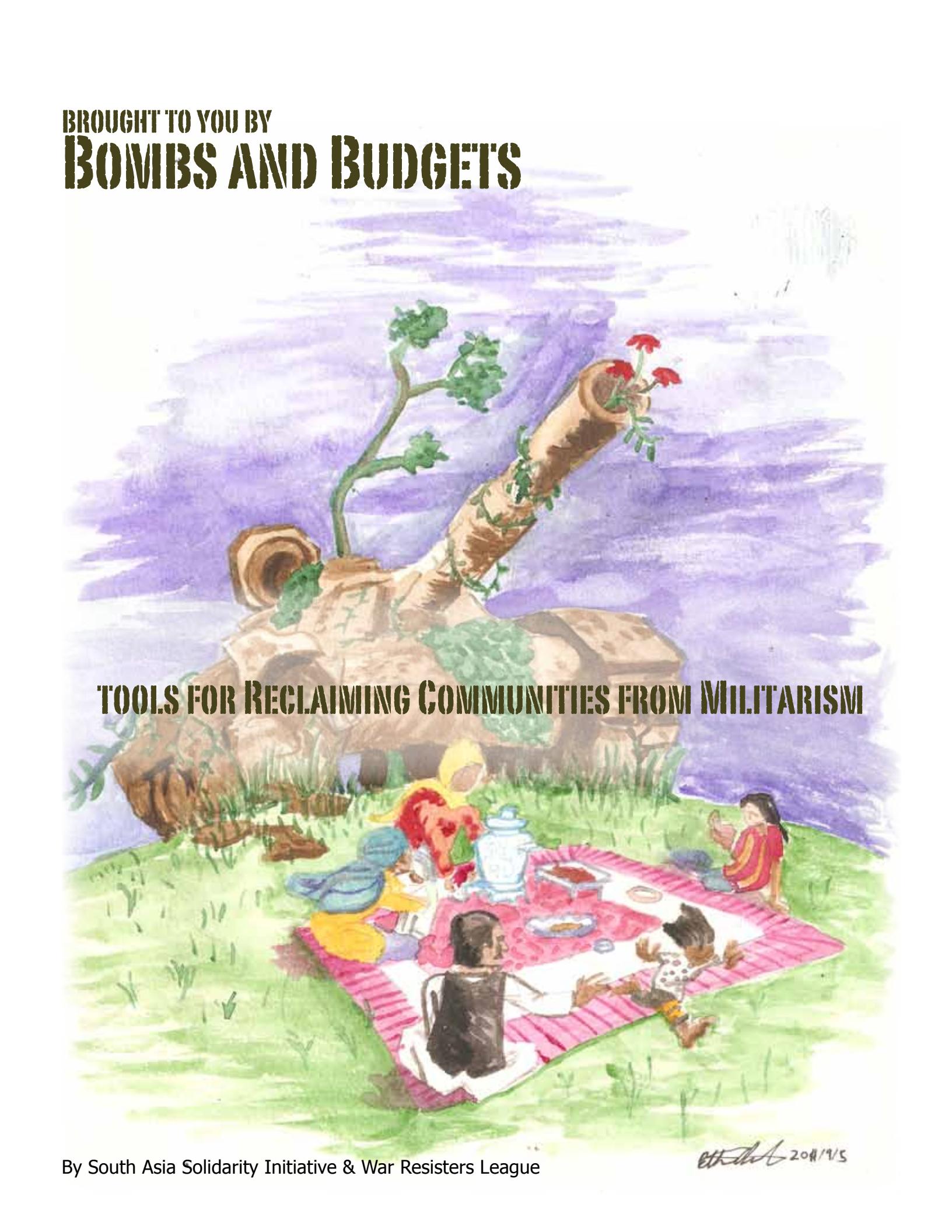


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TOOLS FOR RECLAIMING COMMUNITIES FROM MILITARISM

## **ABOUT THE CURRICULUM**

To mark the now decade-long US-led "Global War on Terror," The War Resisters League and the South Asia Solidarity Initiative have created a popular education-style workshop that explores how organizing against federal military spending relates to and can forward local campaigns for economic justice, as well as how the past decade of war has effected Afghans and what they are doing in response.

The workshops are divided into four areas of focus:

- 1) "A Living Pie Chart" which encourages communities to reflect on present U.S. federal budget priorities, as well as to imagine a budget where their priorities are at the forefront.
- 2) "Me and You and all of the War Profiteers We Know" challenges communities to expand their understanding of "war profiteers," find patterns in how U.S. militarism and the U.S. economy have evolved over the past thirty years through historical and personal timelines, and reflect on who profits most in these systems.
- 3) "Narratives of Liberation: Holding the Government and War Profiteers Accountable" explores case studies of financial institutions and companies at the heart of our economic decline and the war economy (such as J.P. Morgan Chase Bank and Sodexo) as well as presently existing grassroots campaigns that take on these targets and the elected officials that enable them. Communities are then challenged to imagine how they would engage in similar campaign work.
- 4) Finally in "Occupied Afghanistan" communities discuss commonly heard justifications for the continuing US/NATO occupation, learn from Afghans how occupation violence has effected them and their organizing, and model how these discussions can be taken back to where they live and work.

Thank you to Ethan Heitner for creating the cover image, and DRUM (Desis Rising Up and Moving), Community Voices Heard, Afghans for Peace, Brian Pickett, Farah Mokhtareizadeh, Cheyenna Weber and Larry Dansinger for consulting on the content of both Units 1 and 2

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# **UNIT 1: THE WAR ECONOMY AND OUR ECONOMY, AT HOME AND ABROAD**

**(1 hour and 15 minutes)**

This workshop will feature activities that contrast U.S. government spending on wars abroad and domestic “security” with the priorities of communities most impacted by the U.S. budget crisis. Participants will explore where they feel public money should be invested through the creation of a “living pie chart” representing the U.S. federal budget, as well as create a “word wall” to conceptualize their communities’ priorities.

## **PART 1: “MOVING THE MONEY”**

### **GOALS**

- 1) Participants will explore the impact of militarism on the U.S. economy and its relationship to the diversion of resources from the public good.
- 2) Participants will produce narratives that describe how their communities would “move the money” from the military budget and exactly where that money would go.

### **LENGTH OF TIME**

40 minutes

### **MATERIALS**

8 clear plastic or glass jars, 100 pennies, large piece of paper, markers

### **AGE RANGE**

14 and up

### **NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS**

8-50

### **SEQUENCE OF ACTIVITIES**

#### **1) A Living Pie Chart**

- a. We are now going to explore how much the U.S. government spends on the military and see how that compares with our priorities (5 minutes).

*Take out container of 100 pennies. Each of these pennies will represent 1 percent of the current U.S. federal discretionary spending (about 1.3 trillion dollars for fiscal year 2011, meaning that, in our activity, 1 penny equals 13 billion dollars).*

*Source: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/sites/default/files/omb/budget/fy2011/assets/hist08z9.xls> Office of Management and Budget (OMB) Historical Tables, table 8-9.*

*Note: The U.S. federal budget is divided into discretionary spending (which Congress is allowed to adjust every year and totals about a third of total federal spending) and mandatory spending (which are mostly “entitlement” programs” like Social Security and makes up about two-thirds of federal spending). Here we will be talking about discretionary spending since that is what most military spending falls under and it is what can change. See <http://nationalpriorities.org/resources/federal-budget-101/budget-briefs-federal-discretionary-and-mandatory-spending/> for more information.*

*Distribute pennies evenly among the group. 20 people participated would equal 5 pennies each.*

b. Each of these jars will represent a program or aspect of our lives to invest in.

*Take out 4 jars clearly marked as:*

"Military"

"Housing and Community"

"Government"

"Health"

Now, name two other public programs or community needs that you think most need support and two other public programs that hurt our communities. For example, positive ways public money is spent might be: shelters for women escaping violence, low-tuition public universities, free high school education, or needle-exchange programs. Harmful investments could be in: super-max prisons, the "Secure Communities" program, local law enforcement, or subsidies to corporations. *Label each jar accordingly.* We now have 8 jars.

c. We will now distribute the money just like the "2011 Discretionary Budget" sent to Congress in February 2011 (10 minutes).

*Ask each participant to drop their pennies in the appropriate jars according to the statistics below (see Appendix 1 for further federal budget statistics resources.) When people are distributing their pennies, mention how much that equals both in terms of percent of the discretionary budget and in dollar amounts.)* 1) Military (DoD, war, Veterans Affairs, Nuclear Weapons)—58%, Department of Homeland Security—3.5% 2) Housing and Community—6% 3) Government—6% 4) Environment, Energy and Science—6% 5) Health—5% 6) Veterans Benefits—5%<sup>1</sup> 7) Education - 4% 8) International Affairs - 4% 9) Transportation 3% 11) Income Security and Labor - 2% 12) Food - 1%

Source: The National Priorities Project, Discretionary Spending, FY 2011: "<http://nationalpriorities.org/en/resources/federal-budget-101/charts/discretionary-spending/discretionary-budget-fy2011/>" <http://nationalpriorities.org/en/resources/federal-budget-101/charts/discretionary-spending/discretionary-budget-fy2011/>

Note: The breakdown above differs slightly from the WRL Pie Chart Flyer – "Where Your Money Really Goes" due to the pie chart's inclusion of all government revenue gained through taxes, whether it is deemed "discretionary" or "mandatory."

*Take a picture of the jars after they have been filled. Ask for volunteers to read aloud what each program jar says about why it needs money (5 minutes).*

**Military**—"We should not greatly reduce the military budget because] a smaller military, no matter how superb, will be able to go fewer places and be able to do fewer things [ . . . ] The tough choices ahead are really about the kind of role the American people—accustomed to unquestioned military dominance for the past two decades—want their country to play in the world." —Robert Gates, 6/21/11

Source: [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/05/24/robert-gates-pentagon-budget-cuts\\_n\\_866052.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/05/24/robert-gates-pentagon-budget-cuts_n_866052.html)

**Health and Human Services**—"Cuts to support from Medicare and Emergency room

<sup>1</sup> Though the largest percentage of the federal budget goes towards military spending, active-duty service members, veterans, and military families receive just 5% of the discretionary budget. Rates of unemployment and home foreclosures are significantly higher in military communities and among recent veterans than the rest of the population. According to the Veterans Administration, more than 10,000 Iraq and Afghanistan veterans are homeless or in programs aimed at keeping them off the streets. 70% of whom have been deployed to a combat zone one or more times. The Department of Defense estimates that up to 50% of soldiers who have served in Iraq or Afghanistan have Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) or Traumatic Brain Injury (TBI). Of these, only one in four report receiving "adequate care." Additionally, the VA has an over 1 million claim backlog for recent veterans.

visits] will put lives at risk. They will deny life-saving care and treatments to hundreds of thousands of our sickest patients. They will force low-income families to choose between food, rent, and going to the hospital when they get sick. They will make it even harder for providers to care for 7.7 million Californians on Medi-Cal. They will take away the supports keeping seniors and the disabled safe to stay in their homes. Please find another way to fill the budget gap.”—Doctors for America, 3/2/11

Source: <http://files.www.drsforamerica.org/press-releases/california-doctors-don-t-cut-health-care/DFA-CA-budget-petition.pdf>

**Education**—“Most schools have been hit hard by budget cuts. Many high schools have eliminated Advanced Placement and elective classes. There are more oversized classes than there have been in years. And many schools were forced to eliminate or drastically reduce after-school activities. Even if we can avoid layoffs, loss of positions will lead to larger classes, greater workload for teachers, and worsening conditions for education. Our members have suffered. Students and parents have suffered as well.”—Teachers for a Just Contract, May 2011

Source: <http://teachersforajustcontract.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/budget-leaflet-May.pdf>

Now let's think of ways that some of the harmful programs we brought up justify getting public money. For example: How do politicians, prison guard unions, etc. make the case for building more prisons?

#### **Discussion questions:**

- How many are familiar with this distribution of the federal budget?
- How does it make people feel?
- Why do you think the government is distributing things this way?

## **2) Our Pennies—Moving the Money from Below**

a. How would we rather distribute this money? (5 minutes)

*Empty the jars, and ask participants to distribute another set of 100 pennies according to the priorities of their community. Take a picture of this second set of jars.*

#### *Discussion questions (10 minutes):*

- Is there a disconnect between what people want and legislation?
- Who decides this, and is this representative of people's wants?
- What are people already doing about it?
- How might local institutions we know play a part?

b. Budget Priorities “Word Wall” (5 minutes)

Draw a vertical line down the center of a large piece of paper. Label one side “No \$ For” and the other “\$ For.” Ask participants to write words and phrases from the “Our Pennies” activity to mark where our communities’ priorities are.

## **PART 2: "ME AND YOU AND ALL THE WAR PROFITEERS WE KNOW"**

### **GOALS**

- 1) Participants are challenged to expand their definitions of war and militarism (which for many only apply to "official" U.S. wars—e.g. the wars in Iraq or Afghanistan) to include the ongoing militarization of U.S. communities, lands, and borders.
- 2) Participants will come out of this activity understanding the links between U.S. wars and militarism, the economic system of the U.S. (capitalism), and the general decline over the last 30 years of our collective "wealth"/ the public good.
- 3) Participants will come out of this activity with a strengthened understanding of who benefits under U.S. militarism and capitalism and will strengthen their campaign planning skills.

### **LENGTH OF TIME**

40 minutes

### **MATERIALS**

A very large and long piece of paper for the timeline, writing materials for participants, markers, tape. For "key events," print out Appendix 2 after increasing the font size and cut into slips of paper and prepare blank slips of paper for participants to add their own key events.

### **NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS**

At least 6

### **AGE RANGE**

14 and up

### **PREPARATION**

The facilitator should beforehand construct a fairly large (i.e. readable by all participants) basic blank timeline from 1980 to 2010.

### **SEQUENCE OF ACTIVITIES**

#### **1) Narratives of domination (20 minutes)**

In this activity we will be looking at the history of U.S. economic policies since the 1980s, particularly at their intersections with U.S. militarism. Through a timeline activity, which will include our own stories and histories, we will look at how economic and military policies of the U.S. government have affected people's lives both abroad and in the U.S. We are also going to look at a few of the groups of people who are most benefiting from the general decline of "wealth" and the growing militarism in the U.S. and participate in activities to develop our strategies of resistance against these war profiteers.

a. *Break participants into 2 groups: one group will be looking at a history of U.S. militarism since the 1980s (see "U.S. Military Intervention Timeline" in Appendix 2) and the other group will be looking at the history of U.S. economic policies/privatization and corporatization of public resources since the*

1980s (see “Our Economy a.k.a. Capitalism” Timeline in Appendix 2).

Each group will receive a number of slips of paper. Each individual slip will state the year of a specific event and a summary of information about an event/happening that relates to the “narrative of domination” (economic or military) covered by that group (e.g. 1975: President Ford declares the end of the Vietnam war and U.S. financial and military aid to South Vietnam...). Each group will also receive a number of blank slips. Each group will look at their slips and prepare a 5-minute presentation for the whole group about the history of their assigned narrative since 1980.

*Inform the participants that, when they present on the events of their topic/narrative, they should put tape on the back of each slip of paper and stick them up on the timeline on butcher paper on the wall. Inform participants that in their presentations they should read each of their individual slips to the larger group and provide an overview of their topic/narrative, responding to the following questions:*

How has the U.S. economy and the role of the U.S. government in it changed in the last 30 years? (Group 1)

What have been the effects of the changing economic landscape on the majority of the people living in the U.S.? (1)

How have these economic changes affected you, your family, and your community? (1)

What has U.S. militarism looked like over the past 30 years? Are there connections between U.S. militarism abroad and policing of people in your communities? (Group 2)

What have been the effects of the last 30 years of U.S. militarism on the people living in the U.S.? (2)

How have the last 30 years of U.S. militarism affected you, your family, and your community? (2)

*Ask participants to also write their own specific dates and stories individually on the blank slips of paper that will fit in with their group’s presentation (e.g. “1984: My uncle went to prison for a minor drug offense. It was his first offense, but he was sentenced to 35 years...”).*

b. *Have each of the two groups assemble their piece of the timeline on the wall and present their piece of the timeline to the larger group for 5 minutes each (10 minutes).*

## **2) Large group discussion. Ask all participants (10 minutes):**

- How did it feel to add your own stories to the timeline?
- How do you see these two narratives of domination (economic privatization and austerity and militarism) linking up with one another?
- Are there any patterns that you see when you look at the two together? Are there any connections between the two timelines? *Instruct participants to use a marker to draw lines be-*

*tween connections that they see between the two “narratives of domination.”*

- Who has been benefiting from the last 30 years of economic policies?
- Who has been benefiting from the last 30 years of U.S. militarism?
- Why do you think that there is overlap among those who benefit from each of these forms of domination?
- Why is U.S. government intervening in other countries?

### **PART 3: NARRATIVES OF LIBERATION: HOLDING THE GOVERNMENT AND WAR PROFITEERS ACCOUNTABLE**

#### **LENGTH OF TIME**

30 minutes

#### **MATERIALS**

The completed timeline from Part 2, profiteer profile cards (see below), writing materials for participants, large-sized paper, markers, props if possible

#### **NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS**

At least 6

#### **AGE RANGE**

14 and up

#### **PREPARATION**

Facilitators are responsible for researching and creating summaries of case studies of specific war profiteers in advance of the workshop and writing those summaries on large notecards or pieces of paper for the small group activity. See examples of a few case studies below. Facilitators are encouraged to create their own case studies depending on the groups that will be attending their workshop. If prison abolition groups will be in attendance, for example, facilitators might want to choose corporations like the Corrections Corporation of America or Sodexo.

#### **SEQUENCE OF ACTIVITIES**

##### **1) How do we hold the government and war profiteers accountable? (5 minutes)**

- Looking back at the timeline, who benefited most from U.S. militarism and capitalism (banks, corporations, the government, etc.)?
- Who makes the decisions to spend money on wars abroad?
- How are people in the U.S. and throughout the world affected by those decisions?
- What were the links you see in the timeline between militarism, government spending and the privatization of social resources?
- Because they're among those benefiting most from the codependencies of capitalism and militarism, banks and corporations often are linked to supporting and resourcing U.S. militarism

because they stand to gain from it--this is called "war profiteering."

- Based on the timeline, are there any other people or groups in the U.S. who you would describe as "war profiteers"?

## **2) Profiteer case studies** (15 minutes)

*Divide participants into groups of 4-6 people each. Hand each group a card or sheet of paper on which a profile of a bank or corporate perpetrator is clearly written.*

We are giving you a profile of a corporation profiteering from the war or of an existing campaign that deals with the military budget. Sample profiles include: JP Morgan Chase, 25 Teachers' Salaries, Rural Oregonians target Representative Walden (for supporting \$700 billion for the military while cutting billions for communities), and Sodexo.

Using these case studies as your guide, your group will spend the next 15 minutes thinking of one fully fleshed out tactic for a campaign that addresses both the issue of the war as well as local economic concerns.

Could someone give an example of a tactic you have used in your work? What is a tactic? *Explain to the group what counts as a tactic (e.g. petition, sit-in, letter campaign, smear ads, etc.).*

Think about how your tactic highlights the connection between war and local economic justice issues. Your group may have some methods that you use to come up with a tactic for your work. You can also use this "Tactic Star" handout as a model to help narrow down and plan for the tactic that you'll be using: <http://beyondthechoir.org/upload/downloads/tactic-star.pdf>.

*Encourage the groups to be creative! For example, they can incorporate drawings/pictures or create a skit promoting their new tactic.*

*Have each group present their tactic to the larger group. Ask them why they used this tactic for this case study and why they think this will be a successful tactic.*

### **Sample Case Study 1: Rural Oregonians target Representative Walden**

Since January 2011, Oregon Congressional Representative Greg Walden has been a member of the Republican majority in the U.S. House of Representatives. The U.S. House is charged with producing a budget for the United States of America and Rep. Walden, as a member of the Republican majority, has particular responsibility to produce a budget that "provides for the common welfare" of the people of the United States.

Rep. Walden has failed to execute his duty to look after the financial and social health of all the people of the State of Oregon, and of the United States, having a voting record including the following:

- Voting to increase the U.S. military budget to over 700 billion dollars, while cutting funds for the Women, Infants, and Children food program.

- Voting to preserve 40 billion dollars of subsidies and tax loopholes for the oil industry, while cutting emergency home heating assistance for low-income people.
- Voting to preserve 700 billion dollars of tax cuts to the richest Americans, while voting to end the Medicare program that protects senior citizens from medical bankruptcy.
- Voting against reforming the unjust immigration laws of the United States, further oppressing America's undocumented economic refugees, while at the same time voting to defund and neuter the enforcement arm of Security and Exchange commission, which is charged with investigating financial fraud on Wall Street.
- Voting to water down and subvert all banking reform proposed to avert another economic meltdown, while also voting to defund federal help for people seeking to avoid home foreclosure. Rep. Walden's office has stated that "foreclosure is not an issue in the 2nd Congressional District" while thousands of homes are in foreclosure today.
- Voting to defund public safety programs, emergency food assistance, community health and mental health programs, support for reproductive health, environmental protections, public transportation investments, public education funding, the National Cancer Institute, while fighting to preserve public subsidies for corporate agriculture, coal mining, uranium mining, off shore oil drilling, job exporting and tax avoidance.
- Having proven himself to be a hazard to this community.

Constituents demand that, instead, Walden hold those responsible for the economic crisis accountable.

### **Sample Case Study 2: JP Morgan Chase**

- Following the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003, J. P. Morgan Chase was selected to operate a bank the United States created in Iraq to manage billions of dollars to finance imports and exports.  
Sources: <http://www.tbiraq.com/en/business-partners/our-banking-partners/correspondent-banks>; <http://www.tbiraq.com/en/about/our-mission-vision>; <http://www.tbiraq.com/en/business-in-iraq>; [http://www.powerbase.info/index.php/JP\\_Morgan\\_Chase\\_and\\_Co.](http://www.powerbase.info/index.php/JP_Morgan_Chase_and_Co.); [http://www.tfreview.com/xq/asp/sid.0/articleid.3A45361D-824B-4A19-A6E5-CCE04AF36E82/eTitle.TFR\\_Deal\\_of\\_the\\_Year\\_2004\\_Tifa\\_Iraq/qx/display.htm](http://www.tfreview.com/xq/asp/sid.0/articleid.3A45361D-824B-4A19-A6E5-CCE04AF36E82/eTitle.TFR_Deal_of_the_Year_2004_Tifa_Iraq/qx/display.htm)
- In August 2003, the NY Times said this about the Trade Bank of Iraq, which at the time included 13 international banks and now includes 30 banks: "Operating the bank, the Trade Bank of Iraq, will give banks access to the financial system of Iraq, which has huge oil reserves; foreign bank companies have not operated in the country since a policy of nationalization in the 1950's and 1960's...The trade bank will serve as an intermediary for Iraqi government agencies' purchases of equipment and supplies from companies based outside the country."  
Sources: <http://www.nytimes.com/2003/08/30/business/j-p-morgan-selected-to-run-new-trade-bank-in-iraq.html>; <http://www.nytimes.com/2003/08/30/business/j-p-morgan-selected-to-run-new-trade-bank-in-iraq.html>; <http://www.tbiraq.com>; <http://www.tbiraq.com>
- A 2009 report cited JP Morgan Chase for funding the production of cluster bombs, tiny bomblets that are dispersed upon impact, creating defacto landmines wherever they fall. These have been used by the Israeli army during the war in south Lebanon three years ago, as well as by both the Georgians and the Russians in the dispute over South Ossetia, and by the U.S. in the invasions of Iraq and Afghanistan.

Source: <http://www.ikvpaxchristi.nl/files/Documenten/wap%20cluster%20munitie/Clustermunition/Stop%20Explosive%20Investments/2010%20Hall%20of%20Shame.pdf>

- In 1989, NYC awarded 25 years of subsidies and benefits with a projected value of \$211.8 million to JP Morgan Chase to expand its offices and create 1,450 jobs. Rather than going up in the years that followed, employment at Chase's banking operations in NYC went down.

*Source: [http://www.theblackinstitute.org/knowledge/black\\_papers/may12\\_payback.pdf](http://www.theblackinstitute.org/knowledge/black_papers/may12_payback.pdf)*

- Nationally, as of June 2010, JP Morgan Chase made \$19.5 billion in home foreclosures in the U.S. Chase employees admitted to signing 18,000 foreclosure documents per month without reviewing the information in each file first and Chase was forced to stop foreclosures in 41 states due to this "robo-signing" scandal. JP Morgan Chase also provided financing to the worst of the subprime lenders who issued \$295.3 billion in subprime loans from 2005-2007.

*Source: [http://www.theblackinstitute.org/knowledge/black\\_papers/may12\\_payback.pdf](http://www.theblackinstitute.org/knowledge/black_papers/may12_payback.pdf)*

- Chase overcharged 4,500 U.S. military members on mortgages and improperly foreclosed on 18 of them.

*Source: [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/05/05/banks-illegal-foreclosure-soldiers-gao-report\\_n\\_858207.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/05/05/banks-illegal-foreclosure-soldiers-gao-report_n_858207.html)*

### **Sample Case Study 3: Teachers Salaries vs. Military spending**

Too much money is being spent on the military, especially weapons. Too little money is being spent on education, especially teachers' salaries. This imbalance threatens our potential for peace, and the quality of education available to K–12 students across the country and their future. Consider these facts about military and education spending in the United States:

- In California the average starting teacher's salary is \$40,000 per year. It's less in other states.
- For \$1 million the federal government can either buy one bomb or the states can pay 25 teachers' salaries for 1 year.
- California public education is in a "state of emergency". Every state has an education crisis.
- The United States had spent over \$1 trillion on wars in Afghanistan and Iraq as of June, 2010.
- The Pentagon budget is \$685 billion this year. 1% of that amount would enable the states to pay for over 100,000 K-12 teachers' and other educators' salaries including benefits. On the first day of the war against Libya the U.S. fired 112 Tomahawk cruise missiles, each costing \$1.5 million. That \$168 million could have done a lot of good in the school districts. That was 1 day.

The solution: A massive nationwide campaign involving citizens urging the local and state government to speak up about our national priorities and propose to re-allocate a percentage (about 3.5 to 4%) of the weapons budget to education.

*Source: <http://25teacherssalaries.org>*

### **Sample Case Study 4: Sodexo**

Sodexo (formerly Sodexho) is one of the largest food services and facilities management companies in the world, with 380,000 employees representing 130 nationalities present on 34,000 sites in 80 countries. For fiscal year 2010 (ending August 2009) revenues reached \$21.7 billion.

- In 2001, the U.S. Marine Corps awarded Sodexo a \$850 million contract to serve meals at 55 Marines Corps mess halls and Sodexo has continued to provide food services for Marine bases in the U.S. since they officially privatized their services in 2002. Also in 2002, Sodexo was granted a \$324,000 contract to provide food and equipment in Afghanistan. Sodexo has a contract with the NATO headquarters in Kabul as well.

Sources: <http://www.wri-irg.org/node/563>; <http://www.corporatewatch.org.uk/?id=834#mil>

- In addition to providing services (food, grounds keeping, etc.) to a number of prisons throughout Europe, Sodexo owns for-profit private prison companies in the U.K. and Australia.
- Sodexo's subsidiaries—Australian Integrated Management Systems and United Kingdom Detention Services—not only privately operate prisons and refugee detention centers, but also work with governments to design, build and finance new prisons. Sodexo was heavily invested in the private prison industry in the U.S. up until 2001, with its 17% stake in Corrections Corporation of America (CCA). At that time, Sodexho-Marriott, a Sodexho Alliance (now Sodexo) subsidiary in U.S., was providing food service to many college campuses around the nation.
- In 2000, the "Not with Our Money!" campaign to fight Sodexho's support of prison companies was supported by boycotts at many colleges in the U.S. SUNY Binghamton and Earlham College used student organization funds to divert close to 1,000 people from supporting Sodexo by feeding them food outside of the meal hall. Hampshire College students organized a potluck that virtually shut down their cafeteria. After close to a year of protesting, Sodexho Alliance (Sodexo) finally decided that the investments in the prisons were "no longer in line with our strategic objectives and is in conflict with our policy."
- While Sodexo was making plans to pull out of the private prison industry in the U.S., CCA and Sodexho made a backroom deal for Sodexo to become the sole owner of the UK prison company, UK Detention Services.
- In 2009, the SEIU launched a nationwide campaign against Sodexo with their stated objective of improving wages and jobs, as well as food quality and standards.

The following are the talking points of their campaign:

- ◊ The "cycle of poverty" that Sodexo claims it wants to end starts with a job at Sodexo.
- ◊ Sodexo's "commitment to health and wellbeing" stops when its workforce doesn't have access to affordable healthcare.
- ◊ Sodexo's effort to build "leadership for diversity and inclusion" fails when, even after thousands of black employees are forced to file a race-bias suit that's eventually settled for \$80 million, lawsuits alleging unfair treatment continue to be filed.
- ◊ Sodexo's "longstanding policy of non-retaliation that ensures employees can safely report their good-faith concerns without fear of retribution" wears thin when an employee alleging sexual harassment on the job is fired.
- ◊ Sodexo's pledge to provide nutritious meals falls short when the parents of students who eat Sodexo's food question its quality, referring to it as "pre-packaged, processed food you would

find in the freezer section.”

Source: <http://cleanupsofdeoxy.org>

### **3) Large group discussion. (10 minutes)**

Ask all participants:

- What was your tactic and why did you choose it? Why do you think it would be successful? What is the connection between war and economy/local issues in this tactic?
- How did this activity change the ways you see and would use the timeline?
- How does this exercise help you think about your own organizing work and current campaigns?
- How do see antimilitarist work and economic justice work supporting each other?
- What are the challenges in moving forward?
- What are the questions that remain for you?

## **FURTHER RESOURCES**

1) “U.S. Mayors Call for Early End to Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq and Focus Reinvestments on Domestic Job Creation”: The U.S. Conference of Mayors is the official nonpartisan organization of cities with populations of 30,000 or more.

<http://www.usmayors.org/79thAnnualMeeting/documents/0620-release-war-dollars.pdf>

2) Visit the National Priorities Project website for a tool that can calculate the “trade-off” that moving money from the Department of Defense could provide in your local community:  
<http://nationalpriorities.org/tools/tradeoffs>



## **UNIT 2: OCCUPIED AFGHANISTAN**

**(1 hour and 15 min.)**

This workshop will engage perceptions about Afghanistan and its people and explore often-heard talking points about the war in Afghanistan. It will also feature resources and discussion questions on: the women of Afghanistan, U.S./NATO “night raids,” detention and drone attacks, and Afghan-led organizing against the war.

### **GOALS**

- 1) Participants will discuss their associations with Afghan people and society.
- 2) Participants will examine the justifications often used for U.S./NATO presence in Afghanistan.
- 3) Participants will engage with on-the-ground reports on women’s issues, violence, and torture perpetrated by the occupation, as well as Afghan-led peace work.
- 4) Participants will practice countering justifications for the war where they live and work.

### **LENGTH OF TIME**

75 minutes

### **MATERIALS**

projector, internet connection

### **AGE RANGE**

14 and up (some resources include descriptions of extreme violence and torture)

### **NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS**

6-25

### **SEQUENCE OF ACTIVITIES**

#### **1) Introduction (5 minutes)**

- a. *Write the word “Afghanistan” on a board or large paper. Ask participants to brainstorm the first images and thoughts that come to mind, either anonymously on slips of paper, or aloud (emphasizing that this is not necessarily what we believe, but are words we have heard associated with Afghanistan. For example, Osama Bin Laden, Sept. 11, women in Burqas, etc). Write down words and phrases on the board or paper.*

Where do our perceptions of Afghans and Afghanistan come from? We will return to this initial list at the end of the session to reflect on whether there is anything we would change or add.

#### **2) Why We’re There: Justifications for Occupation (10 minutes)**

- a. Distribute a print out of the 7 justifications listed below.

**Justification 1:** We are fighting to defeat the Taliban.

**Justification 2:** We are fighting to defeat al-Qaeda.

**Justification 3:** We're in Afghanistan to defend women's rights and human rights.

**Justification 4:** The U.S. presence in Afghanistan is justified by the September 11th attacks.

**Justification 5:** Afghans want the U.S. and NATO troops to stay in their country because they feel protected by them. The Taliban is the only resistance to the U.S. occupation.

**Justification 6:** Afghans still want U.S. troops in their country, despite their discontent.

**Justification 7:** If the troops leave, we're giving up on the Afghan people.

*Evenly distribute the justifications among pairs or small groups of participants to discuss their thoughts on the particular justification they have been given. Ask participants to respond to these questions:*

- Where have you heard these justifications?
- From whom and in what context?
- What is the basis for them in your knowledge?
- Are these justifications valid?

b. *Returning to the larger group, have participants share what they've discussed and ask:*

- Why are these justifications so often heard?
- How might they be challenged and on what basis?
- Have these justifications changed over the last 10 years?

### **3) Occupied Afghanistan** (30 minutes)

We will now explore what is happening in Afghanistan now and hear what certain Afghans have to say about the war.

*Break the large group into three small groups and assign each smaller group one of these issues and group of resources:*

a. **Women in Afghanistan** (video)

[http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R7jAT0FAGBc&feature=player\\_embedded](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R7jAT0FAGBc&feature=player_embedded) "Rethink Afghanistan—Women of Afghanistan" (10:51)

*Discussion questions:*

- What are some of the ways Afghan women experience violence?
- Has this changed over the last ten years?
- How do the women in the film respond to their situation?
- According to the film, why do women suffer disproportionately from war?

b. **Occupation Violence**

Choose from among these three texts based on issues that communities participating might most relate to.

**Night raids**—Account of Afghan civilians' experience of U.S. military "night raids" (1,100 words):  
<http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/02/24/us-afghanistan-raids-quotes-idU.S.TRE71N16K20110224>

*Note: "night raids" are a tactic, increasingly used by occupying forces since 2010 to locate and apprehend suspected "militants." The "ISAF" is the "International Security Assistance Force" led by U.S. and NATO military.*

**Drone Attacks**—The Bureau's database of Pakistani drone strikes contains close to 300 entries, ranging from the very first strike in 2004 through to the most recent, which occurred on the day of publication. Each contains a highly detailed breakdown of statistics, including casualty figures, civilian deaths, location, date, time, and more. <http://www.thebureauinvestigates.com/2011/08/10/three-strikes-of-note-stories-behind-our-data/>

**Bagram Prison**—“Story of a Detainee in Bagram Prison” by Andy Worthington contains seven articles in total exploring what is happening at the main U.S. prison in Afghanistan through reports, analyses of review boards, and the voices of the prisoners themselves, and ongoing updates to the definitive annotated Bagram prisoner list. <http://www.andyworthington.co.uk/2011/04/07/the-dark-side-of-bagram-an-ex-prisoners-account-of-two-years-of-abuse>; <http://www.andyworthington.co.uk/bagram-the-first-ever-prisoner-list-the-annotated-version>

*Discussion questions:*

- What ways do you see that prisons, night raids, or drones have affected Afghan lives?
- What is something you've learned about what it like to live in a war zone?

- Are there any connections you might make to the policing of the communities, prison, and borders here in the U.S.?
- How do U.S. raids affect Afghan civilians? What is their intention?
- How is the Afghan government responding to them?

### **c. Anti-war Afghans**

Choose from among these two videos based on whether an Afghanistan-based or Afghan-diaspora focus would be most appropriate to your context:

**Independent Afghan politician Ramazan Bashardost** interviewed by David Swanson in March of 2011: [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HVy2s\\_3ikUE&feature=channel\\_video\\_title](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HVy2s_3ikUE&feature=channel_video_title) Message to Obama (6:04)

*Discussion questions:*

- According to independent Afghan politician Dr. Ramazan Bashardost, what is the U.S. "losing" in Afghanistan?
- Who rules Afghanistan now?
- Who does the present U.S./NATO occupation serve?

**Afghans for Peace (AFP)** is an alliance of Afghans from various ethnic, religious, socio-economic, cultural, and political backgrounds with a united vision for a democratic, all inclusive, just and peaceful Afghanistan. AFP consists of students, professionals, community leaders, and socio-politically aware activists. Currently, AFP has active chapters in Los Angeles, Mazar-e-Sharif, San Diego, the Bay Area, and Toronto. AFP collaborates on projects with groups and individuals inside Afghanistan, such as Afghan Youth Peace Volunteers: <http://afghansforpeace.org>, [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_ror0qPcasM](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_ror0qPcasM) (Introductory video: 2:52)

*Discussion questions:*

- Who are Afghans for Peace?
- Why are Afghans for Peace against the occupation?
- What other examples can you think of where communities in the diaspora are working in solidarity with those at home?

*Have each small group view videos or read for 10 minutes, discuss for 10 minutes, and present to the larger group for 10 minutes.*

## **4) Disrupting Myths and Building Towards Action Where You Live (30 minutes)**

a. Ask participants to imagine how they are going to share or bring back to their communities what they have just learned about Afghanistan and the occupation, as well as how they plan to build towards action, guided by the following questions (5 minutes):

- What are some places and situations you can imagine discussing the war in Afghanistan where you live and work?
- If the person/people who you are discussing the war with are using some of the justifications for war we discussed earlier or support the war/occupation in some way, how would you use the knowledge that you now have about Afghanistan?



**Example 1:** A cousin who you grew up with is going to join the military to “fight terrorists” and because they need help with college. How would you engage them?

**Example 2:** A special on the War on Terror appears on CNN in a local bar describing how Osama Bin Laden was found and killed. A conversation begins...

**Example 3:** There is a terror alert. There are plans to heighten security in airports and train stations. The government says that terrorists are threatening U.S. soil. Coworkers start discussing this at lunch responding to a Daily News headline.



b. Ask participants to break into groups of three and come up with a brief skit demonstrating how some of the Afghan stories we heard today can be used in an everyday situation, referring to the above examples as models (15 minutes).

c. Have each group present their skit to the larger group (10 minutes).

## FURTHER RESOURCES:

### WOMEN'S RIGHTS WORK IN AFGHANISTAN

**Value of Women** [http://womensvoicesnow.org/watchfilm/value\\_of\\_women/](http://womensvoicesnow.org/watchfilm/value_of_women/) (34:23) (December, 2010)

An in-depth documentary that focuses on the struggle for women's rights in Afghanistan. Features the organizing of a women's protest against a specific law which restricts women's movement. The film does not explore the role foreign occupation has played in these struggles.

“Women living in the Islamic society of Afghanistan are not content with their situa-

*tion and lack of freedom. They believe some Islamic laws prevent them from doing the things they want like choosing a spouse, seeking an education and working outside the home.”*

**Discussion Questions:**

- What are some of the ways Afghan women experience violence?
- Has this changed over the last ten years?
- How do the women in the film respond to their situation?

**Kandahar Treasure**—an Afghan women-led initiative to build economic independence through the tradition of locally-produced Afghan embroidery. Founded by Rangina Hamidi. <http://www.kandahartreasure.com>

**OCCUPATION VIOLENCE: NIGHT RAIDS, DRONES, AND “BLACK SITE” PRISONS**

**Drone Attacks**—The Bureau of Investigative Journalism’s database of Pakistani drone strikes contains close to 300 entries, ranging from the very first strike in 2004 through to the most recent, which occurred on the day of publication. Each contains a highly detailed breakdown of statistics, including casualty figures, civilian deaths, location, date, time, and more. <http://www.thebureauinvestigates.com/2011/08/31/covert-war-drone-investigation-covere-internationally/>

**Bagram Prison**—Andy Worthington wrote seven articles in total exploring what is happening at the main U.S. prison in Afghanistan through reports, analyses of review boards, and the voices of the prisoners themselves. <http://www.andyworthington.co.uk/bagram-the-first-ever-prisoner-list-the-annotated-version>, <http://www.andyworthington.co.uk/2011/04/07/the-dark-side-of-bagram-an-ex-prisoners-account-of-two-years-of-abuse>

**PEACE WORK AND INDEPENDENT POLITICAL ACTORS**

**The Afghan Youth Peace Volunteers** (AYPV) <http://ourjourneytosmile.com/blog>

The People’s December Review by the Afghan Youth Peace Volunteers, December 25, 2010: *In the first person voice of Abdulai, a fifteen year old Afghan boy whose father was killed by the Taliban. In this interview by David Swanson with Hakim, coordinator of Afghan Youth Peace Volunteers, Hakim explains why he thinks the people of the U.S. and of Afghanistan share the same interests and why he thinks U.S. and NATO military forces are not the answer.*

Afghan Youth Peace Volunteers General Mission and Focus, <http://www.youtube.com/>

[watch?v=ox3WUgQ-ybo&feature=player\\_embedded](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ox3WUgQ-ybo&feature=player_embedded)—Part 1 (2:51) Intro—Hakim Ethnic divisions among Afghans? Steps towards unity, [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w8w23Izlja0&feature=player\\_embedded](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w8w23Izlja0&feature=player_embedded)—Part 2 (4:54)

“Peace Trek” and a message against all violence brought to the U.S. ambassador, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fGg2xpUDUI0&feature=related>—Part 3 (4:37)

*Hakim, coordinator of Afghan Youth Peace Volunteers, explains why he thinks the people of the U.S. and of Afghanistan share the same interests, and why he thinks U.S. and NATO military forces are not the answer.* [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MAsIN03B08c&feature=player\\_embedded](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MAsIN03B08c&feature=player_embedded)—Part 4 (7:12)

AYPV August 9th statement on military bases: <http://livewithoutwars.org/aug9statement.pdf>

**Ramazan Bashardost** interview by David Swanson—March, 2011

[http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HVy2s\\_3ikUE&feature=channel\\_video\\_title](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HVy2s_3ikUE&feature=channel_video_title)

Message to Obama—analysis of U.S./NATO role within present Afghan internal conflicts  
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jGGmAyyotrY&feature=relmfu>

### **Independent Afghan Politician Malalai Joya**

Clip of Malalai Joya’s general positions from 2009 on CNN (2.5 minutes): [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_JYhMg6\\_Q5k&feature=related](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_JYhMg6_Q5k&feature=related)

Excerpt of the 12/17/03 Loya Jirga (Grand Assembly) speech that launched her as a leading opposition figure (in Dari w/ subtitles) (1.5 minutes):

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iLC1KBrwbck&feature=related>

Malalai speaks about her upbringing and politicization (12 minutes): [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KJEeDteDgbo&feature=rec-LGOUT-exp\\_fresh+div-1r-1-HM](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KJEeDteDgbo&feature=rec-LGOUT-exp_fresh+div-1r-1-HM)

“Enemies of Happiness”: 2006 documentary film on her campaign and her social/political work in her home province of Farah (subtitled in English) (1 hour 5 minutes): <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H2jTDqNN5PY>

2010 general intro article from the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan <http://www.rawa.org/temp/runews/2010/07/24/afghan-leader-malalai-joya-is-resistance-personified.html>

Intro page in Spanish (text and dubbed 8 minute interview video from 2009)  
<http://www.malalaijoya.com/dcmj/spanishpages/102-entrevista-malalay-joya-activista-agfana.html>

Some important excerpts from Joya’s memoir *A Woman Among Warlords* (2009)

<http://www.southasiainitiative.org/articles/announcing-spring-2011-us>

## AFGHAN ARTISTS

**3rd Eye**—Afghan Photography Collective: <http://3rdeye.af>

**Farzana Wahidy**—Photographer and filmmaker <http://www.farzanawahidy.com>  
*Life for Women in Afghanistan*—<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Iz8UQHsbf1U>



Photo by Farzana Wahidy

## **APPENDIX 1**

**War Resisters League Federal Budget Pie Chart:** "Where Your Money Really Goes" The War Resisters League's famous "pie chart" flyer analyzes the Federal Fiscal Year 2012 Budget (released in February 2011).

Each year, War Resisters League analyzes federal funds outlays as presented in detailed tables in "Analytical Perspectives" of the Budget of the United States Government. Our analysis is based on federal funds, which do not include trust funds—such as Social Security—that are raised separately from income taxes for specific purposes. What you pay (or don't pay) by April 15, 2011 goes to the federal funds portion of the budget.

<http://www.warresisters.org/node/1132>

**National Priorities Project:** <http://nationalpriorities.org>

Mission: National Priorities Project (NPP) makes complex federal budget information transparent and accessible so people can prioritize and influence how their tax dollars are spent.

"We hold the vision of an informed and engaged democracy where all people affected by federal spending priorities have the ability and opportunity to participate in shaping our nation's budget."

**New Priorities Network:** <http://newprioritiesnetwork.org>

New Priorities is a national network of groups that seek to fund urgently needed jobs and restore vital public services by ending the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and substantially cutting the core Pentagon budget.

**Not My Priorities:** <http://www.notmypriorities.org>

Provides resources on federal budget priorities and a pie chart postcard campaign.

## **APPENDIX 2**

### **U.S. MILITARY INTERVENTION TIMELINE**

*Note: for more details for some of the events below, see the sources listed at the end of each of the timelines.*

#### **1979**

Before the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the U.S. initiated a secret campaign to destabilize Afghanistan's pro-Soviet government by arming and funding the Islamist opposition in the country.

#### **1980**

U.S.-trained forces in El Salvador begin to terrorize Salvadorian civilians. The U.S.-backed Salvadorian government continued its repression until 1992. U.S. President Ronald Reagan gave the Salvadorian government \$3 billion to finance the violence there.

The U.S. began providing support (financial and technological) to Saddam Hussein's dictatorship in Iraq during the Iran-Iraq War that followed the Iranian revolution in 1979.

Neo-Nazi skinhead groups emerged in the 1980s, along with the resurgence of white power groups such as the Klan, the former using music as a cover for violence perpetrated against people of color (primarily African-Americans) and queer people in the South.

### **1981**

From the 80s until the early 2000s, the number of prisons in the U.S. quadrupled, disproportionately comprised of African-Americans, Latinos, and poor people, including many poor whites.

### **1982**

Reagan introduced the Strategic Defense Initiative (aka "Star Wars") to provide the United States with a protective missile shield against the nuclear arsenal of the Soviet Union. The possibility of building such a deterrent was questioned by many scientists.

### **1983**

U.S. military invaded Grenada to replace the People's Revolutionary Government of the New Jewel Movement.

### **1986**

The Iran-Contra scandal broke when it was confirmed that the Reagan government funded anti-revolutionary opposition forces in Nicaragua through secret sales of U.S. military equipment to Iran. Prior to this, the Reagan administration had been giving money to these opposition groups, called contras, along with direct funds to the CIA to destabilize the popular Sandinista government, which came into leadership after overthrowing their dictator in 1979.

After years of supporting Libyan exiles and others in their coup attempts against the Libyan government, the U.S. sent 18 warplanes to bomb Libya and kill Libyan dictator Muammar El-Quaddafi and his family. President Reagan connected the covert assassination plot to some questionable evidence that Quaddafi was linked to the bombing of a West German dance hall. According to Libyan estimates, 37 people were killed and 93 others were injured.

As a part of Reagan's "War on Drugs," The U.S. Congress passed laws that created a 100 to 1 sentencing disparity for the possession or trafficking of crack compared to penalties for possession or trafficking of powder cocaine. Persons convicted of possession of 5 grams of crack cocaine received a mandatory minimum sentence of 5 years in federal prison, while possession of 500 grams of powder cocaine carried the same

sentence.

Congress passed the Immigration Reform and Control Act, aimed at stemming the flow of illegal immigration by cracking down on U.S. employers who hire illegal immigrants. The act also granted amnesty to some illegal workers already in the United States, giving more than 2.7 million people legal status.

### **1987**

The U.S. politically and financially supported Israel's occupation of Palestine during the first Intifada (a period of uprising and mass Palestinian resistance to occupation) as the Israeli military enacted violence against thousands of unarmed Palestinians.

### **1989**

The U.S. invaded Panama to oust President Noriega allegedly due to his involvement in drug trafficking. Not long before the U.S. ouster and indictment of Noriega, he was on the CIA payroll for his support for U.S. policy in Central America.

### **1991**

The Soviet Union collapsed along with its one-party dictatorship, its state-owned economy, and the Soviet state's control over its domestic and Eastern European empires.

George Bush initiated the first Gulf War, attacking Iraq and imposing a decade of economic sanctions on the Iraqi people, leading to the deaths of hundreds of thousands.

### **1995**

The Washington-based Sentencing Project published a study of U.S. populations in prison or jail and concluded that nearly 1 in 3 Black men between the ages of 21-29 were among those numbers, as well as more than 1 in 10 Latino men in this same age range.

### **1996**

New Immigration laws were passed by Congress: the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) and the Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act—increasing the jailing of immigrants and allowing for the deportation of immigrants for minor crimes.

### **1999**

The U.S. initiated a 78-day bombing campaign in the former Yugoslavia to oust Serbian forces from Kosovo, after a cease-fire had been declared between warring factions. According to the Yugoslav government, thousands of civilians were killed during the bombing and thousands more were injured. \$5.05 billion was appropriated by Congress for operations in Kosovo.

Four New York City policemen searching for a rape suspect knocked on Amadou Diallo's door to question him. When he came to the door he reached inside his jacket, at which point the officers shot at him 41 times, hitting him with 19 bullets. The object Diallo was reaching for turned out to be his wallet.

## **2001**

The September 11th terrorist attacks ushered in the start of the "Global War on Terror." The U.S. and Britain launch air strikes in Afghanistan

The U.S.A PATRIOT Act was passed by Congress, stepping up detentions and deportations based on faulty evidence of wrongdoing, justifying legal and extralegal action against those suspected of "providing aid" to groups labeled as terrorist, expanding police jurisdiction to include counter-terrorism work, and making "domestic terrorism" a new crime.

## **2002**

The U.S. Justice Department authored memos authorizing the use of torture at their Guantanamo facility in Cuba and in Afghanistan. 600 suspected al-Qaeda and/or Taliban prisoners from the war in Afghanistan were transferred to Camp X-Ray in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. The commander of the base suggested that some prisoners could end up staying there for decades.

U.S. Congress established the Department of Homeland Security (DHS), abolishing the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and assigning its functions to DHS. This effectively put immigration benefits (visas, citizenship applications, applications for asylum and refugee status), and immigration enforcement (Border Patrol, detention and removal, investigations) under the same umbrella.

The Special Registration program was initiated, "requiring certain non-immigrant aliens" to register with the U.S. immigration authorities, be fingerprinted and photographed, respond to questioning, and submit to routine reporting, targeting non-citizens from Iraq, Iran, Syria, Libya, and Sudan.

## **2003**

The U.S. invaded Iraq, initiating "Operation Iraqi Freedom" without international approval. U.S. forces started striking selected targets in Iraq. More than 250,000 U.S. personnel participated in invasion. Numerous private contractors also carried out the occupation and built large permanent bases.

"Operation Liberty Shield" went into effect, which requires the automatic and continued detention of all people seeking political asylum from 34 Muslim countries. The U.S. Border Patrol stepped up Arizona border militarization with "Operation Triple Strike." It relies on racial profiling of people passing through Phoenix's Sky Harbor airport.

## **2004**

Photos from U.S. military prison at Abu Ghraib are leaked to the press, showing acts of torture perpetrated against Iraqis by members of the U.S. military.

The Bush administration requests that the Senate shift \$3.4 billion of the \$18.4 billion Iraqi aid package meant for reconstruction work to improving security measures.

The CIA initiated its ongoing missile attacks on targets in northwest Pakistan using drones (unmanned aerial vehicles) as a part of the "Global War on Terror."

The Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act (IRTPA) was passed. This bill authorized 40,000 new immigrant detention beds by 2010, tripling the current immigrant detention system.

## **2005**

Hurricane Katrina slammed New Orleans. Bush said no one thought the levees would break. A video later showed he was warned about it. The Louisiana governor ordered U.S. National Guard members to "shoot and kill" people perceived as "rioters" and "looters."

## **2006**

Bush signed the Military Commissions Act, which strips "unlawful enemy combatants" of Geneva protections and the right to a fair trial and establishes military tribunals.

According to a study published in the scientific journal, *The Lancet*, more than 650,000 people died in Iraq since the U.S. led invasion of the country began in March of 2003.

## **2007**

The death toll of U.S. soldiers in Iraq reaches 3,000. 2008: The United States provided close to \$15.4 billion in aid to Pakistan between Fiscal Years 2002 and 2009.

## **2009**

The U.S. government spent more than \$6.2 billion building the Afghan National Police and, by September 2009, had paid DynCorp International more than \$1.2 billion to train them.

U.S. casualties in Afghanistan under Obama rose to more than double the previous two years. Almost 30% of total post-2001 U.S. military injuries occurred between July and November 2009.

President Obama decided to boost U.S. troop numbers in Afghanistan by 30,000 to 100,000 at a new total cost of \$1 million per soldier per year.

American B-1B bombers killed Afghan civilians in western Afghanistan in what has been called the Farah massacre. The Afghan government has said that around 140 civilians

were killed, of which 93 were children.

## **2010**

U.S. military deaths in Iraq war reached 4,392. Allegations surfaced about a group of U.S. Army soldiers who allegedly engaged in the random killing of Afghan civilians. They were accused of dismembering the bodies of the dead civilians and keeping bones and skulls as war trophies.

## **2011**

U.S. agrees to partner in a military intervention in Libya in support of rebel forces opposing the Quaddafi government. On March 16, the United Nations Security Council authorized military action to impose a no-fly zone in Libya and initiated an aerial bombing campaign.

President Obama announced the withdrawal of as many as 33,000 troops from the war in Afghanistan by the end of 2012. This would only scale back the surge of 30,000 troops that was announced in December 2009. It would maintain the first surge of 17,000 troops that Obama ordered upon entering office.

## **SOURCES:**

*The Roots of Terror* by Project South

*Bridge* by the National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights

<http://www.pbs.org/frontlineworld/stories/mexico704/history/timeline.html>

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/269619.stm>

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/target/etc/cron.html>

<http://www.nytimes.com/1987/02/22/magazine/target-qaddafi.html?pagewanted=all&src=pm>

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/nov/27/us-honduras-coup>

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<http://www.chomsky.info/articles/200005--.htm>

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/kosovo/etc/facts.html>

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/nation/specials/aroundthenation/nypd/>

<http://www.immigrationtimes.com/feature/article02.htm>

[http://epublications.marquette.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1007&context=socs\\_fac&sei-redir=1\l "search=%22special%20registration%20program%22](http://epublications.marquette.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1007&context=socs_fac&sei-redir=1\l )

<http://disappearedinamerica.org/timeline/?html=true>

[http://www.outsidethebeltway.com/la\\_governor.warns\\_troops\\_will\\_/](http://www.outsidethebeltway.com/la_governor.warns_troops_will_/)

<http://www.nytimes.com/2009/12/01/world/asia/01orders.html>

<http://www.commondreams.org/newswire/2009/12/01>

## **OUR ECONOMY (AKA CAPITALISM) TIMELINE**

### **1980**

At the beginning of the 1980s, Mexico's economy was shaken by the nation's worst recession since the 1930s. High unemployment pushed people to find work in the United States. Maquiladoras continued to expand along the border towns, assembling goods for the U.S. market and paying their workers poverty wages.

### **1981**

The Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act and the Economic Recovery Tax Act dramatically cut taxes on wealthy Americans under Reagan. This was based on the main idea of "supply-side economics" (aka Reaganomics) that cutting taxes while reducing government spending leads to improvement in the economy.

Reagan crushes strike of air traffic controllers and decertifies their union, PATCO. This ushers in era of setbacks for organized labor and the National Labor Relations Board became largely a pro-employer body.

Florida became the first state to contract out the entire state prison industry to private management. BY 1988, Prison Rehabilitative Industries & Diversified Enterprises Inc. (PRIDE) managed all 53 Florida prison work programs as a for-profit operation.

### **1982**

The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund initiate Structural Adjustment programs (SAPs) for countries in the Global South. SAPs require that debtor countries eliminate government spending on social services, education, health, and food subsidies, using all available revenue for servicing debt.

The U.S. Supreme Court ruled that children who were illegal residents had the right to public school education.

### **1984**

Founded by former FBI agents, Wackenhut Corporation grew from providing food in U.S. prisons to designing and managing jails and detention centers for the expanding private prison market, becoming the nation's second largest for-profit prison operator.

### **1985**

The Logistics Civil Augmentation Program (LOGCAP) was established and began to provide "contingency support" to U.S. Army forces using private military companies.

### **1988**

The annual budget for the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) increased nearly four times what it was in the 1970s to more than \$800 million.

## **1992**

LOGCAP's first umbrella contract awarded to private military contractor KBR (then Brown & Root) to support United Nations forces in Somalia, as well as forces in Bosnia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Hungary, Saudi Arabia, and Rwanda.

## **1994**

The Omnibus Crime Bill was signed into law. The Department of Justice (DOJ) gets big budget increases for "portions of the agencies focused on profitable enforcement" and the War on Drugs. "Mandatory sentencing" was also used, guaranteeing that those with drug-related offenses would serve jail time, many for an extended period of time (25 years or more for those with previous offenses).

Wackenhut stock multiplies tenfold in the next 4 years. Corrections Corporation of America's (est. 1983) stock more than doubles in value in 6 months of DOJ contracts.

The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) went into effect, eliminating trade barriers between the U.S., Canada and Mexico. Among its controversial provisions is Chapter 11, which allows corporations to sue governments for so-called lost profits when "barriers" such as environmental and labor regulations are placed on its activities.

## **1995**

The Clinton administration proposed a plan to privatize all minimum security federal prisons as a path to smaller government. The Bureau of Prisons opposed the initiative, but decided that outsourcing prison services to private companies would be the best way to house undocumented immigrants awaiting deportation after serving felony sentences.

The Global Agreement on Tariffs and Trade created the World Trade Organization (WTO). Its jurisdiction expanded from trade in goods to trade in services and intellectual property, which includes drug formulas, gene sequences, seeds, and plant varieties—all are put on the market.

## **1996**

The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act overhauled the welfare system, replacing the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program with Temporary Aid for Needy Families and instituting work requirements for people receiving aid. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce called it a "reassertion of America's work ethic."

U.S. corporation Enron signed a contract to explore gas fields in Uzbekistan, with the goal of linking an oil and natural gas pipeline through Afghanistan. Oil company Unocal initiated a deal with the Taliban to establish an oil and gas pipeline in Afghanistan.

## **1997**

Blackwater Worldwide was founded as a private military company that would go on to play a large role in post-invasion Afghanistan and Iraq. Since then, Blackwater, now called Xe Services, has received over a billion dollars in U.S. government contracts. (By

2010, it is thought that private contractors outnumber U.S. troops in Afghanistan.)

## **2001**

A U.S. government-commissioned report, "Strategic Energy Policy Challenges for the 21st Century" recommended U.S. control over Iraq and Middle East oil reserves.

## **2003**

The U.S. proposed the Middle East Free Trade Area Initiative (MEFTA), a plan of graduated steps for Middle Eastern nations to increase trade and investment with the United States and with others in the world economy, with the eventual goal of a regional free trade agreement.

Bechtel was awarded \$680 million contract to rebuild Iraqi ports, water and power plants, and transportation infrastructure. Bechtel expected to be paid through Iraqi oil revenues predicted to reach \$100 billion. Halliburton was awarded a \$7 billion, 5-year, no-bid reconstruction contract in Iraq.

Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz told Congress that Iraq's oil revenues "could bring between \$50 and \$100 billion over the course of the next two or three years." \$2.5 billion per year was allocated for reconstruction projects in Iraq.

## **2008**

Countrywide Financial, the biggest U.S. mortgage lender, warns that homeowners are having trouble repaying loans. Within weeks, investment banks begin writing off millions in investments backed by risky mortgages sold to disproportionately to low-income and working class people.

The U.S. government guaranteed \$200 of taxpayer money to bail out the financial institutions Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac, who could no longer make good on the \$5 trillion of mortgage-backed securities and debt they had accrued through shady investment, lending, and trading practices.

The government and the multinational insurance corporation AIG announced that they'd reached a new agreement for a \$85 billion U.S. taxpayer-funded bailout of the company, as its securities backed by fraudulent loans to poor and working class people fail and the company came close to collapse. The subprime mortgage crisis forced Lehman Brothers to file for Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection, setting forth a worldwide financial meltdown. Government paid \$22 million to private contractor

International Media Ventures to establish information network about political and tribal culture of Afghanistan and location of suspected militants as military targets.

## **2010**

The private military contracting industry became worth over \$100 billion a year. In *Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission*, the Supreme Court rules that corporate funding of independent political broadcasts in candidate elections cannot be limited, on the grounds that it violates the free-speech right of corporations to engage in public debate of political issues. Justice Anthony Kennedy: "Government may not suppress political speech on the basis of the speaker's corporate identity."

## **2011**

Ohio passes Senate Bill 5, a law making collective bargaining regarding wages for public sector workers illegal. In Wisconsin, state Supreme Court reverses governor's earlier bill ending collective bargaining for public workers. Final outcome still is unknown.

NY cuts state budget for education by \$1.4 billion. NY State United Teachers union estimates 18-20,000 teachers could be laid off due to cuts in state aid to local school districts.

After \$18 billion of cuts in 3 years, California Superintendent of Public Instruction declared the state education budget "financial emergency."

Stocks of Boeing (+1.8%), Raytheon (+1%), Northrop Grumman (+2.3%), and General Dynamics (+3.9), and Lockheed Martin rose after Obama announces new spending plan that included increased spending on drones jumping from \$877.5 million in 2010 to \$1.4 billion.

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