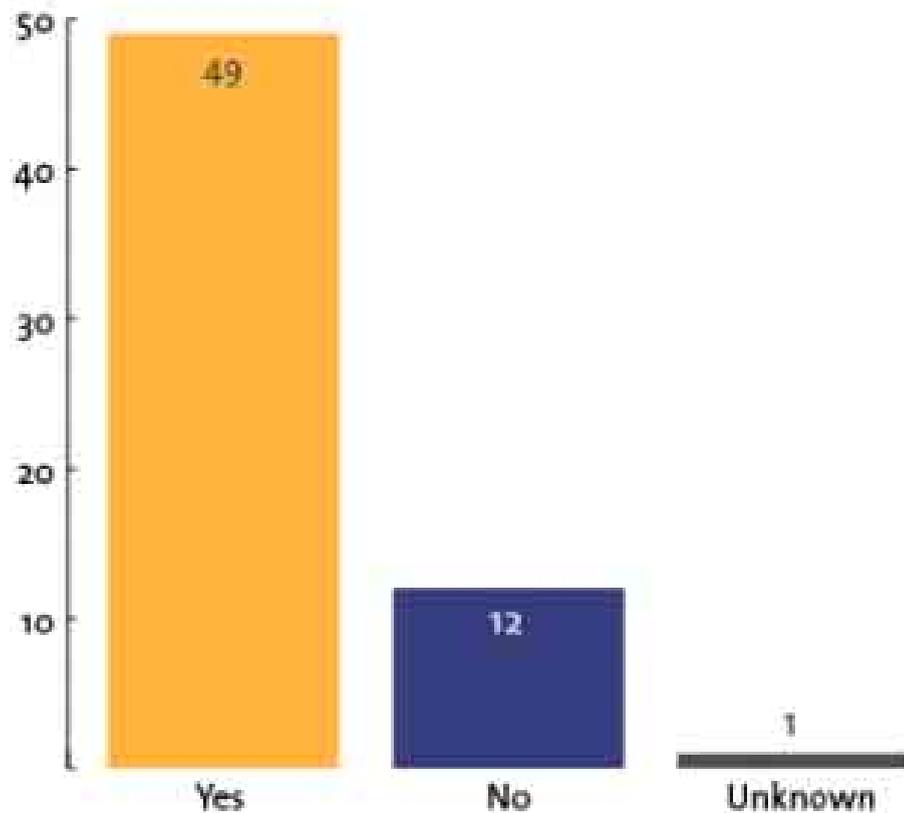
- 11/5/09 Fort Hood, Texas Army Base (13 killed, 30 injured)
- 2/14/08 Northern Illinois University (6 killed, 21 injured)
- 4/16/07 Virginia Tech (33 killed, 23 injured)
- 4/20/99 Littleton, Colorado, Columbine High School (15 killed, 24 wounded)

From 1982-2012, there have been at least 62 mass shootings in the U.S.

- Mass shooting defined as one with 5 or more victims
- Total persons killed = 513
- Total persons wounded = 494

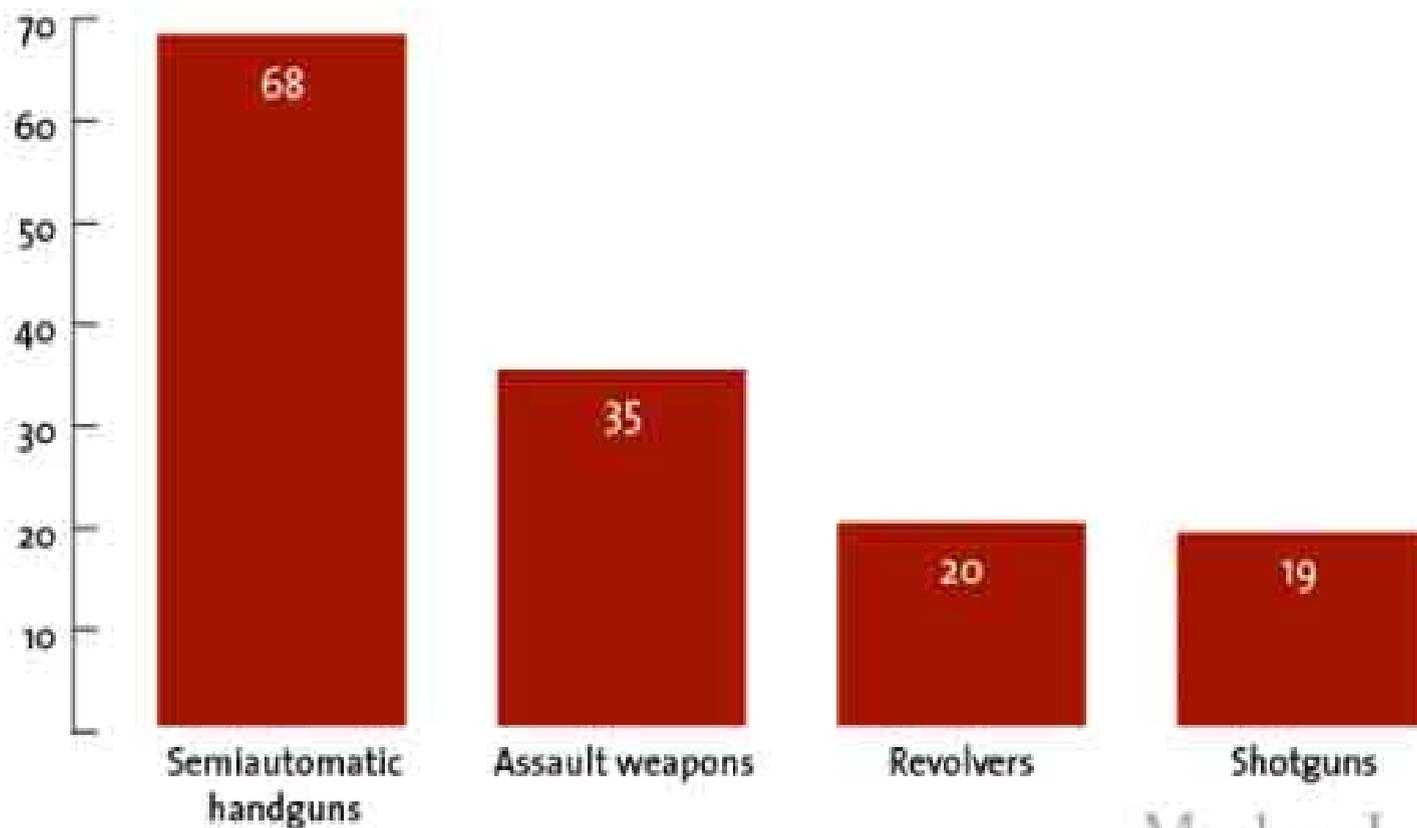
Killer Obtained Weapons Legally?

Mass shootings in US, 1982-2012



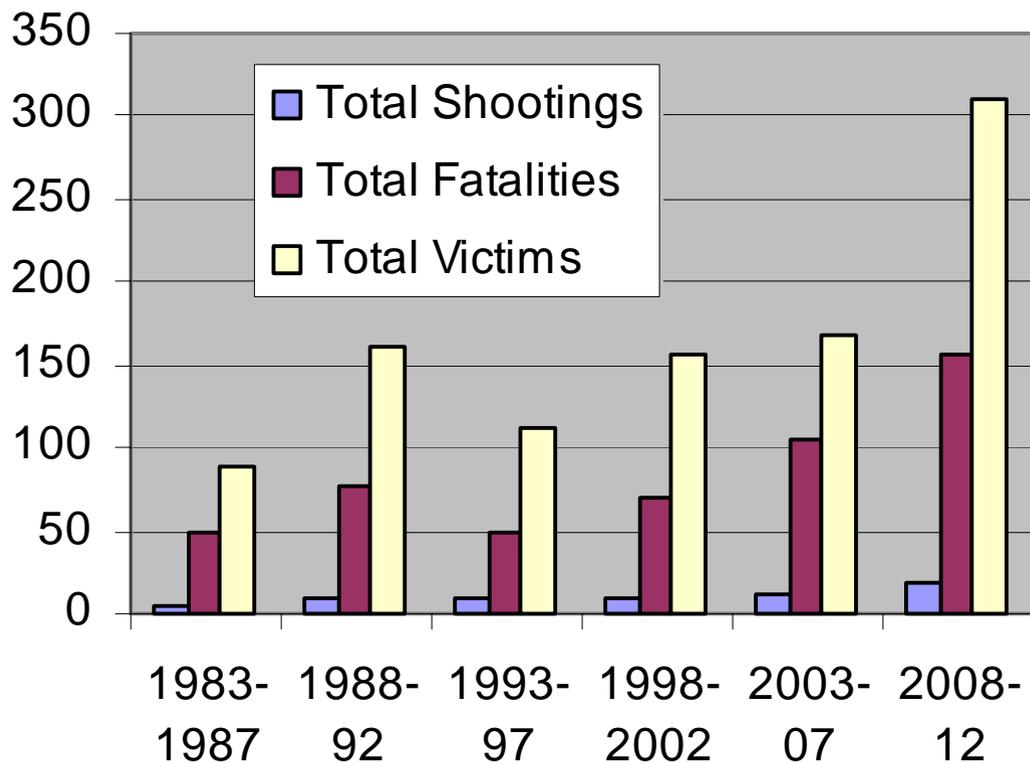
Mother Jones

Mass Shooters' Weapons, 1982-2012



Mother Jones

Mass Shootings by 5-year Epoch



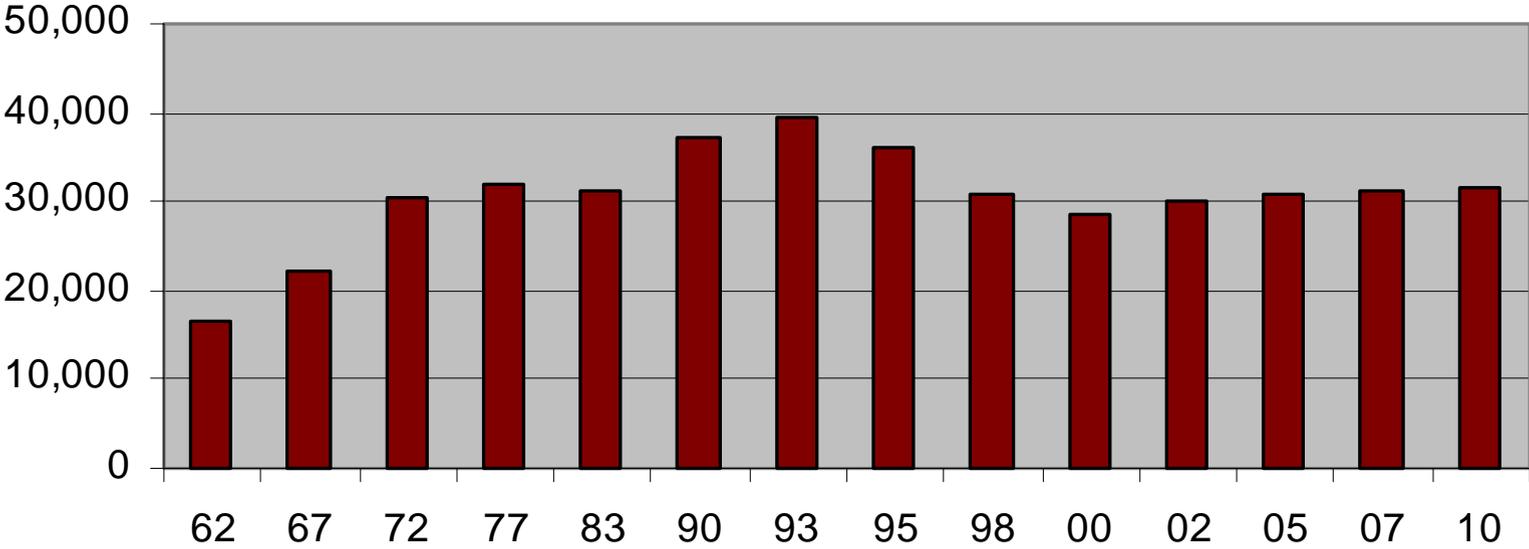
Mass shootings are a serious
and growing public health
problem in the United States...

but mass shootings are only a small
part of a much greater epidemic of
firearm-related deaths and injuries in
our country.

On an average day in the
United States, 86 people
are killed by guns...

including 5 youth, age 18
and under.

Annual Firearm Related Deaths



- Annual firearm deaths > 2X AIDS-related deaths
- Annual firearm deaths = 10X polio-related deaths at height of epidemic
- From 1980-1991, firearm and AIDS-related deaths were the only leading causes of Years of Potential Life Lost Below Age 65 which increased in the U.S.

U.S. Firearm Related Deaths versus September 11, 2001 Terrorist Attacks

- Every year in the United States, there are 10 times more firearm related deaths than deaths in the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks.



In 2010, an estimated 75,500 persons sustained nonfatal firearm-related injuries and were treated in U.S. hospital emergency departments.

(Centers for Disease Control and Prevention)

Firearm-Related Deaths and Injuries in Children

- Nearly 2,000 children ages 18 and under were killed by guns in 2010
 - 1 pediatric Gun Shot Wound (GSW) death every 4-5 hours
- ~ 11,600 suffered non-fatal GSW's
 - >1 non-fatal pediatric GSW every hour
- One of every four teenage deaths is due to GSW

Medical Costs of Firearm Injuries

- Estimated annual costs of treating gunshot injuries in the U.S. = \$2 - 4 billion
- Estimated societal costs of firearm violence = \$100 billion

In summary, firearm-related deaths and injuries are a serious public health problem in the United States.

Comparing U.S. Firearm Injury Rates with Other Democratic, Industrialized Countries



International Comparison of Handgun-related Homicides - 2001

- Handguns killed a total of 308 people in Australia, Great Britain, Sweden, Switzerland, Japan, and Canada combined (1.2 deaths per million people)
- Handguns killed 13,220 people in the U.S., (45.5 deaths per million people)

Homicide Rates U.S. vs. Britain

- U.S. non-firearm homicide rate =
3.7 X British homicide rate
- U.S. handgun homicide rate =
175 X British handgun homicide rate

Gun Regulations and Gun Availability: U.S. vs. Other Industrialized Countries

- In all of the leading 26 industrialized nations except the U.S., civilian ownership of firearms is either completely prohibited, or gun licensing and registration are required.
- Gun ownership rates are much higher in the U.S. than in the other leading 25 industrialized countries.

% of Households with Guns

- U.S.: 48%
- Norway: 32%
- Canada: 29%
- Finland: 23%
- France: 23%
- Australia: 20%
- Belgium: 17%
- Spain: 13%
- West Germany: 9%
- N. Ireland: 8%
- England/Wales: 5%
- Scotland: 5%
- Netherlands: 2%

More Guns, More Deaths

- At the international level, there is a statistically significant correlation between rates of gun ownership and rates of gun-related homicide, overall homicide, gun-related suicide, and overall suicide.

Effects of Restrictive Licensing of Handguns on Homicide and Suicide in the District of Columbia 1968-1987

- In 1967, Washington DC banned new sales of handguns to civilians
- Over next 10 years, firearm homicides declined 25% and suicides 23%
- No change in non-firearm homicide/suicide
- No similar reductions in adjacent areas

Lethality of Firearms vs. Other Weapons

- Assaults involving firearms are 12 times more likely to result in death than assaults with other weapons in cases of domestic violence and 3 times more likely to be fatal in robbery attempts

Self-protection is more than your right... it's your responsibility.



You always have a right to protect yourself at your home. Even more important, you have a responsibility to be there for those who depend on you.

At Colt, we believe that the safe and responsible ownership of a firearm can play an important role in personal security. Like a home fire extinguisher, it may be better to have it if you will not need it, than to need it and not have it.

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Warning: Be a safe shooter - never handle a firearm until you are fully trained. Be aware of laws and local restrictions regarding ownership of any type of handgun. Please read and follow the manufacturer's instructions and precautions with firearms, and do not drink alcohol or use any drugs before, during or after shooting. Firearms should be stored through the National Rifle Association's Free National Handgun and Shotgun Lock Program (NFHSL) to minimize the chance of unauthorized access.



Guns in Homes with Children

- Guns stored loaded, unlocked in 10-20% of homes with children
- 75% of gun-owning parents believe their children ages 4-12 can distinguish real gun from toy gun
- 23% of gun-owning parents believe their child can be trusted with loaded gun

Guns in the Home and Suicide Risk

- Kellermann et al, 1992: Presence of a gun in the home associated with increased suicide risk (odds ratio, 4.8; 95% CI=2.7-8.5)
- Numerous other studies have confirmed that presence of a gun in the home is an independent risk factor for suicide

Conclusion re: Guns for “Protection”

- Guns in our homes and in our communities are much more likely to be used to kill, injure, or intimidate an innocent person than to protect against an attacker

“Preventing firearm-related injuries and deaths. What can physicians and other health professionals do?”

- “...advise your patients of the dangers of keeping firearms at home, especially if there are children....”
- “Counsel your patients to consider removing household firearms.”
- Store firearms locked, unloaded, with ammunition locked separately

Given what we know about firearm-related injuries in the U.S., what can health professionals do to stop the epidemic?

■ What we know

- Serious public health problem
- Much more common in U.S.
- Gun availability directly related to gun deaths
- No net protective effect of civilian gun ownership
- Media violence breeds real violence

■ What we can do

- Treatment of gunshot victims
- Prevent what we cannot cure
 - Education
 - Legislation

Are we doing enough
to curb the “shameful
epidemic?”

Does the United States of America
love its gun more than it loves its
children?

Steps needed to curb the “Shameful Epidemic”

- Licensing and registration of all firearms
- Renewal and strengthening of assault weapons ban
- Repeal of special protection for gun makers
- Strict regulation of ownership of concealable weapons
- Truth in advertising about risks of guns
- Political courage to pass sensible firearm laws

“Firearm regulation, to include bans of handguns and assault weapons, is the most effective way to prevent firearm related injuries.”

American Academy of Pediatrics
Committee on Injury and Poison Prevention
April, 2000

Examples of Effective Public Safety Legislation

- Highway speed limits
- Auto licensing and registration
- Seat belts
- Child car seats
- Motorcycle helmets
- No smoking zones
- Vaccinations

Past Federal Firearm Legislation

- National Firearms Act of 1934
- Federal Firearms Act of 1938
- Gun Control Act of 1968
- 1994 Assault Weapons Ban
- Brady Act 1994

More Recent Federal “Action”

- Cut funding for firearm research by CDC
- Banned researchers from recommending gun control
- No new gun control laws since 1994
- Immunity from products liability for gun industry
- Allowed assault weapons ban to lapse Sept. 2004
- Tiahrt Amendment bars ATF from sharing gun trace data with local governments and police
- Re-interpretation of 2nd Amendment

“A well regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.”

The Second Amendment to
the U.S. Constitution

Reinterpretation of the 2nd Amendment by Supreme Court in 2008 & 2010

- In 5-4 ruling, Court reversed 70 years of legal precedent in ruling in 2008 and 2010 that 2nd Amendment confers individual right to own handguns
 - District of Columbia versus Heller in 2008
 - MacDonald versus Chicago in 2010



Shy No More, N.R.A.'s Top Gun Sticks to Cause



Wayne LaPierre, speaking at a hunting expo in February, is the chief executive, face and voice of the National Rifle Association.

By SHERYL GAY STOKER and JODI HAMTON
Published: April 15, 2012 1:52 PM EDT | Comments

WASHINGTON — Victims of the massacre in Newtown, Conn., had just been laid to rest when Wayne LaPierre, the chief executive of the National Rifle Association, met with his board of directors in early January. A national tide of grief had prompted new attacks on his group and a White House push for more gun control measures, while Mr. LaPierre — who had called for armed guards in every school — was pilloried as a “gun nut” on the cover of *The New York Post*.

Multimedia

“I don’t know why the N.R.A. or the Second Amendment and lawful gun owners have to somehow end up in a story every time some crazy person goes off and kills children,” he complained to Cleta Mitchell, a board member, who says Mr. LaPierre was “horrified” by the deaths and “insanely angry” that he and the N.R.A. were being blamed.

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FACEBOOK

TWITTER

GOOGLE+

SAVE

E-MAIL

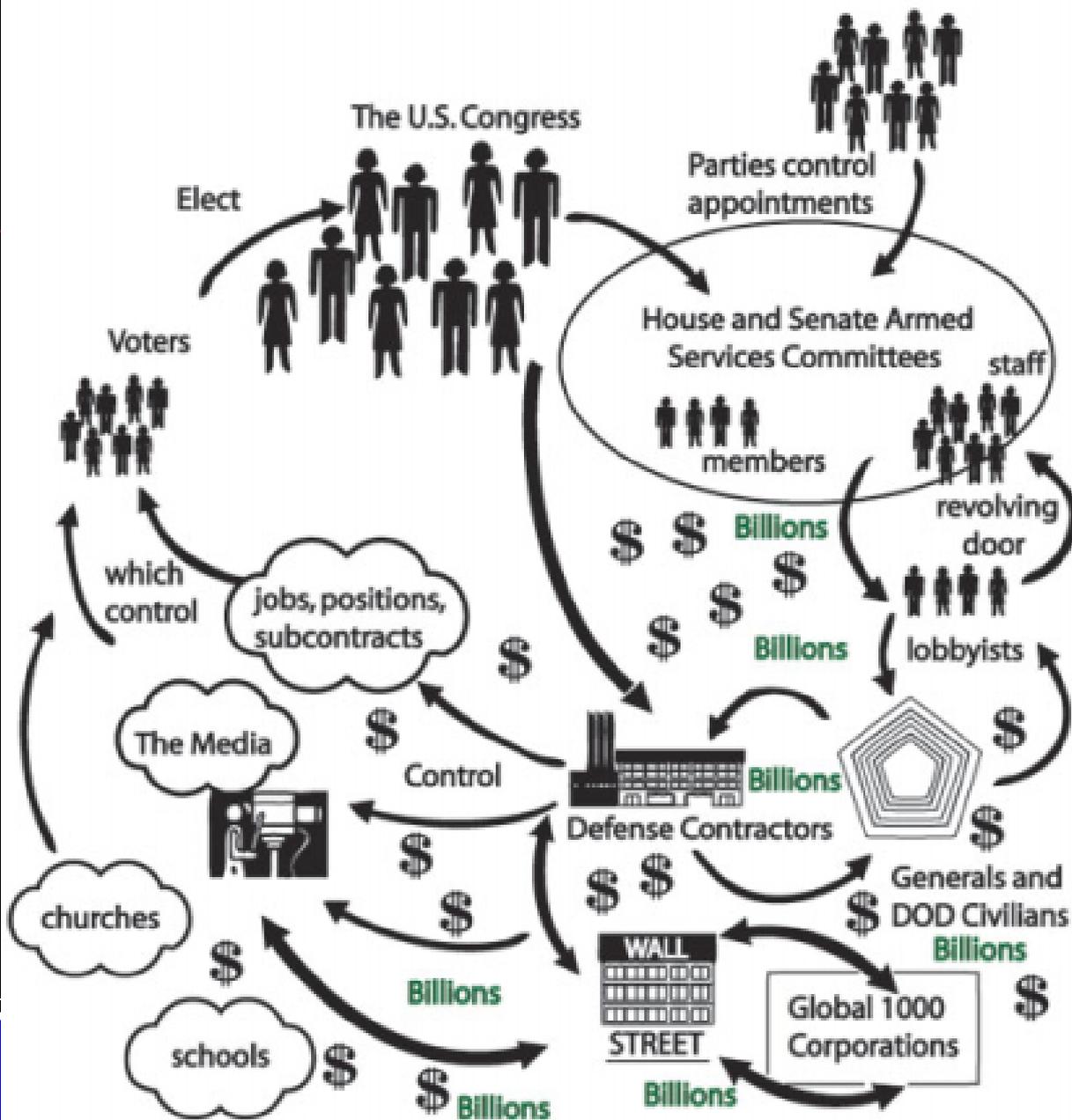
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REPORT



The Military Industrial Congressional Media Complex

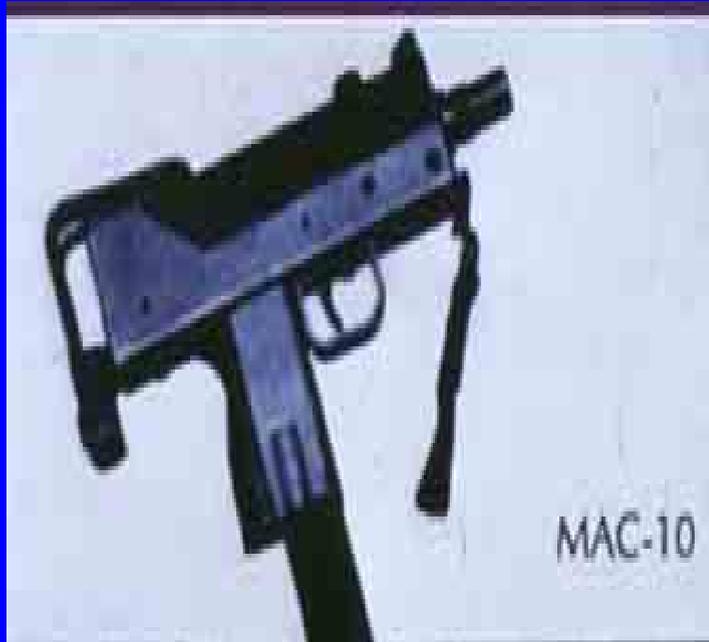




LIVE

GEN. BARRY MCGAFFREY (RET.)
NBC NEWS ANALYST

Small Arms Proliferation



Harms across development spectrum

- **Vicious circle:** → violence → under-development
- **Health consequences**

Death

Injury

Mental illness

Chronic disease

Overburdened health systems



The Trade in Small Arms

- 1,135 companies, in more than 98 countries, are manufacturing small arms, ammunition, and components
- From 1998 to 2001, the USA, the UK, and France earned more income from arms sales to developing countries than they gave in aid

“The world is over-armed and peace is under-funded” UN Secretary General Ban Ki-moon

Worldwide:

- Military spending (2011):
US \$1.7 trillion
 - Equivalent to US \$249 per person



Sub-Saharan Africa:

- Annual military spending: US \$20 per person
 - Annual *health* expenditure: US \$24 per person

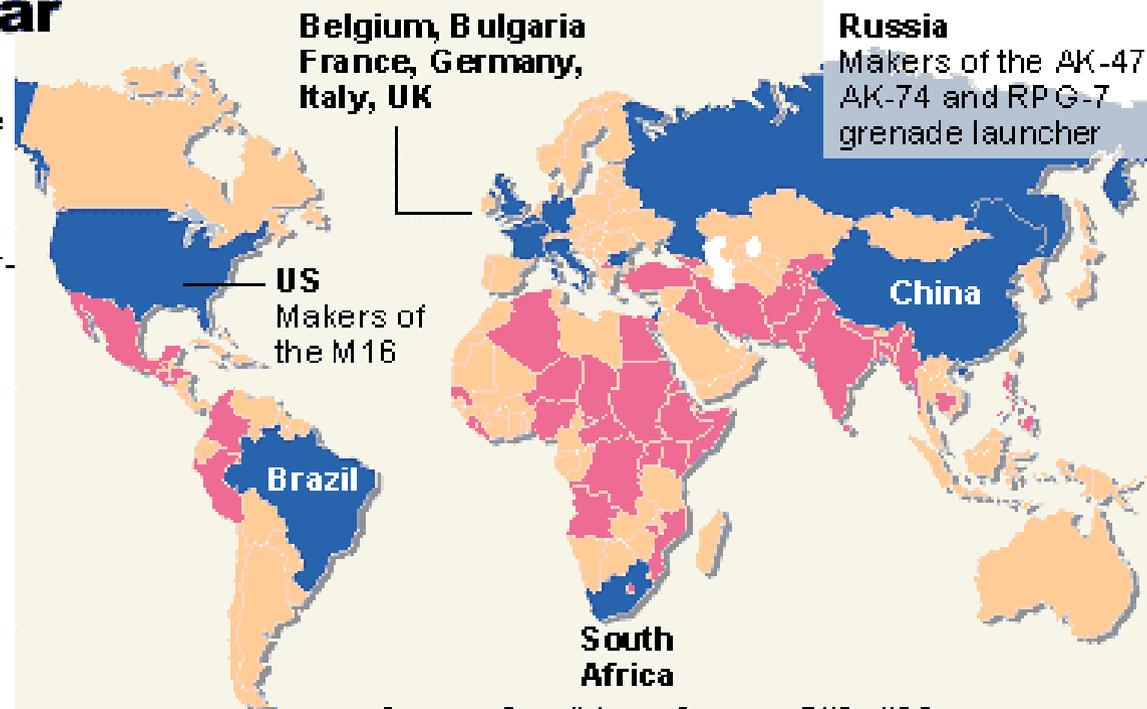
Global Arms Trade

World at war

Small arms, ranging from pistols to machine guns and mortars, kill 500,000 people every year.

Of the four million war-related deaths in the 1990s, 90% were civilian - 80% of those were women and children.

-  Leading suppliers
-  Countries with armed conflicts



Source: *Small Arms Survey, GHS, IISS* GRAPHIC NEWS

The United States Has Been the Largest Supplier of Major Conventional Weapons

Supplier	Share of Global Arms Exports (2005-2009)
U.S.	30%
Russia	23%
Germany	11%
France	8%
UK	4%
(Source: SIPRI Yearbook 2010.)	



August 26, 2012

U.S. Arms Sales Make Up Most of Global Market

By THOM SHANKER

WASHINGTON — Weapons sales by the United States tripled in 2011 to a record high, driven by major arms sales to Persian Gulf allies concerned about Iran's regional ambitions, according to a new study for Congress.

Overseas weapons sales by the United States totaled \$66.3 billion last year, or more than three-quarters of the global arms market, valued at \$85.3 billion in 2011. Russia was a distant second, with \$4.8 billion in deals.

The American weapons sales total was an "extraordinary increase" over the \$21.4 billion in deals for 2010, the study found, and was the largest single-year sales total in the history of United States arms exports. The previous high was in fiscal year 2009, when American weapons sales overseas totaled nearly \$31 billion.

A worldwide economic decline had suppressed arms sales over recent years. But increasing tensions with Iran drove a set of Persian Gulf nations — Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Oman — to purchase American weapons at record levels.

Those Gulf states do not share a border with Iran, and their arms purchases focused on expensive warplanes and complex missile defense systems.

The report was prepared by the nonpartisan Congressional Research Service, a division of the Library of Congress. The annual study, written by Richard F. Grimmett and Paul K. Kerr and delivered to Congress on Friday, is considered the most detailed collection of unclassified arms sales data available to the public.

The agreements with Saudi Arabia included the purchase of 84 advanced F-15 fighters, a variety of ammunition, missiles and logistics support, and upgrades of 70 of the F-15 fighters in the current fleet.

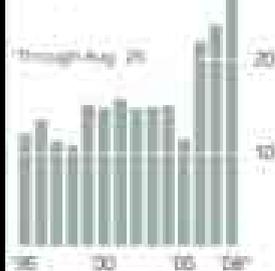
Sales to Saudi Arabia last year also included dozens of Apache and Black Hawk helicopters, all contributing to a

U.S. Weapons Abroad

U.S. Weapons Abroad

In recent years, there has been a sharp increase in the value of sales agreements between the United States and foreign nations for weapons and other military equipment, with the biggest ticket deals in the Middle East.

Foreign military sales, in billions



Recent sales

Circles represent the value of U.S. weapons sold to each country from 2005 to 2008.



Among recent notifications to Congress of possible sales:



The United Arab Emirates have expressed interest in spending as much as \$8 billion on the Patriot missile system.



A consortium of mostly European nations is considering buying two Boeing C-17 transport planes as part of a deal worth up to \$700 million.

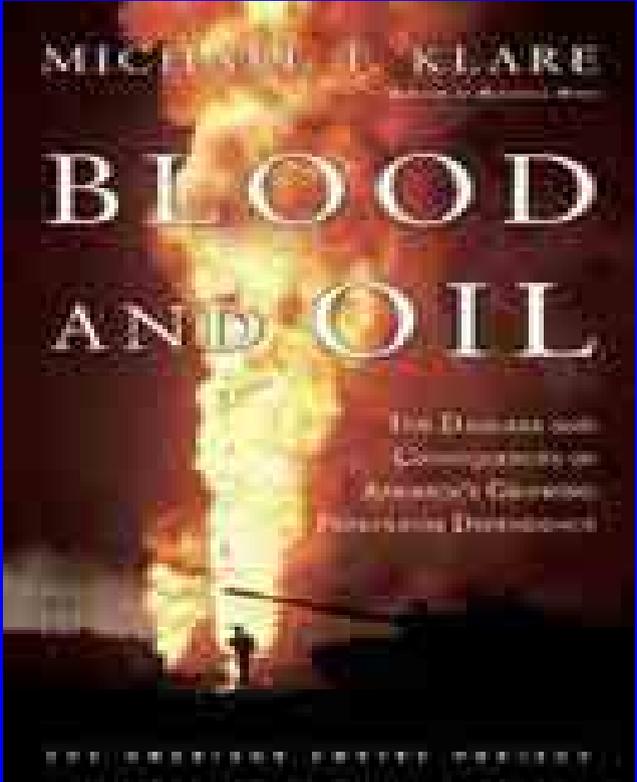


In July, an order for as much as \$3.2 billion worth of equipment for Iraq was submitted, including up to 140 Abrams tanks.

Notes: Figures include both traditional foreign military sales and "non-FMS" sales of weapons and military equipment, mostly for Iraq and Afghanistan, which are separately financed by the United States. Issues in the chart and map have been adjusted for inflation.

Source: Defense Security Cooperation Agency

NY Times 9/14/08



MICHAEL J. KLARE

BLOOD AND OIL

The Dirty Deal:
Corruption in
America's Oil and Gas
Industry

THE HARBINGER GROUP PRESENTS



Carlyle Group



Saudi Arabian Embassy

Former President George Bush met with King Fahd, right, on a trip to Saudi Arabia last year as part of his work for the Carlyle Group.

ROUNDTABLE WITH SAUDI ENTI



Source: Kevin Lamarque, Reuters, *New York Times*, January 15, 2008.

Friendly Dictators



Befriending a Region's Autocrats

The Caspian basin and Central Asia, an overwhelmingly Muslim region that is potentially a trade and military crossroads, is bedeviled by corrupt and autocratic governments. The U.S. has sought access to its hydrocarbons; cooperation with its militaries, including sharing intelligence on terrorism; help in securing and removing Soviet-era weapons of mass destruction; and agreements to increase trade.



AZERBAIJAN, an oil exporter, sits on a rail and pipeline route that can take Azeri and Kazakh oil and natural gas from the Caspian basin across the Caucasus to the Black Sea for shipment to Europe, bypassing Russia.

TURKMENISTAN has gas reserves and produces cotton. Officially neutral, it has granted American military planes overflight rights and permission to post an Air Force contingent that refuels cargo and transport planes headed to Afghanistan.

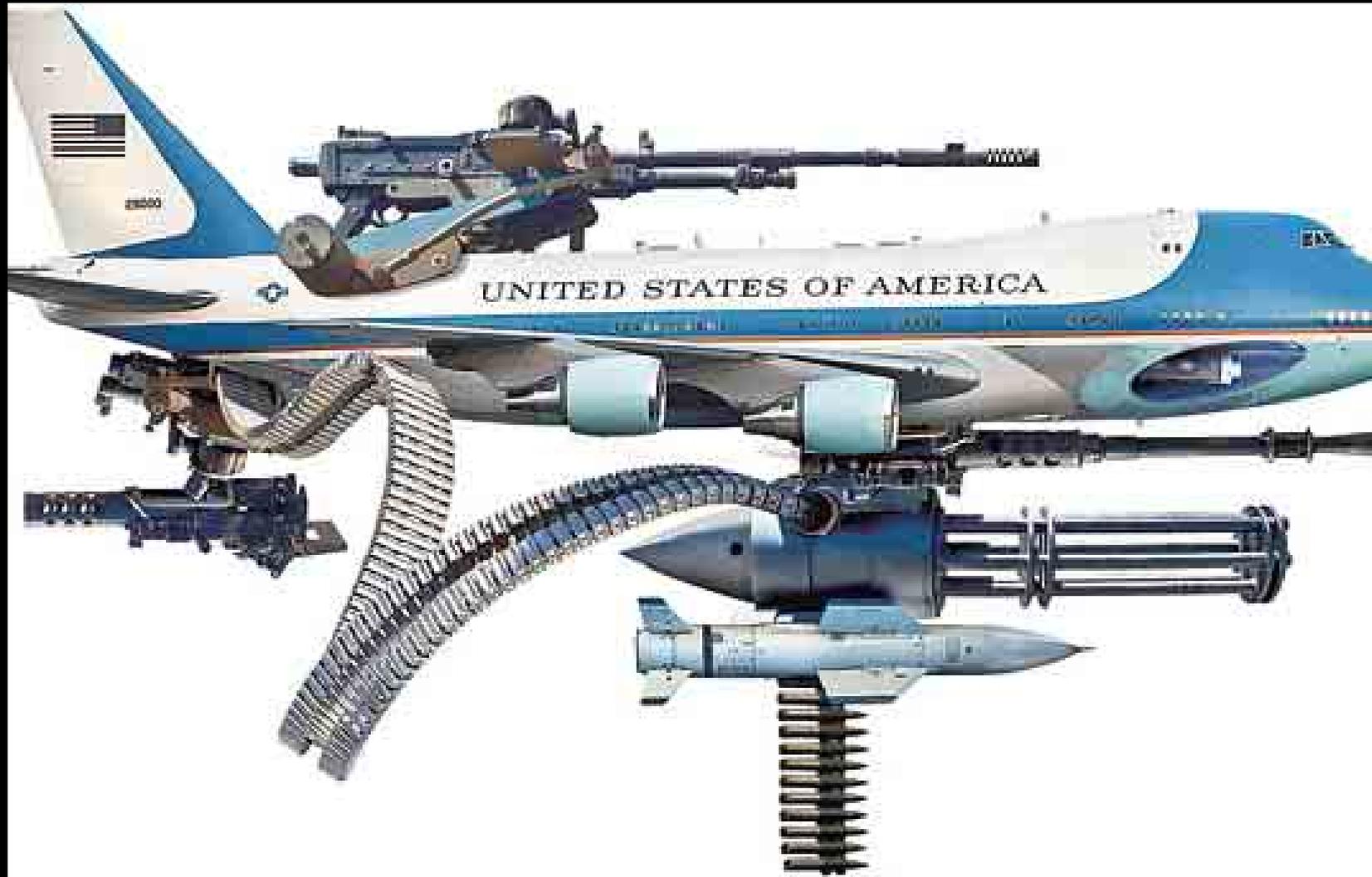
UZBEKISTAN has large gas fields, airfields in the south and potential road or rail access to Afghanistan, but it keeps the border closed.

KYRGYZSTAN, with a listless economy, is home to an American air base used for logistics in the war in Afghanistan.

TAJIKISTAN houses NATO warplanes that fly over Afghanistan and allowed the U.S. to build a modern bridge to Afghanistan. It hopes to build hydropower stations and export electricity to Pakistan and Afghanistan.

U.S. Supports Regimes That Violate Human Rights

- Military abuses and impunity
- Abuses by national intelligence services
- Violence against trade unionists
- Internal displacement of people
- Threats to human rights defenders



Source: Viktor Koen, *New York Times*, January 24, 2010

With \$30 Billion Arms Deal, U.S. Bolsters Saudi Ties

By MARK LANDLER

HONOLULU — Fortifying one of its crucial allies in the Persian Gulf, the Obama administration announced a major weapons deal with Saudi Arabia on Thursday, saying it had agreed to sell F-15 fighter jets valued at nearly \$30 billion to the Royal Saudi Air Force.

The agreement is part of a broader 10-year, \$60 billion arms package for Saudi Arabia that Congress approved a year ago. But its timing is laden with significance, with tensions over Iran mounting and the United States pulling its last soldiers out of Iraq.

It could also indicate that the chill between the United States and Saudi Arabia has thawed since the two longtime allies clashed over how each handled the Arab Spring.

The administration announced the sale during a week when Iranian officials threatened to close the strategically vital Straits of Hormuz in response to indications that the United States planned to impose tough sanctions on Iranian oil exports.

Saudi Arabia has long opposed Iran's ambitions in the region — and the two countries' relationship that soured further after the United States broke up what it said was an Iranian-backed plot to assassinate the Saudi ambassador to Washington.

Under the terms of the new weapons agreement, the United States will sell Saudi Arabia 84 F-15SA jets manufactured by the Boeing Corporation and upgrade 70 F-15's in the Saudi fleet with munitions and parts. Washington will also offer help with training, maintenance and logistics.

"The agreement reinforces the strong and enduring relationship between the United States and Saudi Arabia, and demonstrates the U.S. commitment to a strong Saudi defense capability as a key component to regional security," said Joshua R. Earnest, the deputy press secretary, in a statement issued in Hawaii, where Mr. Obama is vacationing with his family.

U.S. Arms Deal With Israel and 2 Arab Nations Is Near

By THOM SHANKER

WASHINGTON — The Defense Department is expected to finalize a \$10 billion arms deal with Israel, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates next week that will provide missiles, warplanes and troop transports to help them counter any future threat from Iran.

A weeklong visit to the region by Defense Secretary Chuck Hagel will culminate a year of secret negotiations on a deal that Congressional officials said will be second only to the \$29.5 billion sale of F-15 aircraft to Saudi Arabia announced in 2010. But the delicate balancing act that was necessary in weighing the differing interests of each nation made it among the most complex ever negotiated.

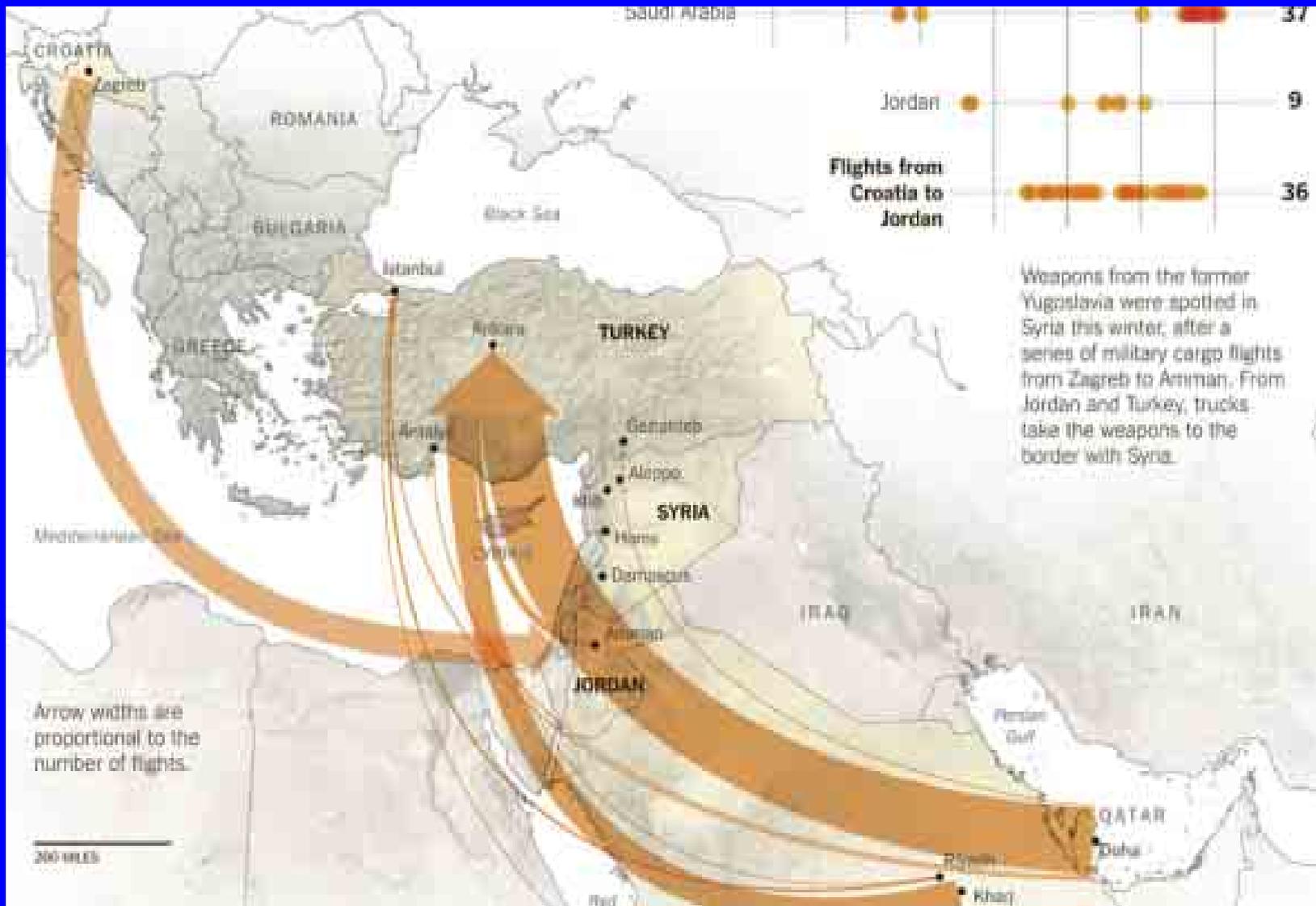
While one goal was to ensure that Israel continues to field the most capable armed forces in the region to deter Iran and counter a range of threats, it was equally important to improve the capabilities of two important Arab military partners. Another challenge, senior administration officials said, was coming up with a package that could help Israel deal with various security challenges — but devised so it would not be viewed as an American endorsement of accelerated planning by Israel to strike alone at Tehran's suspected nuclear facilities.

The objective, one senior administration official said, was "not just to boost Israel's capabilities, but also to boost the capabilities of our Persian Gulf partners so they, too, would be able to address the Iranian threat — and also provide a greater network of coordinated assets around the region to handle a range of contingencies."

Those other security risks, officials said, include the rolling civil war in Syria — a country with chemical weapons that could be used by the Assad government or seized by rebels — and militant violence in the Sinai Peninsula.

Under the agreement, each country would be allowed to purchase advanced armaments from American contractors. In the case of Israel, there is also substantial American financial assistance, topping \$3 billion in military aid this fiscal year.





As U.S. Looks to Asia, It Sees China Everywhere

By IAN JOHNSON and JACKIE CALMES

The last time the remote Australian city of Darwin played a significant role in American military planning was during the early days of World War II, when Gen. Douglas MacArthur used the port as the base for his campaign to reclaim the Pacific from the Japanese.

So it is with considerable symbolism that President Obama will arrive in Australia on Wednesday to announce that the United States plans to use Darwin as a new center of operations in Asia as it seeks to reassert itself in the region and grapple with China's rise.

The United States is taking some first steps — bold in rhetoric, still mostly modest in practice — to prove to its Asian allies that it intends to remain a crucial military and economic power in the region as the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan draw to a close. The new Australian base, coming after decades in which the Pentagon has been slowly but steadily reducing its troop presence in Asia, puts American planes and ships closer to trading corridors in the South China Sea, where some traditional American allies worry that China is trying to flex its military muscle.

Over the past year and a half, China has moved to assert territorial claims in the resource-rich but hotly contested waters near the Philippines and Vietnam. Many of the region's smaller countries have asked Washington to re-engage in the region as a counterweight.

"The U.S. needs to show the Chinese that they still have the power to overwhelm them, that they still can prevail if something really wrong happens," said Huang Jing, a foreign affairs analyst and visiting professor at the National University of Singapore. "It's a hedging policy."

For the United States, the more muscular approach toward China has far-reaching implications, not just geopolitically but also economically. With Republicans at home calling for punitive measures against China for its currency and trade practices, Mr. Obama wants to appear strong in pressing Beijing. He made headway on an ambitious American plan to create a Pacific free trade zone, known as the Trans-Pacific Partnership, that, for now, would not include China.

Obama Tells Asia US 'Here to Stay' as a Pacific Power

By Associated Press
30 November 11

President Barack Obama tells the Australian parliament the Asia-Pacific region is key to the future.

President Barack Obama has vowed to expand US influence in the Asia-Pacific region and "project power and deter threats to peace," even as he reduces defence spending and winds down two wars.

"The United States is a Pacific power, and we are here to stay," he declared in a speech to the Australian parliament, sending an unmistakable message to Beijing.

Obama's speech came the day after he announced [he would send military aircraft and up to 2,500 marines to northern Australia](#) for a training hub to help allies and protect American interests across Asia. He declared the US was not afraid of China, by far the biggest and most powerful country in the region.

China immediately questioned the US move and said it deserved further scrutiny.

Emphasising that a US presence in the Asia-Pacific region was a top priority of his administration, Obama stressed that any reductions in US defence spending will not come at the expense of that goal.

"Let there be no doubt: in the Asia-Pacific in the 21st century, the United States of America is all in," he said.

For Obama, Asia represents both a security challenge and an economic opportunity. Speaking in broad geopolitical terms, the president asserted: "With most of the world's nuclear powers and some half of humanity, Asia will largely define whether the century ahead will be marked by conflict or cooperation, needless suffering or human progress."

While stressing his intent to increase influence in the Asia-Pacific region, Obama avoided a confrontational tone with China in his speech to the Australian parliament.

"We've seen that China can be a partner, from reducing tensions on the Korean peninsula to preventing proliferation," he said. "We'll seek more opportunities for cooperation with Beijing, including greater communication between our militaries to promote understanding and avoid miscalculation."

In a note of caution, however, the president added: "We will do this, even as continue to speak candidly with Beijing about the importance of upholding international norms and respecting the universal human rights of the Chinese people."

Obama's visit to Australia is intended to show the tightness of the relationship and he hailed the long ties between the US and Australia.

"From the trenches of the first world war to the mountains of Afghanistan Aussies and Americans have stood together, fought together and given their lives together in every single major conflict of the past hundred years. Every single one," he said.

Panetta Outlines New Weaponry for Pacific

By JANE PERLEZ

SINGAPORE — Defense Secretary Leon E. Panetta, seeking to persuade a skeptical audience of Asian officials here on Saturday that the United States is committed to enhancing its military presence in the region despite coming budget constraints, unveiled the most detailed inventory to date of planned new weapons for the region.

The Navy, Mr. Panetta said, would reconfigure its forces from a 50-50 split between the Atlantic Ocean and the Pacific to 60 percent of the Navy's assets assigned to the Pacific Ocean.

The renewed emphasis on the Pacific would involve six aircraft carriers, and a majority of the Navy's cruisers, destroyers, littoral combat ships and submarines. These would be fortified by an increase in the number and size of military exercises in the Pacific, and a greater number of port visits.

Mr. Panetta outlined the inventory in a speech to Asian defense ministers, uniformed officers, analysts and contractors at the annual meeting here of the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies.

The list did not contain previously undisclosed weapons systems but represented a fuller public description and compilation of what the Obama administration has called the "pivot" toward Asia, a word that some Asian countries have complained is confusing. In deference to the unease, Mr. Panetta referred to a "rebalancing" toward Asia.

"Make no mistake — in a steady, deliberate and sustainable way — the United States military is rebalancing and brings enhanced capabilities to this vital region," Mr. Panetta said.

The International Institute for Strategic Studies, he said, projected that for the first time this year, total military spending by all countries in Asia would surpass that of all military expenditures in Europe.

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November 4, 2010

Wealthy and Worried, India Is Rich Arms Market

By CHRISTOPHER DREW and HEATHER TIMMONS

A big item on President Obama's India to-do list this weekend is securing a \$5 billion deal for Boeing to sell 10 of its C-17 cargo planes.

The agreement, for which Boeing and American officials have long laid the groundwork, would be part of a flurry of military equipment deals that foreign suppliers are eager to nail down with India. Mr. Obama's French and Russian counterparts are expected to visit New Delhi this year, with their own military sales contracts in hand.

India, flush with new wealth but worried about its national security, is rapidly turning into one of the world's most lucrative arms markets.

In the last several years, as its budget and appetite for more sophisticated weaponry have grown, India has reduced its traditional reliance on Russia for planes, ships and missiles.

The White House is backing sales like the C-17s, which India would use to transport its rapid-response forces, to help make India a regional counterweight to China.

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U.S. model for a future war fans tensions with China and inside Pentagon

By [Greg Jaffe](#), Published: August 1

When President Obama called on [the U.S. military to shift its focus to Asia](#) earlier this year, Andrew Marshall, a 91-year-old futurist, had a vision of what to do.

Marshall's small office in the Pentagon has spent the past two decades planning for a war against an angry, aggressive and heavily armed China.

No one had any idea how the war would start. But the American response, laid out in a concept that one of Marshall's longtime proteges dubbed "Air-Sea Battle," was clear.

Stealthy American bombers and submarines would knock out China's long-range surveillance radar and precision missile systems located deep inside the country. The initial "blinding campaign" would be followed by a larger air and naval assault.

The concept, the details of which are classified, has angered the Chinese military and has been pilloried by some Army and Marine Corps officers as excessively expensive. Some Asia analysts worry that conventional strikes aimed at China could spark a nuclear war.

Air-Sea Battle drew little attention when U.S. troops were fighting and dying in large numbers in Iraq and [Afghanistan](#). Now the military's decade of battling insurgencies is ending, defense budgets are being cut, and top military officials, ordered to pivot toward Asia, are looking to Marshall's office for ideas.

In recent months, the Air Force and Navy have come up with more than 200 initiatives they say they need to realize Air-Sea Battle. The list emerged, in part, from war games conducted by Marshall's office and includes new weaponry and proposals to deepen cooperation between the Navy and the Air Force.

A former nuclear strategist, Marshall has spent the past 40 years running the Pentagon's Office of Net Assessment, searching for potential threats to American dominance. In the process, he has built a network of allies in Congress, in the defense industry, at think tanks and at the Pentagon that amounts to a permanent Washington bureaucracy.



View Photo Gallery — A newly constructed radar dome on Chinese-controlled Subi Reef, around 15 nautical miles northwest of the Philippine-controlled Pag-asa Islands on the disputed Spratly Islands. [Click to see more photos.](#)



HOW U.S. FORCES COULD RESPOND TO A CHINESE ATTACK

Harden bases in Pacific
 Allied forces would increase the number of bomb-resistant aircraft shelters and bring in runway repair kits to fix damaged airstrips.

Conduct long-range attacks
 Stealthy bombers and submarines could wage a "blinding campaign," destroying long-range Chinese surveillance and missile systems and opening up the denied area to U.S. fighter jets and ships.

Disperse forces
 Allied commanders would send their aircraft to remote airfields on the Pacific islands Tinian and Palau, complicating the targeting process for the Chinese.



Jury Out: Do Advanced Conventional Weapons Make Nuclear War More Likely?

Aug. 22, 2012

By Elaine M. Grossman

Global Security Newswire



An artist's rendition of a rocket releasing the U.S. Hypersonic Technology Vehicle-2, a technology-development effort for a potential U.S. non-nuclear "prompt global strike" capability. Experts differ over how to address risks that emerging strategic conventional weapon systems might hasten a nuclear strike (AP Photo/U.S. Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency photo).

WASHINGTON — Nuclear weapons policy-makers and experts gathered recently at a nondescript conference center in Nebraska to grapple with a jolting, if somewhat arcane, paradox: Is it possible that futuristic conventional weapons could actually make a nuclear blast more likely?

"The big problem right now for the United States is that U.S. conventional war plans and doctrine are likely to create



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July 2012**



April 2, 2013

U.N. Treaty Aims to Limit Arms Exports for Rights Abusers

By [SEUL MAJABOHAR](#)

UNITED NATIONS — The United Nations General Assembly voted overwhelmingly on Tuesday to approve a landmark treaty that tries to regulate the enormous global trade in conventional weapons, for the first time linking sales to the human-rights records of the buyers.

The 154-to-3 vote for approval of the [Arms Trade Treaty](#), the culmination of years of negotiations, was regarded as a victory by rights groups that called it at least a first step toward limiting commerce in illegal weapons that kill thousands of people every day. But many questions remain about the treaty's effectiveness, which would essentially rely on a transparent system of compliance that embarrasses violators.

And although the United States, the biggest arms exporter, voted for the treaty, 23 countries abstained, including China and Russia, which also are leading sellers of weapons, raising concerns about how many countries would ultimately ratify the accord.

Even with American support at the United Nations, prospects for ratification of the treaty by the Senate are considered dim at best, partly because of opposition by gun-rights advocates.

The General Assembly vote was held after efforts to achieve a consensus on the treaty among all 193 member states of the United Nations failed last week, with Iran, North Korea and Syria blocking it. Those three countries, often ostracized as pariahs, contended that the treaty was full of deficiencies and had been structured to be unfair to them.

The treaty requires states exporting conventional weapons to develop criteria that would link exports to avoiding human-rights abuses, terrorism and organized crime. It would also ban shipments if they were deemed harmful to women and children. Countries that join the treaty would have to report publicly on sales every year.

Although the treaty has no enforcement mechanism, it exposes the arms-trade process to new levels of transparency that proponents of the treaty say could help severely limit illicit weapons deals by shaming violators.

Treaty proponents pinned their hopes on a quick ratification by a large number of countries, anticipating that would put pressure on the large countries that abstained to ascribe to it as well. The proponents noted that all those abstaining countries had been willing to extend their consensus to the original treaty. But such significant abstentions could also signal that transforming the treaty into international law will be a more arduous process than if consensus had been achieved.

April 11, 2013

Tell the Truth About the Arms Treaty

By RACHEL STOHL

WASHINGTON

ON April 2, the United States joined an overwhelming majority of countries at the United Nations in voting to adopt a [treaty](#) regulating the international trade in conventional weapons — a monumental achievement after [seven years of diplomacy](#), lobbying and out-and-out arm-twisting.

The United States pushed for the General Assembly vote last week after securing, in a March conference, the treaty language its negotiators wanted.

Yet now, just days after the United Nations' [154-10-3 vote](#), top United States officials are already hedging on whether President Obama will sign the treaty when it opens for signature at the United Nations on June 3 — let alone whether the United States will ratify it, an act that would require the approval of two-thirds of the Senate.

Sending such mixed signals is a grave mistake. The Arms Trade Treaty is consistent with America's national security interests, foreign policy goals, business interests and moral traditions, which is why United States negotiators worked so hard to create it.

So what's behind the foreboding whispers? Some truly cynical domestic politics, it would appear.

Those opposed to the accord have misrepresented what it does, suggesting that it would somehow infringe on American gun owners' rights. It would do nothing of the kind.

The treaty applies only to international transfers of conventional arms and, in fact, reaffirms "the sovereign right of any State to regulate and control conventional arms" within its territory. The treaty's preamble also makes specific reference to the legitimate trade, lawful ownership and use of certain conventional arms for recreational, cultural, historical and sporting activities.

Secretary of State John Kerry emphasized these points in his [statement](#) welcoming the treaty's adoption, noting that "nothing in this treaty could ever infringe on the rights of American citizens



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EDITORIAL

The Health Consequences of the Diversion of Resources to War and Preparation for War

Vivian W. Sidel¹ and Barry S. Levy²

Armed conflict challenges health in many ways. These include death and disability directly caused by war; destruction of the societal infrastructure that supports health and safety; forced migration of people both within their own country and as refugees to other countries; promotion of violence as a method to settle conflicts and disputes; and the long-term adverse effects on social relationships.

This special issue of *Social Medicine* examines the impact of war on human health from a geographically diverse set of countries and from diverse perspectives. Dr. Andrea Angulo-Morales, a researcher from Mexico City's Autonomous University, documents the very personal story of how the violence of the Spanish Civil War affected one family. In her case study the trauma suffered by Spanish Republicans increased through three generations and across the Atlantic Ocean as the family moves to exile in Mexico. Dr. Sachin Ghimire from the Center of Social Medicine and Community Health of the Jawaharlal Nehru University reports on his ethnograph in Nepal, Nepal, the district from which the Nepal Civil War (also called the People's War) originated in 1990. Based on 40 interviews, he documents the difficulties faced by health care workers as they negotiated the sometimes deadly task of providing to communities where control

alternated between Nepalese Special Forces and the Maoist rebels. Finally, Colombian researcher Carlos Iván Pacheco Sánchez, from the University of Kansas in Bogotá, brings an epidemiologist's look to examine the impact of an ongoing armed conflict in the health department of Nariño. His discussion is informed by the current debate over health care in Colombia where a recent Constitutional Court decision has found that the current health care system violates the right to health. These three papers amply demonstrate the depth, breadth and relevance of contemporary social medicine.

While the direct effects of war are usually well noted, less frequently discussed are the adverse consequences of the diversion of human and financial resources from the provision of medical, public health and other human services to military spending for war and the preparation for war.

As President Dwight D. Eisenhower memorably said, "Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired against, in the final analysis a *shot* from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed." But military spending does not just divert human and financial resources from meeting basic human needs. When military spending siphons resources needed to address the problems of poverty, unemployment, social injustice, ethnic and racial tensions, and other environmental and sociopolitical problems, it exacerbates the underlying causes of armed conflict. In this way, it undermines the very security it is called upon to protect. . .

Health workers recognize the connections between population health and reductions in government spending on education, housing, job

¹Vivian W. Sidel, Department of Health and Social Medicine, Montefiore Medical Center, 1167 Northbridge Avenue, Bronx, NY 10461-2499; telephone: 718-620-9168; fax: 718-620-9167; e-mail: vsidel@montefiore.org
²Barry S. Levy, Adjunct Professor of Public Health, Tufts University School of Medicine, Boston, Massachusetts; fax: 617-552-3144; e-mail: bslevy@hsph.harvard.edu

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