



Justice Rising

Grassroots Solutions to Corporate Domination Corporate Origins of War and Grassroot Struggles for Peace

by Jim Tarbell

Our world is at war. Battles over resources and market access on a planet with escalating demand and fixed supply will be endless until a new paradigm is in place. Four hundred years ago the first corporations formed armies and led the charge in the battles for global resources. Four centuries later we are given a choice of unilateral pre-emptive war by an administration steeped in corporate influence or a seemingly more benign global corporate government ruled by free trade agreements where money is power. This latter option, however, raised protests in the streets of Seattle at the turn of the millennium and promises to engender such inequality and environmental destruction that the human struggle for survival will ensure perennial war at the gates of commercial empire. Envision a global Baghdad with the wealthy benefactors ensconced in the Green Zone and the rest of the world a conflagration of destruction and sorrow.

According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, global military spending increased 34% in the past ten years. American military expenditures made up 80% of the increases in 2005. The US now accounts for 48% of world military outlays with the next four countries—Britain, France Japan and China—each accounting for only 4-5% of global military expenses.

The 100 largest arms producing companies increased sales 15% in 2004. US companies claimed 63.3% of the \$268 billion in global arms revenue that year. The top five weapon companies—Boeing, Lockheed Martin, Northrup Gruman, Raytheon and BAE Systems—made 44% of the sales, doubling their share between 1990 and 2003. Investors like the private equity Carlyle Group have broken new ground by giving politicians and bureaucrats, who worked to establish this trend, the profits of war, once they are back in the private sector.

The military industry doubled their US campaign contributions between 1990

and 2006 and so far this year Lockheed Martin and Northrup Gruman have each contributed over \$1 million. The Center on Responsive politics points out that "most defense sector contributions are concentrated on members of the House and Senate Appropriations Defense subcommittees, which allocate federal defense money, and the Armed Service committees, which influence military policy."

Corporate benefits and control of the American war machine go beyond arms sales and campaign contributions. Antonia Juhasz in *The Bush Agenda: Invading the World One Economy at a Time* points out that corporate personnel from Bechtel, Chevron, Halliburton and Lockheed Martin, now in key administrative posts, have influenced Bush's military policy and these same corporations have benefitted with juicy military contracts or access to lucrative resources.

This last point—corporate access to resources and markets—has driven the American war machine for a hundred years. But the costs of war are overwhelming and people are rebelling. The millions coming together to protest war on February 15, 2003 was only a signal of what is to come. The task is daunting. Humans need to create a world of economic justice within the limited scale of our planet. These are the stories told and the daunting goals taken on in this issue of *Justice Rising*.

The war machine will get your children, if not now, then your grandchildren

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Overall, the concentrated political power of the military-industrial complex has weakened American society to its core.

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People have to learn how to get rid of violence by nonviolent means and do it realistically and effectively.

Gene Sharp, page 6

I was a racketeer, a gangster for capitalism.

Marine Corps General Smedley Butler, page 12

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graphic: kjersten Jeppesen

Movements

From Anti-war to Democracy

by Mike Ferner

In his provocative bestseller, *War Is a Force That Gives Us Meaning*, Christopher Hedges explored how individual and national psyches are emotionally invested in war. Even the peace movement would do well to mark his point about the emotional hold of war. Put another way, could it be that because war's suffering is so horrible, opposing it gives activists' lives a heightened sense of purpose?

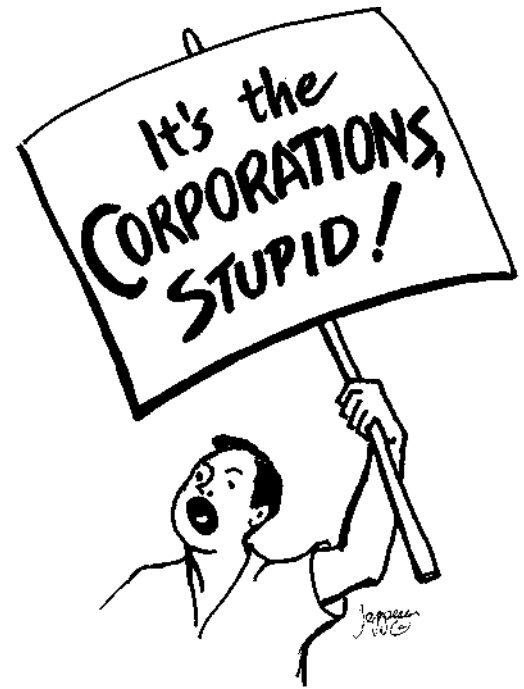
If so, what does that mean for the anti-war movement when our troops finally come home and at least US casualties stop? Beyond that, how do we do more than just react the next time Empire demands war? More fundamentally, will the peace movement and its sister organizations get better at not just opposing war and other social ills, but learn how to strip corporations of their ability to turn what's supposed to be our own government into our greatest obstacle?

Without looking at those kinds of questions we will be no more successful than previous efforts like the safe energy movement of the 1970's which greatly curtailed nuclear plant construction but was unable to usher in sustainable policies, let alone establish citizen authority over energy industries; or the US labor movement which urges its members to oppose the war by writing Congress instead of laying down their tools or shutting down munitions transport as in some other countries.

Why such limited horizons? Consider that while activists were trying to keep Armour Co. from selling rotten meat (Pure Food and Drug Act); or Standard Oil Co. from spewing quite so much poison (National Environmental Policy Act); or members of the National Association of Manufacturers from killing and maiming workers on the job (Occupational Safety and Health Act), attorneys for corporations and business associations were finding ways to use the Constitution for their clients and against us.

They convinced their fellow elites on the Supreme Court to grant the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection to corporate "persons;" then Fourth Amendment protection against unreasonable searches; then First Amendment protections so their clients could tell us what kind of energy policy we need, what kind of warnings to put on dairy products; and how to vote on ballot issues.

If we're serious about not just stopping this war, but stripping corporations of their usurped privileges, dismantling their power to govern, and ending their ability to direct our hard-earned wealth



into butchery and empire, we need to learn the histories and ask the questions that will point to something more successful.

If we are content to be an anti-war movement – meaning the Empire defines our existence and purpose—then when war drums roll next we will reassemble from a hundred different fronts, throw ourselves into the fray, and work against the government's well-oiled killing machine until we are exhausted. When do we ask if we want to be more than a brief parade of colorful banners and heartfelt slogans passing an empty White House?

Cindy Sheehan poignantly writes, "I knew that our leaders were bought and paid for employees of the war machine, and yet, when Casey came of age, he put on the uniform and marched off to another senseless war to bring his employers that rich reward of money and power. The warning for American mothers and fathers is this: the war machine will get your children, if not now, then your grandchildren. It is a hard and steep price to pay for the certain knowledge that the people in power think of us, not as their employers and electorate whom they swear to serve, but as their tools to be used as cannon fodder whenever the impulse strikes them."

If we want Cindy's words to mean something we have to learn how to transform the anti-war movement into a democracy movement. Our reward will be that we can finally move beyond opposing one war after another to build the kind of peaceful, just world we deserve...and the planet is waiting for us to create.

Mike Ferner works with the Program on Corporations, Law & Democracy. His book, Inside the Red Zone: A Veteran For Peace Reports from Iraq is just out.

We have to learn how to transform the anti-war movement into a democracy movement.

Corporations, Targeted Lobbies, and US War Policy

by Ted Nace

Until its discrediting during the Vietnam debacle, a relatively small and tightly knit core of specialists managed the contours of foreign policy. This elite group, whose ranks included such names as Henry Stimson, George Kennan, and McGeorge Bundy, viewed its role as trustees and advocates of U.S. liberal capitalism generally, pursuing the broad policy of projecting US power onto the world stage and "containing" the Soviet Union.

The old foreign policy establishment can hardly be accused of being either pacifist or anti-capitalist. Its legacies include Hiroshima, the genocidal bombing of Korea, and support for dictatorship, massacre, and torture across the breadth of the Third World. But in allowing a certain degree of treaty-making and détente, it may not have been sufficiently attentive to the financial imperatives of "one customer" defense contractors like Lockheed Martin, whose bottom line depends on whipping up the sorts of periodic crises that best engender increased military spending. Thus, in the wake of Vietnam, military contractors developed a highly focused political tool that might most accurately be termed the "targeted lobby," something of a cross between a think tank, a PR campaign, and a lobbying group.

The granddaddy of the targeted lobbies that began appearing during the Carter Administration was the Committee on the Present Danger, set up in 1950 to lobby for rearmament and disbanded in 1953 when its members joined the Eisenhower administration and its proposals were largely adopted. In 1976, the CPD was revived, this time to oppose US-Soviet détente and promote aggressive rearmament.

By the 1990s, the use of targeted lobbies had been refined under the leadership of policy entrepreneurs like Bruce Jackson, who began his career as a military intelligence officer, worked at the Pentagon under Dick Cheney, then worked at Lockheed Martin. If there were a Nobel Prize for innovation in the service of the military-industrial complex, Jackson would surely merit a nomination for his ingenuity in solving the dilemma (from the defense industry's perspective) posed by the collapse of the Soviet Union. Jackson's solution was the notion of "NATO expansion," which he advanced through the US Committee on NATO. As new members such as Poland and Romania were admitted to NATO, each would have to "integrate" its armed forces with those of other NATO members. In practice, that meant purchasing all new equip-

ment (from contractors like Lockheed-Martin), with an overall price tag in the hundreds of billions.

Other notable successes among the targeted lobbies have been Frank Gaffney's Center for Security Policy, the lead group in pushing for a missile defense program worth as much as half a trillion in defense contracts; the Project for a New American Century, which until its disbanding in 2005 was the lead group advocating the aggressive unilateralism instituted by the Bush administration; and the Committee for the Liberation of Iraq, also organized by Bruce Jackson, and disbanded shortly after the invasion.

Today, the most influential of the targeted lobbies is the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies, founded two days after the 9/11 attacks and devoted exclusively toward shaping Bush's War on Terror. On March 13, 2006, Bush chose an FDD event as the venue for a major address articulating the direction of that war.

If one looks at American business as a whole, or even just within the ranks of the Fortune 500, what's startling is not the degree of overall corporate control over foreign policy, but rather the overwhelming political success of a handful of companies, mainly military and oil. Meanwhile, other business sectors, though hardly shrinking violets in the political realm, suffer from the effects of the fiscal distortions created by militarism. American auto companies, for example, feel the financial squeeze of health care obligations; in contrast to their overseas competitors, because in those countries overwhelming resources are not diverted toward military expenditures and they can afford the cost of universal health care.

Overall, the concentrated political power of the military-industrial complex has weakened American society to its core. One can only imagine the difference in the health, education, environment, and overall infrastructure of the United States had trillions not been diverted over the past decades toward such wasteful and destructive ends as National Missile Defense, the Iraq War, and gold-plated armaments.

Ted Nace is the author of Gangs of America: The Rise of Corporate Power and the Disabling of Democracy. (Berrett-Koehler, 2003, 2005)



Bruce Jackson outside Washington's Metropolitan Club, the heart of the capital's deal making.

photo: US Moldova Foundation

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Blasting Open the Middle East Door

by Jim Tarbell

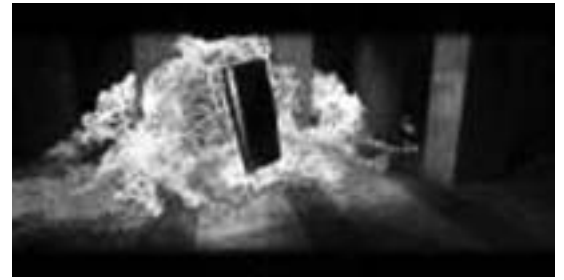
Current conflagrations in the Middle East are nothing more than a continuation of the century-long drive of US foreign policy to blast open doors to resources and markets around the world to benefit US corporate bottom lines. It is a policy that began in 1899 with John Hay's Open Door Policy in China after the completion of what he called the "splendid little war" that made the US an imperial power in the Philippines and Puerto Rico. The innocent sounding open door policy turned China into a free trade zone where money is power. That tradition has carried on down to the Coalition Provisional Authority's Iraq free trade zone and the present drive to create a Middle East Free Trade Agreement.

Coming out of the monopoly-infested gilded age that consolidated American wealth into a few hands, Wall Street lawyers took over American foreign policy in 1905. Elihu Root, a corporate lawyer that represented E. H. Harriman, Jay Gould and a collection of other notorious robber barons, became the first of a series of big-business attorneys running the US State Department. JP Morgan associate Robert Bacon followed him and then Philander C. Knox, counsel to Carnegie Steel and prominent organizer of the United States Steel Corporation took over.

After World War I this Wall Street control of US foreign policy became institutionalized within the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR). With Elihu Root as its honorary chairman, corporate bankers and lawyers joined with a stable of hired CFR academics and rotated through the upper levels of the US foreign policy bureaucracy—a tradi-

tion that included Henry Kissinger and continues to this day. CFR associates established a consensus that what is good for American business is good for the world resulting in our traditional bipartisan foreign policy.

With the onset of the second World War, CFR's War and Peace Studies Project analyzed global resources and determined that it served corporate interests, which they called "vital US



national interests," to keep the door open to South East Asia. This analysis drove US war goals from 1940 until 1972, when the Vietnam debacle split the CFR consensus apart.

At that point, David Rockefeller and other CFR leaders began a campaign to forgo the nation-state model and to establish corporate global government. Starting with the Tri-Lateral Commission in 1972, they promoted initiatives that created the World Trade Organization in 1995. In this global approach they thought war was outmoded. They only needed to establish worldwide corporate rule. The problem is that this system leaves out most of the world's population, a problem which has caused global resistance.

In fact, Islamic philosophies eschew many of the principles that support corporate power and the Middle East has never opened the door completely to the western economic model. With the beginning of the new millennium, the Middle East remained the last door not fully pried open for US corporate interests.

When the neocons came to power in the George W. Bush administration, they too rebelled at the vision of global government and retreated to using US military might to advance corporate goals. The war to take over Iraq became their tool to create a free-trade foothold in the center of the Middle East. Now the Bush administration, with its inherent threat of military violence, is imposing a Middle East Free Trade Agreement. In pursuit of this goal they are creating bilateral free trade agreements with individual governments acquiescing to their not so veiled threats.

Iran and Syria, which have not bought into this free-trade agenda, were targeted last month in the President's National Strategy for Combating Terrorism. If these countries do not go along with the American free-trade plan, regime change by war is the inferred solution. The perennial war to open access to markets and resources will go on—unless the advocates of multilateral solutions establish global corporate government, in which case perennial war to regain popular power will begin.

Jim Tarbell is the editor of Justice Rising and the co-author of Imperial Overstretch: George W. Bush and the Hubris of Empire.

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Imperial Brain Trust

Laurence H. Shoup and William Minter's valuable book on the history, influence and corporate connections of the Council on Foreign Relations was fortunately republished in 2004 and is no longer difficult and expensive to acquire. *Imperial Brain Trust: The Council on Foreign Relations & United States Foreign Policy* follows the creation of a global commercial empire from the dreams of Cecil Rhodes through the wars of the 20th century to the creation of corporate globalization. Lest one thinks that the influence or makeup of CFR has changed, one only needs to look at the present President of CFR Richard Hass, former principal Middle East Advisor to the Bush administration, and the CFR Board of Directors that includes representatives from Citigroup, Caterpillar Inc. and the Carlyle Group.

The Security and Prosperity Partnership

How Bush, the Military and Corporate America Plan to Tighten Their Control Over Our Lives

by Nancy Price

With little fanfare, the Security and Prosperity Partnership (SPP) was signed by the three leaders of North America—Bush, Mexico's President Fox and Canada's Prime Minister Martin—on March 23, 2005 in Waco, Texas. Recognizing that the new world order of prosperity for the privileged few and growing inequality for the rest is dependent on military strength, the plan of these leaders is to fully integrate the three countries for a comprehensive and mutual strategy to secure North America from external threats and prevent and respond to threats from within North America.

The growing independence and unpredictability of Venezuela, a major exporter of oil to the US, coupled with turmoil in the Middle East and Central Asia, and the growing political and economic power of China and India, make creation of the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America all the more imperative to sustaining America's empire.

Equally important, this partnership is part of the super-NAFTA plan to promote North American benefits from corporate globalization by construction of super-corridors and super-ports. At a secret September meeting at Banff Springs Hotel in Canada, a group of high-ranking past and present government officials from Canada, the U.S. and Mexico met with representatives of corporate business and industry, the military, academic and financial institutions and "think tank" allies to strategize on this "North American Union."

Integrated border regions are being proposed with benign sounding names like Atlantica for northeastern Canada and New England/northern New York, and Cascadia for western Canada and northwest U.S.

Plans call for the heartland of all three countries to be bisected by a vast multi-lane highway system connecting southern Mexico to northern Canada. The half-mile wide super-corridor would have 6 lanes for cars, 4 lanes for trucks, and parallel railroad lines and utility corridors to carry oil, electricity and even water. The Trans Texas Corridor is furthest along in planning. The toll road would be built and owned by a Spanish corporation with generous public subsidies.

This corridor may well be extended south through Central America as part of Plan Puebla Panama to the proposed new canal in Nicaragua. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld made it a point to be present in Nicaragua when the canal was proposed in early October.

Another super-corridor tied to Atlantica would run from a super-port in Nova Scotia down through



President George W. Bush seated next to Robert J. Stevens, president and CEO of Lockheed Martin, during a meeting with new Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper and Mexico's President Vicente Fox, in an SPP discussion with US, Mexican and Canadian business leaders in Cancun, Mexico, March, 2006. photo:Eric Draper, White House

Maine and across New Hampshire and upstate New York, with something similar planned for Cascadia on the West coast.

The movement of goods from China and the movement of ships and troops are equally facilitated by these plans. The corridors would cut transportation costs for goods from China to the US, especially if plans to hire cheap Mexican truck drivers come to fruition. "We will have super cargo tankers and thousands upon thousands of trucks, bringing soon-to-be-disposed of goods to U.S. consumers," notes the Alliance's Ruth Caplan. "Remember when George Bush Senior said at the Earth Summit in Rio (1992) that we in the U.S. have a right to our life style?"

These corridors would also greatly expedite the movement of oil and gas from Canada to the US, already mandated by trade agreements, as well as oil from Mexico to the US. Water could easily be piped from Canada to the U., stoking a fear long held by Canadian environmentalists.

Now, the Zapatista's struggle to protect their Lacandon Jungle resources in southern Mexico from corporate profiteering and destruction makes sense and the recent protests in Mexico City over the results of the Presidential election take on new meaning.

Nancy Price is Co-chair of the AfD National Council and the Western Coordinator of the Defending Water for Life Campaign.

Stop the SPP!

What will it take for people in the US and Canada to mobilize to stop the military-industrial-corporate complex that threatens to rob us of our last vestiges of a democracy, plunder our natural resources and hasten the devastation of global warming?

- First, we must educate ourselves about this corporate/military agenda for consolidating power under the guise of creating prosperity.
- Second, we must mobilize our friends, and organizations we work with to begin a broad-based movement to stop the SPP in its tracks. Already there is a movement in Eastern Canada "Atlantica No Way" and in Texas, "Corridor Watch" against the Trans Texas Corridor.
- Third, we must recognize that we will not be free if these plans go forward. We must build a people's movement that unites all of us fighting for freedom in the US, Canada and Mexico.

As we learn more about the Security and Prosperity Partnership we will post information and materials for education and action on the AfD website,

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JUSTICE RISING is a publication of **The Alliance for Democracy**, whose mission is to end the domination of our politics, our economics, the environment, and our culture by large corporations. The Alliance seeks to establish true economic and political democracy and to create a just society with a sustainable, equitable economy.

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Justice Rising

We are facing a time of perennial war either by unilateral nationalists or global corporate government imposing its rules on the world's citizens. Will the day come when we see war as we now view cannibalism? Can humans create an economy and political system that sustains and restores our communities, culture and planet instead of destroying it? This will only come to pass with a long-term, strategic view of war and its causes. We have to understand the weaknesses of the perpetrators and their system of war. Gene Sharp says, "The Bush administration seems to believe that violence is the only real power. People have to learn how to get rid of violence by nonviolent means and do it realistically and effectively." Now is the time to get past the fear, embrace stubbornness and not indulge in false hope. It will take courage. It is not a struggle for the weak.

The next issue of *Justice Rising* will provide some moral fiber to this struggle. It will look at *Progressive Religion and the Struggle to Overcome Pervasive Corporate Corruption*. Theology professor emeritus Henry Clark and Libby Shoals, Director of Public Policy at the California Council of Churches are guest editing this issue. Let us know if you want to contribute an idea, an article or a graphic component. The deadline is December 15.

The Spring issue of *Justice Rising* will look at corporations and the environment. Alliance members have said that the environment is their top concern. Now you have a chance to do something about it, as long as perennial war does not destroy the planet first.



Changes on the AfD National Council



Mary White, making her point in Washington DC

photo: Jim Tarbell

The Alliance for Democracy will miss the work of Mary White and Joe Davis on the AfD Council. They will retire from the Council with the advent of the new Council by the end of the year

Mary White, who has served two terms on the National Council, has decided to concentrate on local chapter activity and will not be running for re-election. During her tenure on the Council she spent a year and a half coordinating the all volunteer office staff at the National Alliance Office during a critical time of transition beginning in spring 2003 and before we were able to hire our office manager last year. Mary planned and recommended staff arrangements for running the office when the volunteers' terms expired and was instrumental in updating software and organizing the office data bases. She is serving on the current AfD Council Nominations Committee.

Joe Davis joined the Council in 2004. He created the AfD Media package after attending the National Conference on Media Reform, in St. Louis in May 2005. He was also active on the Honest Election Campaign, working with Cliff Arnebeck and others who challenged the results of the 2004 presidential election in Ohio. He will continue working on this issue with Common Cause and the new Election Defense Alliance (EDA), an organization committed to building a national strategy to regain control of the voting process. He will be working for the adoption of

measures for auditing vote-tabulating machines that will give voters high confidence that system errors and manipulation of the vote will be detected and exposed. He believes that restoring the integrity of our election systems is a basic necessity for the survival of our democracy as a government of the people.

After by-law changes passed this fall, an uncontested slate of board members is up for election. AfD members should receive ballots by the end of October. New to the Council ballot are: Steve Scalmanini, who is secretary of the Ukiah, CA chapter and runs a video series there; Bonnie Preston, Blue Hill Maine, who has served as AfD Ombudsperson and been active in AfD issues, first in Baltimore and now in Maine; Jacqui Brown Miller who has been active in Washington State challenging corporate power and organizing chapters in Seattle and South Puget Sound; CJ Jones, who helped start the AfD Chapter on the California Mendocino Coast, now lives in Tucson where he is engaged in meaningful change. Ruth Caplan is back on the Council ballot after serving as the first Female Co-Chair. She is national coordinator of AfD'S Defending Water for Life Campaign and Co-Chair of the Corporate Globalization/Positive Alternatives Campaign.

It is wonderful to have this new blood joining the AfD council and sad to have Mary White and Joe Davis retire from the Council. We wish them well.



Joe Davis in Los Angeles at an AfD council meeting

photo: Jim Tarbell

Following-Up Gandhi

Strategic Nonviolence

by Dave Lewit

Was Mahatma Gandhi a spiritual leader who made a political mess of India, ignored by a world that took war for granted? After all, close to a million Indians—Hindu and Muslim—were killed by one another when in 1947 Gandhi reached his goal of getting Britain to quit India. And after that, armed conflict continued unabated—Korea, Vietnam, Sri Lanka, Kashmir, Chechnya, Colombia, Somalia, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, Sudan, Iraq, Lebanon... Is this the nonviolence that Gandhi had worked so hard to achieve?

As peace education expands, more and more people have come to realize that strategic nonviolence—groups from a large nonviolent base withdrawing cooperation with oppressors over a period of years—gets results with far less loss of life than with armed rebellion. Further, the organizing that makes this possible also makes possible a popular democratic state or system of governance with less wasteful and painful jockeying for individual or factional power.

To wake folks up to the power of strategic nonviolence, we at the Boston-Cambridge AfD sorted through much history and came up with a 45-minute script—a group reading—called Gandhi Circles. We tried it out on September 20—one hundred years after Gandhi's stirring, no-nonsense speech to 3000 Indian settlers in South Africa who were about to undergo racist restrictions by the British colonial government. His speech in Johannesburg pledged a critical mass of oppressed people to defy those laws consistently—*satyagraha*—Truth-Force—and after eight years the British negotiated with the Indians and withdrew the laws.

This is the first part of our Gandhi Circle readings. Then comes a review of Gandhi's decisive Salt March in India in 1930. The readings go on to recount illustrative nonviolent struggles in Denmark under the Nazis, Alabama under segregation, South Africa under apartheid, Poland under communist rule, and Bolivia under feudal-capitalist authoritarianism. All this is knit together with narrative introduction and passages which also touch on other nonviolent conflicts.

The packet of readings—from strategists and scholars such as Gene Sharp, Peter Ackerman, Brian Martin, and Jorgen Johansen—contains our sample set of discussion questions which participants reviewed during the break before discussion. But never mind! Our dozen participants came up with their own questions and comments during a very lively discussion relating what they had read (one paragraph per person through 28 paragraphs, round-robin style) to our own situation today in

the US and the world. One hour proved too little—participants want to continue this discussion in the weeks ahead. Here are some concerns raised:

- Is there a role for violence, at least in small doses, or defensively, or symbolically?
- How to overcome fear of being hurt or jailed, which stopped me at Selma?
- How to choose a boycott target, and who gets hurt?
- Does nonviolence provoke violence?
- After a coup, as in Chile, does the struggle continue underground?
- With Gene Sharp's 198 nonviolent methods—which methods are better, and when?
- Mexicans in Oaxaca are rebelling, nonviolently taking over city halls and radio stations. What can make that happen here?
- Is property damage "violence"?
- Can a nonviolent movement work without TV?
- Why didn't massive, worldwide protests stop the Iraq invasion?

Boston-Cambridge Alliance hopes that we can have dozens of civic, church, and school organizations doing Gandhi Circles soon in dozens of cities and towns across the nation. Your help is needed. A worldwide understanding and harnessing of strategic nonviolence may be necessary to stop corporate domination and to nurture community-based regional development.

The entire packet with narration, questions, and appendix can be copied from
NewEnglandAlliance.org .

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graphic: i madonnari festival

Talking with Gene Sharp

Venerable nonviolent struggle historian and theorist Gene Sharp shared these thoughts.

I have concentrated on the nature of nonviolent struggle so people could know they could do something rather than being passive. There are acute conflicts with very serious issues at stake which you feel you can not compromise on—issues in which the conflict has to be fought out. You have to think rationally and strategically and plan how a struggle can be done skillfully and effectively. You can do this with lots of thinking and analysis and knowing what has been happening in other struggles.

You have to analyze the nature of your situation. What is wrong? Why it is wrong? Where the weaknesses are in the system. How the victims of the present situation can become empowered and how to mobilize their latent power capacity into real power so that they can stand up and change things.

Nonviolent struggle is collective stubbornness. It is people that stop cooperating in something they think is wrong where their cooperation is needed. Sometimes they intervene in the system or disrupt things.

When your opponent's moral authority or legitimacy, human resources, economic resources and sanctions and punishments are restricted and do not provide a source of power, then the power in the government is weakened and eventually it can be brought down, not by overthrow, but by disintegration and weakening.

Why You Should Care

Global Corporate Government dependent on perennial war to enforce its inequality is unacceptable. Free trade rules where money is power, forced on the peoples of the world by military might or diplomatic manipulation, will only ensure increasing inequality and environmental destruction. Peace will never come to the planet until humans can create a world where social and economic justice provide a secure and fulfilling life for all people within the limits of the planet we live on.

Pre-emptive, unilateral war is not the American Way. Military incursions to access resources and markets and to force US businesses on cultures around the world is destroying respect for and dissolving belief in American ideals. The Pew Global Attitudes Project points out that favorable international opinions about the United States have fallen 50% or more since the inception of the War on Iraq.

Death and destruction caused by war is an abomination. Millions of innocent deaths in wars of American conquest carried out over the past 200 years cripple our cultural soul. The massive destruction promulgated by our increasingly sophisticated weaponry saps the world's creative energy and destroys the heritage of our forbearers

Funding the American war machine is bankrupting our economy. With a military ten times the size of its closest rival and as big as all the rest of the world's armies, the US army is far bigger than it needs to be. With a budget that takes up half the federal budget, discretionary spending on military items is eight times larger than education or health. Monthly expenditures on war in Iraq and Afghanistan have risen from \$4.7 billion a month to an estimated \$8 billion a month. Nobel Laureate economist Joseph Stiglitz and Linda Bilmes make a moderate estimate that the costs of these wars is \$2.2 trillion. Cutting taxes while increasing costs will lead to massive borrowing, skyrocketing interest and what economist Max Sawicky calls an economic train wreck.

Militarization of US society and corruption of US politics is turning our nation into a military state. The political convention of the ruling Republican party in 2004 was a veritable pep rally for the US military. Though defense leaders denied the plausibility of a military coup in the US, in a Harpers Magazine Forum they admit that they have already taken over. From violent video games to gratuitous glorification of the military and its inherent violence in the media, our American cultural commons are being corrupted by the militarization of our society.



What You Can Do



Should the United States Bring the Troops Home Now?

Yes No



Refuse to participate in the war machine. Join millions who refuse to pay taxes, or go to war. (see the **War Resisters League** website warresisters.org). Also refuse to participate or support businesses involved in the war economy (see boycottbush.org). Get prepared for a long nonviolent struggle by reading Gene Sharp's research at www.aeinstein.org.

Pass a local resolution against war. Organize your local community or join an existing organization. See unitedforpeace.org for a list of organizations in your state. See **Cities for Peace** for a toolkit on gathering support, surveying local officials, gathering signatures, identifying political allies, holding public events and outreach to the media.

Work to create a Department of Peace (DOP). Participate in an historic citizen lobbying effort to create a US Department of Peace. Support House Resolution 3760 and Senate Resolution 1756. The DOP will augment problem-solving modalities, providing practical, nonviolent solutions to domestic and international conflict (see www.thepeacealliance.org).

Vote out politicians supporting war. Sign the voters pledge at votersforpeace.org

Research and advertise local political connections between local politicians and the corporate war machine. Search the **Center for Responsive Politics** website opensecrets.org for information on campaign contributions to your local senator or congressman. Find out how much defense industry support they have and who their biggest supporters are.

Create Street Theater. Move on to the streets and make a public showing. Check out **Code Pink** resource tool kit at codepink4peace.org to start a group, download songs and chants, drop a banner, deal with the media, etc.



Produce or show media about the impacts of militarization on society. Interview veterans returned from war or administrators dealing with violence in our society or people dependent on the military budget. Show movies including *Iraq for Sale* and *Why We Fight*.

Begin the long struggle to create a movement to take back our democracy from the corporate warlords. Use the WILPF and UFE study guides (see page 9) to begin the process of educating yourself and your community about the corporate connections to war.



Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) grew out of the violent brutality of World War I when women from Europe and North America came together to end war. They were the impetus for the League of Nations and hold a seat at the United Nations. In recent years they have put out a series of discussion-group materials on corporate power. Their ten-part *Mil-Corp Connexion Manual* includes pieces on the dark vision of the military-industrial complex and tools for tracking weapons producers and military corporations as well as a piece on the creation of the peace economy. Download the entire study guide at www.WILPF.org/issues/disarm/MCX.htm

United for Peace and Justice is a national coalition of over 1300 groups that are protesting the destructive War in Iraq. See their list of groups and upcoming events by state to find a group and action near you. See their website at www.unitedforpeace.org. They have also developed a *War and Globalization Workshop* with **United for a Fair Economy** that can be used for teach-ins or workshops with smaller groups to build support for ending corporate-driven war. They have created downloadable manuals for both workshop trainers and participants. Information in these packets includes agendas and methods for workshops as well as handouts on imperialism, oil and democracy and trade agreements. Download this workshop material at www.faireconomy.org/econ/workshops/war_and_economy.html



Global Network Against Weapons and Nuclear Power in Space

With the announcement by the US Space command that they intended to control space in order to protect US interests and investments, this group formed to stop this escalation of the arms war. They hosted the Keep Space for Peace week from October 1-8, which was a week of international days of protest to stop the militarization of space. They are a collection of experts in this field and have information on colonization and mining in space, weapons in space and nuclear weapons in space. Their website is www.space4peace.org

The National Priorities Project offers citizens and community groups tools and resources to shape federal budget and policy priorities which promote social and economic justice. It has a series of tools for tracking the impact of war and military expenditures on local communities. It has data by zip code on military personnel and state by state reports on military spending and its costs to citizens. Data is available by congressional district about what tradeoffs federal supporters of the war budget are making in terms of local needs. There are reports for all the states and numerous local areas describing what percentage of our tax dollars is going to military expenditures and other federal programs with an analysis of what the median income family is paying. Special reports are available about what programs are being cut at the state level in order to pay for military and other federal expenditures. There are extensive maps on the locations of US military bases around the world, as well as the size of our military aid to various allied governments. Finally, there are maps of the extent of arms exporting and importing by nations. Their website is www.nationalpriorities.org



THE CENTER FOR PUBLIC INTEGRITY

Investigative Journalism in the Public Interest

The mission of CPI is to produce original investigative journalism about significant issues to make institutional power more transparent and accountable. Over the past several years they have issued reports on the business of war, the politics of oil, outsourcing the Pentagon and the windfalls of war. They have research tools on Iraq/Afghanistan contractors, Pentagon contractors and private military companies. Their research shows the amount of military contracts each company has received, how the contracts were made and the amount of campaign contributions that each contractor has made. They also show which national politicians received these contributions from them and how much they got. Their website is at www.publicintegrity.org

Books—Corporate War & Grassroot Peace

by Chris Calder

The Bush Agenda: Invading the World One Economy at a Time is the work of a Washington insider in the best sense. Antonia Juhasz uses her perch as a former congressional aide and current D.C. think-tanker to shed plenty of sunlight on the neo-con war machine.

Bush Agenda is especially good at analyzing Paul Bremer's move from director of Kissinger Associates through his 14-month reign as Saddam Hussein's successor. He knocks down the myth that there was no administration plan for postwar Iraq. Juhasz shows that there was and is a plan, just not one that Karl Rove allows to be spoken publicly, lest Americans take pause at the sociopathic ruthlessness of our leaders. The demolition of Iraqi society and replacement with a playing/killing field for Western multinationals is spelled out convincingly here. This book makes a fine companion to John Perkins' *Confessions of an Economic Hit Man*, showing exactly what the jackals do once their more genteel colleagues fail.

While most books on this list can be credited with breaking new ground on fairly old arguments, the same cannot be said for *Waging Nonviolent Struggle*. Gene Sharp's work pushes far beyond exposition. In clear, assured prose the author breaks down 23 historical cases where non-violent, people's campaigns, working mostly outside and against existing institutions, were carried out to great effect, if not always success. This is no pacifist's idyll, but a cool-headed, comprehensive treatise on the uses of power from the bottom up. From Russia's 1905 revolution to the UFW grape strike and boycott to the overthrow of Slobodan Milosevic, Sharp derives tried and true tactics and strategies, making it undeniable that power comes from other sources than the barrel of a gun. He supplies theory, but is not primarily a theorist, nor is it even clear what his political orientation is. It would make excellent use of one of Sharp's techniques—political ju-jitsu—to put his vital book to work now at home. For anyone who has despaired at challenging a superpower from within, *Waging Nonviolent Struggle* breaks down the walls of the ballot box and provides abundant hope, with a game plan.

Addicted to War covers a century-plus of US imperial policy, but one can still imagine a 16-year-old cruising through it in an afternoon and coming out with a brand new frame of reference for the nation's history. One reason is that *Addicted* is a comic book. Another is that it's witty and direct about the causes and effects of five generations of continuous war. Worried about a teen teetering on the brink of enlistment? Tuck *Addicted to War*

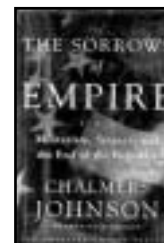
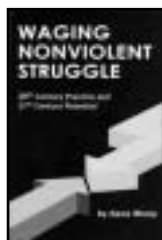
under her pillow and get ready for some hard questions, like, "Why don't they talk about this stuff in school?," and "Why have you let this go on?"

War is a Racket is the 1935 classic by Brigadier General Smedley D. Butler, author of the well-known quote beginning, "I spent 33 years in the Marines, most of my time being a high-class muscle man for big business." The tone of Butler's book is obvious from its chapter headings, including *To Hell with War!* and *How to Smash the Racket!* But the delights here go beyond fiery rhetoric. Learn about the fascist coup attempt that nearly toppled Roosevelt (Butler was asked to be a figurehead president, refused and publicly busted the Wall Street plotters) and the ins and outs of war profiteering during World War I. This slim volume is a good one to leave among those who equate supporting the troops with acquiescing to war.

The New Nuclear Danger is Dr. Helen Caldicott's "connect-the-dots" between the Bush administration and the nation's nuclear weapons industry. For activists, there are plenty of specifics about war companies, government officials, weapons programs and the deleterious effects of the same, with contact information galore to make your voice heard. This is a depressing, scary book, but with a strong bent toward what is to be done, or at least who is to be written to.

Sorrows of Empire by Chalmers Johnson and *Naked Imperialism* by John Bellamy Foster are both fine accounts of America's accelerating shift toward militarism: *Sorrows* the Ivy League account and *Naked* an edgier, more up-to-date version drawn from arguments made in the *Monthly Review*, which Foster edits. Both authors draw important parallels between the US and previous empires, while outlining the political atrophy which allows the current decline to continue. These are scholarly works delineating what many of us feel in our bones: that while thousands die overseas, democracy lies barely conscious and bleeding in the land of the free.

Chris Calder is a freelance journalist and former small-town newspaper editor in Northern California



Mendocino Measure Y

Bring the Troops Home Now!

I like to believe that people in the long run are going to do more to promote peace than are governments. Indeed, I think that people want peace so much that one of these days governments had better get out of the way and let them have it.

Dwight D. Eisenhower

by Catherine Hart

Local political activism is emerging as one of the prime avenues of influencing national and international politics, including US policy in Iraq. Frustrated with the US House and Senate, which this month both backed the president's handling of the war and rejected a timetable for troop withdrawal, citizens are organizing to put democratic pressure on municipal governments to represent the will of the people. Cities for Peace (www.citiesforpeace.org) is a national organization that is tracking such local Iraq war advisories and seeking to organize a political bloc strong enough to bring about an end to the occupation immediately.

Mendocino Parents for Peace in Mendocino County, California, is an example of a group, which has successfully placed an advisory measure on the November 2006 county ballot. The measure reads: "Measure Y. Iraq War Advisory-Mendocino County (Advisory Measure—Majority Approval Required). Should the United States end the military occupation of Iraq and bring the troops home now? Yes or No?"

As the Cities for Peace website points out, hundreds of cities and towns, as well as counties, universities, and labor unions have initiated and passed referendums on the war, and an Iraq war advisory must be adapted for each individual case. The general steps are to: (1) create a coalition, (2) survey the positions of the city or county council, (3) gather signatures showing broad citizen support, (4) hold public education events, (5) get the measure on the ballot, and (6) do media outreach up to and following the election.

According to Mendocino Measure Y organizer Cal Winslow, "We found that California law says a citizen's advisory measure cannot be petitioned directly—an elected body must sponsor it. We decided to approach the County Board of Supervisors to get the measure placed on the county ballot. Three out of five supervisors were sympathetic, but they wanted to see that we had wide support. We were interested in an educational approach that would make the issue of the war more visible locally, so we used the petition signing campaign to help call attention to the war. Though we are a rural county with low population, we were successful in getting over two thousand signatures,



plus a list of about one hundred individual and group sponsors, which we presented in July at a Board of Supervisors meeting."

Proponents of the measure were surprised that, despite the support, the board almost did not put it on the ballot, indicating how unpredictable the political process can be. As Cal Winslow commented, "One would think that county government would have to put such a measure on the ballot when thousands of citizens ask for it."

Faith Simon, another Measure Y organizer, pointed out that, "We've accomplished a lot so far. Measure Y will be on the ballot. We had a well-attended community meeting with Medea Benjamin to help inspire us, and we had the largest contingent of any group in the local parades this summer." At a recent showing of musician Michael Franti's film *I Know I'm Not Alone*, Simon appealed to the packed house to give their money and time to assist the ongoing effort "Time is of the essence—in addition to the horrible loss of American and Iraqi lives, many young children in our community have been living their entire lives with this war and all that goes with it—a war that has now gone on longer than World War II." The group's brochure notes Mendocino County has already spent more than \$76 million on the war in Iraq, money that is sorely needed here at home.

Local peace activist Lorna Dennis pointed out, "If a majority of voters in Mendocino County answer yes, then we have practiced democracy. If the majority answers no, we have practiced democracy. Isn't it time we have an opportunity to go to the voting booth to express our opinion on this world issue? A chance to make Mendocino County a voice in the debate is one tool toward helping those who are needlessly suffering as a result of this war."

Catherine Hart is a freelance writer, editor and radio host in Mendocino, CA, words@mcn.org.

Hundreds of cities and towns, as well as counties, universities, and labor unions have initiated and passed referendums on the war

Links to Resources

- www.declarationofpeace.org—500 peace and justice groups pledge immediate actions demanding a shift from funding for war to meeting human needs.
- www.votersforpeace.us/—sign the Voter's Pledge: "I will not vote for or support any candidate for Congress or President who does not make a speedy end to the war in Iraq, and preventing any future war of aggression, a public position in his or her campaign."
- www.voteyesony.org The website for Measure Y in Mendocino County, California.

Peace and Justice Tide In an Ocean of War

by Rob Ham

US forces used military might in Latin America 86 times over the past 150 years to establish economic dominance of the region. But there can be no peace without economic and social justice. The day is finally dawning when indigenous and working people are asserting themselves all over the lands south of the US to create another America where peace and justice can reign. Peasant and worker movements are springing up across the continent and, in some cases, gaining real power.

In 2001, Argentina reached her saturation point with stifling International Monetary Fund (IMF) dictates. After the government froze all the nation's assets and cut the people off from their own money to avoid complete financial collapse under the burden of foreign debt, the people took to the streets. The government was forced to resign. The replacement government officially defaulted on the nation's debt and the IMF was expelled. The road is a rocky one but Argentina is on her way to recovery and self-sufficiency.

Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez, elected by popular vote then reinstated to office by popular outcry after an abortive, US-inspired coup attempt, indicted President Bush from the rostrum of the UN general assembly on September, 20 2006. To significant applause by the representatives of a wide variety of nations, Chavez called President Bush "The Devil" and accused him of having global imperial ambitions.

In Bolivia, Evo Morales was elected President. He is the first indigenous person ever to attain that office in that nation. Morales has embarked on a campaign to nationalize Bolivia's natural gas industry and keep the profits at home in order to help alleviate that nation's crushing poverty.

The day is finally dawning when indigenous and working people are asserting themselves all over the lands south of the US to create another America where peace and justice can reign.

Confessions of an American Devil

General Smedley Darlington Butler served in the United States Marine Corps for thirty-three years during the golden years of US "Gunboat Diplomacy," but after his retirement, he became a devoted foe of imperialism.

In 1912 Butler led an expeditionary force that landed in the Nicaraguan port city of Corinto. His mission was to crush the Nicaraguan Liberal Party's attempt to regain the nation's sovereignty signed away by the Adolfo Diaz government in the Knox-Castrillo treaty.

In 1917, as the US appointed chief of the Haitian Gendarmerie, Butler's troops forced the adoption of a US friendly constitution at bayonet point, which would effectively surrender control of all Haitian economic activity to the US. When Haitian lawmakers balked, Butler ordered the assembly dissolved.

After discharge from the Marines in 1931, Butler seemed to have a change of heart and became an outspoken critic of US imperialistic activities. He spoke to pacifist, labor and other leftist groups around the country. One of his most often quoted statements was printed in *Common Sense* magazine and reads "In short, I was a racketeer, a gangster for capitalism."

General Butler died in June of 1940.



Evo Morales and Ecuadorian Schuar protesting FTAA.

photo: Jim Tarbell

In Brazil, the landless peasant movement, or MST is the largest social movement in Latin America. With 1.5 million members, the MST campaigns for agricultural reform in a nation where 3% of the population owns two thirds of the arable land.

MST promotes peasant ownership and redistribution of land as well as education and food security for the poor. Through peaceful occupation of unused land and establishment of cooperative farms, the MST has met with significant success. The MST also has established schools and clinics and has promoted construction of housing for the poor.

To bring light to an area so long shrouded in darkness is no easy task. Confronting the imperial war machine is dangerous work. Entrenched oligarchies and moneyed interests, who have been the traditional American allies in the region, fight tooth and nail to stop advancement of any agenda that empowers the poor at the expense of the privilege of the rich.

In Brazil, violence against the landless and forest workers is a tradition. The various governments of Brazil turn a blind eye when they are not actively assisting the corporate elements that perpetrate these outrages. Two MST leaders were gunned down in an encampment in northwestern Brazil in August and the killers are still at large. The violence stems from a confrontation between the squatter families and COPERGAS, which has stated an intention to build a natural gas pipeline through the area. The only action taken by police was to arrest MST National Coordinator Jaime Amorim for "Bad Behavior" at a 2005 anti-war march.

The US government pours money into Venezuela to help anti-Chavez groups. In Bolivia, racial hatreds are stirred as the middle and upper-middle class of predominantly white Bolivians accuse the government of racial bias as the government tries to level the playing field for the long oppressed majority of the country.

However, as the strains of empire weaken US dominance worldwide, grassroots movements seem to be flourishing. People are waking up and looking to take back what has been built on their backs and demanding a share of what is theirs by right.

Rob Ham began researching American Empire after his service in the military and is now student at New College of California.

The Final Frontier

US Domination of Space

by Diana Reiber-Garcia

Unbeknownst to American civilians, the US government has included the militarization of space as part of its global dominance strategy to protect "national interests and investments." Securing the control of space follows the historic model of military forces that evolved to protect commercial interests. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, empires employed naval forces to protect major seaways. Now controlling access to "spaceways" and information collection through space technology is seen as similarly beneficial to the US military's imperial control of the planet and the universe.

The United States Space Command, part of the US Air Force, states in its *Vision 2020* report that "just as land dominance, sea control, and air superiority have become critical elements of current military strategy, space superiority is emerging as an essential element of battlefield success and future warfare." Since the early 1990s, US SpaceCom has been publishing documents outlining their plans to obtain "Full Spectrum Dominance."

US Space Command has developed four operational concepts, which will be implemented to maintain control of space and protect commercial interests. The "Control of Space" concept includes securing access to space, the ability to deny others access to space and space information, and freedom of operation within the space medium. This includes, but is not limited to, real time space surveillance, satellite surveillance of space, and something cryptically titled "Destroy, Disrupt, Delay, Degrade, Deny."

The "Global Partnerships" concept of SpaceCom's vision will "augment military space capabilities through the leveraging of civil, commercial, and international space systems." This concept outlines the provision of financial support by "off-loading" expenses to civil and commercial providers so as to decrease the financial pressure on existing military infrastructure and operations. Global Partnerships will be developed to "command and protect US national interests and investment capabilities across the full spectrum of conflict."

The Project for a New American Century (PNAC), which emerged in 1997 as the neocon's response to Clinton's multilateralism, jumped on this vision of universal empire as America's future. This group, which has become a driving force in the Bush administration, published a defense strategy originally outlined by the Cheney Defense Department in the last days of the George Bush Senior administra-



tion. *Rebuilding America's Defenses* calls for the United States to defend its control of space, a medium they refer to as the "international commons." The report describes space as a strategic location where "commercial and security interests are intertwined." According to the report, the complexity and importance of space control will only increase as the commercial activity in space intensifies.

PNAC views space dominance not only as essential to military operations, but essential to US economic interests as well. Claiming that space control is purely defensive ignores the obvious fact that commercial space systems have been in use for decades. These commercial systems are exceedingly important in their direct military applications, including information obtained from global positioning devices. According to PNAC's defense report, "95% of current US military communications are carried over commercial circuits, including commercial communication satellites." Maintaining US dominance in space not only protects our global military operations, it protects our global commercial interests as well, for the two are, now and historically, inextricably linked.

George W. Bush is promoting PNAC's plans by increasing military spending and endorsing military-industrial contracts. Judging from this administration's domestic and foreign policies, corporate interests are not only primary areas of concern, they are directly tied to military spending and operations. Space warfare undoubtedly will require new military organizations, weapons, training, and machines. Thus the military-industrial complex has much to gain by promoting US space control.

It is important to remember that warfare and military operations have never been purely about defense. Militaries have always used their power to secure and protect commercial interests, often at the peril of their own people. It is clear that our current US government is more concerned with protecting its economic powerholders and wielding global control than it is with the protection of its own, or the world's, citizens.

Diana Reiber-Garcia graduated with a degree in English Literature from Mills College and is pursuing a career in journalism.

Controlling access to "spaceways" and information collection through space technology is seen as beneficial to US military imperial control of the planet and the universe.



graphic: Peter Veres

War Against Asia

The War Against Asia was originally driven by the needs of New England trading corporations. In their unincorporated form these businesses had traded with China and other areas of Asia even before the American Revolution. In the first half of the 1800s trade with Asia grew and American merchants increasingly assumed the corporate form to conduct trade.

Much of Asia was already colonized by European powers by 1800. China, the most important US trading partner in Asia, was open to US trade. But Japan was not; it had become an isolationist country back in the 1600s. The war to rip off Mexican land in 1846 and the subsequent entry of California into the United States highlighted the importance of Asian trade routes. The US Navy sailed to Japan in 1853, starting a war that continues (in Iraq and Afghanistan) to this day. Japan, at gunpoint, signed the Treaty of Kanagawa, allowing US merchants (corporations) to trade in Hakodate and Shimoda.

While Japan, in response, modernized at a furious pace, a different corporation, the Sugar Trust, demanded and got a war to seize Spanish colonies that specialized in growing cane sugar. In addition to Cuba and Puerto Rico, the Philippines were declared a colony of the United States in 1898. The local Filipino democracy movement fought for several years. Thousands of American soldiers and hundreds of thousands of Filipinos, many of them civilian women and children, were killed in the struggle.

China was not neglected. The US navy and troops helped the European powers control Chinese ports in the late 1800s, and supplied troops to put down the attempt (Boxer Rebellion) in 1900 of the Chinese to regain independence.

The use of military might to control economic resources came to a peak in World War II. While some Chinese struggled unsuccessfully to evict foreign nations, the Japanese followed a path copied from industrialized, imperial Western powers. Japan grabbed northern China. The US controlled Chiang Kai-shek, who claimed to control most of the rest of China. After Germany invaded Poland in 1939, Japan offered to enter the war against Germany, on the side

of the US and Great Britain. But the US and Britain believed that Asians should be subjugated, not allowed to become rival imperial powers. They demanded that Japan withdraw from China. They imposed an embargo on Japan which would cripple industry. In 1941 the Roosevelt regime issued the Hull Ultimatum, which was essentially a declaration of war on Japan (unless the Japanese withdrew from China). Despite the fact that there was war in Europe but not yet in the Pacific, President Roosevelt moved a battle fleet to Hawaii where it would be ready to strike at Japan. The Japanese were able to strike first and disable much of the fleet at the Battle of Pearl Harbor.

When the Japanese had clearly lost the war, but had not yet surrendered, Democratic President Truman committed the most horrendous war crime in world history, the purposeful mass destruction of the civilians at Hiroshima and Nagasaki using atomic bombs.

US corporations entered their heyday after World War II, masters of the world. But already Asians were fighting to evict the occupying powers. The communists were able to evict Chiang Kai-shek from China in 1949, even though he had received massive amounts of military aid from the US. The Vietnamese evicted France in 1954, only to find themselves invaded by the United States in 1964.

Many corporations in the military-industrial complex benefited from the Vietnam War, World War II, and other phases of the war. More important, war is about protecting the corporate system in general. Nations that do not agree with the corporate agenda are perceived as dangerous; pretexts have always been found to attack them. But adopting the corporate agenda can also be dangerous for a nation, as Japanese history illustrates.

Fast forwarding to the present, the United States War Against Asia continues in Afghanistan and Iraq.

William P. Meyers is the author of The Santa Clara Blues: Corporate Personhood Versus Democracy. He serves on the Point Arena, CA school board and the board of the California Center for Community Democracy.

Nations that do not agree with the corporate agenda are perceived as dangerous; pretexts have always been found to attack them.

Uproot the System Behind the War

by Beca Lafore

In early 2003, as the US made its war plans, we were making plans of our own. Direct Action to Stop the War (DASW), a SF-based collection of affinity groups, was orchestrating a huge direct action to coincide with the attack on Iraq.

The rest is history: there was a war; 10,000 people poured into the street and business ground to a halt! But that was not enough. We need to uproot the system behind the war. That is what it will take.

Ambitious? The war has not ended. The system is still there. DASW is only a listserve. What is our hope now?

At the time, our hope was huge. As the war dragged on, our hope dwindled and our momentum faltered. The two are linked, and the relationship is complicated. Without hope, we can not go on. But we became resistant to examining our hope, for fear it would not stand up to the test of reality. Yet how can we trust something we can't dig into?

We have to open up the debate about where we are going. Because—and this is where DASW ended up—a united front group operates with a lot of different visions and versions of what we are trying to accomplish—how far we are trying to go. Then it says, "okay, yes, we all have different ideas, but let's focus on this one thing: let's stop the war." But the war doesn't stop. So then you have to back up and think, how are we really going to uproot the system behind the war? And what does this mean?

A lot of people are frustrated with the way the anti-war movement is constantly reacting to empire, rather than creating our own alternative. But that alternative can't be just painting a rosy picture of the future for ourselves. In order to get where we want to go, we have to talk about where we want to

go and define what success is. It is hard to have a strategy without a common goal. So, success means connecting everybody's points: issues of labor, of environment, of empire, of war, of racism, of capitalism, of oppression of women, anti-gay BS, corporate personhood.

It means getting clear on why things are fucked up, who we are getting fucked by and how we will only stop getting fucked if we fight back together. It means really hashing out with people—is my issue your issue? Who is the enemy, and how should we fight them? What are our chances, and when? What is it going to look like, this world without corporations? Will there still be class? Will there be a government? It means talking about the disparity of privilege within the movement—different levels of power, wealth, urgency, need.

What do we need to learn in order to be able to function without ending back in the same old relationships of oppression? If I feel these relationships are being replicated in the group of people I'm working with, is there room to address that? Will some people in some places still work harder than other people?

It takes a lot to change the world, to overthrow the powerful and be successful in the aftermath. We need to not fear to test the connections between us for this is how to strengthen our connections. Otherwise we only have a fragile shell of hope, and it will break. We can't afford that. We need to win if we are to survive.

Beca Lafore is an activist, artist, videographer and writer living in San Francisco

It means getting clear on why things are fucked up, who we are getting fucked by and how we will only stop getting fucked if we fight back together.



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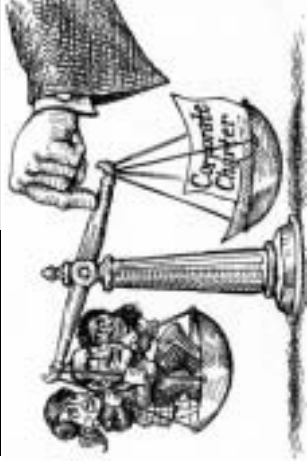
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Rights & Wrongs

by Jan Edwards



Corporate "Rights" & War

by Jan Edwards

What is the connection between corporate constitutional rights and war?

There is a saying that in war there are no winners, only losers. Well actually, there are some big winners. Corporations always profit in wartime. It is not just the weapon and uniform makers. The entire economy "rises" during war. What is really happening is the taxpayers are going into debt to pay for the many war necessities produced by the corporations. It is a huge transfer of the people's wealth into corporate coffers.

No one is surprised to learn that corporations profit, even profiteer, from war. But do they play a role in deciding to go to

war? Are they just seeing opportunity and seizing it, or are corporations actually wagging the dog?

We know corporate money plays a big role in wielding corporate power, but it is corporate rights in the constitution that actually allows corporate rule. Remember that in our constitution, we the people rule over the government.

With personhood rights, corporations now are part of we the people and are ruling over the US government. Back that up with corporate financial clout, and we can see that corporations are not just the tail wagging the dog, but have become the dog.

Here's how it works. As legal persons, a corporation has the free speech guarantees of the First Amendment. The Supreme Court in an ever-expanding definition to include money as speech has given corporations the right to give unlimited money to overturn laws and the right to lobby the government. With their voice amplified through their money/speech, doors lubricated with political donations, and well connected lobbyists (often former legislators), the corporate managers and lawyers can make a case for whatever action is seen as in the corporate interest. Quite often, war is the action rec-

ommended. Since the same corporate money elected the lawmakers, it is presumed that they share the same values. Lawmakers, with the help of corporate media, spin the decision as in the interest of the country and its citizens. And here is the best part: The citizens pay for the war, often with their lives, and the corporations reap the profits.

Once in the war-torn foreign land, the corporations divvy up the spoils: oil fields, mining rights, banking franchises, farmland—anything of value is now privatized by free market corporate owners. The US taxpayers continue to foot the bill for security of this newly grabbed corporate property. Those foreign citizens still alive are out of luck.

There is corporate money driving the process, but it's the constitutional rights that allow that money to interfere with the democratic system of government. If corporations did not have constitutional rights, we the people could forbid all corporate political activity. That means no political donations, no advertising on issues, no lobbying and no more corporate rule.

Surely, corporate rule is not the only reason for wars. But it does seem to be the principle reason for certain wars, Iraq included.