



**UNIVERSITY
ENDOWMENT GUIDE
for
STUDENT
ACTIVISTS**

DIVESTFROMWARMACHINE.ORG



About this Guide

This campaign guide was produced by CODEPINK in support of the Divest from the War Machine Campaign. We would like to acknowledge the following for their support, advice, input, resources, feedback, and/or participation that has been vital to this project: Susi Snyder, Garik Lopez, Simon Billenness, Jamie Trinkle, Greta Neubauer, Andrew Behar, Natalie Casal Alcaino, Kevin Martin, Dalit Baum, Paul Martin, Campaign Against Arms Trade, and all campaigners who continue to work tirelessly to dismantle the U.S. war machine in order to create a transformed system that delivers peace and justice for all.

Much of the contents of this Campaign Guide are inspired by the work of Go Fossil Free and the fossil fuel divestment movement. We are extremely grateful to them and the above supporters who showed us the power of divestment as a way to generate lasting change. Much of the material in this campaign guide has been adapted pending permission from the campaigner materials published by Go Fossil Free. To learn more about their amazing work and to access more of their resources, please see their website at <https://gofossilfree.org/>.

About CODEPINK

CODEPINK is a women-led grassroots organization working to end U.S. wars and militarism, support peace and human rights initiatives, and redirect our tax dollars into healthcare, education, green jobs and other life-affirming programs. Founded in fall 2002 as a grassroots effort to prevent the US war on Iraq, we continue to organize for justice for Iraqis and to hold war criminals accountable. We actively oppose the continuing U.S. war in Afghanistan, torture, the detention center at Guantanamo, weaponized and spy drones, the prosecution of whistleblowers, U.S. support for the Israeli occupation of Palestine and repressive regimes. Rooted in a network of local organizers, online supporters and generous donors, with an emphasis on joy and humor, our tactics include satire, street theatre, creative visuals, civil resistance, and directly challenging powerful decision-makers in government and corporations. And of course, wearing pink!

More information

For more information about this campaigners guide, to add your story and suggestions, or to share insights from your national and local efforts, please contact divest@codepink.org. For more information, latest updates and more on global efforts for peace and disarmament, visit divestfromwarmachine.org.

Please keep us informed about your actions and activities, so that we can share with other campaigners on the divestfromwarmachine.org website.



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Introduction

The Divest from the War Machine Campaign aims to encourage individuals and institutions invested in arms exporting companies to examine their shareholdings and to divest from the arms industry for ethical reasons. We want universities to drop their shares in arms companies, and also for them to adopt ethical investment policies to ensure that no new arms company shares can be bought. Divestment sends out a powerful message that we do not see arms companies as legitimate companies to do business with, and that our higher education institutions will not be complicit in profiting from war. In short: it just doesn't make sense to hold stock in weapons companies while understanding the global and domestic consequences of endless wars and the spread of militarism. The one thing we know the arms industry cares about is money. Collectively, we invest a lot of it. If we help to lead a national divestment campaign focused on the stigmatization of these bad corporations — weakening their political capital — we can help build the momentum of peaceful economies.

Universities and the War Machine

Many US universities invest in arms companies, often without the knowledge or approval of their students, staff and beneficiaries. Investments may be direct (by holding shares in an individual arms company such as Lockheed Martin), or indirect (e.g. by investing in an investment fund which itself invests in arms companies). This provides some financial support for the arms trade and sends a message that arms companies are legitimate companies with which to do business, despite the devastation caused by the arms trade. Sometimes information on a university's investments is hard to find. Don't let this be a deterrent to starting your campaign. It is important to note that unless a university has a strict policy prohibiting investment in weapons companies, campaigners can operate under the assumption that the university is probably invested in those companies. So not having that information is not a deterrent to starting a campaign. If you have trouble finding information on how your university invests, your best option is to simply ask your university's board of trustees. You'll find more information on how to do this later in this guide.

Each institution will invest in slightly different ways, so it's important for you to tailor the campaign tactic and asks to your campus. For example, your institution might not currently hold any direct investments in arms, in which case divestment is not a relevant request. However, to ensure that no unethical investments will be made in the future, you can tailor the campaign to pressure your university into adopting a socially responsible investment policy and processes that enable student and staff engagement. Feel free to adapt all the resources and ideas in this guide as you wish.



Military Industry is Deeply Embedded in U.S. Higher Education

Few people, including our nation's [20 million college students](#), have any idea of how closely U.S. universities are connected to the military-industrial complex. Unfortunately, the ties between America's universities and the military industrial complex run deep. Through Pentagon funding to universities for "national security research", grants from intelligence agencies given to professors, and direct partnerships with military contractors, the military industry maintains its grip on our universities. Many U.S. universities receive funding from military contractors, often for technology or engineering programs.

As venerable institutions of learning, universities have a moral responsibility to avoid investing in companies that perpetuate war and human rights abuses. Failure by our higher education institutions to condemn the arms producers fueling global warfare and displacement at alarming rates allows these companies to retain legitimacy. Universities should not be working with or investing in companies like Lockheed Martin, a company that deems itself a "high-technology company" yet made \$47.2 billion dollars in 2016, 92% of which came from weapons and war-related sales (Defense News. *Top 100 Defense Contractors for 2017*. Retrieved from: <http://people.defensenews.com/top-100/>).

The Power of Endowments

Many billions of dollars are held in university endowments. For instance, Harvard University has an endowment of \$34.5 billion, Yale has an endowment of \$25.4 billion, the University of Texas System's nine universities together are valued at \$24.2 billion, and Stanford has an endowment of \$22.4 billion. While these are large and prominent universities, they demonstrate the sheer scale of the financial power of university endowments. In the absence of clear, concrete investment screenings prohibiting investment in weapons manufacturers, many of these goliath financial institutions are profiting from investment in the merchants of death. A divestment campaign is a tool for students and others to reclaim universities as spaces of learning, discussion, peace, and development. It also creates a demand that our nation's higher education institutions are not profiting from the companies responsible for death and destruction around the world. It's time for the U.S. higher education system to stop making a killing on killing. This guide will help you get started running a weapons divestment campaign on your campus or challenging the industry on the ground in your community. Make sure to check our website divestfromwarmachine.org for more resources and don't hesitate to contact our team with questions or ideas.



What is Divestment?

Divestment from the War Machine means divesting (removing invested assets) from companies that derive their profits by supplying and profiting from U.S. military interventions, expansions, and the militarization of our streets. In other words, we are calling for divestment from companies that make a killing on killing.

Why Divestment?

Divestment is a direct tool that provides a clear means of organizing to target the war machine by stigmatizing those companies that profit from war-making. Divestment is a focused, actionable, empowering, and effective organizing technique that enables campaigners to target different financial institutions. These campaigns can target universities, religious institutions, pension funds, banks, and more. With so many possible angles for action, divestment is a super accessible tool that can be used by a wide variety of communities.

The fossil fuel divestment movement has resulted in over 5 trillion dollars being taken away from the fossil fuel industry and reinvested in more clean, sustainable, and ethical ways. This shows divestment is a great tactic for taking on a strong, established industry and for moving money away from unethical and unsustainable systems and into other, life-affirming sectors.

Divestment will also serve as a major tool for public education and mobilization. Divestment is an opportunity to educate people on the connections between the militarization of our streets at home and our government's assaults on human rights and sovereignty around the world. It will also cast a critical light on the companies making billions from the unrestrained spread of militarism.

Divestment can also help shape a national conversation. While the arms industry maintains its stranglehold over Congress and U.S. foreign policy, divestment is a strong method for a unified public to reduce the power of profit-driven merchants of death that are making a killing on killing. While our government continues to treat the arms trade as a legitimate and ordinary industry, the public can express that we want our assets, and our country, to divest from the war machine and to invest in the health of our people and planet.



Understanding University Endowments

What's an endowment? Who manages it? And how does one "divest" from weapons producers anyway? Don't worry, there's no need to be a financial expert to run an effective divestment campaign. And better yet, we've got an incredible coalition of organizations and experts who can help guide you through the divestment process and answer all these questions and more. For now, here's a quick primer: When you invest your money, you might buy stocks, bonds or other investments that generate income for you. Universities and Colleges, like religious institutions and pension funds, put billions of dollars in these same kinds of investments to generate income to help run their institutions.

How does a university's endowment work?

The endowment acts as your school's savings account, the place where most alumni donations and other major gifts end up. It helps pay for many of the services and programs that your tuition doesn't cover. The account is invested in a variety of different, and often very confusing, financial products that aim to increase the total amount of money in the endowment. These products include domestic equities, basically US companies; international equities; short term and fixed income assets; and complex, high-risk, high-return vehicles.

Who manages it?

The board of trustees or managers and the president of your college are ultimately responsible for the endowment and how it is invested. They in turn appoint an investment committee that determines an investment strategy for the endowment and appoints an investment officer to carry it out. The investment officer then hires fund managers who select investments, move money, and report back to the school. University boards often try and use these layers of complexity to argue they don't have a direct say over how their endowment is invested. They're wrong. Remember, the buck stops with the board: they hired the fund manager and they can make them divest from the war machine. At some large state schools, like University of Wisconsin, alumni donate to an affiliated foundation that's not directly tied to the university administration. In these cases, it makes sense to target the president and board of the foundation rather than the university administration. Make sure to do your own research and know the ins and outs of your own institution before you get started!



In-house or outsourced?

Often, universities use external fund managers to look after their endowment funds. That is, they outsource their investment activities to a company that will manage the university's investment portfolio on their behalf. While universities that have outsourced their investments in this way do not decide directly where their money is invested, they can engage with their fund manager to exclude certain investments from their portfolio, or they may consider moving their money to a more ethical fund.

Direct or indirect?

Figuring out just how much money your institutions has in arms can be complicated. Sometimes your institution or their external fund manager will invest directly into companies involved in fossil fuel extraction or arms manufacturing. If this is the case, it will be the easiest place for you to start. However, investments aren't always as simple to track. Often your institutions' money is invested into financial products, through which further investments are made, which means that the institution may be making indirect investments into arms and fossil fuels. These indirect investments can be hard to trace, because investments made by an external company (even when using your institutions' money), are not classified as public information. Therefore the only way you can access them is by getting your university to ask for this information from the external company.



What Are We Asking For?

We want universities to do the following:

1. Make no new investments in weapons producers.

Financial institutions should develop policies that exclude all financial links with companies involved in the production of weapons. Investment makes production possible. This means that no exceptions should be made for any type of financial product or activity.

2. Sell existing investments tied to these companies within 1-2 years.

Financial institutions should get rid of stocks, bonds, or investment funds that are invested in arms producers. New requests for investment should also be declined. Financial institutions should apply their divestment policy to all their activities: commercial banking, investment banking and asset management. All of these activities actively assist a company in the production of weapons.

3. Reinvest in clean, life-affirming solutions such as renewable energy, energy efficiency, sustainable agriculture, water efficiency, and more.

When reinvesting assets, financial institutions should make deliberate choices about how money is invested – and should make those choices represent values of sustainability, community empowerment, action on climate, establishment of a renewable energy economy, etc. The objectives of reinvestment can include increasing community empowerment and prosperity, shifting economic control, driving social equity, and promoting ecological well-being. The Future of Life Institute has compiled a list of weapons free funds, which you can find here: <https://futureoflife.org/invest/>.

“Is it even possible for my college to divest from weapons manufacturers?”

Yes! Boards of trustees can tell their money managers to develop responsible investment strategies that exclude direct investments in arms producers and funds that include such companies in their portfolio (it’s called “screening”).



What Does it Take?

1. Research Your Institution

To start off, you should have some basic information about how your university invests its endowment fund. Some of this information can be found on your university's website. You should research the following information:

- Which fund managers is the university using?
- Does the manager have an ethical investment policy or exclusion lists?
- How much money is held in arms companies?

****Again, unless your university has a clear policy prohibiting investment in weapons companies, you must operation under the assumption that your university is indeed invested in the arms industry.**

Do you need more information on some areas? If so, write a letter to the entity or persons that manage your university's endowment, or write directly to your university's board of trustees. Here are three letter templates for writing to the relevant university representatives under a variety of circumstances, whether you have found confirmed weapons investments or not.



Example I: Letter to university requesting shareholding figures

[Your Street Address]
[Your City]
[Your Zip Code]

[Contact's Name]
[Organization Name]
[Street Address]
[City]
[Zip Code]

[Date]

Dear [Contact's Name]

I am writing to request information on the investments our university holds in the arms trade (specifically Lockheed Martin, Raytheon, Boeing, General Dynamics, and Northrop Grumman). Please send a portfolio statement for the fund(s) in which our university has investments. If you do not have a copy of this, please send me a list of the names of the fund(s) and the corresponding management companies. If the university's investments are held in a pooled fund or a variety of these funds could you please provide me with recent and dated lists of the underlying shares in which the fund(s) invests. Please also confirm if any shares are held in the above companies as part of a pension fund or endowment, either directly or indirectly through an externally managed fund.

I would wholeheartedly encourage the university to adopt an ethical investment policy that excludes the arms trade, and would appreciate it if you could tell me if this is something that the university is planning to do.

Yours sincerely,

[Your Name]



Example II: Letter to university with no shares but no ethical investment policy

[Your Street Address]
[Your City]
[Your Zip Code]

[Contact's Name]
[Organization Name]
[Street Address]
[City]
[Zip Code]

[Date]

Dear [Contact's Name]

It was recently confirmed to me that our university holds no shares in the arms trade. I would like to wholeheartedly congratulate our board of financial officers on the decision not to invest in the companies involved in this industry.

I would fully support our university adopting an ethical investment policy that excludes investments in the arms trade. Could you please confirm to me whether this is something the university is planning to do?

Yours sincerely,

[Your Name]



Example III: Letter to university with confirmed shares

[Your Street Address]
[Your City]
[Your Zip Code]

[Contact's Name]
[Organization Name]
[Street Address]
[City]
[Zip Code]

[Date]

Dear [Contact's Name]

It was recently confirmed to me that our university holds investments in the arms trade. I am particularly concerned about these investments because the US arms industry exports billions of dollars worth of weapons every year, many of these to regimes with poor human rights records, to areas of conflict or to countries with huge development needs. The arms trade fuels war, undermines development and breeds corruption and is far from an ordinary, everyday business. Our university should not hold shares in the arms trade - it is inappropriate for an institution run for the public good to have any links to this deadly business.

I would wholeheartedly encourage the university to adopt an ethical investment policy that excludes the arms trade, and would appreciate it if you could tell me if this is something that the university is planning to do.

Yours sincerely,

[Your Name]



2. Building a Team

Great organizing starts with an amazing team. Working together on a project that matters is a great way to meet friends, deepen connections, and have fun.

Here are some tips on getting people involved:

Make it personal: If there isn't already a group on your campus, you can find interested folks by sending emails or text messages to your friends, making announcements at meetings of related groups, or putting up posters in key places with meeting information. By far the best way to get somebody to come to a meeting is to ask them personally: a one-on-one conversation is more effective than a group email or putting up lots of posters (though those help too).

Celebrate diversity: Reach out to the usual suspects to get involved—the peace club on campus and your activist friends – but also think about faith groups, economics majors, fossil fuel divestment groups, the international students association, and other organized groups on campus who may want to get involved. They'll bring new people into the process, and new and valuable perspectives.

Be equal: Changing the course of history is a big undertaking, and no one can or should run the show by herself—we need to lean on each other for creativity, time and support. You may have heard about the divestment campaign first and called the first meeting, but make sure you treat your fellow organizers as equals. Each person in your group has talents or skills that will be critical to the effort; let them take responsibility for parts of the planning process and make sure to include everybody.

Make it fun: People are much more apt to be part of the effort if they're likely to have a good time doing it. Good ways to keep morale up are to work with others, bring food and beverages to meetings, be positive and creative about your planning (no idea is too crazy!), hold meetings outside, and try opening and closing with a game or a song!



Running a Good Meeting: There's nothing worse than sitting through a meeting where one person talks the whole time and nothing gets done. There is an art to running an effective, dynamic meeting.

Here are a few tips that will help you get the job done:

- Make sure to have an agenda with approximate times for each item, and circulate it ahead of time. Leave enough time for others to make their points, but try to stay on schedule. Circulate the agenda before the meeting, and ask for input.
- Assign somebody to run the meeting (a facilitator), and a note-taker to write everything down and distribute the notes to the group. The facilitator and note-taker could be yourself, but it's often better to delegate those tasks to somebody else who may not be distracted by other leadership tasks.
- Listen, understand, and share ideas with others; understanding is different than agreeing, so you should learn to understand and accept even opposite opinions. A leader uses her heart as well as her head. Stay positive and have fun. It makes communication much easier. Circulate the notes after the meeting, with action items delegated and clearly highlighted so that people on your team will know exactly what they need to do before the next meeting. Decide on a next meeting time.



3. Planning Your Campaign

Once you have a group together, it's time to start outlining your campaign. There are lots of different ways to plan a campaign, but here are some tips to get you started on the path to success:

Research: A good first step is to learn as much as you can about your college's endowment, the administration, and the board of trustees. See if you can get information about where your endowment is being invested (this is often hard to find). Talk to students or faculty who have been involved in previous divestment campaigns on campus. Once you've got a little bit of info under your belt, try and set up a meeting with the person in charge of managing the money at your school, often called the CFO or the VP of Finance or Investments.

Power Mapping: A "power map" is a way to think about the people who have influence at your institution. First, figure out who is on your board of trustees – they're the ones who are going to make the final call about divestment. Learn their names, see if they have connections to the arms industry, figure out if they have kids who are students at the college (they'd be good people to recruit). Next, map out the people who influence your college president: is there an influential professor or alumnus to get on board? What sorts of pressure do you think your President will most respond to? If you're having trouble, remember to drop us an email at: divest@codepink.org.

Write out a Campaign Plan: A campaign plan is a living document that you can use to order your thoughts and set clear benchmarks that will help keep you on path. It helps to work backwards—think about where you want to be when you win the campaign, and think through the steps that will get you there. First, set some clear goals that will help you achieve your objective. Then, identify the strategies you will use to achieve those goals. Again, be sure to think creatively – and be ready to adapt as the situation changes.

Create a Calendar: One of the most important things for a successful campaign is keeping up momentum. Sit down with a calendar and figure out how you can keep up excitement over the coming months – nothing happening in February? Think about bringing a speaker to campus. Remember, good campaigns are like good stories: the more interesting your narrative, the more likely people will want to follow along and take part.



4. Building Campus Support

Divestment campaigns often falter because they turn into backroom negotiations with an investment committee rather than a public-facing effort that galvanises campus and community support. As you plan out your campaign, make sure to identify ways that you and your group can build campus support for your effort.

Here are some ideas:

Open Letter: Write a letter to the administration urging them to divest from weapons producers and collect as many influential signatories around campus as possible. Publish the letter in the college newspaper as an editorial or an advertisement. Email it out to students, alumni, and the press. Check out our website or see the models earlier in this guide for a template that you can use to get started.

Petition: Start a petition asking your college president to work with the board of trustees to meet your demand: an immediate freeze on new investments in arms manufacturers and full divestment within one to two years. Collect signatures online and on campus, at the dining hall, going door to door, in front of a creative display. Build momentum by publicizing exciting signatures, like the student body president or a popular professor on campus. Plan a dynamic and media-worthy petition delivery.

Debates: Host a debate on whether or not your school should be invested in the war machine. Debates often draw a larger crowd because they're often more exciting than a regular presentation. Got a great debater or professor on your side? Challenge the college president or a trustee to debate a student on the resolution to divest.

Speakers: Invite a topical speaker to campus. Get in touch with our campaign staff at divest@codepink.org and we can try and hook you up with inspirational speakers who can frame the U.S. military apparatus or talk about the anti-apartheid struggle, the fossil fuel divestment movement, and why we need this movement to target the war machine. Getting a voice off-campus to validate your work is a great way to build support.



Film Screenings: The Divest from the War Machine campaign was launched in tandem with the release of the documentary *Shadow World* to U.S. television. This film is an exploration of the greed, corruption, and government collusion in the global arms trade, based on Andrew Feinstein's book of the same name. We can help you coordinate a showing of this film. Contact us at divestfromwarmachine.org to discuss a film screening. Also, got someone looking for a way to help out? Have them put together a running film festival of inspirational and war-related films.

Parties: Not every event has to be serious politics. Throw a dance party with projections of melting glaciers on the walls or make everyone wear a vest and then "divest." Get a college band to write the next antiwar anthem or host a rap battle debate on divestment. Parties are a great way to boost morale and bring in new supporters on campus.

Creative Stunts: Think about creative actions that you can do on campus that will win student body support and turn up the heat on your administration. For some great ideas for creative actions, take a look at *Beautiful Trouble* or the Center for Story-based Strategy.

Presentations: Develop a short, compelling, and powerful presentation that you can give on divestment (we'll have some samples to work from up on our site). Give the presentation to the investment committee, key college clubs, student council, the newspaper, faculty council, community members, other students, and anyone you can think of.

The Campus Newspaper: The campus newspaper is a great place to get the debate over divestment going. Develop a relationship with the student who is going to be covering your efforts and feed them exciting updates and events to cover. Meet with the editorial staff and try and get them to write in your favor. Check out the media section of this guide and our website for ideas about how else to use media coverage to help your campaign.

Online Organizing: Your campus is a digital community as well as an offline one. Set up a Twitter and Facebook account for people to follow the campaign with and make sure to share your handle with our team. Got a friend who's good with graphics? Get her to develop online content that you can distribute. And keep in touch with our social media team who will be highlighting inspiring, interesting, and motivating content to share.



5. Turning Up the Heat

Got a base of support and ready to start really pushing for divestment? Here are some more ways to start turning up the heat on campus. This is where your campaign really starts to take off and get serious. Here are a few ways to crank up the volume:

Once you've built up some student support, it's time to turn up the heat. Deliver your petition to the college president, host a creative demonstration outside the administration building, publish an ad in the campus newspaper pushing for divestment. Now is a great time to bring in alumni to help out: ask them to write letters to the college, publish ads in the alumni magazine, and support your efforts.

Publishing Ads: Got some resources that you've raised from the community or alumni? Try publishing an ad in the student newspaper (maybe your open letter) to push the administration to take action. Print out the ad and put it around campus. Send the ad to trustees and key alumni.

Petition Delivery: Make a big event out of delivering your petition to your college president (and the board of trustees or managers if they are on campus). Print out a giant copy of the petition or march with other props: you don't need to be aggressive or angry, but you want to be strong. Make sure to do some media outreach.

Creative Demonstrations: Crank up the demonstrations and creative actions that you're doing on campus. Trustees coming to town? Host events throughout the time they're on campus. Administration giving you the cold shoulder? Maybe it's time for a reenactment of the U.S.-supported bombing of a Yemeni funeral.



6. Pressuring the Board of Trustees

The board of trustees or managers meeting on your campus is going to be a big moment for your campaign. Boards usually meet on campus a few times a year, in the fall, and then again in the winter (usually February or March) and towards the end of the spring semester. Here are some ideas about how to prepare for these key moments:

Leading up to a Board Meeting: Once you've built student support on campus and begun to turn up the heat on divestment, it's a good idea to request an opportunity to present to the board of trustees. Leading up to the presentation, you'll want to prepare all your information about why divestment is a good option, power map the board of trustees to identify potential allies and adversaries, and build student support so you're not going in alone. Our campaign team and our allies can help with each of these steps – make sure to get in touch!

Presenting to the Board: Presenting to the board of trustees can be intimidating, but you're completely prepared to rock it. And remember, you're not alone: lots of student leaders have already met with their trustees and can help give you ideas for the best ways to present. One key is staying confident – you may not know the ins and outs of every investment, but you know that investing in the weapons trade is wrong and what needs to be done about it. Dress for success, practice, practice, practice, and go kick some butt.

Make it personal: Facts and figures aren't the only way to make your case. If you can track down the contact info for different board members, send them personal letters urging them to divest. And do your research: if they donate to environmental or social justice causes, bring it up, or if they voted to divest from apartheid, urge them to make the right decision again.

Demonstrations: Whether you're presenting to the board of trustees or not, organizing demonstrations on campus when they're having their meeting is a good idea. Depending on the board's stance on the issue, your demonstrations can be supportive actions that cheer them on to make the right decision or protests that push them to change their minds. Or, if they refuse to meet with you at all, now could be the time for escalation.

Follow-up: Remember, the board of trustees and the administration aren't our enemies, the arms industry is. If you're invited to present to the board or have any interactions with them, make sure to follow up with a thank you note – it's a way to show respect, but it's also another great chance to make your case. A degree of civility will often go a long way.



7. Escalation

The board has shot you down, the college president doesn't want to listen to you (or you're stuck with some go-nowhere committee) and it feels like your campaign is stuck in neutral. We're all going to face moments like this. The key is to not back down – now is a time to see how you can tactically escalate your campaign.

Circling the Administration Building: In 2011, when President Obama looked like he was going to approve the Keystone XL pipeline, over 15,000 people came to Washington, DC and surrounded the White House. It was a powerful action – three days later, the President delayed the pipeline's permit. Build up to a big action of circling the administration building with as many students and faculty as possible.

Organizing a Sit-in or Occupation: During the anti-apartheid movement, many students turned to sit-ins during trustee meetings or in the President's office to pressure their school to drop its investments. One Swarthmore trustee told students that they only committed to divestment because students peacefully blocked them from leaving their meeting room. Organizing a direct action like a sit-in can be a big undertaking and is something to be taken seriously – if your group is prepared to take this sort of action, get in touch with our campaign team at divest@codepink.org and we can help you walk through the details.

Holding Back Donations: During a Darfur divestment campaign at Harvard, seniors put the money that they normally give to the college as an unrestricted class gift into an escrow account that would go to a human rights center unless Harvard divested. Holding back class gifts or urging alumni to withhold donations can be a powerful way to influence the college.

Hosting a Walk Out: Your education shouldn't be paid for by helping to produce the tools of warfare spreading violence and militarism across the globe. If you've got a lot of student support, host a walk-out from class on a certain day to call for divestment. Try and get professors on board so that they can cancel class or find other ways to support the effort. Winning a divestment campaign isn't going to be easy, but the effort can be an incredibly powerful experience for everyone involved. It will also make a big impact: even if we don't all win divestment on our campus, we'll be sending huge shockwaves through the industry by getting this movement going all across the country. And together, we'll be building a stronger, smarter, and more powerful peace movement. Let's get to work.



Getting Media Attention: Getting media attention for your efforts is a key strategy for two major reasons. First, it's a great way to build your campaign and turn up the pressure on key decision makers: college presidents and boards of trustees pay close attention every time their institution is mentioned in the news. Second, remember that our larger goal is to use divestment to send shockwaves through the arms industry and take away their social license to operate. If colleges divest silently, without significant media coverage, our efforts won't have the desired effect.

Here are some key tips to getting good media coverage:

Create media events that fit into an interesting narrative.

It may seem obvious, but the key to getting good news coverage is to make some news. Your goal is to get as many stories about your campaign as possible, but the media isn't going to write the same story over and over again: it's up to you to come up with new, interesting angles or events that keep your narrative going. As you plan your campaign, create a calendar of interesting moments when you can reach out to the press. Look for drama, conflict, strange bedfellows, new facts or revelations, scandal, curiosity, and all the things that make for a good story

- Find an interesting spokesperson who can talk to the media
- Make sure you know your 2-3 key messages that you want to get out to the press
- Think about the photo you want in the paper: a great picture really is worth a thousand words
- Controversy makes great press: if you can give your story an edge, it's more likely to get coverage. Crafting these press moments is a great job if you're a writer, communications student, actor, or have an eye for the dramatic.

Develop and cultivate a media list

Work on developing a media list of key journalists that you want to cover your story. Scan the online sites of local newspapers, blogs, radio stations, and TV networks for the names of reporters who cover education, the environment, or local news. Do a Google Search for any news on your college and find the reporter who did the piece. Then, to get their contact info, find a general number for the outlet you're looking to contact, give them a call, and ask to be connected to that reporter. Once you have their info, you're off and running. You can also contact our Divest from the War Machine team and we can help you find contact info through our subscription to a media database. Remember, reporters are people too. Don't swamp them with too many emails or phone calls and as much as possible, try and turn them into a friend or acquaintance. Doing media is a lot like dating: you'll get turned down a lot, but it can pay some great dividends.



Send media advisories and press releases

Before an event that you're trying to get coverage for, send out a media advisory with all the key information and call up reporters to give them the heads up. Immediately after the event, send out a press release with a description of what happened, key quotes, and a preview of how the story is going to continue to develop (sample advisories and releases can be found up on our website).

Be the media

The media landscape is changing fast. More than ever before, we have the tools to become our own media. As you plan your campaign, find creative ways to tell your story and build support through blogs, videos, podcasts, interviews, and more. As you build out your team, find friends who are filmmakers, musicians, actors, and artists – their creativity is going to be a key asset to your campaign. Our national media team is a great resource to help you develop a communications plan, reach out to key press, and get media coverage. We'll also be working to build up all of our efforts into a national story to achieve major attention. Let's go make some headlines!



Supporting Campus Divestment Campaigns: Ideas for non-students

Even if you're not a student, there are lots of ways to support divestment campaigns that will be springing up on campuses across the country. Here are some ideas:

Recruiting New Student Leaders Got a young friend or family member who is currently a student? Encourage them to get involved in the campaign!

Alumni Engagement Alumni can have a powerful voice in swaying their institution to make the right call when it comes to divestment – after all, they're counting on you to donate to the endowment! There are lots of ways that alumni can support the campus effort: writing letters to the college president, publishing ads in the alumni magazine, making public statements to the media, and donating to support a campaign on your campus.

Professors & College Staff Students aren't the only people that make up a campus community. Professors and staff can play a crucial role in helping support a divestment effort at their institution. You can help pass a faculty resolution calling for divestment, support a student group on campus as a faculty advisor, and organize fellow staff to join the campaign.

Community Member

Lots of people live near universities or colleges. Try and connect with a divestment campaign at a college near your and offer your support. Students will be organizing everything from film screenings to sit-ins and may need your help!

Amplifying the Campaign

If our work is going to be successful, people need to hear about it! Help amplify the work of student activists across the country by sharing their stories on Facebook and Twitter using the hashtag #divestfromwar, joining in key online actions, and getting your friends in the media to cover this campaign.



How to Respond to Some Common Arguments Regarding the War Machine

More weapons are needed to support the global fight against terrorism.

Brute military force as a response to terrorism is often counterproductive, as it increases tensions and hostilities and provides a window of opportunity for terrorist-group recruitment. A 2008 study by the conservative think-tank RAND Corporation looked at the life-cycles of 648 terrorist groups from 1968 to 2006 and examined the ways the groups ended.¹ The study found that only 7% of terrorist groups were snuffed out as a result of military campaigns. The investigation found that a majority of the groups ended after joining the political process- in other words, through diplomacy, not war.

The War Machine is dedicated to keeping us safe.

It is vital to note that military spending sometimes goes not toward defending a nation's citizens but to protecting that country's elite or corporations from its people or discontented groups of its population. The militarization of America's police forces under such programs as the Pentagon 1033 program has resulted in the use of military grade weapons and equipment being turned against citizens to crush dissent and obstruct opposition. Domestic militarization has often resulted in the disproportionate targeting of people of color and other marginalized groups, as was found in an intensive investigation by the American Civil Liberties Union in 2014.²

The use of military tactics and weapons against citizens was also clearly visible in 2017, when armoured vehicles, automatic weapons, water-cannons, and more were used against indigenous communities protesting the building of an oil pipeline across their sacred lands in North Dakota. The U.S. war machine is more and more frequently in our streets and being deployed to punish, harm, and subdue citizens.

¹ RAND Corporation. *How Terrorist Groups End*. 2008. Retrieved from: https://www.rand.org/content/dam/rand/pubs/monographs/2008/RAND_MG741-1.pdf

² American Civil Liberties Union. *War Comes Home*, 2014. Retrieved from: <https://www.aclu.org/issues/criminal-law-reform/reforming-police-practices/war-comes-home>



Military Spending is Driven by Security Concerns

Arms manufacturers retain their legitimacy under the notion that they enable the U.S. to arm itself and its allies against security threats. However, a vast quantity of arms deals take place not driven by military strategy, but rather because of political concerns, economic goals, misplaced national pride, corruption, Congress members seeking to protect pet projects, and contractors and lobbyists protecting corporate welfare.

In this regard, it is worth examining the development of Lockheed-Martin's F-35 fighter jet, the most expensive weapons program in history. The F-35 is expected to cost \$1.5 trillion to produce and maintain over its 50-year lifetime. However, the massively expensive stealth fighter has been plagued with problems, its production time and costs continue to increase, and many military analysts have pointed out that it does not offer significant strategic advantages that other already-existing aircraft already offer.

To garner support for its new aircraft, Lockheed Martin posted a map showing the estimated 129,000 jobs across forty-five states that would be created by the F-35 program, making it hard for any Congress member to oppose the program. In addition, four of the main F-35 beneficiaries- Lockheed Martin, BAE Systems, Northrop Grumman, and United Technologies- made campaign contributions of over \$11 million between 2011 and 2014, instilling a thirty-nine member F-35 caucus in Congress that has consistently promoted and supported the program. Thus the F-35, despite exorbitant costs and continued technical problems, maintains major budgetary support and the Pentagon's 2015 budget request included \$8 billion for F-35 procurement- an amount equal to the annual budget of the Environmental Protection Agency.³

³ Holden, Paul, et al. *Project Indefensible*. Retrieved from: <https://projectindefensible.org/>



The Arms Trade is a vital jobs provider.

Investment in non-military sectors creates more jobs than military spending. Leading U.S. arms producers retain legitimacy and political power because they are looked at as major national job-creators. But studies have shown that investment in non-military sectors such as healthcare, education, clean energy, and tax cuts creates many more jobs than military spending.

In a May 2017 report published by the Cost of War Project at Brown University, researchers found that each \$1 million of military spending creates 5.8 jobs directly in military industries and 1.1 jobs in the supply chain, for a total of 6.9 jobs per \$1 million of federal military spending. In comparison, spending that same amount in wind or solar energy creates a total of 8.4 or 9.5 jobs, respectively. Energy efficiency retrofits create 10.6 jobs per \$1 million, which is more than 50 percent above the level of job creation supported by military spending.

General infrastructure, including street/ highway/ tunnel/ bridge construction as well as new and repair construction of schools and other non-residential buildings, creates over 40 percent more jobs than the military, with the creation of 9.8 jobs per \$1 million spending. Spending towards education and healthcare result in even higher rates of job creation. Healthcare spending creates more than twice as many jobs as military for the same level of spending, while education creates up to nearly three times as many jobs as military spending, particularly for elementary and secondary education.⁴

⁴ Garrett-Peltier, Heidi. *Job Opportunity Cost of War*. Published by Cost of War Project at the Watson Institute of International and Public Affairs at Brown University, May 24, 2017.. Retrieved from: <https://www.peri.umass.edu/media/k2/attachments/JobZOpportunityZCostZofZWarZ-ZHGPZ-ZFINAL.pdf>



Examples of Successful and Ongoing Weapons Divestment Campaigns

University level weapons divestment campaigns have gained impressive traction outside of the United States. The success of similar campaigns abroad shows these campaigns are possible and students are a major force for change. It's time to get similar campaigns going here at home! The U.K.-based group Campaign Against Arms Trade runs the Clean Investment campaign, which lobbies and campaigns for universities to not invest in arms companies. The campaign has seen numerous successes. Read about them below.

Leeds University

The Leeds University student group Let's Disarm Leeds ran a long-term campaign, and successfully got students to vote Yes in a referendum on whether they wanted to end their university's links with BAE Systems, the world's third biggest arms manufacturer. This victory mandates the Students' Union to lobby the University to do three things in particular: stop inviting BAE to careers fairs and recruitment talks; sell any shares they might have in BAE, and reject any future research money from the company.

As part of the campaign, Let's Disarm Leeds got students to write why they wanted BAE off campus and took photographs which you can see online here:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?feature=player_embedded&v=LSvVVkRKgZ0.

St Andrew University

A sustained, four-year campaign by students at St Andrew University has led to the University Court adopting the Ethical Investment Policy, drawn up jointly by the activists and university Finance Director. The policy means that social and environmental issues will be considered alongside financial ones, meaning that investment in companies such as BAE Systems will no longer be considered viable. A special committee is being set up to oversee the policy's implementation, which will include various stakeholder groups including students and staff. The campaign was set up in 2003 and found immediate support at the Student Union, where 91% of members voted in favour of changing the investment policy.



St Andrew University (continued)

Within a year, considerable progress had been made towards improving transparency on the university's shareholding and campaign momentum had become unstoppable by 2005, with a large march organised in the town centre and a working group set up with the Director of Finance. By 2007, the University Court could no longer ignore the calls of the student movement and the Ethical Investment Policy drafted by the campaigners was adopted. This was a blow to the arms companies in which St Andrew held shares, a great victory for student activism, and represented a huge step towards more democratic accountability in higher education.

Learn about Campaign Against Arms Trade's Clean Investment Campaign here:

<https://caatunis.net/campaigns/clean-investment/>

York University

The YU Divest campaign is a weapons-divestment campaign that calls on the York University Board of Governors to stop investing York's endowment fund in arms manufacturers. In September 2014, the hashtag #YUDivest was launched after Amnesty International at York, Students Against Israeli Apartheid and the York Federation of Students decided to initiate the call for divestment. In recognition of the state of upheaval our world is in today, and in support of the plight of peoples affected by war and armed conflict, including the effects of war on the families of York community members from diverse backgrounds, the demand was broad enough to include all weapons manufacturers. In January and February 2016, the Graduate Students' Association and YorkU Alumni for Social Justice joined the campaign. Together, the five groups make up the #YUDIVEST Coalition. Learn more about this campaign here: <http://yudivest.org/>