

FREE

# INDYPENDENT READER

*toward building a new society on the vacant lots of the old ...*

*Fall 2010 Issue 14*

**THE**

**WAR**

**ISSUE**

**AFGHANISTAN**

**IRAQ**

**AFRICA**

**HAITI**

**SOLDIERS IN REVOLT**

**BALTIMORE PEACE MOVEMENTS**

**ANTIWAR ORGANIZING**

**THE WAR ECONOMY IN MARYLAND**

**JHU AND THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX**

**PLUS UPDATES ON**

**THE UNITED WORKERS**

**AND THE ALGEBRA PROJECT**



## Indydependent Reader

*toward building a new society on the vacant lots of the old ...*

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The **Indydependent Reader** is a quarterly newspaper that aims to serve marginalized communities in Baltimore through research, communication, and organizing. The project began as a collaboration between the Baltimore Independent Media Center and Campbaltimore Project and now includes many others. We encourage people to "become the media" by providing democratic access to available technologies and information. We seek to bring to light Baltimore's rich tradition of social and political activism. The primary goal of the project is not merely to produce a newspaper, but to start a collaborative project in which people dedicated to social justice in Baltimore can speak for themselves and continue to organize forums, workshops, and other events. These events disseminate ideas, build solidarity, and help promote and increase the reach of the paper itself.

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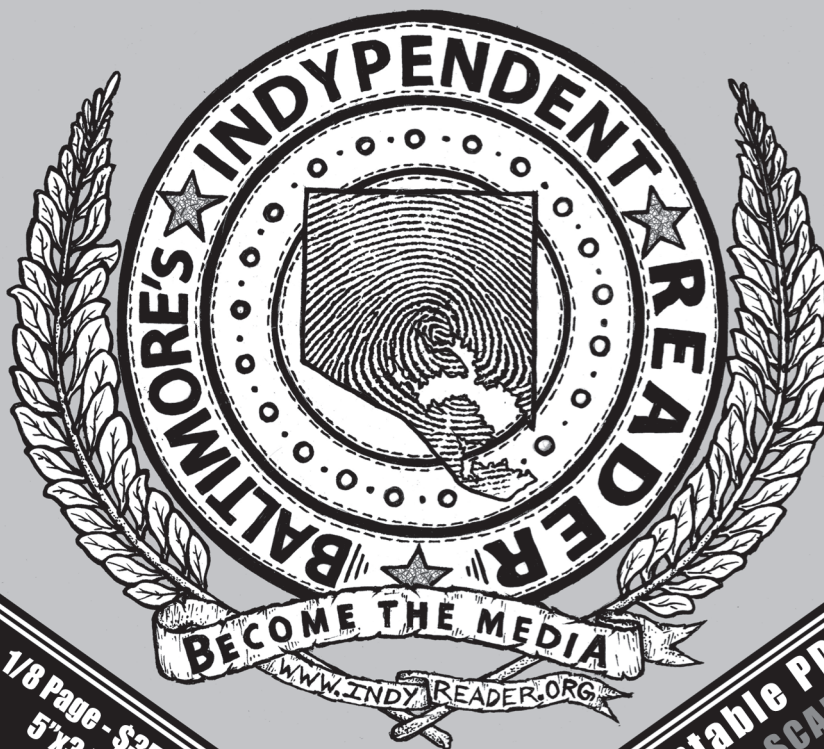
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# For a World Without War

## INTRODUCTION BY JOHN DUDA

It's been nearly nine years since the United States began its attack and occupation of Afghanistan, and over seven years since the start of the invasion and occupation of Iraq. Despite Barack Obama's claims to have brought an end to the latter, nearly 50,000 American soldiers—and thousands of private military contractors answering to US authorities—remain in Iraq. Meanwhile the war in Afghanistan has spilled over into neighboring Pakistan. The infamous prison camp at Guantánamo remains open, as does the similar camp at Bagram Airfield base in Afghanistan, along with countless other detention centers even less exposed to public scrutiny. While the term “enemy combatant” may have been excised from the official lexicon, the principle according to which the American state can, outside of any juridical norm whatsoever, indefinitely detain or summarily eliminate those it perceives as threats has been retained. This officially sanctioned dehumanization of the enemy will no doubt continue to be accompanied by the kind of “excesses” we have witnessed in places like Abu Ghraib—and the full extent of the savage depravity that took place behind the walls of the infamous prison remains hidden, but documented in thousands of unseen photographs, whose release would, according to Barack Obama, only “inflare anti-American public opinion.” Or as in Afghanistan, where reports are now emerging of a “kill team” of US soldiers that engaged in the murder of civilians for entertainment, removing the

fingers of the dead as souvenirs. One can only surmise that these “exceptions” prove the rule, with the most reprehensible acts merely symptoms of the larger official policy of dehumanization. Here the “Collateral Murder” video released thanks to Wikileaks comes to mind, with the eager voice of the helicopter gunner, his finger poised over the trigger, talking to no one in particular as he watches the man he has just shot crawl on the ground: “Come on, buddy. All you gotta do is pick up a weapon,” assiduously keeping the barrage of 30 mm shells with which he is about to rip his victim apart within the limits of brutality established by the rules of engagement.

In the midst of economic and environmental catastrophe, the United States continues to spend over half a trillion dollars a year on “defense.” The 21<sup>st</sup> century has opened onto a seemingly endless horizon of armed conflict and imperial policing, accompanied by a global suspension of civil liberties and the rule of international law, and facilitated by an increasingly cynical and demoralized population, especially in the United States, where neither the unprecedented popular anti-war mobilization of 2001 nor the historic victory of Barack Obama in 2008 have managed to significantly alter the direction of American foreign policy. Indeed, the nebulous “war on terror” Obama inherited and has claimed as his own continues to expand, with very little visible opposition. Where were the protests,

or even the public objections, when the US began military operations in Yemen? Were we even aware that this was happening?

This demobilization of voices for peace is not just a consequence of despair, however. The nature of war is changing—unlike the high profile staging of the initial military actions against Afghanistan and Iraq, which were able to ride the wave of patriotic fervor unleashed by the declaration of the “war on terror” to sidestep and ignore widespread popular opposition, this new decade seems to be characterized by a war which hides itself, a perpetually shifting global regime of low and high intensity conflict, carried out by proxy or in the name of humanitarian imperatives. A coup in Honduras, weakly condemned by the White House, a militarized aid operation in Haiti, a mandate for “special operations” in at least 75 countries across the world: to be against “the war” is not sufficient.

Ours is also an age in which war has been profoundly delocalized and dematerialized: for instance, consider the increasing trend towards drone warfare. Here an operator may commute to a suburban control facility in Las Vegas or upstate NY, where they settle in for a comfortable day of video-gaming, while halfway around the world their actions are translated to the missile that blows apart the bodies of a civilian convoy suspected of somehow being connected to the “enemy.” It's unclear who this new kind of conflict de-

humanizes more—the victims of the attacks who have been reduced to specks on a screen, the remote operators behind the consoles, or the civilian population here which quietly continues to fund the whole machine. And now we hear that these same drones are to be deployed on the already militarized Mexican border....

It's within and against this bleak picture that we are releasing this issue of the Indypendent Reader—to make war and the struggles against it visible, to remind ourselves and our readers that a stand for peace is, more than ever, not only possible, but necessary. Some of the articles here trace out the contours of the current American war machine, from its recent operations in well-known theaters like Iraq and less evident maneuverings in Africa and Haiti, to the way in which this military-industrial complex is tightly coupled to the economy of the greater Baltimore region. The other articles highlight the possibilities of resistance—celebrating the prospects for a renewed American anti-war movement, looking historically at the ability of soldiers to “break rank” and choose to fight war and not wars, and examining Baltimore's long legacy of uncompromising pacifist struggle against the US war machine. We offer this issue as a small contribution to a conversation that needs to happen and a movement that needs to prevail, and hope you'll join us in both. ★

# ////// This Movement Has a History /////

BY GILDA JEANNE

How far back does the anti-war movement in Baltimore go? Well, that depends on what you mean by anti-war. Historically the anti-war movement in this country begins during the run-up to the Revolutionary War, when conscientious objectors opposed forced conscription into colonial militias. For the average person, the refusal to fight in a war was often their statement of opposition to the war (since, unlike their wealthy compatriots, poor people could not afford to buy their way out of military service).

Even though those utilizing religious beliefs as grounds for their objection often receive more legitimization, conscientious objectors have received minimal protection from the law since the creation of the United States. Loved ones of objectors and like-minded citizens have most often provided the support for men and eventually women refusing to fight. Regardless of motivation, conscientious objection has always come with a cost, including in many cases prison sentences, torture, and obligatory service in work camps. Even those receiving no judicial penalty for their refusal to fight faced social stigma. While many con-

scientious objectors throughout history have done so from a religious standpoint, it is also true that a belief in justice motivated men and women to refuse to fight.

However, the earliest record I could find of opposition to war specifically in Baltimore was not motivated by conscience, but by elite interests coming into conflict with American foreign policy. This early anti-war figure was Alexander Hanson, the editor of an "extremist" Federalist newspaper called the Federal Republican. Hanson was also a lawyer and statesman, representing the third district of Maryland in the US House of Representatives, and the state of Maryland in the US Senate. As a publisher and staunch Federalist, Hanson publicly opposed US involvement in the War of 1812 for both financial and strategic reasons (the Federalists viewed Britain as an important trading partner in the global capitalist system, not an enemy to be fought on the field of battle).

After releasing an edition of the paper that condemned the war and criticized President Madison, Alexander Hanson's printing shop

was attacked by a pro-war, patriotic mob and torn down piece by piece. After the attack, Hanson and other paper workers fled Baltimore, only to reissue the paper a month later. This time the paper's critique of governmental foreign policy resulted in the public torture of Hanson, fellow writers, and friends. They were taken from the protective custody of the police, beaten severely, and tarred and feathered. Yet Hanson continued to issue his paper from a different location following these incidents. While their opposition to the war was far from an principled stand for peace, it is worth noting the heavy price paid by Hanson and company for doing nothing more than using the press to register a dissenting opinion.

Baltimore's real importance as a site of resistance to war and militarism is due instead to more recent events, in the decades between the Vietnam Era and the present. In the landscape of anti-war history, Baltimore is perhaps most famous for the acts of Philip Berrigan and the Catonsville 9, which mark

the beginning of the movement of draft file burning during the Vietnam War circa 1966. Phil Berrigan, Tom Lewis, Bob Alpern, and Bill O'Connor together declared the St. Peter Clavier Mission house on Whitelock Avenue the "Anti-Draft board." The church didn't support this political statement, so it was only for a brief time that the residence bore this name. The same men promptly formed the Interfaith Peace Mission, dedicated to opposing the Vietnam War. Meetings began at the mission house but many of the meetings were held in Bill O'Connor's home. In 1967, Brendan Walsh came to Baltimore to work with Berrigan as the Secretary of the Interfaith Peace Mission. As many movements do, the draft card burning movement started with friends meeting to discuss their objections to war and the possibilities for resistance.

It was in 1967 that the organization raised enough money to print an ad in the *Baltimore Sun*, which stated: "9,000 dead and so many injured...for what have they paid the

This would mean heavier casualties than those anticipated

has our bombing ended the morale of Vietnam, as Rusk, Namara, and other "perts" predicted. It rather strengthened will to resist.

y not invade North with amphibious drop atomic bombs on North Vietnam the Stone Age" as our Generals recom-

if we obliterated Vietnam, the fight would go on, because war is in the South.

would risk war with or Russia or with of those countries.

all probability we have embarked on fatal path to Genoa and there would be ne left on earth to the terrible history or racial suicide.

Johnson Administration our military "ex-ve promised us vic-ly we persevere!

ected easy victory nam and S.E. Asia out as far from our it was when we his unholy adven-Pitirim Sorokin, of One, Mar. '67

there be a final vic-an amorphous, scat-sive force of natives, in their own jungles skill and experience ter-century of guer-ting behind them?" Times Editorial,

ount of territory friendly and hostile South Vietnam has essentially un-over the past year." Baltimore Morning Sun

ar now to military mbing will not win am"—U.S. News & report, 8/22/66

right of Criticisms' state-ments:

(a) In '64 there were 15,000 American "advisers" in South Vietnam. Sec. McNamara stated that the government hoped to bring most of them home by the end of 1964.—F. Greene, *Vietnam! Vietnam!*

(b) "Sec. McNamara and General Taylor reported the major part of the U.S. military task can be completed by the end of 1965. . ."—White House Statement, 10/2/63

(c) President Johnson told Sen. Gruening that "U.S. troops would be coming home from Vietnam by the early part of 1966." —N.Y. Review of Books, 8/18/66

conditional negotiations"

We shall demonstrate how:

(1) the American public has been kept in ignorance, given false hope, and misled into betraying its own cherished democratic ideals of civil liberties and human rights by the Johnson Administration's "brainwashing" techniques

(2) the Johnson Administration has misinformed and withheld information from our representatives in Congress

(3) the Johnson Administration has attempted to intimidate both the Congress and the American public

(4) the Johnson Administration has made every effort to discourage and actively stifle dissent from its military "party line"

(5) our military and civilian officials in South Vietnam have systematically misinformed the President, the Congress, and the people of the United States

right lying, the American people can no longer take any statement of their government on its face value—and this has become especially true regarding statements about the war in Vietnam. Belief in the truthfulness of the U.S. government is one of the major casualties of the war."—Felix Greene, *Vietnam! Vietnam!*

(9) "We have had a great problem here maintaining our credibility with our own people."—Arthur J. Goldberg, U.S. Ambassador to the UN. Dec. 19, 1965

(10) "... Not only are many Americans not comforted by what they are being told—in many instances they do not believe it. This so-called 'credibility gap' has become an issue in itself, possibly the biggest one confronting Lyndon Johnson." —Life Aug. 12, 1966

(11) "A steady stream of misinformation about the war in Vietnam is reaching the American people."—Charles Mohr, N.Y. Times, Nov. 26, 1965

(6) "The most powerful nation in the world, producing 60% of the world's wealth, using the most advanced weapons known to military science . . . has been unable to defeat an army of peasants, at first armed with homemade and captured weapons . . . but still without an air force, navy, or heavy artillery." —Howard Zinn, *Vietnam: The Logic of Withdrawal*

(7) "... a small nation with an ancient culture is being exterminated by the most up-to-date weapons. The life of the land is being destroyed together with the people in it. Poison gases and other noxious substances cover their forests and paddy fields. All human life, all life generally, is being extinguished together with the fighting men. Leaves fall from the trees, and after them die the butterflies and the birds."—Vladimir Dedijer in *Liberation* Jan. '57

## SOME VIEWS ON HO CHI MINH

(1) 'So popular a hero that he would win free elections by a big margin.

—John Foster Dulles

Eisenhower said Ho would gain 80% of the votes.

(2) "... I could hardly imagine a Communist government that was also a popular government . . . The Vietminh could not possibly have carried on the resistance for even one year . . . without the people's strong, united support."

—Jos. Alsop, *New Yorker* 6/25/54

(3) "Even Premier Ky told this reporter today that the Communists were closer to the people's yearnings for social justice and independent life than his own government."

—James Reston, *N.Y.T.* 9/1/65

(4) "... Ho Chi Minh, who then (and now) was the only national leader which the country possessed."

—Harrison Salisbury, *Sat. Rev.* 4/8/67

(5) "If American leaders were really wise, they would recognize that Ho Chi Minh was their natural ally."

—A. Toynbee, Brit. historian *Sun. N.Y. Times*, Apr. 2, 1967

## AS A RESULT OF AMERICAN MILITARY ACTIONS IN VIETNAM:

(1) We are killing more civilians than the total number of people killed by the other side.

(2) We are killing more civilians than we are killing enemy soldiers

MAKE CHECKS OR MONEY ORDERS PAYABLE TO  
BALTIMORE INTERFAITH PEACE MISSION

c/o P.O. BOX 7052

BALTIMORE, MD. 21216

I ENCLOSE \$ TO HELP  
PAY FOR FUTURE ADS

NAME .....  
ADDRESS .....  
STATE ..... ZIP CODE .....  
ORGANIZATION .....

## The Baltimore Interfaith Peace Mission Of Clergymen And Laymen

Auth.: Brendan Walsh, Sec.-Tr

full sacrifice?” An additional advertisement referring to the war as genocide was printed in the *Baltimore Afro-American* and was slated to be printed in the *Sun*—but the *Sun* this time refused to print it and instead returned the money.

On October 17<sup>th</sup>, 1967, Jim Hengle, Dave Eberhart, Tom Lewis, and Phil Berrigan became the Baltimore 4 by pouring blood on Selective Service records at the Baltimore customs house. For this action, Berrigan was sentenced to six years in prison. While out on bail he, along with eight others, would perform the action that would spark draft-burning efforts throughout the country.

On May 17<sup>th</sup>, 1968, the Catonsville 9 removed and burned the draft records of the Selective Service office in Catonsville. The group was composed of Phil Berrigan, Tom Lewis, Bob Alpern, Dan Berrigan, David Darst, John Hogan, Margorie Melville, Thomas Melville, George Mische, and Mary Moylan. The nine entered the building and went to the second floor office, grabbing hundreds of A-1 files and carrying them outside in incinerator baskets. Once they were outside, the files were poured on the ground and set aflame with homemade napalm. There were others who assisted in this action, including Dean Pappas, who helped to create the homemade napalm, and Brendan Walsh, who did support work. All told, the action took just fifteen minutes to perform.

The subsequent support work for the trial became very intense, and folks came in from around the country to support the brave activists who had taken such an extreme risk to oppose the war. Hundreds of people filled the streets during the trial, and a team of activists managed hospitality and protesting during the trial. Unlike the peace actions of today, the national media covered this trial extensively. Many of those who assisted with managing the support work for the trial went on to found the Progressive Action Center.

Phil Berrigan, Liz McAllister, and several others went on to found Jonah House in 1973 and the international Plowshares Movement. These efforts came from the minds of peace activists who spent an entire year planning for the creation of an intentional community dedicated to ending nuclearism and war-making. Residents of Jonah House continue to be part of the Plowshares Movement, a movement committed to ending war and nuclearism using the biblical passage, “They shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks. Nation shall not lift sword against nation. Neither shall they learn war anymore.” (Isiah 2:4) as their inspiration for direct action at nuclear weapons sites. Those performing Plowshares actions generally enter a military base or weapons facility and symbolically disarm nuclear weapons. Residents of Jonah House have also played a considerable role in the founding of the movement opposing the Guantánamo prison camp.

Outside of Jonah House and Philip Berrigan’s life-long commitment to the anti-war movement, Baltimore has always had a community of folks committed to peace and justice. At times the community has been small and disparate, but their actions have shown their dedication to non-violence.

The contribution of Baltimore activists has sometimes consisted of lending bodies and

time to actions in other areas. In 1982, during the anti-nuclear efforts, Baltimore sent 100 buses to join the largest political demonstration in US history. On June 12<sup>th</sup>, one million people demonstrated in Central Park to oppose the use of nuclear weapons. Additionally, in 1983 several women from Baltimore joined the Seneca Women’s Encampment for the Future of Peace and Justice which protested nuclear weapons and was aimed at stopping the scheduled deployment of Cruise and Pershing II missiles. This encampment lasted into 1994.

In 1986, during the exposure of the Iran–Contra Affair, Baltimore peace activists once again used the newspaper as their means of protest. This time Dick Ochs designed a fake front page to the *Sun* stating that president Reagan admitted full responsibility in the affair. Activists then took that front page and replaced the front page of the *Sun* in as many places as possible.

Baltimore activists have also chosen to take their protest directly to government officials. In 1980, it became public record that the United States was funneling funds in military aid to El Salvador’s government which was using this funding and military training to kill its own people. During the El Mezote Massacre in El Salvador alone, at least 724, and probably as many as 1,000 civilians were murdered. With this knowledge, Baltimore activists took their protests directly to their elected officials, and their tool this time was song. Tom Chalkley helped to write Christmas carols protesting US involvement in El Salvador, and activists went caroling straight to the house of Congresswoman Helen Bentley.

There have been many anti-war efforts in relation to the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan as well, including marches, peace paths, and walk-outs. A group of young folks actually walked out of high schools and colleges, shutting down the downtown area of Towson to protest the war in Iraq. (See the sidebar for one participant’s account.) Some of those who participated in this protest have gone on to work with Iraq Veterans Against the War and the Civilian Soldier Alliance or to found projects like the Baltimore Free Store. In the midst of this data gathering I realized there have been many more recent protests against the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, some of which I have been part of. There are many actions I have not been able to detail in this article.

It’s time we start keeping our own history. While many of the activists from previous peace movements are no longer with us, many elders of the peace movement are still living and working for justice. Mischievous activists, they don’t often talk about the napalm they mixed or the organizations they helped to found, so to many they are probably hidden. While elders’ stories stay locked away, the landscape of activism is changing, and younger activists have become innovative. Often moving at high speed, many of us forget to make a record of what it is we are doing that is working. We may not even be sharing our stories or leaving a written trail behind. All of these stories are histories which should become lesson plans for building a stronger movement. ★

## AN ACTIVIST REFLECTS ON THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT IN TOWSON

The Towson Anti-war Coalition had been doing a lot of stuff in the lead-up to the war, including teach-ins. Most of the members were also in TAG, the Towson Action Group. Right before the Iraq war started, our short-lived Baltimore County Anti-war Network merged with TAWC and just operated as one group. Previously Global Toxin (that was my group)/BCAWN we had picketed outside of the Ruhl Armory (National Guard) on York Road in Towson twice a week for the first few months of the Afghan war and then picketed once a week up until the start of the Iraq war. We had also gone to lots of larger demonstrations together. The FBI and Maryland Joint Terrorism Task Force made two visits to my house in the months around September 11<sup>th</sup>, and one visit to another member of Global Toxin’s house. It was related to animal rights activism, anti-war activism, Mumia support work, and anything else they could think of.

Anyways, so the global call went out to shut down your hometown or city in the event of the invasion of Iraq. I remember handing out some flyers for it, but mostly the flyers were going around Towson’s campus (I was not a student). I remember one cop coming up to me as I went into work one morning, probably March 15<sup>th</sup> or so, and he said (they all knew me well) “Ryan, are you involved in this?” and he handed me the flyer. I said “No, but it’s gonna happen I’m sure.” He said to let him know if I heard anything else. That was funny, but it showed they were impressed and nervous about it all.

We managed to make a good contact at Goucher College and we called a mass meeting with both student bodies and community activists. That meeting happened the night of March 19<sup>th</sup>, and after about one hour of discussion we watched on the TV on the wall as the Iraq war began. Tomorrow was the day.

So, we had prepared drums, banners, and signs and all. Nothing much more than that. A few of us walked out of work (myself included). Towson walked out with numbers reaching 200. I met up with them and we took York Road up to the circle. As we passed through downtown Towson, about 30 youth from Towson High School joined us, they had organized their own walkout and had to illegally walk past the school policeman to join us. But they did. Then Goucher, with numbers up in the mid 100s, walked up Dulaney Valley Road from their campus. All in all, even though it was freezing raining, we had between 300 and 400 people with us the whole time.

We walked around the circle long enough to tie traffic up good. They said on the radio to not even try driving near Towson, that anti-war protesters had shut it down. Mission Accomplished.

So we marched down through town and out Bosley Ave. As we headed down towards York Road again, we got word from one of our student organizer contacts at Carver High School that the hundreds of students we thought were going to join us were locked in by administration and some police. We announced the news to the march. I was up front at the time and I remember a girl yelling “Let’s just march to Carver” and the crowd roared in response. So we walked down York to Carver and a few people tried to pull the doors open. I wish we had put up more of a fight. Students were hanging out the windows with peace signs and cheering. A girl escaped from her classroom trailer and joined us to a massive cheer. Then we left and returned up Dulaney Valley road to the circle, where we again held the space for up to two hours. We had students, professors, and community members make speeches here, and we sat or stood in the icy rain and listened.

That was it, we went back to Towson and tried to figure out when to do next, like going down to join Baltimore’s protests. But we were tired. Our biggest failure in all of this was follow up, it was hard to top that. But we did what we set out to do, and we probably organized the largest and most bold demonstration in Towson’s history, maybe even Baltimore County’s. I can say without a doubt it was among the most powerful and real demonstrations I’ve been a part of. There was such an organic thing about it, and there was an energy level and a level of compassion and anger that you rarely see.

—Ryan Harvey

# A RELATIVE CALM

the occupation of iraq in 2010  
by ryan harvey, with tj buonomo

The US anti-war movement, which has been stalled recently due to much organizational and political confusion and disagreement, has largely lost touch with the changing political and economic dynamics in Iraq. When we lose touch with these realities, we lose touch with our ability to organize effectively, to strategize victories, and to be the allies we want to be to the Iraqi people.

One of those realities is that US troops are largely no longer patrolling Iraqi streets, breaking down doors and detaining people, standing at checkpoints with their guns pointing into cars, or walking through markets waiting to be attacked. For the average US service member, the war in Iraq may be nearing its end. Alongside the waning US presence, violence rates are dropping dramatically, both for US troops and Iraqi civilians. Though this comes as a relief to many Iraqis, the recent wave of attacks in Baghdad and the unrest surrounding the recent elections hints at a fragile peace. “The conditions on the ground are rapidly deteriorating in Iraq” says Iraqi political analyst and peace activist Raed Jarrar.<sup>1</sup> After March’s general election, there was a dramatic spike in violence and growing threats to the security and political stability of the country. Muqtada al-Sadr exposed this weak political situation with a referendum on the election, in which neither of the main candidates won more than 10 percent of the vote. Though it was non-binding, the vote shows massive organized opposition to the current government. Part of this opposition is due to Iraq’s economic policies being largely shaped by the United States and its economic institutions.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, the relative calm being experienced right now is not due to Iraqi victory, rather, it is due to partial US victory; they achieved part of their strategy in Iraq.<sup>3</sup> The new Iraqi economy looks a lot like what the US likes when it rearranges a country’s economy through IMF-imposed debt repayment schemes, with heavy privatization and profit-sharing agreements for multinationals.<sup>4</sup> Energy contracts that many believe are the reason behind the invasion are now starting to blossom, and the US has positioned itself for a long stay in the Middle East.<sup>5</sup> While the US won some of what it wanted in Iraq, the Iraqi people lost big. They suffer from multiple angles. Hundreds of thousands are dead, with some studies showing that figure at over one million,<sup>6</sup> and millions of refugees who survived the war continue to live a dismal life in Syria and Jordan, or on the outskirts of their own country.<sup>7</sup>

Iraqi workers continue struggling to organize in a country where unions are banned and where decisions about who owns the natural resources of the country are decided in the boardrooms and offices of the United States and Western Europe.<sup>8</sup> Water, if it’s available, is still largely not fit for human consumption.<sup>9</sup> Large areas of the major cities remain in ruins, electricity is scarce, and the poisonous residue of depleted uranium continues to soak into the topsoil of the agrarian towns

outside of them.

## THE “SURGE” AND THE AWAKENING COUNCILS

In spite of all of this suffering, things are beginning to improve. The first step towards this improvement is the end of the violence caused by the US war, and that is starting to occur. The dropping level of violent attacks began in June of 2007, when the US “surge” troops were in place. Violence levels across the board have fallen since then. At the time of this writing, 24 US service members have died in Iraq this year, compared to 164 in the same period in 2007.<sup>10</sup> In 2009, 150 US service members were killed in Iraq, compared to 904 in 2007. Casualty rates among Iraqi forces and Iraqi civilians have fallen in the same periods, signifying a general, significant decrease in violence.<sup>11</sup>

Pro-war voices say the Surge is the reason behind this drop, that more troops means less violence. They use this argument to justify the current surge in Afghanistan too. But something more significant happened at the same time as the Surge: the US began paying huge amounts of money directly to insurgent groups to fight al-Qaeda. These groups, like the Awakening Councils in Anbar and their Baghdad counterparts, the Sons of Iraq, had been fighting the US, but were now working “side by side” with them. It is estimated that at least 100,000 fighters were paid through this program.

The Awakening Councils were the result of Sunni militias and insurgent groups breaking ranks with al-Qaeda in Mesopotamia, a group linked to the wider al-Qaeda and thus well-funded by its global network. The break came largely as result of al-Qaeda’s attempts to organize politically in Anbar, thus challenging the tribal structure that many insurgent leaders presided over, as well as al-Qaeda’s attempts to control smuggling routes that were maintained by them. When this threat became greater than the threat posed by US troops, these groups made a loose alliance with the US to fight al-Qaeda.

These forces drove al-Qaeda out of many towns and cities across central Iraq and brought a close to the horrors of 2006 and 2007, when civil war raged and over 50,000 Iraqi civilians died.

The Iraqi government opposed the Awakening strategy because it would disrupt the government’s hold on power, but the US needed it to stem the tide of a growing insurgency, to begin the process of ending a very unpopular war. And that part of the strategy worked.

However, in 2009 the payments from the US were shifted to the Iraqi government, who only agreed to pay 20 percent of the salaries of the Awakening Councils. Then they issued arrest warrants for hundreds of Sunni leaders involved in them, ushering in a new era of political fighting. In 2009, the Sons of Iraq saw repression from the police and Army, and on April 4<sup>th</sup> of this year, up to 25 members of the Sons of Iraq and their family members

were found handcuffed and shot to death in Albusaifi, south of Baghdad. Their killers were wearing Iraqi Security Forces uniforms.<sup>12</sup>

While the Sunni militias were being organized against al-Qaeda in the northern cities, the Iraqi Army invaded Basra, which was largely controlled by Shi’ite political/religious leader Muqtada al-Sadr’s Mahdi Army, Iraq’s largest “insurgent group” with 60,000 soldiers. The invasion was an attempt to show that the Iraqi military was capable of pulling off its own offensives. And though Basra is a Shi’ite dominated city, it has always been one of the secular capitals of Iraq. It is also one of the bases of the Iraqi Oil Union, a powerful and radical labor force fighting against the forced privatization of public resources. Many residents were pleased that the Mahdi Army’s position had been broken by the invasion, but few welcomed a British and US presence.

The Mahdi Army launched a large offensive around Baghdad and in other cities at the same time, targeting US, British, and Iraqi Security Forces, but also many Sunnis. This is another reason Sunnis teamed up with US forces when they did. In the end, the Mahdi Army was pushed out of Basra, but al-Sadr continued to hold a large influence over Iraqi politics, which was noted recently with his massive “shadow vote.”

## CASUALTY RATES AND THE SOFA

The way in which Iraq is controlled by the US is hidden by layers of long documents and well-disguised rhetoric. As the Surge was running its course, the US and Iraqi governments were discussing a “treaty” that would establish long-term agreements on US access to military bases, ports, and other infrastructure, as well as legal agreements governing American war policy in Iraq. The Status of Forces Agreement, or SOFA, was the product of these discussions.

The SOFA’s main point is that it dictates the terms by which US troops will leave Iraq. It also solidified a US withdrawal from the towns and cities of Iraq by mid-2009. Alongside the SOFA, the Strategic Framework Agreement was signed, outlining the economic conditions for a long-term US presence. This document sets the stage for Iraq’s entry into the US-proposed Middle East Free Trade Area Initiative<sup>13</sup> as well as the World Trade Organization, the opening of its farmlands to US agribusiness, and the opening of its economy to US supervision.<sup>14</sup>

The SFA, like the SOFA, restricts the US to following the Iraqi government’s lead, but both documents can be cancelled by either party at will by “written notice.” Perhaps these are temporary shows of cooperation by the US?

Either way, for many Iraqis the late-2008 ratification of the SOFA was the legal side of a contentious fight to get the US to leave their country. Insurgent groups dedicated to a US withdrawal began lowering their weapons, but didn’t turn them in. Some are

waiting to see if the US actually leaves. Civilian deaths started to drop in the summer of 2008, but haven’t changed too much overall since (88 in Sept 2009, compared to between 1,000 and 3,000 a month in 2006 and 2007). 4,644 civilians died violently in Iraq in 2009, according to the 2009 Iraq Body Count.<sup>15</sup>

For the US, it was a well-worded allowance to access Iraqi resources and territory and to keep a US military presence there for some time to come. And it was a needed calm for the US at a time when anti-war feelings were running high among Americans, especially among members of the US military. That year veterans had organized the “Winter Soldier: Iraq and Afghanistan” hearings in Washington D.C. that saw over 100 veterans testify to the horrors of these wars.<sup>16</sup>

For the Iraqi government, the SOFA was pandering to US economic aims to guarantee security for a weak state and an increasingly unpopular leader.

Either way, violence rates, including the number of Iraqis killed by US and coalition forces, started dropping significantly, with a total of 64 reported by Dec 25<sup>th</sup>, 2009 (compared to 594 in 2008).<sup>17</sup> Deaths in the ranks of the Iraqi Army were down from 519 in 2008 to 103 in 2009.<sup>18</sup> June 30<sup>th</sup> 2009, when US troops were mostly withdrawn to bases outside of the cities, is the beginning of the greater decrease in violence. This is because the US wasn’t really present on the streets anymore.

In August of this year, in accordance with the SOFA, US “Combat Forces” were withdrawn from the country completely. The term “Combat Forces” is deceptive; a lot of what goes on day-to-day in the Iraq occupation is considered “non-combat,” including policing operations, house searches, detainments, patrols, guard duty at bases, and more.

But what’s shifted recently, with the withdrawal of US troops from the cities, is that Iraqi Security Forces are taking on most of this work, sometimes with direct American support, but often and increasingly without. Iraqi Security Force deaths since the June 30<sup>th</sup> deadline have not changed too much however, indicating a general continuation of attacks directed at those carrying out the work of the US.

The changing of the guard does not necessarily mean an end to the US combat role. If history has told us anything, this is the beginning of a long stay in the Middle East. The SOFA is a near-photocopy of the Anglo-Iraqi Treaty of 1930 that secured British hegemony in Iraq, and Britain hung around for decades after it was signed.<sup>19</sup>

A key lesson from Britain’s history in Iraq lies in the SOFA’s agreement that the Iraqi government can ask the US to intervene in something to “provide security” for it. This arrangement means an unpopular Iraqi government can call on the US to “support it,” in other words, to repress democratic move-

When we lose touch with the reality of the political and economic dynamics in Iraq, we lose touch with our ability to organize effectively, to strategize victories, and to be the allies we want to be to the Iraqi people.

ments against it, much like the British did during their 1941 re-invasion. It gives the US the ability to determine, with its Iraqi counterparts, when the Iraqi state is meeting the conditions for its own self-rule.

Iraqi political analyst Raed Jarrar writes that “the main problem with a condition-based withdrawal plan is that it creates an equation where deteriorating conditions lead to an extension of the military occupation,”<sup>20</sup> while much of that deterioration has been caused specifically by the US presence. It’s a recipe for an open-ended war, and it is being paid for with the lives of countless Iraqis and over 4,000 American service members.

## DEBT, OIL, AND THE ECONOMIC OCCUPATION

The families and friends of these US service members, and the tens of millions of Iraqis who are suffering from eight years of war, have thus been praying for peace for years.

Now their calls are finally being heard for the wrong reasons. While those on both sides of the front lines of this war were bearing the brunt, investors were in the background cutting deals that would make them very rich. War brings massive profits, and they cashed in. But unpopular wars start to become burdens. In 2007 and 2008, the investors began praying for peace too, but they are not interested in the same peace as those who suffer daily as a result of these occupations. The relative calm means that western investment schemes will start to turn around, and US corporations will start getting fat contracts centering around the energy sector.<sup>21</sup>

So the investors will get some quick cash from the relative calm. As violence levels have fallen, the price of Iraqi bonds has risen.<sup>22</sup> These bonds are essentially loans made by private investors to Iraq’s state, and their interest rates have doubled in the last few years. According to MIT economist Michael Greenstone, “The only thing the bond market cares about is whether a functioning Iraqi government will be there in the future to make the promised interest payments.”<sup>23</sup> They are only interested in getting their money, and Iraq’s debt is huge.

Iraq still owes a lot of money to the rich countries and their institutions, who are playing a heavy role in making sure they will reap profit in post-war Iraq. When the Paris Club, a group of rich countries led by the US, announced it would drop 80 percent of Iraq’s debt, they passed it off as a gesture of solidarity. But this “debt relief” would only come if Iraq accepted one of the International Monetary Fund’s (IMF) infamous Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs).<sup>24</sup>

The stipulations of this SAP are standard for any predatory IMF loan throughout the world. 30 percent of the 40 billion dollar Paris Club debt was dropped immediately,

another 30 was dropped in 2005 after Iraq officially entered the agreement with the IMF, and another 20 was dropped in 2008 as Iraq began meeting the qualifications set out by the IMF. And what are those qualifications? According to a 2009 interview with Iraqi vice-president Tareq al-Hashemi, arguing against the general IMF stipulations, “The policy of (the World Bank and IMF) is that the economy must be 100 percent left to the private sector.”<sup>25</sup>

This 80 percent “debt relief” has still left Iraq with the other 20 percent of its debt to the Paris Club countries, around 10 billion dollars.<sup>26</sup> That’s as large as other countries that are held in economic bondage by the IMF, like El Salvador, Jamaica, Guatemala, and Kenya.<sup>27</sup> And the typical trend is to cut social programs and increase investment towards the export markets, which rarely benefits the general population.

So the prospects of the average Iraqi seeing any kickback from this “debt relief” are bleak. Iraq suffers from a 15 to 20 percent unemployment rate, and 25 percent of the population lives below the poverty line. It is also one of only nine countries in the world that has neither mandatory severance payments or unemployment benefits. And a Saddam-era law banning unions is still on the books (one of the few the US strategically left in place). The IMF’s role in Iraq is not to help the Iraqi people get back on their feet, but to facilitate the passing of Iraq’s entire economy over to private companies, starting with the oil.

The main mechanism the financial vultures created to suck Iraq dry of its chief export, and the majority of its economic power, is the Hydrocarbon Law (“The Oil Law”). The Oil Law was first proposed in 2007, but still sits awaiting ratification. Iraqi government has not signed off on it because it is very controversial in Iraqi society, especially among the trade unions.<sup>28</sup>

The Iraqi unions oppose both the corporate-backed Oil Law and the IMF’s agenda. In a unified statement at the beginning of an unofficial meeting with World Bank/IMF representatives six months ago, Iraqi labor leaders expressed their opposition to the general policies of the IMF in Iraq:

“The Iraqi government authorities have not consulted with trade unions, or asked us to participate in the drafting these policies, or in their implementation. We pointedly condemn this lack of consultation, and demand inclusion in all future meetings and to be contacted directly [by the International Financial Institutions, IFIs] despite our fundamental position against IFI programs and policies.”<sup>29</sup>

The Oil Law puts Iraqi officials in the Executive Branch in charge of deciding on what types of contracts to sign with foreign oil companies, taking future decision-making

on contracts out of the hands of the legislative branch. This will make it easier for foreign oil companies and their governments to secure lucrative Profit Sharing Agreements, or PSAs, which they prefer. These PSAs ensures profits for big business and give a disproportionate amount of money to the private-sector: If the Oil Law goes through, two thirds of Iraq’s oil fields, previously state-run, will be controlled by multinationals.<sup>30</sup>

In this way, the Iraqi government is nowhere near sovereign, as its economy is largely controlled by international forces. The oil policies that have turned into the proposed Oil Law were designed in the United States and England by a team of Iraqi exiles and US specialists selected by the State Department.<sup>31</sup> US Ambassador to Iraq Christopher Hill’s recent quotes to *Business Week* highlighted this imperial relationship; “The last government (of Prime Minister Maliki) did good things on oil resources. I want to see that continue.”<sup>32</sup>

The Oil Law is set to be finalized this year. Future battles in Iraq may well be between the organized unions and a US-backed Iraqi State.

## ANTI-WAR TO ECONOMIC JUSTICE: MAKING THE TRANSITION

The question for those of us organizing for peace in Iraq is, can we continue our solidarity with the Iraqi people even after US forces withdrawal? Can we be there for Iraqis as they deal with the slow and grueling repercussions of US invasion? Can we devise and carry out methods of reconciliation that empower and support Iraqis while continuing an anti-war dialogue in the US, especially among US troops and veterans? Can we take the lessons from Iraq and apply them to Afghanistan, and future wars?

“Our responsibility,” in the words of Raed Jarrar, “starts by ending the 20-year war, but it doesn’t end there.” As the US presence mutates into a more sleek monster, our work is to challenge US economic offensives, and to follow through with reparations for the people of Iraq.

The transition from an anti-war movement to a movement for reparations and economic justice could take many shapes.

It could mean teaming up with other organizations and movements to build a strong and forceful campaign focused specifically around the IMF and World Bank’s Iraq policies; these institutions are the gateway for the corporate offensive that is beginning its “surge” in Iraq.

It could mean getting behind the Iraqi union movement, like US Labor Against the War has done, and helping promote the voices and demands of Iraqi workers.<sup>33</sup>

For those of us in the anti-war veteran and service member organizations, it could mean continuing to initiate dialogue with the military community around the injustices done by US foreign policy.

It could mean putting efforts towards the above while also putting work into opposing the escalation of the war in Afghanistan, and doing similar follow-through afterwards.

It could mean organizing reconciliation trips

with veterans and civilians to hear first-hand the needs and demands of the Iraqi people, and building long-term networks of solidarity between them that could support movements for real sovereign decision-making in Iraq.

It could mean building long-term organizations out of the short-term ones we’ve formed in recent years, to build networks that can effectively challenge future US military policies from the get-go. If we can transition into a movement that takes on some of this work, we may be able to establish bonds that diffuse the massive tension between our peoples and establish political infrastructure for a peaceful Iraq. If we can’t, we may well deal with the blowback from the US invasion for years to come. The decision on how to move forward lies with us. ★

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# ////// AFRICOM IN CONTEXT ////

BY STEPHEN ROBLIN

The leading scholar on the new US Africa Unified Command (AFRICOM), Daniel Volman, accurately summarizes the Obama administration's foreign policy towards Africa in writing that it is continuing "the expansion of US military activity on the continent initiated by President Bill Clinton in the late 1990s and dramatically escalated by President George W. Bush from 2001 to 2009."<sup>1</sup> In fact, the Obama administration has already made significant increases in funding for virtually every US military program concerning Africa in the FY 2010 budget. In addition, it has expanded direct US military operations on the continent, particularly in Nigeria, Mali, and Somalia.<sup>2</sup> These developments qualify as additional evidence for "Obama's continuity with George W. Bush's foreign policy," as demonstrated recently by Edward S. Herman in *Z magazine*.<sup>3</sup>

The current direction of US-Africa relations is by no means unexpected given one of the more significant changes to the US military structure implemented during the George W. Bush administration: the October 1<sup>st</sup>, 2008 addition of the sixth US unified command, AFRICOM. Prior to its establishment, five unified commands coordinated, integrated, and managed all US defense assets and operations for their respective regions. Africa fell under the responsibility of three different commands: European Command (EUCOM), Central Command (CENTCOM), and Pacific Command (PACOM). Each viewed Africa as a "secondary or even tertiary concern."<sup>4</sup> Thus, as "Africa's position in the US strategic spectrum...moved from peripheral to central,"<sup>5</sup> AFRICOM was established to take over all US military assets and operations conducted on the continent (with the exception of Egypt) in order to achieve a "unity of focus throughout Africa."<sup>6</sup>

Foreign policy scholars have identified three principal reasons for increased US military focus in Africa: securing key natural resources, responding to China's growing influence, and garnering strategic position to continue the so-called "war on terror." The architects of AFRICOM however dismissed these strategic interests as "myths" and instead cast AFRICOM through "the language and aims of humanitarianism" while pursuing a diplomatic campaign back in 2007 in search of African countries to host the command's headquarters.<sup>7</sup> Despite these attempts, citizens and civil society organizations responded to the plan with skepticism, and, with the exception of Liberia, all other target governments declined to host the new command. In responding to the "image problem" surrounding the campaign for AFRICOM, one state department official said, "[p]ublic opinion is really against getting into bed with the US. They just don't trust the US."<sup>9</sup>

Africa's shift from "peripheral to central" on Washington's strategic radar, as embodied in the establishment of AFRICOM, is a key component of the changing landscape of US/Africa relations. However, despite declarations from AFRICOM planners about it being a "different kind of command" that represents a new "paradigm" in US military

engagement,<sup>10</sup> there are significant historical continuities that accompany this change—continuities that run counter to official declarations and offer critical insight into the militarization of US foreign policy towards Africa.

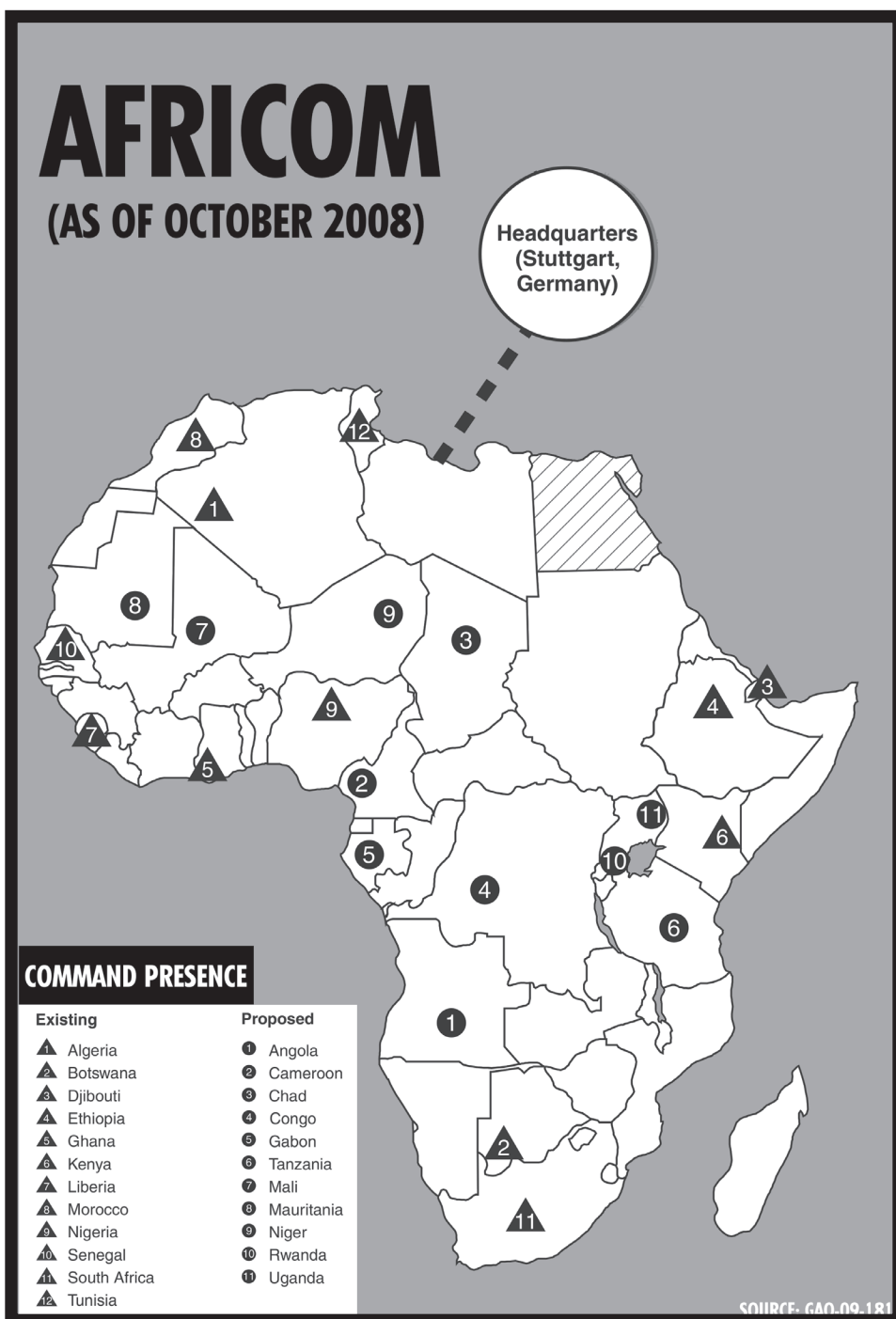
## A DIFFERENT KIND OF COMMAND?

AFRICOM planners cite two reasons for why the new command is so "different": first, the command's overall strategy called "sustained security engagement," and second, the "interagency coordination" built into the command's structure.<sup>11</sup> According to General Ward, sustained security engagement is a strategy that emphasizes "building African security capability and capacity" with a primary focus on "conflict and crisis prevention rather than reaction."<sup>12</sup> As part of this so-called "preventive strategy," AFRICOM develops the capability and capacity of military and security forces of allied governments through a wide-range of "security assistance" programs. Such programs include training these forces, providing ally governments with weaponry and additional military equipment, and improving logistical and intelligence capacity.<sup>13</sup> In addition, AFRICOM conducts and helps coordinate direct military operations on the continent, particularly in the area of naval operations which have undergone a "significant expansion."<sup>14</sup>

Through sustained security engagement, AFRICOM aims to counter "the greatest security threats facing Africa," which General Ward identifies as "enduring conflicts, illicit trafficking, territorial disputes, rebel insurgencies, violent extremists, piracy, and illegal immigration."<sup>15</sup> AFRICOM will also pursue objectives that include: preventing the "un-sanctioned possession and proliferation of WMD capabilities and expertise," ensuring "access and freedom of movement" for the US military throughout the continent, and developing "en-route infrastructure" to better enable the "rapid deployment" of troops from US bases positioned around the world to anywhere the Pentagon needs them.<sup>16</sup>

The new command is also intended to be heavily involved in humanitarian, disaster relief and other civilian programs, which is to be facilitated by inter-agency cooperation.<sup>17</sup> AFRICOM's civic military initiatives play an expanded role in what has traditionally fallen under the purview of civilian agencies, namely the Department of State and USAID. As a result, AFRICOM planners sought to implement the "visionary concept" of integrating civilian personnel into the command's organizational structure to advance collaboration between the Department of Defense and those agencies.<sup>18</sup> However, due to difficulties in recruiting civilian personnel, efforts to build interagency coordination have been largely unsuccessful as nearly all of AFRICOM's personnel are from the military.

A larger problem facing coordination between the civilian and military branches comes as a result of the failure to commit proper resources towards developing a func-



tional partnership. This development is consistent with the steep decline in funding for civilian branches of government (particularly USAID) since the end of the Cold War and the steady take-over of aid and development initiatives by the military.<sup>19</sup> As M. J. Williams writes in a 2008 International Affairs article, "the State Department and USAID have been rotting financially for almost 20 years."<sup>20</sup> These trends run counter to claims of interagency "cooperation," and instead represent a remarkable achievement by the Pentagon: its increased independence from civilian branches in the areas of developing and implementing foreign aid and development programs.

As we will see in the following sections, efforts by AFRICOM officials to cast the new command as a tool for conflict prevention and humanitarianism obscure Washington's more pressing strategic objective—to radically enhance interventionist capabilities on the African continent. This point becomes evident when we examine the consistency between AFRICOM's programs and operations, which constitute its strategy of sustained security engagement, with established US military doctrine, specifically the "counterinsurgency" and "low intensity conflict" doctrines developed respectively during the Kennedy and Reagan administrations. Hence, this so-called "experiment that radi-

cally rethinks security in the 21<sup>st</sup> century" is not so "different" after all.<sup>21</sup>

## DOCTRINAL ANTECEDENTS

Immediately after entering office, the Kennedy administration initiated an unprecedented "shift in strategic focus from conventional and nuclear warfare to unconventional forms of conflict" in order to contest the revolutionary movements sweeping the Third World.<sup>22</sup> This shift was the "first comprehensive effort of the US government to devise a politicomilitary strategic program to deal with guerilla and counterguerilla warfare."<sup>23</sup> The result was the creation of the counterinsurgency doctrine, which utilized indigenous, rather than US, military and security forces to carry out Washington's orders, as in the case of South Vietnam.<sup>24</sup> The significance of the doctrine was at least twofold: first, it elevated unconventional warfare to a level "equal in importance to conventional warfare;" and second, it emphasized employing the full-arsenal of state power (military, economic, diplomatic, etc.) to shape Third World affairs.<sup>25</sup>

Following the withdrawal of US troops from Vietnam, foreign policy planners were well aware of the "pervasive reluctance of American citizens to support overt US intervention in local Third World conflicts."<sup>26</sup> The

Reagan administration responded to the “Vietnam syndrome” by initiating its own “strategic reorientation of the US military establishment.”<sup>27</sup> What ensued was a new military doctrine called “low intensity conflict” or “LIC.” The primary significance of the LIC doctrine was that it circumvented the domestic obstacle to US interventionism through, like counterinsurgency, relying on indigenous forces to carry out US sponsored military campaigns with minimal US military presence on ground. One region where Reagan applied the LIC doctrine extensively was Central America, which had devastating consequences for the citizens of these countries.

In a study of the LIC doctrine, Michael Klare highlights where LIC maintains the essential principles of counterinsurgency. These principles include:

**weapons transfers and training**—providing allies with weaponry and military equipment and training;

**direct combat operations**—destroying or neutralizing enemy tactical forces and bases, particularly through special operations forces;

**military civic action**—using military forces in development projects, particularly in rural areas, in order to win popular support for the established government;

**psychological operations**—enhancing the popular image of the government and isolating and discrediting the insurgent movement through a variety of means, including disseminating propaganda.<sup>28</sup>

Like counterinsurgency, LIC focused on “winning the hearts and minds” of the indigenous population through campaigns that often included exploiting political divisions in the target society.<sup>29</sup>

Klare goes on to describe how the LIC doctrine distinguished itself from counterinsurgency through the addition of the following “mission categories”:

**proinsurgency**—sponsoring and supporting anti-Communist insurgencies fighting against enemy governments;

**peacetime contingency operations**—initiating short-term military activities, such as show-of-force operations, punitive strikes, and rescue missions;

**terrorism counteraction**—taking defensive and offensive measures to prevent or counter international terrorists;

**antidrug operations**—attacking and destroying foreign sources of illegal narcotics and curbing the flow of narcotics into the US; and

**peacekeeping operations**—using US forces to police cease-fire agreements or serve as a buffer between enemy armies.<sup>30</sup>

In addition, LIC emphasized *rapid deployment*—the rapid introduction of United States forces to achieve “fast victories through overwhelming strength and firepower,” and *rapid mobility*—the ability of US forces to “shift rapidly from one type of LIC activity to

another” across great geographical distances.<sup>31</sup>

## HISTORICAL CONTINUITIES

Despite the preponderance of Cold War rhetoric present in LIC articulations, AFRICOM’s strategy of sustained security engagement is consistent in many ways with the full LIC “spectrum,” particularly if we replace the Cold War pretext for intervention with more current pretexts, such as the “war on terror.” Thus, in adhering to the principles of counterinsurgency, AFRICOM provides military and security training through a variety of programs, such as the Africa Contingency Operations Training and Assistance (ACOTA) program. Weapons and military/security equipment are being transferred to governments through the Foreign Military Sales (FMS), Foreign Military Financing (FMF), other programs. AFRICOM conducts psychological operations on the continent through “Operation Objective Voice,” which leverages media capabilities to disseminate propaganda.<sup>32</sup>

As mentioned in the introduction, the new command is currently coordinating direct military operations in Mali, Somalia, and Nigeria. For example, US ships are increasingly being deployed off the coast of Nigeria’s oil-rich Niger Delta region (a region that provides 10 percent of total US oil imports) to prevent oil-theft and the sabotage of oil exploitation facilities owned by various multinational oil companies.<sup>33</sup> AFRICOM also engages in civic military initiatives, such as its HIV/AIDS program which aims to prevent the escalation of HIV/AIDS infection rates within African military and security forces.<sup>34</sup>

Where LIC extends beyond the scope of counterinsurgency, AFRICOM’s strategy and objectives adhere closely. For example, in bringing the “war on drugs” to the continent, the Obama administration is asking for the first time to provide funding through International Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement (INCLEP) to countries participating in the Trans-Saharan Counter-Terrorism Partnership.<sup>35</sup> In the area of peacetime contingency operations, the Obama administration has authorized Special Forces operations in Somalia, which have resulted in the killing of an alleged al Qaeda member. To wage the current “war on terror,” AFRICOM conducts a variety of programs and operations through the Anti-Terrorism Assistance program (ATA), established in 1983 during the first “war on terror.” These programs include: Operation Enduring Freedom—Trans Sahara (OEF-TS), a program conducted by special operations forces to deny “safe havens to terrorists,” and the Global Equip and Train program, which permits the Pentagon to provide training and equipment to foreign military, police, and other security forces to combat terrorism with minimal congressional oversight. In fact, funding for antiterrorism programs in Africa have increased significantly in Obama’s FY 2010 budget.<sup>36</sup>

With respect to rapid mobility and deployment, it has already been mentioned that one of AFRICOM’s objectives is to develop “en-route infrastructure” to better enable rapid deployment of US troops from the homeland to anywhere the Pentagon needs them.<sup>37</sup> This objective has been furthered through the recent increase in military “base access agreements” with African governments. According to Daniel Volman, these

agreements grant US “access to local military bases and other facilities so that they can be used by American forces as transit bases or as forward operating bases for combat, surveillance, and other military operations.”<sup>38</sup>

Though only a preliminary comparison between AFRICOM’s strategy and the counterinsurgency and LIC doctrines, we can see that there are significant historical continuities that challenge official declarations describing AFRICOM as a “different kind of command” or a radical post-Cold War “experiment.” Instead, such declarations should be viewed as a response to the “image problem” the US military faces in Africa, with the ultimate aim of obscuring what is apparent: that AFRICOM is instrumental in Washington’s quest to subordinate African states to US imperial dominance through employing the full arsenal of US state power, including direct military intervention if the need arises. ★

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31 Ibid, 76 and 77.

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# ////// MAPPING THE WAR ECONOMY IN THE

The region centered around the Chesapeake Bay is perhaps one of the most militarized regions in the United States—radiating out from the central command of the US military at the Pentagon in Washington D.C. is a whole patchwork of bases, proving grounds, ordnance depots, training camps, intelligence agencies, military schools and military hospitals, stretching south to the major naval installations in Norfolk and north to Frederick's Ft. Detrick and the Aberdeen Proving Ground. With the 2005 "BRAC" (for "Base Realignment and Closure") commission's plan for restructuring and rationalizing the US military's physical footprint, the size of Maryland's military installations is slated to grow as bases elsewhere are decommissioned.

But it's not just the tens of thousands of soldiers, sailors, and spies that tie the economy of the region to the national war machine—the corridor between Washington and the Beltway up to Baltimore City is teeming with the industrial half of the military industrial complex as well. It seems that one of the few growth industries left in the region is the business of war—and so the weapons makers, the mercenary private contractors, and the security consultants, proliferate across the landscape of suburban office parks. Attracted by the proximity to the decision makers in the Pentagon, in the various branches of government and in the corridors of the national security establishment (and these decision makers' ability to spend billions and billions of dollars on war and its accoutrements), more and more major defense contractors are relocating their headquarters to the region. And of course, the research behind all these new means of waging war in the 21<sup>st</sup> century comes out of military funded projects at higher educational institutions—Maryland, and especially Johns Hopkins university, is a major player in this game as well. It's harder to map this network of researchers and contractors—many of the larger firms involved in the war have dozens of offices and facilities spread throughout the region, and layers of of subcontractors and subsidiaries make the picture even more murky. The map presented here is therefore far from definitive—in particular, much of the \$87 trillion in defense contracts awarded to corporations in Maryland from 2000 to 2008 is not represented on this map, which only shows some of the major companies whose primary business is making war, and not the hundreds of companies which supply the military with everything from office supplies to uniforms to food.—*John Duda*

## Military and National Security Installations

### A FORT DETRICK

- 8,000 Army and civilian personnel
- US Army Medical Research and Materiel Command
- Army Medical Research Institute of Infectious Disease
- National Interagency Biodefense Campus

*Fort Detrick is one of the major sites in the US military research archipelago investigating biological warfare, and was the source of the weaponized anthrax used in the 2001 anthrax attacks.*

### B CAMP FRETTERD

- Training Base for MD National Guard

### C ABERDEEN PROVING GROUND

- 3,116 Army and civilian personnel
- Largest proving ground in the US (vehicle/weapons tests)
- 16<sup>th</sup> Ordnance Battalion
- 61<sup>st</sup> Ordnance Brigade, Ordnance Mechanical Maintenance School
- 143<sup>rd</sup> Ordnance Battalion

*The Edgewood Chemical Activity chemical weapons depot at the Aberdeen Proving Ground, now closed (but still highly toxic), once housed five percent of the US's arsenal of chemical weapons.*

*(Not shown on map are some offsite facilities associated with the APG, including the Churchville testing ground in Harford County and the Carroll Island chemical weapons testing area)*

### D DOVER AFB

- Largest military mortuary in the DoD, has been used for processing military personnel killed in both peace and wartime, including casualties from Iraq and Afghanistan
- 436<sup>th</sup> Airlift Wing, Air Mobility Command
- 512<sup>th</sup> Airlift Wing, Air Force Reserve

### E NAVAL ACADEMY

- Educates and commissions officers of the US Navy and Marine Corps

### F FORT MEADE

- 10,000 military and civilian personnel (plus another 5,000 due to BRAC)
- Defense Information School
- Defense Courier Service
- Defense Information Systems Agency

### G NATIONAL SECURITY AGENCY

- Center of the US apparatus of global electronic surveillance
- Personnel levels classified, probably greater than 15,000

### H ADELPHI ARMY RESEARCH LABORATORY

- Major research facility for militarized engineering

*The Adelphi Lab is adjacent to the now closed (and highly polluted) Naval Surface Warfare Center.*

### I ANDREWS AFB

- 20,000 active duty and civilian personnel
- Air Force 316<sup>th</sup> Wing
- Air Mobility Command 89<sup>th</sup> Airlift Wing
- Air Force Office of Special Investigations
- Air Force Reserve Command 459<sup>th</sup> Air Refueling Wing
- Air National Guard 113<sup>th</sup> Wing

### J PENTAGON

- Headquarters for the US Military Industrial Complex

### K BOLLING AFB

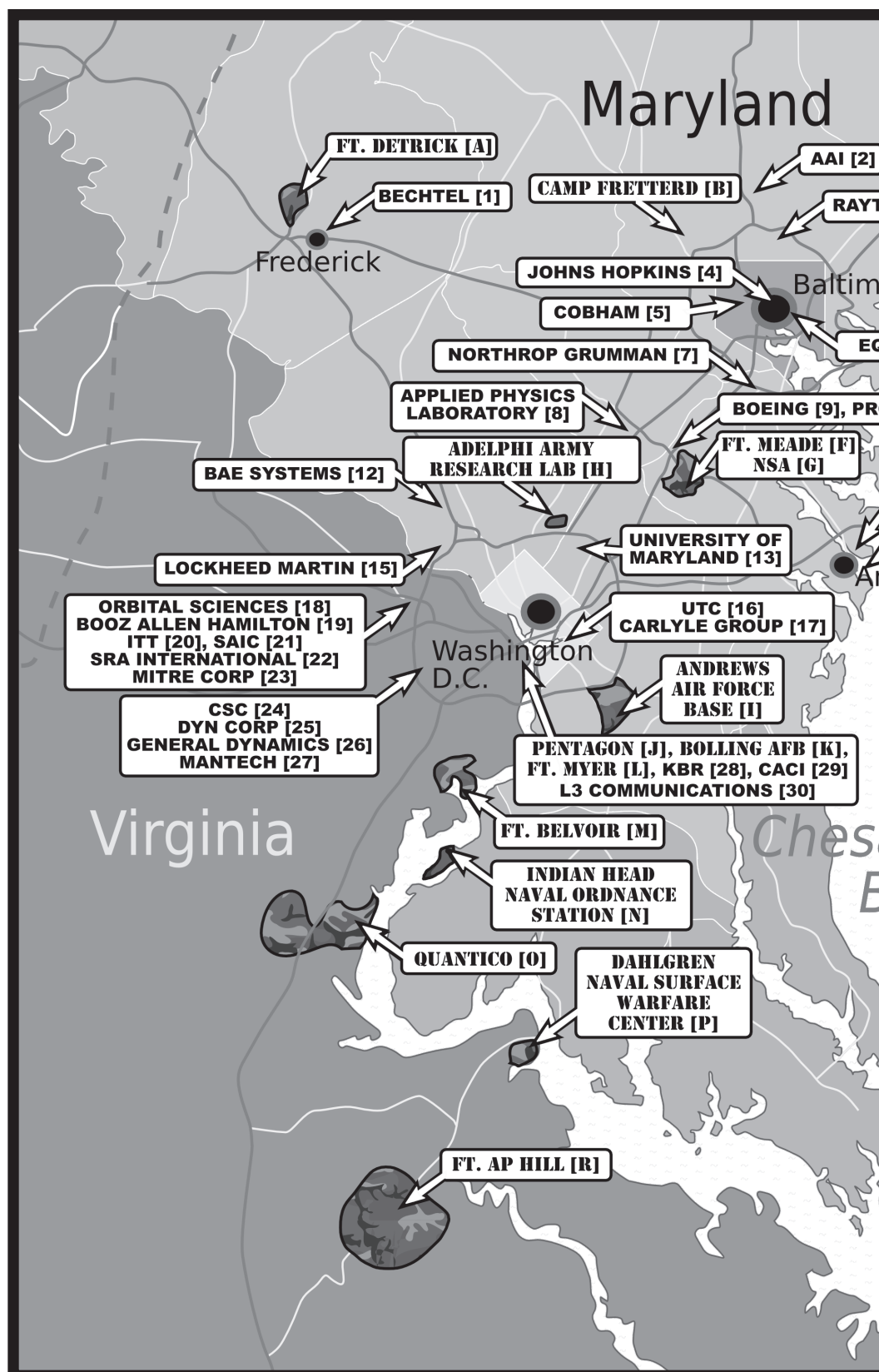
- 11<sup>th</sup> Wing
- Defense Intelligence Analysis Center

### L FORT MYER

- US Army Air Operations Group
- 3<sup>rd</sup> US Infantry (The Old Guard)
- Home of Army Chief of Staff General George Casey

### M FORT BELVOIR

- 7,000 military and civilian personnel, with 19,000 more on the way due to BRAC over next three years
- HQ for Defense Logistics Agency



- HQ for Defense Contract Audit Agency
- HQ for Defense Technical Information Center
- Army major command headquarters

### N INDIAN HEAD NAVAL ORDNANCE CENTER

- Designs, tests and manufactures explosive warhead and propellants and propulsion systems for guns, missiles, rockets and ejector seats in military aircraft.

### O QUANTICO MARINE BASE

- 12,000 Military and civilian personnel

### P DAHLGREN NAVAL SURFACE WARFARE CENTER

- 2,400 Scientists and Engineers
- Conducts Research in biotechnology, chemistry, mathematics, laser and computer technology, chemical, mechanical, electrical and systems engineering.

### Q PATUXENT NAVAL AIR STATION

- 17,000 personnel
- Extensive aircraft, propulsion systems, and weapons testing

### R FORT A.P. HILL RESERVATION

- One of the largest East Coast military

installations

- Used year-round for military training of both active and reserve troops of the Army, Navy, Marines, and Air Force
- Also host trainings of foreign allies' forces

### NOT SHOWN:

*The militarized Chesapeake extends all the way to the Atlantic—major bases at the mouth of the bay include Langley AFB, Ft. Eustis, and the Norfolk Naval Station, the largest Naval base in the world.*

## Academic and Corporate Installations

### 1 BECHTEL

The largest engineering firm in the US landed massive contracts to rebuild Iraq after the invasion and occupation destroyed it. In 2004, Bechtel National, the division overseeing these contracts, was moved from San Francisco to Frederick.

### 2 AAI

Aerospace subsidiary of Textron focusing on the construction of Unmanned Aerial

# BALTIMORE/DC REGIONAL CORRIDOR /////



Vehicles (drones), including the RQ-7B "Shadow." Received \$2.6 billion in defense contracts from 2000-2008.

## 3 RAYTHEON

Awarded nearly \$5.5 billion in 2009 alone (making it the fifth largest recipient of defense funds), Raytheon provides a wide range of advanced aerospace and electronic technologies to the military. In the region, Raytheon Technical Services Company, based in Reston, VA, employs 9,500 people, and a facility on Joppa Road in Towson handles communication-related military contracts.

## 4 JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

The Johns Hopkins University was, in 2002, the number one recipient of defense funding within the academic system, and is routinely in the top three, with hundreds of millions of dollars yearly funding a large percentage of the institution's research. While the bulk of the research takes place at the "Advanced Physics Laboratory" (see below), plenty of

research takes place in and around more familiar Baltimore campuses—like the "Human Language Technology Center of Excellence," located at the southern tip of Hampden, whose website refuses to name "our government sponsor" (it's the DOD) on whose behalf they develop classified infrastructure for more efficient surveillance of natural language communication.

## 5 COBHAM

The NURAD Technologies division of Cobham, located just to the west of Druid Hill Park, raked in \$48 million in defense contracts from 2000-2008.

## 6 EQUINOX

Builds military sensor technology, including face recognition systems.

## 7 NORTHROP GRUMMAN

The third largest defense contractor in 2009, receiving nearly \$8.5 billion in contracts, already operates facilities and offices in Baltimore, Columbia, Annapolis, and many other locations in Maryland—and early in 2010 it announced it would be

moving its corporate headquarters from Los Angeles to the D.C. Area.

## 8 APPLIED PHYSICS LABORATORY

See page 14 for an in-depth look at Johns Hopkins "other campus," where the bulk of its staggering defense research contracts are carried out.

## 9 BOEING

2009's second largest defense contractor (with nearly \$8.5 billion in contracts) operates a number of offices and facilities in the region, including Boeing Integrated Defense Services, located just down the street from the NSA.

## 10 PROTEUS

"Cyber Warfare" corporation next door to the NSA.

## 11 NISC

National Interest Security Company, recently acquired by IBM, also involved in NSA-related computing.

## 12 BAE SYSTEMS

The US branch of this multinational defense corporation (#14 in 2009 with \$1.7 billion in defense contracts) is headquartered in Rockville.

## 13 UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND

While not as big a destination for defense funding as Johns Hopkins, a significant amount of military and national security research and training is carried out through the University of Maryland system as well. For instance, in 2009, the University of Maryland at College Park became an "Intelligence Community Center of Academic Excellence." As Jacques Gansler, who went from being the undersecretary of Defense for Acquisition, Technology and Logistics to holding UMD's Roger C. Lipitz Chair in "Public Policy and Private Enterprise" puts it: "The university is fully engaged in critical research areas that are vital to advancing national defense and security efforts."

## 14 ARINC

The international headquarters of this company, specializing in aerospace communications technologies and owned by the Carlyle Group, is located in Annapolis, although they also maintain facilities in Glen Burnie, Edgewater, Millersville, on the Patuxent River, and at Bolling AFB.

## 15 LOCKHEED MARTIN

2009's single largest corporate recipient of defense contracts (to the tune of nearly \$11 billion) has its headquarters in Bethesda, Maryland.

## 16 UNITED TECHNOLOGIES

The #17 2009 defense contractor (with over \$1.3 billion in contracts), is headquartered in Connecticut but maintains a strong presence in D.C.

## 17 CARLYLE GROUP

The massive global investment firm, with extensive ties to the first and second Bush administrations, is headquartered in D.C., where it manages a diverse portfolio of war profiteering.

## 18 ORBITAL SCIENCES

A major player in the militarization of outer space (for instance missile defense systems), Orbital has its headquarters in Dulles, VA.

## 19 BOOZ ALLEN HAMILTON

A gigantic consulting company with extensive and profitable ties to the military and national security establishments, Booz Allen Hamilton is headquartered in McLean, VA.

## 20 ITT

ITT's Defense and Information Solutions division is located in McLean, VA—ITT as a whole made nearly \$2.5 billion in 2009 from defense contracts.

## 21 SAIC

With over \$3.2 billion in defense contracts in 2009, SAIC was the #7 biggest recipient of military funding.

## 22 SRA INTERNATIONAL

SRA, headquartered in Fairfax, VA, deals primarily with systems engineering for the military and national security establishment.

## 23 MITRE CORPORATION

One of MITRE's corporate headquarters is in McLean, VA, but the company, which focuses on defense-related systems engineering also has extensive operations elsewhere throughout Maryland and Virginia.

## 24 COMPUTER SCIENCES CORPORATION (CSC)

Headquartered in Falls Church, VA, with \$2.3 billion in defense contract revenue in 2009.

## 25 DYN CORP

Headquartered in Falls Church, focused on aerospace and logistics support.

## 26 GENERAL DYNAMICS

With \$5.3 billion in defense contract revenue in 2009, and headquartered in Falls Church, General Dynamics is one of the major contractors involved in military shipbuilding.

## 27 MANTECH

\$265 million in defense contracts in 2009 for "leading the convergence of national security and technology." Headquartered in Fairfax, with extensive operations throughout Maryland and Virginia.

## 28 KBR

Almost \$5.5 billion in 2009 defense contracts, the massive global construction contractor, formerly a subsidiary of Halliburton (headed by Dick Cheney from 1995-2000), maintains a major office around the corner from the Pentagon.

## 29 CACI

Headquartered in Arlington, VA, with \$1.2 billion in defense contracts in 2009, CACI is a major IT consultant to the US war machine.

## 30 L3 COMMUNICATIONS

L3, with \$3.8 billion in 2009 defense-related revenue, is one of the most important firms supplying the military with battlefield electronics, and has a major office in Arlington, VA. ★

## SOURCES:

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<http://washingtontechnology.com/toplists/top-100-lists/2009.aspx>  
<http://www.commondreams.org/views/04/0428-08.htm>

# //// THE US IN HAITI

Official denials aside, the United States has embarked on a new military occupation of Haiti thinly cloaked as disaster relief. While both the Pentagon and the United Nations claimed more troops were needed to provide “security and stability” to bring in aid, violence was never an issue, according to nearly all independent observers in the field.

The military response appears to be more opportunistic. With Haiti’s government “all but invisible” and its repressive police forces “devastated,” popular organizations were starting to fill the void. But the Western powers rushing in want to rebuild Haiti on a foundation of sweatshops, agro-exports and tourism. This is opposed by the popular organizations, which draw from Haiti’s overwhelmingly poor majority. Thus, if a neoliberal plan is going to be imposed it will be done at gunpoint.

The rapid mobilization of thousands of US troops crowded out much of the aid being sent to the Port-au-Prince airport following the Jan. 12 earthquake. Doctors Without Borders said five of its cargo flights were turned away, while flights from the World

Food Program were delayed up to two days. By the end of January, three quarters of Haitians still lacked clean water, the government had received only 2 percent of the tents it had requested and hospitals in the capital reported they were running “dangerously low” on basic medical supplies like antibiotics and painkillers. Nearly a month into the crisis, the *Washington Post* reported, “Every day, tens of thousands of Haitians face a grueling quest to find food, any food. A nutritious diet is out of the question.”

At the same time, the United States had assumed control of Haiti’s airspace, landed 6,500 soldiers on the ground with 15,000 more troops off shore at one point and dispatched an armada of naval vessels and nine coast guard cutters to patrol the waters, and the US Embassy was issuing orders on behalf of the Haitian government. In a telling account, *The New York Times* described a press conference in Haiti at which “the American ambassador and the American general in charge of the United States troops deployed here” were “seated at center stage,” while Haitian President René Préal stood in the back “half-listening” and eventually “wan-

dered away without a word.”

The real powers in Haiti now are the US commander, Lt. Gen. Ken Keen; US Ambassador to Haiti Kenneth Merten; US Ambassador Louis Lucke, the special coordinator for Relief and Reconstruction in Haiti; Bill Clinton (who has been tapped by U.N. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon to lead recovery efforts); and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. When asked at the press conference how long US forces were planning to stay, Keen said, “I’m not going to put a time frame on it,” while Lucke added, “We’re not really planning in terms of weeks or months or years. We’re planning basically to see this job through to the end.”

While much of the corporate media fixated on “looters,” virtually every independent observer in Haiti after the earthquake noted the lack of violence. Even Lt. Gen. Keen described the security situation as “relatively calm.” Veteran Haiti reporter Kim Ives told *Democracy Now!* on January 20: “Security is not the issue. We see throughout Haiti the population...organizing themselves into popular committees to clean up, to pull out

the bodies from the rubble, to build refugee camps, to set up their security for the refugee camps.” In one instance, Ives continued, a truckload of food showed up in a neighborhood in the middle of the night unannounced. “It could have been a melee. The local popular organization...was contacted. They immediately mobilized their members. They came out. They set up a perimeter. They set up a cordon. They lined up about 600 people who were staying on the soccer field behind the house, which is also a hospital, and they distributed the food in an orderly, equitable fashion.... They didn’t need Marines. They didn’t need the U.N.”

## A NEW INVASION

But that’s what Haiti is getting, including 3,500 more soldiers and police for the 9,200-strong U.N. force already there. These U.N. forces have played a leading role in repressing Haiti’s poor, who twice propelled Jean-Bertrand Aristide to the presidency on a platform of social and economic justice. And the poor know that the detailed US and U.N. plans in the works for “recovery”—sweatshops, land grabs and

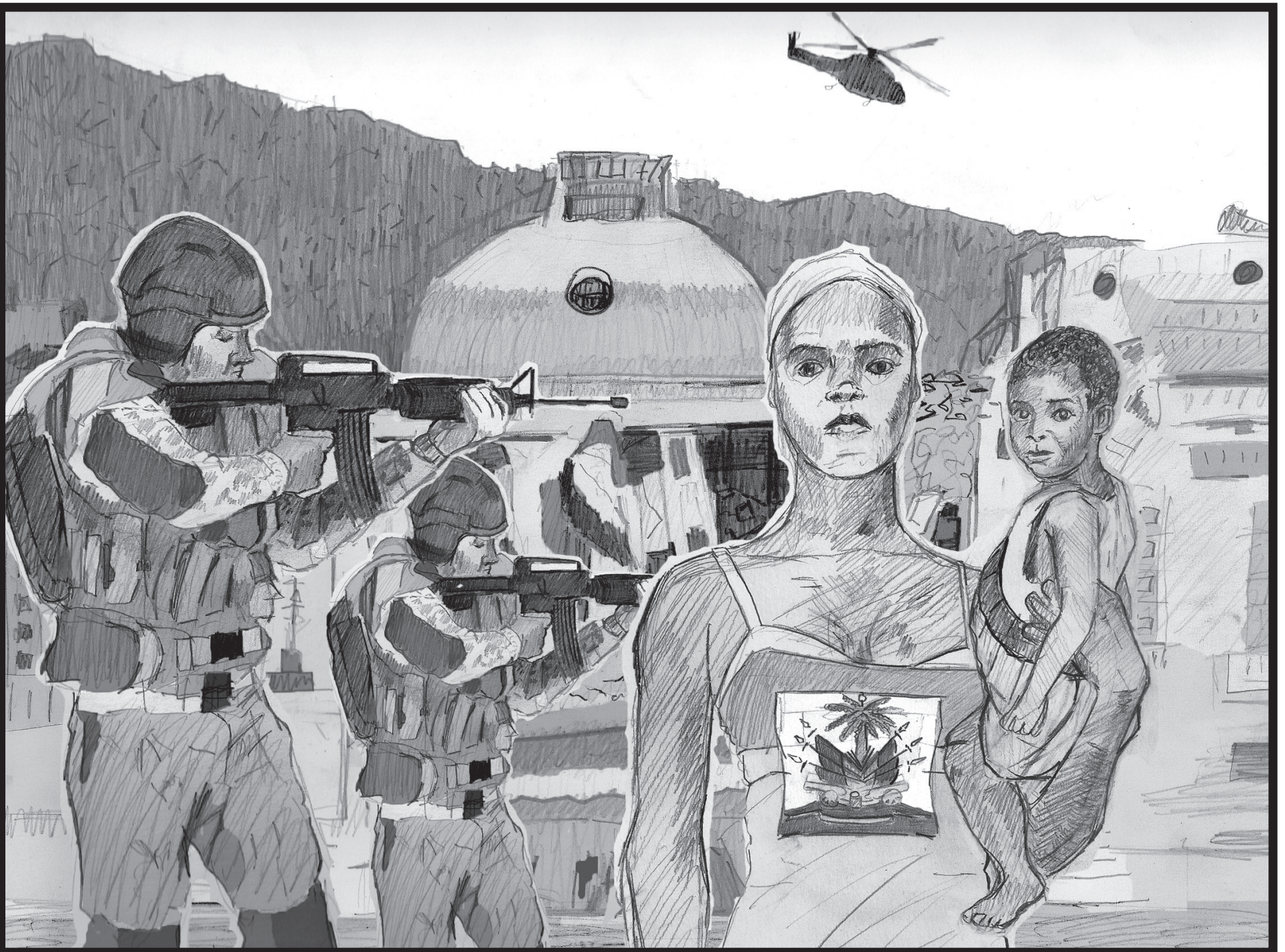


Image by Teddy Johnson

# NEOLIBERALISM AT THE BARREL OF A GUN /////

BY ARUN GUPTA /////

privatization—are part of the same system of economic slavery they’ve been fighting against for more than 200 years. Neoliberal reconstruction, then, will happen at the barrel of the gun. In this light, the impetus of a new occupation may be to reconstitute the Haitian Army (or similar entity) as a force “to fight the people.”

This is the crux of the situation. Despite all the terror inflicted on Haiti by the United States, particularly the slaughter of thousands by US-armed death squads after each coup, the strongest social and political force in Haiti today is probably the *organisations populaires* (OPs) that are the backbone of Aristide’s party, Fanmi Lavalas. Twice last year, after legislative elections that banned Fanmi Lavalas were scheduled, boycotts were organized by the party. In the April and June polls the abstention rate was reported to be at least 89 percent.

A new occupation of Haiti—the third in the last 16 years—also fits within the US doctrine of rollback in Latin America: support for the coup in Honduras, seven new military bases in Colombia, hostility toward Bolivia and Venezuela. Related to that, the United States wants to ensure that Haiti will not pose the “threat of a good example” by pursuing an independent path, as it tried to do under President Jean-Bertrand Aristide—which is why he was toppled twice, in 1991 and 2004, in US-backed coups.

## SWEATSHOP SOLUTION

In a March 2009 *New York Times* op-ed, U.N. Secretary General Ban Ki-moon outlined his development plan for Haiti, involving lower port fees, “dramatically expanding the country’s export zones,” and emphasizing “the garment industry and agriculture.” Ban’s neoliberal plan was drawn up by Oxford University economist Paul Collier.

Collier is blunt, writing, “Due to its poverty and relatively unregulated labor market, Haiti has labor costs that are fully competitive with China.” He calls for agricultural exports such as mangoes that involve pushing farmers off the land so they can be employed in garment manufacturing in export-processing zones. To facilitate these zones Collier says, Haiti and donors need to provide them with private ports and electricity, “clear and rapid rights to land;” outsourced customs; “roads, water and sewage;” and the involvement of the Clinton Global Initiative to bring in garment manufacturers.

Revealing the connection between neoliberalism and military occupation in Haiti, Collier credits the Brazilian-led United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) with establishing “credible security,” but laments that its remaining mandate is “too short for investor confidence.” In fact, MINUSTAH has been involved in numerous massacres in Port-au-Prince slums that are strongholds for Lavalas. Collier also notes MINUSTAH will cost some \$5 billion overall; compare that to the \$379 million the US government has designated for post-earthquake relief.

Speaking at an October 2009 investors’ conference in Port-au-Prince that attracted do-gooders like Gap, Levi Strauss and Citibank, Bill Clinton claimed a revitalized garment industry could create 100,000 jobs. Some 200 companies, half of them garment manufacturers, attended the conference, drawn by “Haiti’s extremely low labor costs, comparable to those in Bangladesh,” *The New York Times* reported. Those costs are often less than the official daily minimum wage of \$1.75. (The Haitian Parliament approved an increase last May 4 to about \$5 an hour, but it was opposed by the business elite, and President René Préval refused to sign the bill, effectively killing it. This episode sparked student protests starting in June of last year, which were repressed by Haitian police and MINUSTAH.)

## ROOTS OF REPRESSION

In his work *Haiti: State Against Nation: The Origins and Legacy of Duvalierism*, Michel-Rolph Trouillot writes, “Haiti’s first army saw itself as the offspring of the struggle against slavery and colonialism.” That changed during the US occupation of Haiti from 1915 to 1934. Under the tutelage of the US Marines, “the Haitian Garde was specifically created to fight against other Haitians. It received its baptism of fire in combat against its countrymen.” This brutal legacy led Aristide to disband the army in 1995.

Yet prior to the army’s disbandment, in the wake of the US invasion that returned a politically handcuffed Aristide to the presidency in 1994, “CIA agents accompanying US troops began a new recruitment drive” that included leaders of the death squad known as FRAPH, according to Peter Hallward, author of *Damning the Flood: Haiti, Aristide and the Politics of Containment*.

It’s worth recalling how the Clinton administration played a double game under the cover of humanitarian intervention. Investigative reporter Allan Nairn revealed that in 1993 “five to ten thousand” small arms were shipped from Florida, past the US naval blockade, to the coup leaders. These weapons enabled FRAPH to grow and to terrorize the popular movements. Then, pointing to intensifying FRAPH violence in 1994, the Clinton administration pressured Aristide into acquiescing to a US invasion because FRAPH was becoming “the only game in town.” After 20,000 US troops landed in Haiti, they set about protecting FRAPH members, freeing them from jail and refusing to disarm them or seize their weapons caches. FRAPH leader Emmanuel Constant told Nairn that after the invasion the US Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) was using FRAPH to counter “subversive activities.” Meanwhile, the State Department and CIA went about stacking the Haitian National Police with former army soldiers, many of whom were on the US payroll. By 1996, according to one report, Haitian Army and “FRAPH forces remain armed and present in virtually every community across the country,” and paramilitaries were “inciting street violence in an effort to undermine social order.”

During the early 1990s, a separate group of Haitian soldiers, including Guy Philippe, who led the 2004 coup against Aristide, were

spirited away to Ecuador where they allegedly trained at a “US military facility.” Hallward describes the second coup as beginning in 2001 as a “Contra war” in the Dominican Republic with Philippe and former FRAPH commander Jodel Chamblain as leaders. A *Democracy Now!* report from April 7, 2004, claimed that the US government-funded International Republican Institute provided arms and technical training to the anti-Aristide force in the Dominican Republic, while “200 members of the special forces of the United States were there in the area training these so-called rebels.”

A key component of the campaign against Aristide after he was inaugurated in 2001 was economic destabilization that cut off funding for “road construction, AIDS programs, water works and health care.” Likely factors in the 2004 coup included Aristide’s public campaign demanding that France repay the money it extorted from Haiti in 1825 for the former slave colony to buy its freedom, estimated in 2003 at \$21 billion, and his working with Venezuela, Bolivia and Cuba to create alternatives to US economic domination of the region.

When Aristide was finally ousted in February 2004, another round of slaughter ensued, with 800 bodies dumped in just one week in March. A 2006 study by the British medical journal *Lancet* determined that 8,000 people were murdered in the capital region during the first 22 months of the US-backed coup government and 35,000 women and girls were raped or sexually assaulted. The OPs and Lavalas militants were decimated, in part by a U.N. war against the main Lavalas strongholds in Port-au-Prince’s neighborhoods of Bel Air and Cité Soleil, the latter a densely packed slum of some 300,000. (Hallward claims US Marines were involved in a number of massacres in areas such as Bel Air in 2004.)

## ‘MORE FREE TRADE’

Less than four months after the 2004 coup, reporter Jane Regan described a draft economic plan, the “Interim Cooperation Framework,” which “calls for more free trade zones (FTZs), stresses tourism and export agriculture and hints at the eventual privatization of the country’s state enterprises.” Regan wrote that the plan was “drawn up by people nobody elected,” mainly “foreign technicians” and “institutions like the US Agency for International Development (USAID) and the World Bank.”

Much of this plan was implemented under Préval, who announced in 2007 plans to privatize the public telephone company, Téléco. This plan is now being promoted by Bill Clinton and Ban Ki-moon as Haiti’s path out of poverty. *The Wall Street Journal* touted such achievements as “10,000 new garment industry jobs” in 2009, a “luxury hotel complex” in the upper-crust neighborhood of Pétionville and a \$55 million investment by Royal Caribbean International at its “private Haitian beach paradise.”

Haiti, of course, has been here before, when the USAID spoke of turning it into the “Taiwan of the Caribbean.” In the 1980s, under Jean-Claude “Baby Doc” Duvalier, it shifted one third of cultivated land to export crops

while “there were some 240 multinational corporations, employing between 40,000 and 60,000 predominantly female workers,” sewing garments, baseballs for Major League Baseball, and Disney merchandise, according to scholar Yasmine Shamsie. Those jobs, paying as little as 11 cents an hour, coincided with a decline in per capita income and living standards. (Ban Ki-moon wants Haiti to emulate Bangladesh, where sweatshops pay as little as 6 cents an hour.) At such low pay, workers had little left after purchasing food and transportation to and from the factories. These self-contained export-processing zones, often funded by USAID and the World Bank, also add little to the national economy, importing tax free virtually all the materials used.

US-promoted agricultural policies, such as forcing Haitian rice farmers to compete against US-subsidized agribusiness, cost an estimated 830,000 rural jobs according to Oxfam, while exacerbating malnutrition. This and the decimation of the invaluable Creole pig (because of fears of an outbreak of African swine fever), led to displacement of the peasantry into urban areas, and along with the promise of urban jobs, fueled rural migration into flimsy shantytowns. It’s hard not to conclude that these development schemes played a major role in the horrific death toll in Port-au-Prince.

The latest scheme, on hold for now, is a \$50 million “industrial park that would house roughly 40 manufacturing facilities and warehouses,” bankrolled by the Soros Economic Development Fund (yes, that Soros). The planned location is Cité Soleil. James Dobbins, former special envoy to Haiti under President Bill Clinton, outlined other measures in a *New York Times* op-ed: “This disaster is an opportunity to accelerate oft-delayed reforms” including “breaking up or at least reorganizing the government controlled telephone monopoly. The same goes with the Education Ministry, the electric company, the Health Ministry and the courts.”

It’s clear that the Shock Doctrine is alive and well in Haiti. But given the strength of the *organisations populaires* and weakness of the government, it will have to be imposed violently.

For those who wonder why the United States is so obsessed with controlling a country so impoverished, devastated, and seemingly inconsequential as Haiti, Noam Chomsky sums it up best: “Why was the US so intent on destroying northern Laos, so poor that peasants hardly even knew they were in Laos? Or Indochina? Or Guatemala? Or Maurice Bishop in Grenada, the nutmeg capital of the world? The reasons are about the same, and are explained in the internal record. These are ‘viruses’ that might ‘infect others’ with the dangerous idea of pursuing similar paths to independent development. The smaller and weaker they are, the more dangerous they tend to be. If they can do it, why can’t we? Does the Godfather allow a small storekeeper to get away with not paying protection money?” ★

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# //// THE DEATH LAB

## A History of the Applied Physics Laboratory

BY MAX OBUSZEWSKI

I have been to Auschwitz and stood in the gas chambers. Historians have questioned what the Poles living near the death camp knew of its operation. When raising this question, it should be understood that during the Nazi occupation of Poland, death was the punishment for a person who provided assistance to Jews.

I have also been to the Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory [APL] in placid Howard County. Phil Berrigan, a World War II combat veteran, used the term “Death Lab” when discussing the APL, as the institution’s research on weapons of mass destruction gets it ranked among the Top 100 military contractors. In Fiscal Year 2004, for example, the university was ranked #66 on this list, and more than \$300 million went to the APL to do weapons research for the Navy. Those sea-launched Tomahawk cruise missiles sent into Iraq in 2003 were tested by APL scientists. So Phil did not use the term Death Lab frivolously.

The APL was started in 1942 as part of a government effort to mobilize the military-educational complex. The laboratory developed a proximity fuse, which allowed bombs to destroy a target without actually striking it. After World War II, it continued to do research for the Empire, including the development of guided missile technology for the Navy. Originally, the APL was located in Silver Spring, but started moving to its present location near Laurel in 1954. By 1975, the move was completed. Soon thereafter, Baltimore’s Jonah House started protesting at the Death Lab.

While the horror at Auschwitz ended more than 60 years ago, the APL’s best and brightest still engage in weapons research designed to maximize the Navy’s killing machines—including the Aegis Warship Systems Engineering. Some other current programs are National Security Agency Systems Engineering and Architecture (including a strategic study that determined the top locations for large-scale data centers), Space Threat Awareness and Characterization, and First Trident Submarine Demonstration and Shakedown Operation in the Pacific.

Few people are aware of the laboratory’s work. Christina Breda Antoniadis has an article in the March 7<sup>th</sup>, 2010 issue of *Baltimore Magazine*, “Best Places To Work 2010.” She wrote: “Here are 20 employers large and small where the working stiffs are loving it.” Making the list is the Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Laboratory. Ms. Antoniadis gushes with praise for the Death Lab: “Who they are: A not-for-profit engineering, research, and development organization. What we love: Cool line of work, big-company benefits.” She notes that the “APL has 600 projects going on at the moment—in biomedicine, undersea warfare, homeland security, and other fields.” She concludes her piece with this comment for the erstwhile job seeker: “Best of all, since its work is done for the US government, APL manages to maintain relative stability, even through economic

downturns, which means there’s never a bad time to put in an application.”

Try to remember when you last read about the work of the APL in the *Baltimore Sun*. You can’t. For whatever reason, probably a tacit agreement, the *Sun* refuses to expose the APL’s weapons research. The last story I saw in the *Sun* was a brief notice in January 2010 that Rich Roca, the current director, will be resigning this year.

When an article about the APL does appear in the *Sun*, it will generally focus on non-military research. For example, on March 12<sup>th</sup>, 2005, Gwyneth K. Shaw, Sun National Staff, reported that a “Hopkins rocket scientist was chosen to head NASA.” The biographical material about Michael Griffin indicated he was involved in “space work.” The non-military space work at the APL is negligible. APL scientists make the big bucks to support the US Navy’s mission to control the seas. Before Griffin worked at the APL, he was at the Defense (sic) Department, where he wasted his talents on Star Wars technology. And he worked for In-Q-Tel, a venture capital organization funded by the Central Intelligence Agency. So this space warrior’s career path included the Pentagon, the CIA, the APL and finally NASA.

According to the APL’s web site, its mission is “Enhancing national security through science and technology” with “an annual funding level of about \$980 million.” It is not on the web site, but an estimated 90% of the research is military-related.

Evidence of this enhanced national security can be seen in the July 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1988 incident where USS Vincennes shot down Iran Air Flight 655, which resulted in the loss of 290 civilians, including 66 children. The US Navy guided missile cruiser, fitted with the AEGIS combat system designed by the APL, was stationed by the Reagan administration in the Persian Gulf during the Iran-Iraq war. Its mission was to escort and defend Kuwaiti oil tankers registered under the US flag. The US was supporting both sides in the conflict.

Commander William C. Rogers III was relying on Aegis, and the system failed him as he shot down the airliner. If he used his eyes instead of the enclosed Aegis system, he would have seen that the airliner was not a military aircraft. Rogers and other members of the crew were exonerated and given combat-action ribbons. In a final irony, Ronald Reagan wrote this: “The only US interest in the Persian Gulf is peace, and this tragedy reinforces the need to achieve that goal with all possible speed.” (Source: 1988-89 PPPUS 920 [Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Ronald Reagan, 1988-89, book 2].)

The millions of dollars which pour into the Hopkins lab for military research are tax dollars better spent on projects that enhance life. But our government has created a permanent war economy, and the military beast must be



Whitewashing the war machine: APL website in 2005 (top) and after an update in 2010 (bottom)

fed. In response, a number of us have protested the APL’s weapons research over the years.

In 1998, Dick Ochs released *MEMOIRS: Forty Years in the Fray*, which he self-printed through his Workers Action Press, Inc. One chapter is entitled Johns Hopkins University Applied Physics Lab and it details several of our anti-APL protests.

With the Jonah House, the Baltimore Emergency Response Network got active in challenging the lab. I was arrested there on a number of occasions, and did some time in the Howard County Detention Center, as did Dick.

The protests involved dropping banners off roofs at the APL, and once off the Eisenhower Library roof on the Homewood campus. We also blocked entrances at the APL, and in a remarkable action, Phil Berrigan, Sister Margaret McKenna, and I managed to get into the director’s office and tape the Nuremberg Principles, doused with blood, on his door.

Dick especially liked the action where we spoke out during a graduation ceremony: “The most sensational action, however, was when we disrupted the commencement speech by Lee Iacocca at Homewood. As Chairman (sic) of Chrysler, he facilitated the manufacture of the main battle tank and lots of other military hardware. We wanted to expose the military-industrial-academic complex at Hopkins, including the APL and Chrysler.”

A graduate student allowed us to use his third-floor office near the commencement stage. Dick, Phil Berrigan, Greg Boertje, and I barricaded ourselves in the office, hung a banner outside the window and used a bull horn to condemn the APL. Security then

broke down half the door and came rushing in. Joining them was a Young Republican upset with our audacity. And then a student who supported us joined the melee. Of course we were arrested, as was the student who showed his support. Security, however, forgot to arrest the Young Republican.

Even though the APL also functioned as a college campus, we were arrested for leafletting, and the Howard County judges were apt to send protesters to jail. One of them sentenced Phil to jail for five years when he spoke out during his wife Liz McAlister’s trial. We then protested at the judge’s home and the courthouse, and the ACLU got Phil released and the sentence negated.

Because many of us got involved in protesting the wars in Iraq, the Balkans, and Afghanistan, and demonstrating at the National Security Agency, we have not been to the Applied Physics Laboratory in several years. If any readers have interest in visiting the Death Lab, let me know.

It is easy to condemn the Nazi death camps today, but where is the indignation for the APL’s research on mass murder weaponry? As Maryland citizens are suffering during this recession/depression, we should not tolerate misguided priorities where money is wasted on funding for research on weapons used to dominate the world. Let us get fired up and take note of what Albert Einstein wrote decades ago: “It is my conviction that killing under the cloak of war is nothing but an act of murder.” ★

Max Obuszewski is a Baltimore activist, labeled by the Maryland State Police and other members of Maryland’s Joint Terrorism Task Force as a terrorist. He can be contacted at mobuszewski@verizon.net or 410-366-1637.

# TIME FOR REBIRTH ////

## The US Antiwar Movement is Grieving, Dreaming, Growing

BY CLARE BAYARD & SARAH LAZARE

Think back seven years ago to this day. Where were you on March 19<sup>th</sup>, 2003, when the invasion began? Did you see “Shock and Awe” footage of the orange explosions in the clear Baghdad sky, piped in grainy TV shows, lit at night with the green glow of CNN cameras? Did you read the tickertapes under these images of neighborhoods lit on fire? Over those next days, did you, like many of us, collapse in overwhelmed grief and rage, frantic at not knowing how we could stop our government’s onslaught?

It’s important to remember how we channeled this into organizing that built dynamic alliances, influenced public opinion, and communicated to the rest of the world that people inside the United States were not all united behind the war. At the same time, we failed to prevent the invasion and have not yet ended the occupation of Iraq, or Afghanistan. We say this, recognizing how many of us tried to put our bodies in the way as best we could, in a million different ways. Many people suffered burnout and heartbreak. The sheer numbers of antiwar demonstrators, which just a month before the invasion of Iraq coordinated the biggest street protests in the history of the world, have dropped precipitously each year as we hit this awful anniversary.

But the antiwar movement is not dead. Over the past seven years, while the number of people in the streets visibly protesting this anniversary has shrunk, what the news cameras have not shown is the building movement that has been happening, off the streets, under the radar, in communities. We are now seeing this organizing pick up steam as people have become disillusioned by the Obama administration’s continuation of Bush’s wars.

Many antiwar organizers shifted focus from prioritizing street protests to strategically directing their work towards pressure points where a mobilized grassroots can directly impact these wars. Strategies of supporting resistance inside the military have focused on withdrawing labor from a war that depends on soldiers’ participation, thereby directly undermining the war effort. Iraq Veterans Against the War, one of the leading organizations of veterans of post September 11<sup>th</sup> wars, has effectively transformed from a speakers’ bureau into an actively organizing body, with active-duty chapters and recruitment on bases, and a platform of open support for GI resistance and opposition to the war in Afghanistan. Counter-recruitment movements have been building their bases in schools and communities, organizing against the military’s practice of disproportionately targeting and recruiting low income and poor youth and youth of color. Oakland’s youth-led group BAY-Peace leads workshops providing information to young people about the truth of military recruiting and to help build alternatives to militarism. US Labor Against War continues building US labor solidarity with Iraqi trade unions.

Another promising development is the slow

resurgence of the G.I. Coffeehouse movement that played a major role in fomenting resistance to the Vietnam War. Over the past few years, a handful of coffeehouses in military base towns are supporting resistance within the military. One example is Virginia’s Norfolk OffBase, where coffeehouse staffers have also built solidarity relationships with local racial justice organizing, connecting related struggles in their heavily militarized community.

The Iraq war has already outlasted World War II, World War I, and the US Civil War. The most recent Iraqi elections on March 7<sup>th</sup> were hailed by the Obama administration as a sign of the war’s success in “bringing democracy,” because of 62% voter turnout and less election violence than expected. The US mainstream media is applauding Iraqis for voting despite 136 election day attacks, including bombings, rocket fire, and shootings. This message reflects the extent to which this violence has become normalized and expected; no

During Bush’s regime, many of our arguments focused narrowly on Bush’s brazenness and the “legality” of these brutal occupations. Mass numbers of the US public have recognized over this past year that Bush didn’t create the plan behind these wars, and it is continuing beyond him. Now the antiwar movement is being pushed to grow beyond challenging one war at a time. We need a deeper analysis of the structures that underlie militarism and war, to ground our work in values of affirming life and of building cooperative, just structures. We must offer visions of a different way to organize our own society and interact with other countries.

In this time, it is critical to more deeply root our work in an understanding of the root causes of these wars, and to strengthen alliances between movements that are tackling different impacts of a common problem. We see small-scale successes in making these links and we must cultivate and broaden them. As we demand that money be reclaimed from the war budget, and put back into social

Mourn the dead. And fight like hell for the living.  
—Mother Jones

one should have to face the threat of violence in order to vote. Additionally, we question the extent to which “democracy” has been achieved when one million Iraqis have been killed and 10 million displaced, a whole region destabilized, and ethnic tensions flared by the occupying presence. President Obama has followed up on his pledge to remove all “combat troops” from Iraq, but 50,000 occupation troops remain, in addition to mercenary troops and corporate profiteering personnel. We dispute the reality of a “non-combat” distinction in conditions where the US has clearly established intent to use its infrastructure and influence in Iraq as a strategic base in the Middle East.

The Iraq War was never about bringing democracy, nor about weapons of mass destruction. This is one of several key battlefields in the US’s project of establishing military and political dominance in this critical region. As drones bomb Pakistan at an undisclosed and accelerating rate, and the Afghanistan war continues to erode the means of survival and dignity for Afghans, we must be looking at the big picture. US military and political support for the outrageous policies of Israeli colonization and apartheid is one of the clearest indicators that establishing dominance in the region, both directly and through allies and puppets, is the major goal of the US.

This is the moment for the antiwar movement in the US to develop analysis and tools that can build effective, transformative move-

necessities like schools and healthcare, we must speak clearly to this shift as one that is based in values and vision about what our society prioritizes. Linking wars at home and abroad is not just rhetoric, but is a strategy to strengthen our organizing. Economic and racial oppression inside the US must be transformed not as a means to incapacitate the US military, but because this is our vision for healthy society. And ending US aggressions and occupations abroad is not just necessary to re-divert funds into our schools or healthcare, but also because we reject a world based on violence and theft. Our survival depends on it. Violence and destruction will never stay contained, and the impacts of destroying communities and ecosystems in one area like the Middle East will only continue to intensify around the world, especially as resource wars accelerate with climate change. As the world seeks to find just and sustainable solutions to climate change, the importance grows for peoples’ grassroots movements to work transnationally in finding alternatives to war.

Every one of us in the US is affected in different ways by these wars and we’re all needed to be part of setting a new course. We suffer from the success of US culture in characterizing activists as “others,” versus “ordinary people.” Hundreds of thousands of people march in the streets at key moments, but do not see themselves as “activists” under this categorization, and trade in the opportunity to be agents of change for

a heavy coat of despair. However, the potential for deeper connections is already present within current organizing in schools, community centers, families and neighborhoods, religious communities, military base towns, and all the networks that make up our community lives. There are so many ways we can come together to build collective power, and there are roles for everyone in transforming the policies and priorities of this country. Ordinary people, putting our feet down to say that we won’t tolerate the continuation of violence in our names, will be the deciding factor in creating a different future than the one we’re being force-fed.

A very real part of finding a human and holistic approach to stopping war is also, simply, to make space to grieve together. The sadness of this anniversary is not just about this one day, or this one war. It is about global relationships based on violence and dominance, about the ways in which these relationships play out around the world, about the lives that have been lost, and the lives that will be lost. And all of those who survive, traumatized, occupied, brave and resourceful.

We are mourning and invite you to join us in whatever ways feel right to you. This intensely painful anniversary offers a milestone to create collective space for our grief. Mainstream US society doesn’t do this, and we suffer consequences including the perversion of 9/11’s collective trauma into an excuse for waging war. War becomes normalized while grief is sidelined or silenced, individualized, and manipulated. Grieving helps us to heal and to break patterns of violence that otherwise are often perpetuated, and to not choke on our sadness and stay passive.

Mourning is vital to honor the dead, and in this case, we are speaking about people who were murdered in our name. Grieving their loss is critical to our own humanity as well as affirming that all these humans who we’ve lost matter. Mourning is a direct challenge to the implicit devaluing of Iraqi (and Afghani and Palestinian, as well as those of US soldiers) lives which contributes to maintaining and justifying these wars and occupations.

And the survivors? There is so much to honor and learn from the resilience and dignity of those who are surviving wars and state violence from Oakland to Afghanistan. Let’s make our support worthy of their bravery. Let yourself feel these wars, and let it carry you into action. Our sadness and anger on this day reminds us of how interdependent we are. So what is your vision for March 19<sup>th</sup>, 2017? What do you hope the world will look like, and what is your role in making that come true? ★

*Sarah Lazare is an organizer in the GI resistance and US anti-war movement, primarily with [Courage to Resist](http://www.couragetoresist.org) ([www.couragetoresist.org](http://www.couragetoresist.org)) and the [Civilian-Soldier Alliance](http://www.civisol.org) ([www.civisol.org](http://www.civisol.org)) and is interested in struggles that link injustices at home with US policies of war and empire abroad, moving towards the collective building of a more just world.*

*Clare Bayard organizes with the [Catalyst Project](http://www.collectiveliberation.org) ([www.collectiveliberation.org](http://www.collectiveliberation.org)) and [War Resisters League](http://www.warresisters.org) ([warresisters.org](http://www.warresisters.org)), building a G.I. resistance movement that challenges US empire, and connecting domestic racial and economic justice organizing with international movements against militarism.*

# // Breaking Rank

BY RYAN HARVEY

“There is no way I will deploy to Afghanistan. The occupation is immoral and unjust. It does not make the American people any safer. It has the opposite effect.” With this, Fort Hood, Texas-based Army Specialist Victor Agosto went to his 2009 trial, where he received 30 days in jail and a dishonorable discharge. Sergeant Travis Bishop, also based at Fort Hood, refused orders to Afghanistan at the same time and is still imprisoned at the Fort Lewis, WA stockade serving a one year sentence. “I don’t want to be killing innocent people,” Cliff Cornell wrote as he refused orders to Iraq in 2005. He was deported from Canada last year to face charges in the US and was imprisoned for almost a year at the Fort Stewart, Georgia stockade. Matt Lowell, a soldier in the US Army who refused deployment to Iraq and is currently living in Canada, explains his desertion: “I can still look myself in the mirror. I didn’t have to shoot [an Iraqi] who’s doing exactly what I joined the military to do, to defend their country.” These are just a few of the voices of war resisters, some of the thousands who have silently or publicly broken rank in opposition to the occupations of Afghanistan and Iraq.

Despite the many ways that members of the Armed Forces speak and act in opposition to war, we find ourselves surprised and somewhat confused by their actions. Soldiers refusing to fight? Isn’t that an oxymoron? Aren’t soldiers supposed to fight? Doesn’t that go against the whole culture of the military?

These responses are not accidental: they are the result of the history we have learned and the way that history has been written. History shapes both identity and culture, and thus those who control and define history have a strong hand in controlling and defining cultural values. This is especially true of military history and military culture.

The study of war is one of the most popular fields of history, producing countless books, movies, plays, and pieces of art. Conventional military history is full of decisive battles, stoic Generals, dead heroes, and great victory celebrations. These versions of history, tell us where the guns were fired, who fired them, and which army “won” the battles. Rarely, however, do we dig beneath the surface and find out anything more: Who were the soldiers? Why were they serving? What issues did they face? How did they feel about the war? What became of them afterward?

Wars are not just battles and flashes, they are the stories of millions of lives cut short. And they are full of soldiers who found themselves in a hell they didn’t wish to see, of young people who were forced to fight for something they often didn’t believe in, of people facing an enemy they didn’t believe was guilty of anything. When we open this hidden history, we find a whole complex world of politics.

Dating back to the Ancient Roman draft resistance movement, we find draftees and

soldiers in every war who stood up to illegal and immoral policies, who refused to serve in wars that violated their basic principles, who resisted from within the ranks of or deserted from an unjust government’s army. We also find some, like the 30,000 deserters from the Nazi army who joined the French resistance, who switched sides and fought alongside their supposed enemies. Not only have soldiers always resisted wars, but from the radical democratic debates of the “Leveler” soldiers in the English Civil War of the 1640s to the Serbian soldiers who refused to fire on the crowds overthrowing Milošević in 1999, they have also played pivotal roles in social movements around the world. When the great railroad strike of 1877 broke out in the streets of Baltimore, half of the National Guardsmen deployed to repress the strikers deserted and joined the crowds. This trend continued as the strike spread across the country, with major acts of military resistance occurring across Pennsylvania and Ohio. In some instances, Guardsmen turned their weapons over to strikers. Many had families and friends in the crowds, others just sympathized with their demands for better wages and living conditions. It was largely poor Irish soldiers who led these rebellious National Guardsmen, perhaps in part because they had a history to live up to. Their grandfathers had led a group of hundreds of mostly-Irish soldiers drafted into the US Army who deserted during the Mexican-American War and fought with the Mexicans against American aggression. Those who fought with the *San Patricios*, or St. Patrick’s Battalion, are still celebrated as heroes all over Mexico.

Not long after the war with Mexico, Indian soldiers serving under British rule in the Bengal Army set off a rebellion that grew to involve nearly 45 million people. What began as a dispute over the use of rifle cartridges that were greased with pig fat turned into a full-scale rebellion against British rule, with soldiers killing their officers, opening prisons, and seizing the arsenal at Delhi. “The Great Rebellion” soon spread across the country. Although it was one of the largest uprisings of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, brutal repression on the part of the British and disorganization among the rebels made it short-lived.

As the Great Rebellion’s leaders were being hung, the US was beginning a countdown to civil war. We learn today that this war was a fight between pro-slavery and anti-slavery forces. While most African American soldiers fought with the sole motivation of ending slavery, as did many white allies—like my ancestor Elwood Harvey, an Underground Railroad organizer and soldier—this is only a part of the story.

In conventional military history, we usually explain why wars are fought from the perspective of the heads of state on either side, or what we perceive to be the general sentiment in society. This leads to a very simplified understanding of conflict and the phenomenon of war. But when we take a real close look at the personal, political, and economic mo-

tivations of the actual soldiers involved, we often find a third history, full of paradoxes and complexities. These are the important stories to look at if we want to seriously understand the factors involved in preventing or stopping wars.

For example, the story of abolitionists enlisting to eradicate slavery is taught in most schools as the general story of the Civil War: anti-slavery northerners against pro-slavery southerners. But what is seldom taught is how little of the white South was comprised of slave owners. Only one third of Southern families (not individuals) owned slaves, and class tensions ran high in the Southern armies against this slave-owning class. Northern soldiers were often poor draftees who saw the war not as a pro-slavery/anti-slavery fight, but as a fight between two groups of elite men using poor soldiers to protect their property and investments. Thus soldiers from the North and South found far more in common with each other than with their respective leaders. James Dinkins, a Confederate soldier from Northern Virginia, wrote that “the war could have been over in ten days if the question had been left to the soldiers.” Similarly, a Union soldier from Wisconsin wrote “If the settlement of this war was left to the Enlisted men on both sides we would soon go home.” It was very common for soldiers from the opposing army to visit each other’s camps in delegations to play cards, trade alcohol, or even go swimming on hot days in a creek or river, or for one line to yell to the other side to get down when they were about to fire on them. They didn’t want to kill friends. The befriending of the “enemy” is always dangerous for generals and politicians, as it has the potential to turn soldiers against their often oppressive and demoralizing command structures. For instance, when the US invaded the Philippines in 1898, many black soldiers, like the *San Patricios* before them, deserted to join ranks with the indigenous guerrilla army of Emilio Aguinaldo.

Similarly during the early days of World War One, hundreds of soldiers from the French, Scottish, and German armies laid down their weapons to drink, play games, and celebrate Christmas together. The 1914 “Christmas Truce” lasted for days before the units were broken up and dispersed to other parts of the front. Similar truces happened up and down the front and are said to have been repeated on a smaller scale in 1915 and 1916. In 1917, the war would change drastically, and it was not the generals but their mutinous soldiers who would force the change. Mass resistance to World War One by the sailors and soldiers of Russia drove the 1917 revolution, pushing the Czar out of power and the Russians out of the war. French sailors refusing to fight prevented the French from invading the new Socialist Russia. Mass resistance within the British military, including incidents of combat refusal, armed mutiny, and fraternization with the “enemy,” helped stop the British from further escalating conflict with Russia. In 1919, sailors and soldiers in the German military led a revolution that overthrew the monarchy and ended Germany’s participa-

tion in the “Great War.” Thousands of miles away, British soldiers under April Lord Allenby were refusing to fight during a large rebellion in occupied Egypt challenging British rule.

In the summer of 1921, Indian soldiers drafted into the British Imperial Army were deserting and joining the ranks of the Non-Cooperation movement, led in part by Gandhi, who was calling for soldiers to refuse to fight. That same year, thousands of American World War One veterans, organized under the United Mine Workers, faced off with the coal barons at Blair Mountain in Mingo County, West Virginia, in perhaps the most militant and bloody labor conflict in US history. In 1932, thousands of angry “Great War” veterans erected a tent city in Washington D.C. to demand back pay that the federal government had failed to give them. The “Bonus Army,” as the movement was called, was addressed by a new hero of military-resistance, the highest-ranking Marine in US history at the time, General Smedley Butler. His *War is a Racket*, published in 1935, stands as one of the most critical and authoritative documents against war and aggression written from within the ranks of a military.

World War Two, “The Good War,” has often been couched in historical narratives that confuse the motives for fighting the war with the effects of fighting the war. These narratives lead us to assume that a war with good motives is a “good war.” Not only are the bodies usually hidden from view, but often the daily lives of the soldiers are as well. We don’t hear that when the Nazis were pushed from Paris, black soldiers in the Tirailleurs Senegalais, the West African soldiers who made up 65 percent of the French forces, were not allowed to march in the “liberation” parade. Instead, Spanish soldiers and light-skinned soldiers from Morocco and Syria were picked to march to give an “all-white” appearance at the behest of the Americans and their French counterparts. Black soldiers from the United States fought fascism from within a segregated, Jim Crow, army, and drove a movement for racial and economic justice that was very prevalent in the military culture during World War Two, often articulating itself through desertion, fights, and riots. The movement led to the largest single mutiny in US history at Port Chicago, California. After hundreds of sailors, all black, were killed loading explosives onto ships destined for the war, hundreds of sailors refused to go back to work; many were court-martialed for their act of refusal. The black experience in World War Two was a major cultural factor in the explosion of the Civil Rights movement right as the war came to an end.

We don’t usually hear about the movement that erupted across the South Pacific, Hawaii, and in the United States at the end of the war, when tens of thousands of US soldiers demanded to be taken home immediately, contrary to their government’s plan to leave them deployed across the globe to flex America’s new geopolitical strength. Major unions threatened to strike until the troops

# A History of Soldiers // Refusing to Fight

came home: “[T]he Akron Industrial Union Council...gives support to the millions of workers in uniform who long for peace, for home, and for a return to a normal life... [we] are in full accord with the demonstrating soldiers who protest against being used to protect the wealth and foreign properties of such antilabor corporations as Standard Oil and General Motors.” In late 1945 and early 1946, 4,000 troops marched on-base in the Philippines, 1,000 booed down officers at Andrews Field (now Andrews Air Force Base) in Maryland, 5,000 marched on Frankfurt Germany, 15,000 at Hickman Field in Honolulu, and 5,000 in Calcutta, India. This successful movement led to the speedy return of much of the US military from the South Pacific and Europe.

As the US soldiers were marching through Calcutta demanding demobilization, Indian soldiers were joining the civilian movement organizing for independence from Britain. And although there are many volumes written on Gandhi’s pacifism and the movement he helped lead, few give credit to the large-scale and somewhat violent mutiny by Indian sailors serving in the Royal Navy that consumed 22 ships in Bombay harbor in 1947 before spilling onto the land. It was this rebellion that would set off the chain of events that finally pushed the British out of India. The sailors organized under a Naval Central Strike Command, demanding among other things, a withdrawal of Indian troops from Indonesia, where Britain’s invasion was being hampered by Indian soldiers switching sides and fighting alongside the Indonesian guerrillas.

As the imperial power of Britain, Portugal, and France was swept aside by the guerrilla armies of Southeast Asia and Africa, these colonial powers called on the US for support. It was in this context that the US military entered Vietnam in the early 1950s, following the French defeat by the guerrilla armies of Ho Chi Minh. By 1965, the US was engulfed in one its worst nightmares. Throughout the course of the Vietnam War (or the American War as the Vietnamese call it), military resistance grew steadily, with 10 percent of the US military deserting or going AWOL and mass incidents of combat refusal, draft-resistance, refusals to deploy, and on-base protests and sit-ins occurring. Troops marched on bases throughout the US and joined mass demonstrations in major cities. They printed over 300 anti-war newspapers on or near bases, wrote petitions, and opened coffeehouses outside of bases to mobilize anti-war sentiment among the troops. Organizations like the American Servicemen’s Union swelled to 20,000 members. Imprisoned war-resisters and rebellious GIs rioted and burned military-prisons in Vietnam, at Fort Dix, NJ, and at the Presidio Stockade in San Francisco.

On the ground in Vietnam, nearly 300 incidents of “fragging”—the killing of commanding officers—were reported over the course of the war; in all likelihood many more occurred and went unreported. In later years of the war, the US could no longer rely on ground troops, leading to an increased reliance on aerial bombings. In response, sailors demobilized three aircraft carriers through small acts of sabotage, and soldiers in intelligence units purposely sent incorrect data to pilots to save lives on the ground.

When the soldiers returned home from Vietnam, they organized under Vietnam Veterans Against the War—which had a membership of over 25,000—to continue their anti-war efforts. But they didn’t just organize for a withdrawal from Vietnam, they joined movements at home fighting for social and economic justice. Many leaders of the Black Panther Party, including former Sergeant Jeronimo Pratt, John Huggins, and Ed Poindexter, fought in Vietnam. Many of their allies in the American Indian Movement (AIM), such as Buddy LaMont, Roger Iron Cloud, and Marty Fire rider, did as well. When AIM’s movement for Indian rights and justice culminated in the occupation of Wounded Knee, Vietnam veterans played a key role in defending and bringing them supplies.

In his 1971 red alert, “The Collapse of the Armed Forces,” Colonel Robert D. Heintz Jr. wrote: “By every conceivable indicator, our army that now remains in Vietnam is in a state approaching collapse, with individual units avoiding or having refused combat, murdering their officers and non commissioned officers, drug-ridden, and dispirited where not near mutinous.” By the mid-70s, this GI movement defeated the draft and was a major force in bringing the Vietnam War to an end. It also radically altered the domestic and international reputation of the United States military.

While the US was trying to power-wash the stains of Vietnam away, the imperial powers were violently confronting resistance to apartheid and colonialism in the southern tip of Africa. The Portuguese were losing the liberation war waged by the Front for the Liberation of Mozambique, and were facing a similar defeat in Angola by the guerrilla armies of The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA).

But what would trouble Portugal more than their enemies turned out to be their own soldiers. By 1974, resistance to the Portuguese colonial wars and the fascist government in Lisbon was boiling within the Portuguese military. That year soldiers had held open meetings, handed out leaflets, published their own newspapers, held work-stoppages, refused to break civilian strikes, publicly

refused to deploy to the African colonies, and sabotaged their own vehicles. In January 1975, the entire infantry battalion 4911 refused to go to Angola and called for support of the MPLA. A month later, soldiers from the Fifth Infantry Division sent their own agitators to the countryside to talk to people about overthrowing fascism. Soldiers also joined the ranks of underground urban guerrilla groups like the League of Union and Revolutionary Action and the Revolutionary Brigades, who carried out attacks on military bases and bombed ships.

When one of the most rebellious units, the RAL-1, was bombed by Right-wing elements of the army during an attempted coup on March 11<sup>th</sup>, 1975, civil-society rushed to their defense, and the paratroopers sent in to repress them mutinied. By the end of the day their “Carnation Revolution” brought down the fascist regime. By November, continued activity led to the withdrawal of all Portuguese soldiers from Southern Africa.

Before Portugal’s defeat, the British had been forced out of Angola by the MPLA but still fought against a powerful guerrilla army and an enormous and determined mass social-movement in South Africa. While this movement was mostly fought by and paid-for by black South Africans, white Afrikaner soldiers and allies had launched the Committee on South African War Resistance after the 1975 invasion of Angola to help soldiers who refused to enforce the policies of apartheid. In 1983, Afrikaner conscientious objectors, deserters, military family members, and allies founded the End Conscription Campaign. Their organizing efforts, including mass marches and their newspaper Combat, helped mobilize soldiers and white civil society against the policies of apartheid.

Meanwhile, miles across the Indian Ocean from the west coast of South Africa, Afghan guerrilla fighters were up against hundreds of thousands of invading Soviet soldiers in a 10 year occupation. The Afghan War (or “Russia’s Vietnam” as it was called by US officials) cost Afghanistan the lives of millions of people, and the Russians 15,000 soldiers. This war destroyed much of Afghanistan, and destroyed the minds of many Russian soldiers who fought there. So effective were the Mujahedin units at guerrilla war that the Russians called them “Dukhi,” ghosts. They simply disappeared into the mountains after firing.

One of the major factors that led to the defeat of the Soviet-backed government in Kabul and, by extension, the Soviet Union, was the fact that 80 percent of the Afghan military deserted to the guerrilla Mujahedin fighters. Soviet soldiers also deserted to the Mujahedin; many who were unaccounted for turned up later serving in guerrilla units, fighting in the war against the invaders. In February of

1988, Taras Derevlianty, a Soviet deserter living in the US, publicized an “Address to the Soviet Occupation Troops in Afghanistan,” calling on soldiers to refuse to serve. Though others like Deverlianty sought refuge in the United States after the war, many deserters settled in quietly across Afghanistan. One of Kabul’s more infamous cab drivers today is a Russian deserter.

Those soldiers who survived the war returned home to a collapsing Soviet Union. Andrei Sakharov was attached to a paratrooper brigade in Afghanistan; “We had no right to be there. We should have known what war meant from losing twenty-seven million people during World War Two. I realized that war only means killing and never makes things better, whether it’s in Vietnam or Korea, Afghanistan or Grenada.”

Competing concepts of “socialism” often fueled the actions of Soviet soldiers, who saw themselves as standing for the ideals of liberation and justice but were being ordered to commit atrocities for an imperial army. Those who took seriously the political teachings of their government ended up standing against it. Soviet soldiers had taken a similar stance years earlier during the 1956 invasion of Hungary, when deserting Soviet soldiers helped lead the street movement against the Soviet troops, joined by deserters from the Hungarian army and armed demonstrators. This was not a new phenomenon but an age-old story. In 1781, members of the Pennsylvania Militia, in a battle to define “democracy,” kidnapped wealthy Philadelphians who were profiting from the Revolutionary War while poor soldiers were starving and freezing to death. Their demands for a minimum and maximum wage were written out of the final state constitution, but their actions serve as a timeless reminder about the dangers of teaching your population one set of ideals while demanding that they enact another.

This theme played out during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 as well. Many soldiers thought a military invasion in the name of “securing” and “defending” Israel would have the opposite effect of inciting revenge, or they just outright opposed any military action on Lebanon in general. 3,000 Israeli reservists organized under Soldiers Against Silence and refused to serve. Many veterans of this war went on to become outspoken advocates for peace, participating in the movement against the occupation of Palestine. Yesh Gvul, founded during the war with Lebanon, still organizes to support hundreds of soldiers in the Israeli Defense Forces who refuse to serve in the Occupied Territories. These “Refusniks” often spend time in jail and face other legal and social penalties for their courage.

After the 2009 invasion of Gaza, 25 mostly anonymous Israeli soldiers released a document called “Breaking the Silence,” exposing war crimes committed by the IDF in Gaza. These soldiers are still speaking out about the atrocities they witnessed, and Israeli soldiers are still standing up against the

occupation of Palestine the same way Afrikaner soldiers stood up against apartheid in South Africa. Breaking the Silence, among other things, gives tours led by former soldiers through areas they had previously occupied.

While Israeli soldiers were pouring into Lebanon, and Refuseniks and anti-war demonstrators were pouring into the streets of Israel, soldiers in Saddam Hussein's military, angry and broken from the war with Iran, began pushing for mass change. Failed mutinies throughout the 1980s laid the seeds for the mass refusal to fight during the US invasion in 1990. As the war with Iran finally wound down, Saddam invaded Kuwait. When the US military intervened, his soldiers refused to fight, and US troops faced no real opposition in their final push over the southern border into Iraq. Saddam's non-existent army had deserted, but they were gathering forces in towns like Sulaimania, Najaf, Karbala, Kut and Basra, storming government offices and seizing weapons in preparation for a march on Baghdad to topple the dictator. At the same time, deserting soldiers and Kurdish radicals in the North were rallying around a similar plan. And all were expecting American support.

Instead of supporting these popular and largely secular movements, the US backed down from a push on Baghdad and allowed Saddam to violate the established "no-fly zones" to mas-

sacre deserters and their families on the highway between Basra and Baghdad. It was more convenient to leave Saddam in power than risk Iraq falling into the hands of powers that might not fit into the US government's global strategy. In the north, the US had turned a blind-eye as Saddam's forces dropped poison gas on Kurdish civilians and mutinous Iraqi troops in 1988, and did so again in 1991, as soldiers loyal to Saddam massacred military resisters. US officials had no problems with these horrific war-crimes until it became a convenient excuse to invade and occupy Iraq in 2003, to overthrow a dictator they had left in power 12 years earlier. This occupation, along with the occupation of Afghanistan, will soon be the longest war in US history.

Today, many members of the US military see through the facades of US foreign policy. Hundreds of deserters from the United States military have fled to Canada, and many more live "underground" within the US, working under-the-table jobs or not working at all. Some live amongst activists and anti-war veterans, others live in and out of homeless shelters. As well as deserters, there are thousands of conscientious objectors who were able to legally break rank and resist deployments. Alongside them are dozens of troops who have publicly refused to fight, some serving over a year in prison for their actions.

And then there are the thousands of active-duty troops and veterans who speak out and organize daily against these occupations. These brave people are part of organizations like the nearly 2,000 strong Iraq Veterans Against the War (IVAW), a national organization that includes anyone who has served in any branch of the US military since 9/11. IVAW has chapters all over the US, including on several military bases. Their 2007 Winter Soldier hearings in Washington, D.C. brought hundreds of veterans of Afghanistan and Iraq together for a week of testimonies about the realities on the ground in these occupations, and strengthened their capacity as a viable anti-war force. Their work helped turn the tide on public support for the occupations, and has helped catalyze a growing demand from within the Armed Forces for an immediate withdrawal from the occupations of Afghanistan and Iraq.

Many of those who publicly refuse to fight, most of whom are also IVAW members, work with Courage to Resist, an organization co-founded by Jeff Patterson, the first soldier to publicly refuse to deploy to Operation Desert Storm in 1990. Courage defends and supports troops who refuse to fight or those that raise their voices from within the ranks. Their defense campaign for Lt. Ehren Watada, the first US officer to publicly refuse to serve in Iraq, made headlines in mid-2006.

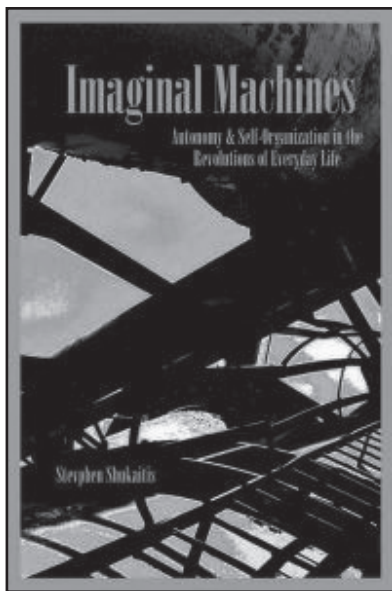
Since then, they have helped defend dozens of service members who have refused to fight.

The work these organizations do is part of a long and vibrant history of military resistance that has sought peace and justice during times of war. It is important for us to understand and relay this history because it affects the culture of the military and influences the actions of its members, and because making this history visible does justice to all those who have broken rank against injustice.

The history of soldiers speaking and acting out against war shows another side of militarism: the side of individual conscience and collective transformation amongst those being forced to carry out wars. Looking at this history reveals that soldiers in resistance are strategically positioned to transform society: by withholding their labor or redefining who their enemies are, they can literally bring wars and governments to a grinding halt, as well as directly supporting social movements for positive change.

It also reveals that there is more to human history than violence and war: resistance and personal transformation for peace and justice are also built into the human fabric. This capacity is vitally important for how we understand social movements, as well as ourselves. ★

## ///// BOOKS: IMAGINAL MACHINES & COLLECTIVE PROCESS /////



### IMAGINAL MACHINES: AUTONOMY & SELF-ORGANIZATION IN THE REVOLUTION OF EVERYDAY LIFE

By STEVPHEN SHUKAITIS (AUTONOMEDIA 2009)

Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, in the introduction to their sprawling radical theory roller coaster *A Thousand Plateaus*, make a distinction between a "tracing" and a "map." A "tracing" is a kind of exact copy—a perfect image that tells you what you need to know about something, that tells you what to do. A "map," on the other hand, is a lot more interesting—it's something that doesn't pretend tell you everything, to have the final answers to your questions, because it's something you take along with you as you step into the unknown, that you scribble on and modify as you go along. Stephen Shukaitis, in his *Imaginal Machines: Autonomy and Self-Organization in the Revolutions of Everyday Life*, has written a map (and not a tracing), ready to be used in the collective exploration of anticapitalist resistance in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

Shukaitis' book even starts with a map: one from 1896, of "Bohemia"—not the Eastern European territory, but rather its imaginary counterpart, the land of dropouts, deviants, and marginalized creativity, here labeled with regions like "Vagabondia" and "The Sea of Dreams." And it's precisely this "territory" of the imagination that is explored in the pages that follow—if we can no longer simply oppose creativity to power, but instead have to recognize that power feeds on creativity, that 21<sup>st</sup> century capitalism doesn't just need us to work and obey, but wants to take possession of our dreams as well, then, as Shukaitis argues, we need to pay close attention to the dynamics of recuperation. The idea here is to play on the double meaning of the word "composition"—to bring into conjunction the idea of aesthetic arrangement (to compose a piece of music) with the idea of class composition, where the collective subjects of political action are never given in advance, but are fluid, always somewhere in the process of construction or dissolution. The imagination is political, and any successful politics is going to have to draw on the resources of the imagination.

The "imaginal machine" therefore names something quite general: those complex arrangements of ideas, desires and creative bodies that animate our material and immaterial lives, sometimes opening up pathways to collective liberation, and sometimes turning against us in the worst way. Because these "machines" are always on the move, carving out spaces of temporary autonomy or collapsing into the nightmare of late capitalism, Shukaitis' attempt to map out their impact on life and resistance is itself mobile, provisional, swerving from the heights of radical theory to the small details of his own experiences as a collective owner of the DIY label Ever Reviled Records, and more often than not through unexpected detours

through science fiction and horror movies. If you're looking for a guide to the uninitiated to walk you through, in simple, clear terms, the work of the Italian autonomists, the Midnight Notes collective, Deleuze and Guattari, and Hakim Bey, this might not be the book for you. But if you want to explore the same conceptual territory in a madcap dash that also brings in the space zombies of cultural appropriation, meets up with Joe Hill and Sun Ra on Mars in time to return to earth to dress up like billionaires to lead fake protests against the IWW's Starbucks Workers Union, and then team up with San Precario, the patron saint of precarious workers, to loot a supermarket and lead a May Day parade, before blasting off again with the Association of Autonomous Astronauts, all the while providing a thousand points of entry into the essential conceptual toolbox for creative revolt and resistance in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, then *Imaginal Machines* has exactly what you're looking for.—John Duda

### COME HELL OR HIGH WATER: A HANDBOOK ON COLLECTIVE PROCESS GONE AWRY

By DELFINA VANNUCCI & RICHARD SINGER (AK PRESS, 2009)

If you're looking to identify unhealthy dominant culture habits that have crept into your collective process this is the book for you. *Come Hell or High Water* gives a comprehensive breakdown of behaviors that can discourage collective participation and perpetuate distorted power dynamics. The comics are hilarious and give the reader a good break in between the disappointing descriptions of the many ways collectives can break down. Every collective should have a copy of this book to pin point behaviors that prevent the sharing of collective power and give members tools for identify problem areas in collective dynamics with the eye to

improving collective health. If you love your collective read this book a little bit at a time—reading in one sitting the descriptions of all the negative behaviors we're conditioned by dominant culture to revert to and how they can damage collective process can be a bit overwhelming.

There is a short chapter at the end of the book that briefly touches on positive behaviors but it does not touch on the subject in a way that counters the many chapters devoted to collective problems. I look forward to a part two of this book which would hopefully focus on the habits of a healthy collective and/or positive behaviors to keep collective process moving in the right direction. Hopefully it will include chapters on tactics for celebrating collective success, sharing power, sharing dreams, healthy habits of collectives that have made it a long way, and essentials for collective survival through tough times or how our collective made it through a conflict we thought might break us. Kudos to the authors for taking the first step in helping us recognize bad habits with the eye on collective success.—Katie Lautar



# //// REPORTS: SPRING MOBILIZATIONS FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE ////

**MAY 1, 2010**

Every year around the world countries celebrate International Workers Day or Labor Day on May 1<sup>st</sup>—commonly known as May Day.

For the youngest republic in the industrialized world it also marks the anniversary of the 1886 Haymarket massacre, when a three-day strike for an 8-hour work day held in Chicago turned violent after a bomb exploded (thrown either by a striker or a provocateur) and police fired on demonstrators, killing several strikers as well as fellow officers.

On a sunny first day of May in 2010, the United Workers and its coalition of workers organized and played out a day long celebration that stretched from Charles Village to downtown to Federal Hill and Fells Point.

They gathered at 11:00 am for breakfast at Red Emma's 2640 space (at St. Johns Church), to rally the troops and rehearse for the day's activities. The church was electric as organizers from around the country spoke about their particular struggles, and reaffirmed the need to build relationships and continue the centuries-long movement for workers' rights and human dignity nationwide.

"We are not individuals overcome with cynicism," said Bill Moyer, head of the Seattle based Backbone campaign. "We are communities—we are united human beings."

The Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW), Iraq Veterans Against the War (IVAW), The International Workers of the World (IWW), The Poverty Initiative of NYC, the Baltimore Algebra Project, Media Mobilizing Project, and Backbone Campaign were among the organizations represented.

IVAW member Chantelle Bateman spent six months in the Marine Corps reserve, seven months of which were spent in Iraq. She experienced daily discrimination as a Black Muslim woman. When she left the corps she found herself homeless and unemployed. "Our struggles are connected," said Bateman.

The United Workers—a human rights organization led by low-wage stadium workers composed across racial and cultural lines—was founded in 2002 at the Eutaw Street shelter—an abandoned firehouse turned shelter—by homeless day laborers. In 2007 they secured Maryland's living wage and other



workers rights, after a four-year campaign levied against the Maryland Stadium Authority (MSA). MSA, established by the Maryland General Assembly in 1986, manages Camden Yards and M&T Bank Stadium.

A year later, on October 25, 2008, the United Workers extended their human rights campaign into the downtown Inner Harbor, where developers General Growth Properties and Cordish companies own a majority of the commercial space. The United Workers declared the Inner Harbor a "Human Rights Zone" demanding work with dignity, education, and health care. While the Harbor is Baltimore's tourism hub, workers receive minimum wage and suffer under poor working conditions, including sexual harassment, termination due to pregnancy, stolen tips, unpaid wages, and management that forces employees to work while sick or injured.

Dominique Washington was employed at Five Guys, a small burger and fries chain. He recounted his experiences at the chain, including one instance where he was refused medical treatment and instead told to apply ointment on a burn he received while cooking. Washington shared his story on Morgan State University Radio's Marc Steiner show, and as result an investigation has been launched into Five Guys' practices.

Stories and proclamations continued, articulated in both Spanish and English. Raquel Rojas worked at the Cheesecake Factory. She said she believed because it was such a popular restaurant, the workers would be treated fairly. Rojas had to miss work as a result of being ill, but because she lacked health insurance, she was forced to go to a community

hospital. As a result of her illness, her employer systematically reduced her hours, forcing her eventually to quit. "That's why I joined [The United Workers], for dignity and respect," said Rojas.

The workers' testimonies illustrated what the United Workers assert as the "Poverty Zone," a tier system where the developers are at the top, vendors are in the middle, and workers are at the bottom. "This is about maintaining a system of power, where the poor are kept poor, and the rich get richer," said United Workers organizer Luis Larin.

To overturn this dynamic, the United Workers and its allies are demanding that Cordish and GGP enter into a legally binding Economic Human Rights Agreement which outlines their three aforementioned terms. "We're not asking for it, we're demanding it," said Larin. "Before every worker, there is a human being that deserves human rights."

United Workers organizer Carl Johnson led the movement in chants and song before they began preparing for their theatrical demonstrations called "neighborhood plays." School buses rolled downtown, stopping at Lexington Market, Fells Point and Federal Hill where activists staged three of these plays—Work, Earth and Education.

For an entire year, the United Workers and its allies planned for May Day. They rented a large studio and art space, engaged in a four-day Artful Activism Summit with the Backbone Campaign. Inner Harbor workers drove to Immokalee, Florida in December 2009 where they met with farmworkers, and learned how to incorporate street plays, puppets, music, and neighborhood parades to draw attention and build community support for worker

justice. Workers also participated in a day-long conference on Justice Theater held on the Saturday of Martin Luther King Day. The workshops were conducted by Theater Action Group and Nommo Theater, two artist/activist collectives who create theater for social change, using various models, such as Brazilian theater director Augusto Boal's internationally famous Theater of the Oppressed.

After the acts concluded, all three groups converged on City Hall, where a final neighborhood play linking workers' struggles metaphorically with the Underground Railroad was presented, with a huge puppet of Harriet Tubman as the centerpiece. Another solidarity cry was sounded, as the movement marched toward the Inner Harbor.

One year ago, the closest the United Workers and their allies were allowed to the Inner Harbor grounds by Baltimore City Police was a median lot separated by a major thoroughfare. For the first time, they were able to march through the Harbor grounds, entering on the south end, and concluding with a short rally at the pavilion adjacent to the Maryland Science Center.

Tourist onlookers had mixed reactions, much of it positive according to allies who were handing out the yellow Our Harbor Day pamphlets.

The workers' delegation donned black and yellow signs that read "human rights," "solidarity" and others. A small marching band core provided a ceremonial flair, as demonstrators chanted slogans like "Who's Harbor? Our Harbor!"

The intention of the workers is to grow in numbers and strength, making them a force to be reckoned with at the publicly subsidized, yet privately owned Downtown Inner Harbor.

United Workers' ally and former leadership organizer Tom Kertes said, "Without time and work and community there will be no justice." They hope the next time they demonstrate, it will be at the front end of the Harbor where most tourists congregate, and in the process influence violators such as Five Guys, the Cheesecake Factory and Phillips Seafood to come to the bargaining table so that Inner Harbor workers can achieve their demands. "Our involvement makes history," said Kertes. "Our solidarity is our power."

—Ron Kipling Williams

**MARCH 4, 2010**

Students and supporters of the Peer-to-Peer Youth Enterprises Coalition demand Governor O'Malley to divert \$100 million from Youth Jails to go to Education-Based youth Jobs instead. These education-based jobs should be Peer-to-Peer Jobs where students are employed to pass on knowledge and skills to their peers nurturing mentorship and positive relationships across the city as well as economic stability. Gov. O'Malley intends to spend \$300 million on three new youth jails. The state of Maryland needs to shift its priorities from youth enslavement to youth survival and enrichment.

Peer-to-Peer employment is designed to provide incentives and training for young people to mentor other students in extracurricular activities such as debate, tutoring, peer education, and video production. Young people in Baltimore and the State of Maryland face many challenges. Peer mentors are equipped with the unique ability to understand the problems youth face, and to relate to and help their peers in ways in which adults are not as capable. Peer-to-Peer employment is more cost-effective than other social programs, which are often very expensive and serve fewer people. Investing in Peer-to-Peer employment can

also save the state money in the long run by increasing educational attainment and engagement for youth, thus creating pathways to employment. In this way, Peer-to-Peer serves as an alternative to incarceration, and reduces the number of students who will depend on public and social welfare. There is no special equipment or expertise needed for the Peer-to-Peer model to be effective. There are already hundreds of youth-serving organizations in and around the state that have the capacity to grow and support such programs. Peer-to-Peer education simply requires funds that will enable young people to make a living wage doing work that allows them to be a positive influence on other students and their community.

On March 4<sup>th</sup>, 2010 about 700 students from high schools and colleges throughout the city (Civitas, Maths, Heritage, Poly, Western, Connexions, City College, Morgan, Towson, and BCCC) met up at Camden Yards. After chants and speeches demanding jobs not jails, they marched towards the Juvenile Justice Center at 11:00 am.

At 11:30 am the march stopped at the State School Board where 100 more students joined the march. State Super-

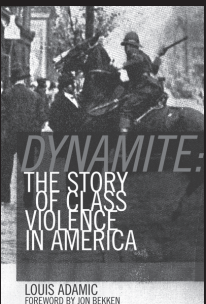
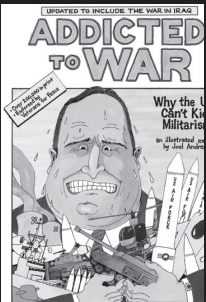
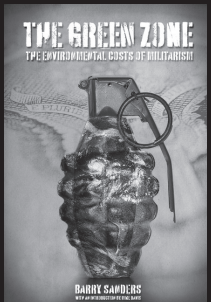
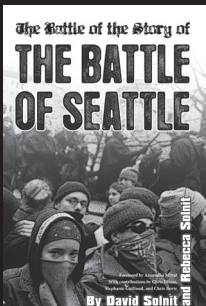
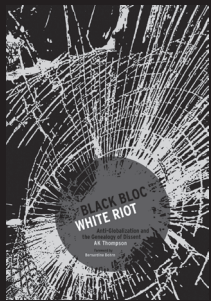
intendent Nancy Grasmick and the State School Board continue to be in contempt of Judge Kaplan's 2004 ruling in *Bradford v. MD State Board of Edu*, owing \$1 billion to Baltimore City Schools.

700 students and supporters of the Baltimore Algebra Project then continued to march to the Juvenile Justice Center. Students took over Fayette St., walking into the streets against traffic. Police vehicles raced all around, with helicopter surveillance and SWAT teams on call.

When the march reached the detention center, 15 youth advocates and adult allies, who had entered earlier, initiated an occupation of the building. The occupation of the detention center lasted for an hour and a half. The students outside the building chanted: "WE DEMAND \$100,000,000 BE DIVERTED FROM YOUTH JAILS TO EDUCATION-BASED JOBS!" and "ARREST O'MALLEY." Inside the building, all official business came to a halt. No arrests were made. At approximately 1:15 pm, the occupiers declared victory and marched outside to cheers.

—Abeni Naseer

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