

SOUTHERN EXPOSURE

A JOURNAL OF POLITICS & CULTURE

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THE SOUTH AT WAR



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SOUTHERN EXPOSURE

SOUTHERN EXPOSURE has been published since 1973 by the Institute for Southern Studies. With its combination of investigative reporting, historical perspective, oral histories, photography, and literature, the magazine has earned a national reputation. The magazine has received several Project Censored Awards; the Sidney Hillman Award for courageous reporting on racial injustice; two Alternative Press Awards for best regional publication; a National Magazine Award; and the John Hancock Insurance Company award for economic reporting.

THE INSTITUTE FOR SOUTHERN STUDIES is a nonprofit center working for progressive change in the region. Since its founding in 1970, the Institute has sponsored research, education, and organizing programs to (1) empower grassroots organizations and communities with strong local leadership and well-informed strategies, (2) provide the information, ideas, and historical understanding of Southern social struggles necessary for long-term fundamental change, and (3) nourish communication, cooperation, and understanding among diverse cultural groups.

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COVER PHOTO: A B-29 bomber flies over the Bell Aircraft plant in Marietta, Georgia, ca. World War II. Photo courtesy of Center for Regional History & Culture at Kennesaw State University.



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SPRING & SUMMER 2002

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Institute for Southern Studies
P.O. Box 531, Durham, NC 27702 (919) 419-8311
info@southernexposure.org www.southernstudies.org

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Why we came back

Welcome to the official, full-length, re-launch issue of *Southern Exposure*. After a year-and-a-half hiatus, we're glad to be back, offering a voice for the progressive South.

The decision to go on hiatus – and after that, to publish again – is never an easy one for a magazine. Being sidelined while crucial stories are missed, or mis-covered elsewhere, is agonizing. And lingering in the back of a re-launching editor's head are deeper questions: Why bother publishing again? Why do we need a *Southern Exposure* here in the South?

I have to admit, the questions didn't linger very long. As Martin Luther King Jr. famously wrote to the squeamish Birmingham clergy who inquired as to the reason for his presence in the city, "I am here because injustice is here."

"Here," for us, is the South, and while some may debate the point, we at *SE* believe that – despite the work of bulldozers, box stores, and other leveling influences – there remains an identifiable and distinct place known as the South.

It's a beautiful and contested territory – a land where enduring values of neighborliness and mutual aid do daily battle with hide-bound prejudices and unbridled greed. It's a region shaped by powerful forces aiming to divide and conquer, yet where the common interests among those who "have little" against those who "have most" is perhaps most clear.

As long as there's a South, marked by injustice and hope, there will be *Southern Exposure*, exposing those who abuse power and celebrating those who strive for change.

Which is a way of saying we intend to be around for a while.

THE SOUTH AT WAR

"Time was when the only way for a poor Southerner – black or white – to escape the region's poverty was to join the Army. Now, if he's lucky, he can get a job in a defense plant in one of the small, rural towns that punctuate the Southern landscape. Or he can still enlist. Or if he has enough cash to live on for awhile, he can go to a New South metropolis and look for a factory or warehouse job; but even here, he would likely find himself working in an industry that got (or gets) its stimulus from the demand of nearby military bases or far-off wars."

– "Southern Militarism," *Southern Exposure*, 1973

When *Southern Exposure* first rolled off the presses in 1973 – the waning years of Vietnam, our nation's last major military venture – we dedicated our inaugural issue to the theme of "The Military and the South."

The picture that emerged in that first edition was

sobering: more than any other region, the South was implicated in the project of U.S. militarism – from supplying the bulk of troops in battle, to electing the most hawkish politicians calling for war, to hosting the largest corporate engines of military might.

By fate or coincidence, just as *SE* was planning this re-launch issue, again examining the South's role in U.S. militarism, the nation again went to war. And the South of 1973 looks eerily similar to the South of 2002.

As the state profiles in this issue show, the South remains disproportionately tied to the yoke of the permanent war economy. Even more, militarism has colonized the cultural, political and economic fabric of Southern life, as the case studies of Fayetteville, North Carolina and The Citadel in Charleston, South Carolina make plain.

But this issue also reveals another side to the South's relationship with militarism: the largely untold story of GI resistance. Perhaps it's not surprising, in the current war climate, that it takes a reporter from overseas – James Maycock of the *Guardian* in London – to look back on the widespread opposition of African-American servicemen to war in Vietnam. In the GI "coffeehouse" movement, as Adolph Reed's ground-level account suggests, the alliance of anti-war students and rank-and-file enlistees was one of the most difficult yet hopeful moments of the 1960s.

As the "anti-terror" war grows, the task of extricating our land and people from militarism, and shifting our moral and material infrastructure to peace, appears more difficult than ever.

But there is cause for hope. For as Rania Masri writes in this issue, "So long as we struggle, we are winning." And the consequences of standing silently by are too terrible to imagine.

WORK IN PROGRESS

Southern Exposure has re-launched, but it's still a work in progress. In the coming months, we're going to try new themes, new approaches, and a new look.

We hope you'll join the experiment. First, if you received a reader's survey in the mail, take a couple minutes to fill it out and send it back. Your feedback is valuable, and the \$100 grand prize certainly sweetens the deal!

Second, your ongoing phone calls, letters and emails – critical or kind – will also help us re-create *SE* as a vibrant forum to discuss the fate of our region.

We look forward to hearing from you.

CHRIS KROMM
Publisher
chris@southernstudies.org



The **National Youth & Militarism Program** of the American Friends Service Committee addresses the impact of the military and war on young people's lives. The program conducts public education and outreach campaigns, trainings and workshops, providing youth with alternatives to war.

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“We should not be killing ourselves for unfair wages”

In the Words of Insurgent Farmworker Ernestina Guevara of Florida

Interview by Rosa Saavedra

The following is an excerpt from *La Temporada*, the quarterly newsletter of the Farmworker Justice Project of the Institute for Southern Studies. By facilitating the exchange of thoughts, ideas and experiences through *La Temporada* we seek to raise awareness among farmworkers, allies, and the general public.

The Coalition of Immokalee Workers (CIW) is a community-based worker organization whose members are largely Hispanic, Haitian, and Mayan Indian immigrants. The CIW is in the midst of a struggle to raise the pay of Florida tomato pickers by one cent per pound, including a boycott of Taco Bell.

I am from Oaxaca Mexico, from the Zapoteca region. I have been here in Immokalee, Florida a little more than two years. I crossed over the border with my sister and a friend when I was 18 years old.

I started out working in the greenhouse planting tomato seedlings and then went on to work in the fields staking tomatoes. Now I work in the fields picking tomatoes.

We have to kill ourselves working just to earn a salary that allows us to live and I say no – no, we should not be killing ourselves for these unfair wages. We are making 45 cents to 50 cents per bucket that we pick. The buckets that are paid at 50

cents are for the third picking, which means that even though the price paid per bucket is higher we usually end up making less than at 45 cents because there

Photo courtesy of Coalition of Immokalee Workers



Farmworkers in south Florida carry buckets of tomatoes that weigh 32 pounds. Since each bucket brings 45 to 50 cents, workers must fill around 12 buckets per hour just to make minimum wage.

are much fewer tomatoes in the fields at the third picking. We have to hope to have work six to seven days a week just to make enough to survive because the wages that they pay us for picking tomatoes is not a fair wage.

My father who has been a member of the Coalition and has participated in the meetings and activities for a long time told me about the organization and its history, why and how it was formed.

Years ago here in Immokalee there was a lot of violence on the job. That is to say the *contratistas* often hit or beat the workers. There was one case where a worker was beaten because he went to get water. The Coalition and the members and other workers organized a demonstration to protest this treatment. About 600 workers went and demonstrated in front of the *contratista's* house. And since then the violence against the workers has all but stopped. Now the *contratistas* are afraid of us

because we are many – around 2,000 members – in the Coalition. They know that we will go to their houses if we need to and raise our voice as a collective.

To the workers who may be thinking that there is nothing they can do I can tell them from experience that yes we can create change. We can't let ourselves be taken down by the negativity that tells us we can't do anything. If we let that happen then we won't see any change. We know that we deserve fair wages and to be treated with dignity; we are human beings and not animals.

Now we have a campaign against Taco Bell. We are asking for wages for picking tomatoes be raised by one cent per pound. The bucket we fill holds 32 pounds; so that means that we are asking that the price per bucket picked be raised by 32 cents. This can be considered an adjustment since the price paid per bucket has not risen in 20 years! And we all can see how much prices in the stores have risen for tomatoes. We at the Coalition want to have a dialogue between the workers, the company 6L's – the principal provider of tomatoes to Taco Bell and the buyer (Taco Bell) to ensure that this one cent increase goes directly to the worker.

At the Coalition we support direct action: we must be ready with more than just words. We are not asking for anything that does not already belong to us. We are being denied justice and this we must speak out against without fear. There are those who think that we should not be doing demonstrations and protests. I think these people have nothing for us. We are fighting to better

our lives; we are not simply "clients" of one agency or another. Whoever cannot understand this is not with us in the struggle.

Rosa Saavedra is Director of the Farmworker Justice Project at the Institute for Southern Studies. For a copy of the newsletter La Temporada, please send a \$1.00 donation to cover postage to: Institute for Southern Studies, P.O. Box 531, Durham, NC 27702.

Ballot Box Justice

Institute voting rights project finds "selective and unequal prosecution" of election laws in North Carolina

What good are voting laws if they're not fairly and equally enforced? This past March, the Institute's Southern Voting Rights Project – launched after the 2000 presidential elections debacle – investigated the selective enforcement of election laws in North Carolina.

The findings of the landmark report – *Ballot Box Justice*, the first report from the Project – were troubling, and showed that reforms can be meaningless unless coupled with grassroots pressure.

Drawing on hundreds of pages of internal State Board of Elections documents, the study concluded that efforts by North Carolina officials to clean up state elections are "severely undermined" by the selective and unequal enforcement of election laws.

"After the controversy over the 2000 presidential elections, North Carolina and other states promised electoral reform," said

Melissa Siebert, author of the study and Director of the Voting Rights Project. "Unfortunately, this report shows that even the best policies will be subverted if election laws are selectively and arbitrarily enforced."

The report traced the aftermath of North Carolina's 1999-2000 audits, or "wellness checks," in which six out of 10 counties examined failed to meet basic standards. Two counties – Duplin and Harnett – were targeted by the Board for a full-scale inquiry, which later involved the State Bureau of Investigation. The Institute's analysis was revealing:

- The Institute found that in both Duplin and Harnett counties, State Board investigators found multiple instances of criminal "violations of election law." Yet only one case was being fully prosecuted – that of Carolyn McDougal of Harnett County, who in 1996 became the first African-American woman elected to the Dunn City Council, who faced felony charges.

- Within Harnett County alone, an internal State Board report documented over 99 cases of absentee ballot irregularities – the charges leveled against Carolyn McDougal – including 54 instances directly linked to then-Dunn Mayor Abe Elmore's office. Yet the Harnett County Attorney steered the investigation to McDougal, and District Attorney Tom Lock – recently the target of a national *Frontline* investigation charging him with wrongful prosecution of 16-year-old Terence Garner for murder – has only pursued prosecution of McDougal.

- In Duplin County, the State Board of Elections found dozens of incidents that "may constitute violations of election laws," including "possible fraudulent signatures on absentee ballot

applications ... the intentional deletion of all electronic files during the course of a criminal investigation," and "the assertion that voter registration cards were destroyed or thrown away by office staff" – all felonies. Yet none were prosecuted by District Attorney G. Dewey Hudson.

The study was released just days before McDougal's historic trial. McDougal has been known for her battles in largely rural Harnett County with powerful local political figures, such as former mayor Elmore. The Dunn native was arrested and a picture of her in handcuffs was splashed across the front page of the local newspaper the day of the November 2000 elections. Community and civil rights groups have charged the arrest was politically motivated.

Without admitting guilt, McDougal later entered a plea for lesser charges. The plea also contained the unusual demand that McDougal resign from office, which her supporters believe is evidence that the goal of the charges all along was to remove her from political office.

"Whatever the motive for Carolyn McDougal's selective prosecution, her case has exposed deep flaws in the enforcement of our state's election laws," said Chris Kromm, director of the Institute. "From how potential criminal activity is investigated, to the even more troubling question of how district attorneys decide which cases to prosecute, measures to ensure fair and equal justice before the law are clearly in order."

To obtain copies of Ballot Box Justice, please contact Melissa Siebert at (919) 419-8311 x25, melissasiebert@hotmail.com.

DEADLY AID

THE U.S. SOUTH AND ISRAEL

Last April, a Hellfire missile slammed into the living room of 18-year-old Osama Khorabi, killing the young Palestinian man who had aspired to join the Beit Jalla theater project in his hometown in the West Bank. The attack was part of a "preemptive strike" by the Israeli Defense Forces, though Khorabi was not known to have ties to any of the armed resistance groups in the occupied territories.

The Hellfire missile, designed as an anti-tank weapon, is made by Lockheed Martin Corp. at its massive production facility in Orlando, Florida. Along with Lockheed's F-16 fighter jet and Bell Helicopter Textron's AH-1E Cobra attack

helicopters, both produced in Fort Worth, Texas, the Hellfire is part of a Southern arsenal of lethal weapons sold to Israel through the Foreign Military Sales program to underwrite the occupation of Palestinian lands.

Research by the Institute for Southern Studies shows that 66 percent of the armaments sold to Israel through the Foreign Military Sales program were produced in the South, overwhelmingly paying for the expensive F-16.

The first months of 2002 have seen unrestrained Israeli military assaults on Palestinian civilians in the occupied territories, answered in turn by waves of Palestinian suicide bombings in Israeli cities.

In the first week of

March, Israeli F-16s rained a torrent of bombs down on Bethlehem, destroying the local Palestinian police headquarters. In attacks in the following weeks, Israeli soldiers rampaged through Palestinian refugee camps backed by live fire from tanks, and American-made Apache helicopters. The incursions coincided with indiscriminate roundups of Palestinian men between the ages of 15 and 40, resulting in the detention of as many as 2,000. Since the beginning of the new Intifada, the conflict has taken the lives of over 400 Israelis and more than 1,200 Palestinians. The Bush administration has insisted that the Palestinian Authority must stop the violence before negotiations can take place.

During the last decade, Palestinians have experienced a strangulation of their economy and worsening social conditions as a result of the accelerated confiscation of Palestinian land for Jewish settlements, the development of restricted Israeli bypass roads, and an intensification of military checkpoints. Whether due to ideology, hard-nosed foreign policy considerations, or the political support of pro-Israel political action committees, stalwarts of the Southern congressional delegation such as Senator Jesse Helms have found their interests increasingly tied to the viability of the state of Israel. In the current campaign cycle Republican Senator

Southern Arms-Makers Selling Arms to Israel

Company	Production location	Product	Value
10/27/1999 Lockheed Martin Missile & Fire Control, Boeing, Bell Helicopter Textron, General Electric, Kollsman Inc., AM General	Orlando, Fla.; Mesa, Ariz.; Stratford, Conn.; Fort Worth, Tex.; South Bend, Ind.	480 AGM-114L3 HELLFIRE II laser guided missiles (used w/ Apache, Blackhawk & Cobra attack helicopters, and Multipurpose Wheeled Vehicles)	N/A
2/28/2000 Lockheed Martin Missile & Fire Control	Orlando, Fla.; Troy, Ala.; locations in Israel	41 AGM-142D air-to-ground missiles	\$58,000,000
12/20/2001 Lockheed Martin Aeronautics	Fort Worth, Tex.	52 F-16D fighter jets	\$1,328,792,000
12/21/2001 Lockheed Martin Corp.	Orlando, Fla.	low altitude navigation targeting infrared for night systems applicable to the F-16 aircraft	\$11,041,775
12/27/2001 Tadiran Spectralink Ltd.	Holon, Israel (92% of work subcontracted to worksite in Tallahassee, Fla.)	662 units of personal locator beacon/voice transceivers, 400 units of emergency locator transmitter, 20 training radios and all associated data for Navy aircrew survival gear	\$7,453,962

Source: DefenseLink, FAS

Mitch McConnell of Kentucky has received \$41,000 from pro-Israel PACs, while Democratic Senator Max Cleland of Georgia, a member of the Armed Forces Committee, received over \$35,000.

Helms, who likes to brag that he's "never voted for a foreign aid giveaway," told the *Middle East Quarterly* in 1995 that "Israel is at least the equivalent of a U.S. aircraft carrier in the Middle East. Without Israel promoting its and America's common interests, we would be badly off indeed." Helms chaired the Senate Foreign Relations Committee from 1995 to 2001.

The political clout of the Christian right, heavily based in the South, has also been influential in shaping Middle East policy. Following a March 13 United Nations resolution endorsing Palestinian statehood, Virginia-based evangelist Pat Robertson issued an alarm through his website, warning that Palestinian self-determination violates the Biblical prophesy of Jewish settlement.

"The United States led the way to say we want to take East Jerusalem back from the Jewish nation in defiance of the words of Jesus Christ," said the founder of the Christian

Coalition, "and we want to give it to none other than the Palestinian Authority and Yasar [sic] Arafat who is a sworn enemy of Israel who has declared he wants to destroy it."

"I recommend very strongly that those in America begin to pray," Robertson concluded.

— Jordan Green

DISSENT DENIED

FLORIDA PROFESSOR SAMI AL-ARIAN FACES THE BACKLASH OF THE ANTI-TERROR WAR

TAMPA, Fla. — University of South Florida professor Sami Al-Arian is used to adversity. As a stateless Palestinian born in Kuwait and raised in Egypt, he has faced discrimination on every front. However, when he moved to America at the age of 17 he thought he had left discrimination behind him. America was the land of the free after all, and even if his pro-Palestinian views were not popular, would surely be tolerated. Or so he thought. Today, the 48-year-old professor is fighting to hold on to his tenured university position and defending his rights to free speech and freedom of association, while under investigation by the FBI.

Al-Arian became an

Photo courtesy of Sami Al-Arian



outspoken advocate of Muslim and Palestinian issues while attending graduate school at North Carolina State University. "Obviously, the Palestinian voice is not very much heard," says Al-Arian. "You have very powerful Zionist and Israeli forces here; not only do they have a platform but also they try to silence the other side. So very rarely you're going to hear about the Palestinian point of view."

After moving to Tampa to teach computer engineering at the University of South Florida (USF) in 1986, Al-Arian founded two organizations: the Islamic Committee for Palestine (ICP) and the World Islamic Study Enterprise (WISE). Both groups had ties to Palestinian militants.

A speaker at an ICP conference, Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, used rhetoric that Al-Arian said made him uncomfortable. However, he allowed the cleric to speak rather than censure his point of view. Although he did not advocate violence at the

conference, Rahman was later convicted for taking part in the first World Trade Center bombings. Then, a former director of

WISE, economist Ramadan Abdullah Shallah, turned up in Syria as the head of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad just six months after leaving Tampa. The news came as a shock, said Al-Arian, since Shallah never gave any indication that he supported the Palestinian Islamic Jihad while he was in Tampa.

It wasn't just Al-Arian's associations that were suspect, but also his own words. At a rally in the late 1980s Al-Arian gave a speech where he cried "Death to Israel" and encouraged audiences to give money to the "martyrs" fighting the occupation in Israel.

Today, Al-Arian claims that the words "Death to Israel" don't refer to the killing of the Israeli people but rather to the end of the system that oppresses his people and violates human rights.

In 1995, self-described terrorism expert Steve Emerson produced a documentary that used a brief interview with Al-Arian and video

footage of the fiery rhetoric he used at conferences to insinuate that there was something sinister in the professor's activities. Following the release of the film, *The Tampa Tribune* produced a series of articles repeating Emerson's allegations. The articles had a domino effect: The university put Al-Arian on paid leave for two years pending investigation; and the FBI seized the assets of the ICP and WISE, shutting down their operations. Eventually both the university and the FBI concluded there was nothing to charge Al-Arian with and he returned to teaching.

Things had quieted down by September 11, 2001, but following the World Trade Center and Pentagon attacks, attitudes toward freedom seem to have shifted. USF President Judy Genshaft announced her intention to fire Al-Arian, citing an appearance on Fox's *The O'Reilly Factor* where bombastic host Bill O'Reilly blindsided Al-Arian with allegations of terrorist associations. The university received thousands of pieces of hate mail and numerous threats to cut off donations. Al-Arian failed to make it clear that he did not represent the university, said Genshaft.

The move to fire Al-

BIG BOOST IN THE BIG EASY

NEW ORLEANS IS FIRST CITY TO RAISE MINIMUM WAGE

NEW ORLEANS – Low-wage workers in the thriving service economy here will get a boost this summer – if a measure to increase the minimum wage survives a legal challenge.

On February 2, 2002 voters in the Big Easy passed a referendum, 63 to 37 percent in favor, to raise wages for the city's least-paid workers by one dollar above the federal level for all private and public workers. The city-wide increase – the first in the country to cover all public and private workers – is estimated to cover 70,000 employees.

The six-year campaign, led by the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now,

Photo courtesy of ACORN



SEIU Local 100, and church and community groups, faced tough opposition from area businesses who claimed the increase would be prohibitively expensive. The activists countered with research demonstrating that the increased costs to business would be less than one percent of operating costs.

Opponents have also challenged the legality of the public referendum. But on March 25, Civil District Court Judge Rose Ledet upheld the referendum.

– Chris Kromm

Arian sparked a national outcry from academics and was covered by major media outlets from around the country. The principles of academic freedom are in place to protect professors from termination for unpopular speech, critics say, and his termination violates the core tenet of higher education. The American Association of University Professors is currently reviewing Genshaft's decision for violations of academic freedom.

In a move that

seemed designed to support the president's decision, the Justice Department issued a statement confirming that Al-Arian was still under FBI investigation. According to Justice Department spokesperson Steven Cole the agency generally refrains from confirming an investigation to protect subjects from trial in the court of public opinion before they've been charged with anything. He could not explain why the agency neglected to protect Al-Arian, except to say that under "certain

circumstances" the rules allow it.

In the midst of this controversy Al-Arian continues to speak out for Palestinian rights and to criticize the United States' policy toward Israel. Criticizing the U.S. and Israel doesn't mean that he supports terrorism, he says; it means that he supports the freedoms that are the foundation of America.

"First, I'm being attacked with a lot of things that are not factual and if I don't correct them people will believe these facts," he said. "Also, it is my

civic duty to speak on issues of importance such as justice issues and civil rights issues."

- Rochelle Renford

THE UNION MAKES US STRONG

CAMPUS WORKERS BUILD A MOVEMENT IN TENNESSEE

KNOXVILLE, Tenn. – "Who are we?" shouts union leader Sandy Hicks.

"United Campus Workers!" chants back a group of 30.

"What do we want?"

"A living wage!"

So began a membership meeting of the United Campus Workers (UCW), a democratically-run, independent union at the University of Tennessee-Knoxville. Members from housekeeping, dining services, transportation, the physical plant, and the library were meeting to draw up a list of demands for the coming months.

For over a year and a half, workers at UT have been fighting for better conditions without direct assistance from an international union. And they have been winning, despite critics' prediction that the task was hopeless because of the lack of collective bargaining.

The UCW emerged from a living wage

campaign that began in the fall of 1999. That campaign was originally led by students, some of whom were trained in the AFL-CIO's Union Summer, and by community supporters who had been active in a living wage campaign in the city of Knoxville.

Unlike other living wage campaigns, which have largely been led by community activists and even students, the UT campaign goal was that workers should be the leaders of their own struggle. This is a key difference from campaigns like that at Harvard.

Workers began holding meetings in early 2000 where they made decisions about the campaign. "There was not an elite group of one or two people calling all the shots," explained Richard Haviland, a UT custodian of 26 years. "At these meetings workers would hash out situations. We would talk and not have to fear censorship or intimidation. It took a few meetings for some of the workers to be accustomed to speaking out."

"Even in the earliest days when student leaders had more experience and savvy, these very same people encouraged workers to develop their own leadership skills. We were not patronized, we were not spoon fed,

Photo courtesy of United Campus Workers



Campus worker Dave McClure speaks before the union.

we were encouraged to take up our own bed and walk, as it says in the Scripture," explained Haviland.

When the UT living wage campaign emerged in March 2000, other grievances came to the forefront. "The Campus Workers for a Living Wage (CWLW), the precursor to the United Campus Workers, began with open meetings where we all got out our frustrations with low wages," explained library worker Chris Pelton. "Soon other common problems came out: things like forced overtime, the hepatitis B situation, and racism."

Custodians were at risk of coming into contact with hepatitis B from their work cleaning dorm showers and bathrooms. UT's refusal to pay for hepatitis B vaccinations quickly became a focus for the CWLW.

"I knew that the

campaign for the hepatitis B shots was a big issue" said Ernestine Robinson, a five-year housekeeper who makes \$6.25 an hour. "We run into a lot of stuff that you wouldn't run into – like feces, and blood that is smeared on the wall. We run into everything in the freshman dorm."

After months of educating co-workers about the issue, petitioning, and holding protests, the university agreed in June 2000 to provide free vaccinations. That demonstrated that organizing and collective action, with workers in the lead, could win.

Sandy Hicks, a housekeeper of 23 years who makes a little over \$8 an hour, was one of the original founders of the CWLW. The CWLW changed its name to the United Campus Workers in October 2000, to reflect the change from "living

wage group" to independent union. "I was surprised when we won the shots," said Hicks, who is now co-chair of UCW. "I figured we'd be fighting a lot harder."

Wages at UT Knoxville are appalling. According to a study by the Council for a Living Wage and Worker Justice at UT, 1,453 UT workers (68 percent) are in job classifications that pay less than a living wage of \$9.50. One in three qualifies for some form of government assistance.

To make matters worse, since 1990 UT has privatized dining services and a large portion of janitorial work.

Since March 2000, workers from the library, dining services, the physical plant, and other areas have joined the union. UCW has built strong ties with Knoxville's AFL-CIO Central Labor Council, and has even become a sister union with UE Local 150, which has organized workers at the University of North Carolina.

For now, the UCW has chosen not to affiliate with any international union.

"In the end, we agreed that a lot of what we saw other unions doing wouldn't work for us – we had to be more patient, more democratic," explained UCW Secretary Chris Pelton. "I think this is

why we have such a diverse membership and why we have workers picking up new skills and taking responsibility for things that they never thought they would do – like public speaking, organizing events, and even using e-mail."

– Cameron Brooks

POWER POLITICS

WHILE ENRON'S GOTTEN THE SPOTLIGHT, DICK CHENEY'S OLD ENERGY FIRM HALLIBURTON HAS BEEN PROFITING FROM THE ANTI-TERROR WAR

DALLAS – Halliburton has long been a prime sponsor of political power. It has also maneuvered itself into an advantageous position to exploit President Bush's global "war against terror." Last December, the U.S. Department of Defense made a no-cap, cost-plus-award contract to Halliburton KBR's Government Operations division. The Dallas-based company is contracted to build forward operating bases to support troop deployments for the next nine years.

"Augmenting our military troops with contractor-provided support has proven to be an invaluable force multiplier," boasted Halliburton CEO Dave Lesar, celebrating the deal in euphemistic

language that is understood both as military triumphalism – and to Wall Street – as a cue that the new military mobilization could punch up the company's flagging stocks. In an October press release, the CEO, who was compensated \$11.3 million last year, had forecasted a good fourth quarter for profits in engineering and construction.

A January 29 *Washington Post* article drew comparisons between Halliburton and Enron, pointing out that both their stocks plunged last fall, and that they share the same accountant, Arthur Andersen. (Halliburton has been plagued with lawsuits over its use of asbestos, discouraging investor confidence.) Another similarity is that their CEOs both cashed out before the fall. In Halliburton's case, Vice President Dick Cheney cashed out \$20.6 million in stocks before retiring as CEO. With



Vice President
Dick Cheney

Halliburton financially ailing, it's only natural that the Defense Department, over which Cheney presided in the administration of Bush Sr., would provide the bailout.

The Pentagon

normally posts all contract announcements exceeding \$5 million on its website, but in Halliburton's case the government declined to disclose the estimated value of the award. A spokesperson for Halliburton gave \$2.5 billion as the amount the company earned from base support services in the 1990s, acknowledging that the contract value could exceed that number, assuming that the scope of U.S. military action widens in the next decade.

Halliburton has close connections with the Bush family. Aside from Cheney, there is Lawrence Eagleburger, a Halliburton director and former deputy secretary of defense under Bush Sr. during the Gulf War.

As the number-one oil field services company in the world, Halliburton has an active interest in positioning itself to exploit the newly-opened oil and gas fields in adjoining Uzbekistan, where the U.S. Army's 10th Mountain Division already occupies a base.

Halliburton's nine-year troop-support contract falls under the Logistics Civil Augmentation Program, or LOGCAP, which provides "the warfighter with additional capabilities to rapidly support and augment the logistics

requirements of its deployed forces." The company is required to deploy within 72 hours of notification and install forward operating bases for some 25,000 troops within 15 days. The base camp services Halliburton will provide include mess hall, food preparation, potable water, sanitation, laundry, transportation, utilities,

and warehousing.

Through the past ten years, Halliburton has built bases to support troop deployments in Somalia, Haiti, and the Balkans. During the Vietnam War, the company (then called Brown & Root Services) built roads, landing strips, harbors and military bases throughout the areas under U.S. military control.

Environmental Justice In Alabama

COMMUNITY AGAINST POLLUTION WINS LANDMARK CASE AGAINST MONSANTO

ANNISTON, Ala. – Community Against Pollution won a substantial victory here against Monsanto and its corporate successors in March when a jury in nearby Gadsden found the company liable for 40 years of dumping hazardous PCB pollutants.

"Those people destroyed this community," said David Baker, president of Community Against Pollution. "They poisoned us, they profited from us, and now it's time for them to pay."

"This case is not over," said Beth Rusert, a spokesperson for Solutia, the corporation formed when Monsanto spun off its chemical division in 1997. "But regardless of how it turns out, we're going to do our part to clean up the PCBs in this community."

In the extraordinary case, Monsanto and its successors were found liable on six counts: negligence, wantonness, suppression of the truth, nuisance, trespass, and outrage – a claim under Alabama law that covers conduct "so outrageous in character and extreme in degree as to go beyond all possible bounds of decency so as to be regarded as atrocious and utterly intolerable in civilized society."

– Jordan Green

Halliburton's publicity material boasts of its ability to establish temporary military bases under often hostile conditions – an invaluable preparation for the second phase of its project: laying the groundwork for oil exploration under often hostile conditions. Vice President Cheney has been famously quoted in reference to the country of Iraq: "The good Lord didn't see fit to put oil and gas only where there are democratic regimes friendly to the United States."

With the war continuing its deadly course under the occupation of U.S. and allied troops in Afghanistan, Halliburton has established a beachhead for a spectacular expansion into Central Asia.

– Jordan Green

THE WAR DOWN SOUTH

NORTH CAROLINA ACTIVISTS FIND U.S. TIES TO COLOMBIA CIVIL CONFLICT

N.C. – Many Americans fear to tread in war-torn Colombia, the most violent country in the western hemisphere. The Rev. Allen Proctor, Presbyterian campus minister at N.C. State University, says that after learning about

Washington's \$1.3 billion contribution to "Plan Colombia," a counter-drug campaign that emphasizes military measures, he had to go. "Everything I had read up to that point caused me to be concerned about the effects of U.S. policy there, and I needed to see it for myself and sort it out," Proctor says.

In mid-January, he and five other North Carolinians joined a 25-member Witness For Peace delegation to Colombia, where they investigated the real-world consequences of the lofty drug-war rhetoric we hear on the home front. After a visit to ground zero, Proctor likens the new military aid package to "throwing gasoline on a fire."

The group visited the coca-rich department of Putamayo in the south, where contract pilots hired by the U.S. State Department are flying regular fumigation raids, spraying farmers, families, livestock, water sources and, yes, coca plants with the herbicide Roundup. (See "DynCorp: The Leading U.S. Mercenary Contactor" on pg. 18) "We heard reports of fish dying, skin blistering, people with kidney problems," Proctor says. "These are subsistence farmers, with 10 or 15 acres – 10 in coca, five in food crops – and when they

spray, it kills everything, including the food crops."

The delegation pressed that point in a two-hour meeting with the U.S. ambassador to Bogotá, Anne Patterson, and an aide who oversees the fumigation program. "The embassy staff response was that this was the consequence of growing coca, that that's the farmer's responsibility," Proctor says. The officials insisted that the glyphosate compound used in the raids has been proven "absolutely safe" in similar applications, and they dismissed the campesinos complaining of crop loss as "unreliable sources" only interested in coca profits.

The environmental and public health

consequences of fumigation pale in comparison to those resulting from the next phase of Plan Colombia: the ground war. U.S. Army-trained "counter-drug battalions" descended into Putamayo and neighboring departments on a search-and-destroy mission against coca producers and the country's main rebel group, the FARC.

On January 16, the Witness for Peace delegation joined Colombian human rights activists in a vigil outside the U.S. embassy. The group presented a symbolic offering of fruits, vegetables, bread and paper doves, urging the United States to replace the military aid package with development

funds and to support a negotiated settlement to Colombia's civil war.

Events surrounding the visit brought terrible reminders that violence against civilians has escalated since the Plan Colombia funds began flowing last fall. On the day before the vigil, right-wing paramilitary troops – which are protected and sometimes assisted by the U.S.-backed armed forces – pulled 10 men from a bus in western Colombia and summarily executed them. The day after the vigil, a similar squad bludgeoned 26 men to death in the northern village of Chengue.

– Jon Elliston

This article was originally published by The Independent

Weekly in Durham, N.C.

Contributors

■ *Cameron Brooks, a former student activist, is now a University of Tennessee employee and a member of United Campus Workers.*

■ *Jon Elliston is a staff writer for The Independent Weekly in Durham, North Carolina.*

■ *Jordan Green is Associate Editor of Southern Exposure.*

■ *Chris Kromm is Editor of Southern Exposure.*

■ *Rochelle Renford is a staff writer for the Tampa Weekly Planet.*

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On December 8, 1941, the United States rose to the startling news that it was at war. Pearl Harbor had been bombed, and a nation once torn over joining the violent conflagration of Europe's great powers decided to put differences aside, and unite for battle.

In the outreaches of rural Georgia, residents of the sleepy town of Marietta – a struggling Atlanta satellite – viewed the events of December 1941 with interest. What they couldn't know is that due to the events of

hosts more than its share of war business; elects the most hawkish politicians to office; and supplies 42 percent of the nation's enlistees – all products of the unique relationship with militarism that took root in Marietta and the South half a century ago.

“THE GOOD WAR”

In 1938, President Roosevelt commissioned the *Report on Economic Conditions of the South*, and the findings

Missiles and Magnolias:

THE SOUTH AT WAR

By Jordan Green and Chris Kromm

December, they, just like their country, would soon be thrust onto the world stage of conflict.

Washington was scrambling to find a place to mass-produce a “superbomber” that could answer Pearl Harbor, and their eyes soon turned to Marietta. The town boasted a can-do attitude, a large pool of unemployed workers, a union-free business climate – and leaders willing to hand over the local airport to sweeten the deal. So it was with great fanfare that, in January 1942, town officials announced that Marietta had won dibs for Air Force Plant #6, Bell Aircraft Company's coveted facility to build the B-29 bomber.

Overnight Marietta went from small town to boom town. Plant #6 would put 28,000 Georgians to work, churn out hundreds of aircraft, and create a mammoth manufacturing infrastructure over the next three years. After the war, the factory switched over to Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, but its military ties proved lasting: today, the plant is still a favored source of Pentagon air power, and employs more Georgians than other business in the state.

Of course, Georgia wasn't the only place to be remade by militarism. Marietta is just one of dozens of Southern cities that saw their fortunes rise with America's World War II ascendance as a global military power.

Today, more than any other region, the South remains ensnared by the politics, economics and culture of war, reaping the rewards – and shouldering the burdens – of administering a seemingly permanent military-industrial complex. The region

were sobering. “The low income belt of the South,” the study found, “is a belt of sickness, misery, and unnecessary death.” Upon the study's release, Roosevelt famously concluded that the U.S. South was “the nation's number one economic problem.”

Yet only six years later, Donald M. Nelson, Chair of the U.S. War Production Board, found a South that “has rubbed Aladdin's lamp” and is poised to enter “the vanguard of world industrial progress.”

Separating these warring views of Southern fortunes, of course, was World War II, a watershed moment for the expansion of U.S. geopolitical influence and the rise of Southern economic prowess.

Companies like Bell Bomber, Lockheed Aircraft, and General Dynamics flooded into the South to do wartime business, pumping some \$4 billion worth of military production into the Southern economy. This was only 17.6 percent of the national total – lower than the South's share of population – but far surpassed the region's industrial capacity entering the war.

Thousands flocked to the shipyards from Norfolk, Virginia and Charleston, South Carolina, to Houston and Orange, Texas, and the aircraft plants that sprang up in Dallas/Fort Worth and Marietta, Georgia, with assembly plants in Dallas, New Orleans, Nashville, Birmingham and Miami. By 1945, the wartime duo of ships and planes combined as the South's second biggest employer, second only to the stalwart textile industry – itself surging to clothe the war effort.

The wartime boost was felt everywhere: every Southern state had an ordnance plant producing

explosives. Half of the nation's synthetic rubber came from refineries in Louisiana and Texas. Oak Ridge, Tennessee made its mark by processing uranium for the atomic bombs dropped on Japan.

But the war provided more than just an economic boost. Of the 12 million wartime servicemen, over a third were stationed in the South, leading historian George Tindall to argue "the South remained more campground than arsenal." New Deal investment also loosened the grip of the Old South elite and gave rise to a new political class of "business progressives" who welcomed federal defense and research dollars, but turned away federal aid to the poor and resisted challenges to the color line.

War also set the tone for the South's future development. Prosperity was not evenly distributed, as historian Bruce J. Schulman argues in *Cottonbelt to Sunbelt*: "New industry concentrated in predominantly white areas, restricting opportunities for black southerners. In the nonmetropolitan South, heavily black counties suffered employment declines in the 1950s and 1960s."

The war boom also concentrated in sectors, like aerospace, that were too young to be significantly unionized. Shortly afterwards, the 1948 Taft-Hartley Act and the anti-communism of the McCarthy era paralyzed new labor organizing, so the region was able to maintain its "favorable business climate" and lure even more defense companies south.

The South's permanent war economy – and the region's dependence on the military dollar – was born.

WHERE THE HAWKS ROOST

War is still good business in the South, the result of a powerful marriage between hawkish politicians and a defense industry unafraid to flex its political muscle.

Every region of the country has expanded its defense base since 1996, but the South has led the way with an 83 percent increase, followed by the West with gains of 62 percent. In contrast, Northeastern states saw contract increases of only 9 percent, and the Midwest and Central Plains states expanded by only 21 percent.

While defense hubs like California, Connecticut, and Washington are holding their own, the military industry is shifting towards the states of the old Confederacy, with defense contracts doubling in Virginia and Florida and skyrocketing 216 percent in Texas in the past five years.

Greasing the way for Southern military contracts is the Southern congressional delegation, which has developed a reputation for unflinching loyalty to the defense industry.

Five of the top 10 congressional recipients of military dollars in the 2001-2002 election cycle are Southerners, including Alabama Senators Jeff Sessions and Richard

CITIES AT WAR

Top metropolitan areas for military production, 2001.

1	Fort Worth-Arlington, Tex.	\$21,672,730,089
2	Washington, D.C.	\$17,551,161,246
	(Northern Va. suburbs of D.C.)	\$12,551,161,246
3	Los Angeles-Long Beach, Calif.	\$11,009,164,973
4	Seattle-Bellevue, Wash.	\$8,577,853,925
5	Norfolk-Virginia Beach- Newport News, Va.	\$6,616,752,212
6	St. Louis, Mo.	\$5,628,450,106
7	Hartford, Conn.	\$5,617,766,248
8	San Diego, Calif.	\$5,062,551,769
9	Atlanta, Ga.	\$4,053,205,545
10	Indianapolis, Ind.	\$3,748,286,512
13	San Antonio, Tex.	\$2,359,716,435
14	Melbourne-Titusville- Palm Bay, Fla.	\$2,264,367,149
16	Orlando, Fla.	\$2,103,657,910
21	Dallas, Tex.	\$1,448,323,208

Source: Department of Defense

Shelby, both Republicans; Republican Senator Thad Cochran of Mississippi; Republican Senator John Warner of Virginia; and Representative James Moran Jr., who represents the 8th district of northern Virginia.

In turn, Southern politicians have established a pro-military voting record that ensures military investment in the region. According to Peace Action, in 2000, fully 62 percent of senators from the South voted 100 percent for expanding military operations, while only 53 percent of their colleagues in other regions of the nation did so. The delegations from Alabama, Kentucky and Mississippi were unanimous in their pro-defense commitments.

No state has nurtured the relationship between military money and political power like Texas. In 1948, Lyndon B. Johnson's run for the U.S. Senate was largely backed by a Texas construction company, Brown & Root. When Johnson deployed troops to Vietnam, Brown & Root received millions in contracts to build roads, military bases, landing strips and harbors.

Three decades later, Brown & Root had become a subsidiary of Dallas-based Halliburton Co., the world's largest oil services company, and headed by future vice president Dick Cheney. The revolving door of Halliburton's corporate structure is peopled by the architects of the United State's foreign policy, most directly through Cheney's conducting of the Gulf War as the first President Bush's secretary of defense. Halliburton director Lawrence Eagleburger was deputy secretary of state in the same administration.

In 2001, Halliburton again revealed its clout when it

Lockheed Martin and the Making of the Southern War Economy

Lockheed Martin, a company with roots in southern California, targeted the U.S. military as its perfect market – and the Sunbelt as its perfect home – from World War II onward. The vast physical space, cheap labor, anti-union climate – and vigorous federal wartime spending to rescue the region from the Depression – were optimal growing conditions for incubating a dominant economic institution.

The three major design and production facilities of Lockheed's Aeronautics division represent the stunning economic emergence of the Sunbelt in the postwar years. Headquartered in Fort Worth, Texas, Aeronautics also has major production facilities in Palmdale, California, and the Atlanta suburb of Marietta.

Lockheed's fortunes also rose with the political ascendance of New Deal Democrat Lyndon Johnson. As Senate Majority Leader in 1954, Johnson presided over an explosive era of military expansion, and upon succeeding John F. Kennedy to the presidency, Johnson made sure the north Texas aerospace industry was a major beneficiary of the escalating war in Vietnam.

In 2002, with another Texan

in the White House, Lockheed Martin and the military-industrial complex – along with the oil industry – again dominate the political system. Former Lockheed senior vice president, Democrat Norman Mineta, joined George W. Bush's cabinet as secretary of transportation. From 1975 to 1995, Mineta represented California's Silicon Valley in the House of Representatives, a district where Lockheed businesses pulled in more than \$2 billion from the Pentagon last year.

Another Bush cabinet member, Secretary of Veterans Affairs Anthony Principi, was senior vice president of Lockheed's Integrated Solutions division.

It's not only the executive branch that is locked into the war posture by Lockheed's military lobby. For years, Lockheed has generously larded the campaign coffers of legislators – both Democrats and Republicans – in Texas, Georgia, and California.

Lockheed's economic hold on Georgia – where it is the state's largest employer – was greatly assisted over the last decade by Newt Gingrich, Republican Speaker of the House from 1995 to 1999, whose district included Marietta. During the 1997-1998 election cycle, Lockheed spent \$906,487 – mainly directed towards Gingrich's Republican majority in Congress – to nurture its market dominance.

In the 1999-2000 election

cycle, the following legislators received top campaign contributions of \$10,000 from Lockheed: Representatives Barton, Bonilla, Edwards, Frost, Granger, and Turner of Texas; Representatives Barr and Chambliss of Georgia; and Representative Lewis of California.

In the same cycle, Lockheed gave \$8,000 to Democratic Senator Max Cleland of Georgia, a member of the Armed Forces Committee, as well as significant contributions to Trent Lott, then Republican Senate Majority Leader from Mississippi; Democratic Senator Joseph Lieberman of Connecticut, also a member of the Armed Forces Committee; and Republican Senator Richard Lugar of Indiana, a member of the Foreign Relations Committee.

The investment paid off handsomely. Last October, the Pentagon awarded the Joint Strike Fighter contract – worth \$200 billion over 20 years – to Lockheed, the most lucrative military payout in history. The first payout to Lockheed's aeronautics HQ in Fort Worth immediately made the north Texas city the most defense-rich metropolitan area in the nation.

Photo courtesy of Lockheed Martin



The escalating war in the Middle East has also padded Lockheed's revenues nicely. On December 20, 2001, following weeks of incursions by the Israeli military into the Palestinian West Bank and Gaza – including bombings condemned by the United Nations – Lockheed won a contract to sell Israel 52 F-16 fighter jets, made in Fort Worth.

On the domestic front, Lockheed Martin has faced a steady stream of criticism from African-American workers, who attempted to file a class-action lawsuit in December 2000, which was stymied by the federal courts' refusal to hear their case. Bush's Defense Department displayed its contempt for Representative Cynthia McKinney's (D-Decatur) suggestion that contracts to Lockheed could be suspended, by awarding the company \$818 million following the progressive legislator's statements on the floor of the House.

– Jordan Green

won a virtually unlimited nine-year contract from the Pentagon to build infrastructure for troop deployments through the duration of the current "anti-terrorist" war.

THE BUSINESS OF WAR

While defense dollars have touched every corner of the South, certain areas have come into their own as

favored centers of military might.

The northern Virginia suburbs of Washington with Internet technology and outsourced defense intelligence operations; the Cape Canaveral area of Florida with global positioning and communication technology; Huntsville, Alabama with its missile production and Fortune 500 companies clustered around the Army's Redstone Arsenal, NASA's Marshall

Space Flight Center and Cummings Research Park; and Fort Worth, with the massive production facilities of Lockheed Martin Aerospace – all continue to flourish with defense stimulus.

The sprawling Hampton Roads area of Virginia, and Atlanta have garnered some of the largest contracts: \$6.6 billion and \$4.1 billion respectively, in 2001. Hampton Roads' Northrop Grumman-Newport News Shipbuilding, like Marietta, Georgia's Air Force Plant #6, is the largest private employer in the state.

Yet in other areas, the military economy is more fragile. Fort Bragg, located near Fayetteville, North Carolina, and Fort Campbell, near Clarksville, Tennessee, are major employers and sustain an insecure retail economy, but don't account for the enormous expenditures doled out for aerospace and technology. Military bases' primary economic impact is in construction and food service contracts, which are often awarded to out-of-state companies.

Ingalls Shipbuilding in Pascagoula, Mississippi – also owned by Los Angeles-based Northrop Grumman – continues to be the state's largest private employer, but its fortunes have dimmed. Mississippi's defense contract allotment has declined by 42 percent in the past five years.

And then there are states like West Virginia, Kentucky and Arkansas, which have maintained a durable independence from the war economy. Notable exceptions to this rule are contracts to General Electric Aircraft Engines in Madisonville, Kentucky and to Lockheed Martin Missile & Fire Control in Camden, Arkansas. West Virginia received only one prime defense contract in 2001, for less than \$9 million.

BREAKING WITH MILITARISM

Before World War II, Senator Gerald Nye of North Dakota held congressional hearings to investigate ties between the Navy, War Department and major arms manufacturers. Nye's office concluded that war profiteering had manipulated the democratic process.

Such debate seems unimaginable today, yet militarism's persistent inertia – for bigger and more expensive weapons systems, more dangerous and more questionable troop deployments – continues to tighten its grip on the South. A permanent war culture has not only diverted away the resources of social development, but created a self-sustaining logic that ensures the inevitability of war.

As President Eisenhower's warned before leaving office in 1961, "In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition

Gun for Hire

DynCorp: The Leading U.S. Mercenary Contractor

This past January, the Pentagon awarded DynCorp a \$120 million contract to establish base operations to support the U.S. aerial counter-drug surveillance mission in Aruba, Curacao, and Ecuador.

DynCorp is an employee-owned company seen by many critics as a cutout for covert Pentagon and CIA operations. Most DynCorp employees are retired military personnel with security clearance. Here's what the company is up to:

- Aerial fumigation of coca crops in Colombia, an operation that has devastated subsistence farmers and surrounding ecosystems.
- Providing military police for the United Nations mission in the Balkans. A Texas employee of DynCorp International who serviced U.S. military aircraft in Bosnia has filed a lawsuit alleging that the company condoned a child prostitution ring;
- Servicing military aircraft at Patrick AFB in Florida, Maxwell AFB in Alabama, Columbus AFB in Mississippi, and maintaining war supplies at Shaw AFB in South Carolina; and
- Maintaining (through a joint venture with Britain's Porton International Ltd.) the Defense Department's vaccine stockpile for anthrax and smallpox.

In a bizarre development, a company spun off of DynCorp last November called DynTek has reaped contracts for child support services in three North Carolina counties (New Hanover, Onslow, and Beaufort) and has contracted with the Arkansas Health and Human Services Department to implement that state's welfare-to-work transition.

- Jordan Green

of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex. The potential for the disastrous rise of misplaced power exists and will persist."

Jordan Green is an Editorial and Research Associate with Southern Exposure and the Institute for Southern Studies. Chris Kromm is Director of the Institute, and Publisher of Southern Exposure.

THE COMPANY IN THE COMPANY TOWN



By Catherine Lutz

Photos by
elin o'Hara slavick

FAYETTEVILLE, NORTH CAROLINA • To understand Fayetteville's life with Fort Bragg in this period, begin by imagining a city dominated by one gigantic firm. While the majority of the county's population does not work for the firm, its influence is felt in many areas. The enterprise has distinctive hiring practices, employee pay, benefits, working conditions, and "product." It is a (1) labor intensive, (2) non-profit, state monopoly industry that enjoys substantial tax exemptions. The firm also has a (3) very egalitarian pay structure, but is a (4) hierarchical, "total institution." And (5) its workers come and go at a rapid clip, and remain (6) demographically distinct: Driving into the "plant" in the morning are a stream of young men of more colors than the average work place has.

All of this matters to the company's town. The firm's huge labor force of 45,000 employees makes the city highly dependent on its good will and vulnerable to its policy changes. Most workers are brought in from outside by recruiters found in offices peppered around the country and by ubiquitous advertising. Unlike goods-producing military-industrial workers, the base workers provide services.

These many workers' salaries grow stores and retail jobs at the edge of the installation. In 1994, 31 percent of Cumberland County workers were in retail, compared with 13 to 22 percent in the state's five other large metropolitan counties. Unfortunately, retail work pays less than nearly any other of the nine major job categories economists use to type the workforce. The area's extra-large reserve labor force

includes military spouses, retirees (who can be as young as their late 30s), and the local unemployed. Having these workers in the wings means wages are depressed still further: Fayetteville's hourly retail wages are lower than North Carolina's other cities'.

Store owners do well, on the other hand, especially with the All Volunteer Force. It is more of a "shopping army" because its soldiers are buying for whole families, and because – like all Americans – they share the growing consumption ethos fed by ubiquitous advertising and more widely marketed credit. (Even though the military houses, clothes, and feeds them, many soldiers get into financial trouble with increasingly easy credit pushed on them by banks and retailers and with the low rates of savings associated with youth in general.) And because the Army needs to recruit hundreds of thousands of young people, it has had to adjust its expectation of how spartan a soldier can be made to live. As one post official said, "You can't expect them to live out of a foot locker. They want stereo sets, barbells and a parking space."

Jack Cox, a retired garrison commander at Fort Bragg, described to me this change in the lives of enlisted soldiers. Waving his hands in enthusiastic underlining, his heavy West Point ring now and again hit the glass table between us with dangerous gusto. Several interview hours later, his clearly very patient wife quietly checked on when she could serve dinner. But he had a whole life in the Army to tell, beginning with a movie he saw about West Point when he was 7 in Illinois, through Korea, Germany, and Vietnam.

After breaking his neck and back in a parachute jump in the mid-1970s, he went from combat unit command to running the installation support services as they adapted to the changing expectations of soldiers. In the "old days," he said,

The soldier on payday bought two packs of razorblades, shaving cream, shaving lotion, shoe polish, and maybe a couple pairs of socks, for the month. What he had left, he either gambled away or drank away or some of them saved it. They didn't have any needs. There were no families to worry about ... Soldiers had a wall locker and a foot locker, and their clothes were in it, and they had maybe one pair of blue jeans and one shirt, but that was exceptional. Nowadays, they have tons of [civilian clothing].

Other aspects of his work as a kind of mayor of Fort Bragg began to differ from his predecessors' as well. The married Army made its social life at home and in the community rather than in the many clubs and athletic facilities on the installation where soldiers formerly went. In the past,

A soldier would come to the service club for cookies, doughnuts, coffee, tea, fruit juice, everything was free. If he had no money, he could go to the service club at nighttime, he could watch TV or watch a movie inside. He could play pool, he could play ping-pong, and never spend a penny ... Now they go home to their families. They don't have to stay on Fort Bragg. They don't want to stay. They want to get off of Fort Bragg. Downtown Fayetteville has three restaurants to every soldier, I do believe. And soldiers get off post and go downtown. They have transportation ... They have two NCO clubs on Fort Bragg, and one officers' club, and that's about all Fort Bragg can handle. Years ago, they had three or four of each. Because everybody lived on Fort Bragg, everybody partied on Fort Bragg.

While restaurants grew in number and dependency on the installation, small business people have been very unevenly reliant on or vulnerable to changes at the installation. While an estimated 30 percent of local businesses make few sales to soldiers, the hotel/motel industry, residential real estate sales and rentals, furniture, and car sales suffer or thrive with fluctuations in the installation population, the wage level there, and the number of deployments. Also vulnerable are jewelers, people who sell movie tickets or menswear, and, if seldom mentioned, sex industry entrepreneurs. Banks with many military mortgages are hurt when deployments – even those as brief and limited as Grenada – set the real estate market back for months at a time. Local government finances are also adversely affected.

The town's retail success was once more important

to the local economy than it became. While sales have gone up, hefty chunks of the profits are now trucked out of town. When Cross Creek Mall first opened in 1975, its stores were mostly locally owned. Today, 95 percent are regional or national chains.

Through these changes, however, the mall has continued to cater to its military customers. Together with demographic and "psychographic" information about the community, mall management gives tenants advice on how they can be "military family oriented" and keeps them aware of the latest deployments. It provides a military discount (stores choose whether to participate) and lists those that do at the mall information center. During the Gulf War, the mall owner built a "military courtesy area" where family members could videotape messages for their soldiers.

A second important aspect of the "company" that dominates this town is that the military is a non-profit firm whose activities have been paid for almost entirely by tax dollars. Headquartered in Washington, the firm is in theory accountable to those who hire it. In practice, national security laws and corporate influence have made congressional and public oversight perfunctory or ineffectual. So has the militarized cultural assumption that, as political scientist Cynthia Enloe points out, "no other public or private institution comes so close to being the sine qua non of a state." For many this has come to mean that what military leaders want is by definition what the nation wants. While in this way its activities often go unquestioned, the army has more transparent and less exploitative hiring and promotions policies than many enterprises, although the soldier unions that have developed in the armies of many wealthier nations do not exist.

Employers perceive military wives and teenaged children as ready to work for low wages given their spouses' salary, transience, and their own lack of other options.

A state monopoly with a heavy immovable investment in land, the Army offers the community the advantage that it is unlikely to flee overseas for economic advantage. It has, however, occasionally suggested it would have to go elsewhere in the country if the community

tried to limit its flights, artillery practice, or growth. National politics and policy changes matter to the city, like coffee prices to a Central American monoculture. About 20 years ago, for example, a regulation was announced that starch could no longer be used on uniforms, because new infrared scopes



A Fort Bragg soldier shopping

would pick up the soldier more easily. Those regulations were “like turning a light switch” on the dry cleaning business, as one businessman said. Some traditionalists on post were unhappy about the new rules, however: “Everyone looked rumpled,” he remembered. “They fought among themselves for a while and then the [traditional] military culture took over, they ignored the regulations, and let people go back to press in starch. The truth of the matter is the soldier’s not usually in the scopes of the Russians.” Dry cleaning businesses gradually recovered.

Fayetteville, like all communities with military installations, loses revenue through the property tax exemption for federal land, through sales tax exemptions for goods sold at the Post Exchange (PX) and the commissary (equaling \$12 million lost taxes in 1999), and through soldiers’ ability to avoid state income tax by maintaining their home state residency. While the many soldiers who live off-post effectively pay property tax through their rent, the thousands of retirees who shop on post pay no sales tax. By one estimate, 66 major new factories would have to come to Fayetteville for the city to reach the tax base that similarly sized North Carolina cities have.

Nonetheless and naturally, soldiers use public resources. While many military children go to Department of Defense schools on Fort Bragg, those who live off-post are educated in public schools, and all children go to the public high schools. Federal

“impact funds,” available since 1950, are meant to offset this cost. But the amounts available have been irregular – sometimes adequate and sometimes grossly inadequate. In nearby Hoke County, they have been merely symbolic: \$32,000 or about enough for one teacher’s salary in a county that had almost 1,000 military children. With their poor tax base, military counties fall to the ranking depths on school spending. Of North Carolina’s 119 school systems, Hoke County ranked 116th in local school spending, and Cumberland County ranked 113th in the mid-1990s. The relatively poor schooling that results has ramifications further down the road: Fayetteville’s students enroll at the flagship state university at nearly half the rate of Charlotte’s and Raleigh’s.

The shopping siphoned off by the PX and other post businesses makes Cumberland County’s per capita retail sales much lower than other urban counties’. When Congress several years ago lifted restrictions on what items the PX could carry, allowing sales of higher ticket items, local furniture and electronics stores complained loudly because sales tax exemption gave the PX an advantage in making sales to soldiers, dependents, and veterans. Local U.S. representatives, siding with business rather than the community as a whole, however, argued that soldiers should instead be exempted from sales tax at private businesses to level the playing field. Change is unlikely, however: PX profits totaling \$2 billion nationwide have gone toward the military’s “morale, welfare, and recreation programs” over the past 10 years.

The total control that the institution wields, combined with belief in male supremacy, has meant that female soldiers have far too commonly had to contend with sexual harassment and rape.

The military’s effects on the town come, thirdly, from its egalitarian pay. With an 8-to-1 ratio of the highest to lowest paid employee, the army pays more like progressive Ben & Jerry’s than the many corporations where the ratio of CEO to janitor salaries can be 1000 to 1. General Electric’s head Jack Welch, for example, made over \$93 million in 1999, while a minimum wage worker earned under \$12,000. The Army’s progressive pay scale makes the average income of military households (at \$53,000

including benefits and allowances), 12 percent higher than the average of all U.S. households (at \$47,000). While soldiers’ wages have not always been this high relatively speaking, they have made for a flatter class structure for Fayetteville, and a stronger middle class than it would otherwise have.

As one military retiree with a vivid sociological imagination said,

The military population is the middle-class in this county. If you pull it out, we look like the surrounding counties. We've got a large, large poor population, heavily minority, a small middle-class, mostly white but starting to mix, and a very small upper class, 100 families, and that's where the wealth is concentrated. But with the military mix in here, we look a lot more average in terms of what the rest of the United States looks like, but pull them out and its back to the old third world thing, you know, the big body of serfs, a few slave drivers, and then the boss.

Mmilitary policies have given the Army comparatively high levels of racial employment, pay, and promotion equity. The military as a whole, at 33 percent "minority" (20 percent black) in 1998 was closely representative of young adult America, with the Army, at 40 percent "minority" (27 percent black), having more employees of color than the other services. This is one reason the income gap between white and black county residents is much smaller than in other cities in North Carolina. Given the relatively strict class segregation in most U.S. neighborhoods, many black and white military families at near ranks can and do live in the same areas. As a result, Fayetteville is the country's fourth most integrated metropolitan area. Although many in town say this shows the influence of the military's color-blind culture on people's willingness to live next to each other, the influence does not go much beyond the neighborhoods close to the installation where many soldiers in the same income brackets live. A clear dividing line remains between white and black neighborhoods elsewhere in the city, which developed very different housing stock given the past class backgrounds of Fayetteville black and white civilians.

Fourth, despite its relative pay equality, the military is a hierarchical and authoritarian workplace. It is a "total institution," the sociological term for an organization that makes claims on all aspects of a member's life rather than just, for example, the work or school hours or the time spent in a club activity. Living at their worksite, many soldiers are under more extensive surveillance by co-workers and supervisors. Soldiers, for example, once needed permission to leave post and had to wear their uniforms downtown. As these controls ended, others took their place, such as random and regular drug testing and nationally centralized personal record keeping. Even more important is the army's claim to "own" soldiers' bodies, no matter where they live,



Fort Bragg's military culture has a distinct impact on the retail sector of Fayetteville's economy.

and to have a say about their sexuality and marital state. Soldiers, for example, once needed their first sergeant's permission to marry. Soldiers' rueful take on this was in the popular slogan "If the army had wanted you to have a wife, it would have issued you one." Recruitment difficulties, especially in the wake of World War II and the Korean War, persuaded the military to relax this bachelor requirement and even to offer housing and dependent benefits as incentives for enlistment and re-enlistment. The marriage rate among soldiers rose steeply. The total control that the institution wields, combined with the belief in male supremacy, has meant that female soldiers have far too commonly had to contend with sexual harassment and rape.

The military has long banned and punished homosexual behavior in its ranks. When prohibition mutated to the "don't ask, don't tell" policy of the 1990s, the services' were theoretically returning to their original focus on gay behavior rather than gay identity. The suggestion was that an area of privacy would be extended into sexual partner choices. But the soldier would have to collaborate and hide his sexual choices from others. And harassment and pursuit continued in any case. In Fayetteville, MPs would cruise the parking lots of gay bars, taking down license plate numbers (and are now attuned to gay websites as well). Soldiers, especially women, have been routinely discharged for homosexuality. The climate of hyper-hostility has run from taunting to assault and murder. This is acknowledged in a Department of Defense Inspector General's report

prompted by the baseball bat bludgeoning death of a gay Fort Campbell soldier in 1999. While this has not been exclusively a problem of the military, official policy makes gay men and women second class citizens, and their treatment has been correspondingly shabby.

This has made gay life in Fayetteville especially difficult. According to one man, the "civilian homosexual" is also "deeper into the closet" because of the military. As a result, AIDS treatment and prevention services, which the gay population "drags" politicians into providing in most communities, are thin, he said. As one long term resident who is a lesbian told me: "There is an enormous population out there [at Fort Bragg] that is very undercover, and when I have met them in social functions, their demeanor is very different. They are more oriented toward hoo-ha, the gung ho ... more aggressive. I know this sounds weird, but probably in



The future site of the Airborne and Special Operations Museum is adjacent to Fayetteville's homeless shelter.

the past 8 to 10 years, they've been more covert than they used to be ... In [the past], there were more military people in the bars than there are now." She saw the change start in the mid-1980s, when "more bashings, more personal violence" began. While some gay activists tried to document this several years ago, they found it

difficult: "If you are gay and you are military and someone assaults you," she said, "you can't call it gay bashing, so you say that you were robbed, regardless of what they may have called you while they were beating you up. It will just be quietly taken."

Controlling the soldier, the army controls others. Because soldiers are employed 24 hours a day, their spouses are effectively on call to the military as well, and their work options narrow. Volunteer labor was once an expected contribution of all wives, and a long struggle by ex-military wives was required to bring about the 1980s congressional action to apportion them some part of their husbands' military benefits at divorce and to change the Defense Department's term for them from "military dependent" to "military

family member." Company commanders can also require soldiers to exercise more control of their children with school discipline problems. An installation commander can also place any city business or location "off-limits" to soldiers. While this sometimes protects soldiers from unscrupulous business practices, it also protects the military from soldiers' behavior, as when head shops, gay bars, or neo-Nazi hangouts like "Adolph's Place" were put off limits. Very few businesses – and usually quite small ones – get added to the list each year. And the list was not used to push the strip joints that so bedeviled downtown out of business. A woman who had spent years working with development organizations to "clean up" Hay Street said, when I asked about the possibility of making the strip bars off-limits: "I'm embarrassed to say I have never thought about the question." With a burst of nervous laughter, she added "[If I had], I'd have everyone mad at me!"

Afifth aspect of the "company" that communities with military bases must deal with is tremendous labor force turbulence. Despite the military's image as a place with strong labor control, turnover is higher. Fifty percent of soldiers leave after one four-year contract. Even more striking, one-third of recruits leave before their first term is over. The official reasons given – misconduct, medical problems, drug use, pregnancy, or performance problems – no doubt disguise some problems, not of the soldier, but of mismatch between what recruitment ads and recruiters had often very aggressively sold the discharged soldiers and what they got. At least a few are mentally disturbed or addicted individuals, and some end up in Fayetteville's public and private safety net on discharge. One local homeless service agency estimated that veterans make up a quarter of the 2,000 clients it has served.

Fayetteville's Chamber of Commerce has tried to make this turnover an asset in appeals to relocating businesses. The city's website in the late 1990s featured a business-suited man with army boots parachuting in over the invitation: "Where else can you find an internationally trained labor force ready to jump into any situation? ... 73 percent of the approximately 8,000 people who annually move from the military to the civilian ranks have an associates degree or at least two years of college." While only a small proportion of this total stays in Fayetteville, however, and those who remain sometimes simply compete for existing jobs when new business has not joined them in the city. Employers happily offer lower wages, knowing someone else will always step forward to take them.

Turnover became a more pressing issue for the

Army when its work, while still often very simple and physical, got more complex. As Jack Cox described it,

enlisted men at one time dug ditches. They piled rock on roads. They learned how to operate equipment and how to maintain equipment. They carried pipe. They were typical road guys. I mean, a lot of them, no education, got out of high school, didn't graduate, and joined the Army, and this was the existence that they had ... We used to call the soldier with a D-handle shovel a 'light equipment operator'. If he had a long-handled shovel, he was a 'heavy equipment operator' ... As we progressed more, the equipment got more exotic and sophisticated.

With higher training costs for the new technologies, the army tried harder to create employee loyalty through the incentives of deferred benefits packages in education, health, and life-long use of the PX and commissary. With some benefits location-based, the number of retirees in the city began to rise. But a cheaper route to prevent early separation has been "other than honorable" discharges. These can remain on a person's permanent record, like a bad credit report, and influence future employability.

Labor force turbulence also comes from mobility between bases (especially likely for Special Forces soldiers who have frequent short deployments overseas). This increased dramatically with the institution of the Rapid Deployment Force. On the other hand, the army does not move soldiers to new

The Army has occasionally suggested it would have to go elsewhere in the country if the community tried to limit its flights, artillery practice, or growth.

home bases as often as it used to. During the Vietnam War, soldiers and their families stay at Fort Bragg for a year or less.

This mobility has created a large transient reserve labor force of

soldiers' spouses. Depressed wages and a high unemployment rate resulted (the female unemployment rate is near the highest in the state). Employers perceive military wives and teenaged children as ready to work for low wages given their spouses' salary, transience, and their own lack of other options. Some, especially officers' wives, are overqualified for the jobs they do get in an economy centered on service and retail jobs. The woman who sells towels at one Fayetteville department store was formerly an assistant city planner in a major city, while the person behind the cosmetics counter there has an M.B.A. Soldiers' mobility also favors the

efflorescence of pawn shops (there are 35 in town), used car dealerships (there are 102), rental housing and a highly transient school population (one-third are military dependents, and the other transience comes from poor families, who sometimes move to avoid rent or to take advantage of cheaper housing opportunities).

While many people think of the military as stabilizing local economic life, the numbers of soldiers and civilian workers at the installation over the post-war years has varied impressively, sometimes rising or falling by several thousands within a month. So Fayetteville's county was the fastest growing of all 100 in North Carolina in the 1960s, but then lost nearly 10,000 people between 1970 and 1973. While the population at Bragg has been relatively stable since the end of the Vietnam War, even a small percentage change, with its large numbers, can shake the community. And while many people prefer an increase to a decrease, both directions create adjustment stress and pressures on public resources.

Finally, this is a company town with a still very male labor force. It results from hiring quotas, sexual harassment, and the continuing belief that war is a male job because men are stronger and more aggressive and women are life-givers rather than takers. While women make up 14 percent of the Army, machismo norms mix with this man-heavy sex ratio to install a plethora of tattoo parlors, car lots, gun sales, and a flourishing sex industry. Strip clubs and prostitution spill into the daily lives of people in the poorer neighborhoods in town. Sex workers are frequently the victims of crime, with prostitutes and exotic dancers murdered with regularity and seeming impunity (although a campaign was announced in 2000 to investigate seven unsolved killings of prostitutes).

And the Army is young. Ninety percent of the active-duty military today are under 40. This relative youth places a special burden on public resources that go into support of children and young families, including schools, day care, divorce court, and policing. Family court days in the Cumberland County Courthouse are a bustling, crowded scene, with uniforms abounding in the waiting crowd.

Excerpted from Homefront: A Military City and the American Twentieth Century by Catherine Lutz, Beacon Press: Boston, 2001. Catherine Lutz is professor of anthropology at University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. She is author of Unnatural Emotions and coauthor, with Jane L. Collins, of Reading National Geographic.

Photo courtesy of Charleston Area Convention and Visitors Bureau



'We Pay for Our Beatings'

— LIFE AT THE CITADEL —

By Jenny Stepp

On most Fridays during the academic year, visitors to Charleston, South Carolina can swing by the Citadel to watch the cadets put on an impressive military spectacle. Tourists, parents and Charleston residents line up along the school's central quad to watch the parade. They are surrounded by the bleached white towers that create the fortress-like architecture of the cadet barracks and the rusting tanks from battles fought long ago, as the cadets parade around the field in

their regal Civil War- era uniforms, carrying their rifles, and accompanied by the school's band.

The Citadel pitches the parades with the slogan "The best free show in Charleston!" That couldn't be much closer to the truth. The parade is, after all, only a show. The cadets are undergraduate students who are not in the military (and over two-thirds never will be). Their guns are not loaded, and their elaborate, decorative uniforms are relics of a time far removed

from today's centralized and technologically-removed military.

But if there was ever a city fit for this curious anachronism of a school, it must be Charleston. The city that sells itself to tourists as a place "where the past is still present," makes its point with horse-drawn carriages, costumed tour guides, and the maintenance of many a Southern tradition gone by the wayside in other parts of the region. It is no wonder, then, that while the rest of the world has stared in

confusion at many of the strange "traditions" of South Carolina and the Citadel, Charleston has stood by them both proudly.

Beneath the veneer of static gentility that underlies the Citadel and Charleston, however, a roaring undercurrent of change has begun to break through the surface. These changes are prompted by a recognition that much of that aristocratic "tradition" has often come at the expense of the majority of South Carolina's residents. South Carolina is not a monolithic state, and the version of the South represented in Charleston tour books is not a version most South Carolinians are familiar with. The surface issues of tradition and history and good 'ole Southern manners then, are not just a charade; they serve a function in the Southern imagination. It is for this reason that resistance to change has been so inexplicably fierce.

Shannon Faulkner's 1993 acceptance to the Citadel is the most immediately recognizable of these changes and certainly one of the most important. The Citadel realized the symbolic significance of admitting a woman to the all-male school and dug in its heels for a legal battle that would eventually cost the school and the state of South Carolina over \$7.6 million in legal fees in their effort to prevent Faulkner's entrance to the public university. But school administrators weren't the only people protesting the decision. The residents of Charleston went into high gear over the battle to keep women out of the Citadel, writing letters to the editor, urging the "outsider" media pouring into the city to stay out of their business, and plastering their cars with "Save the Males" bumper stickers.

A group of Charleston women

known as the "Women in Support of the Citadel" even went so far as to dress up in hoop skirts and sit outside the school urging Faulkner to realize that she would be destroying a precious piece of Southern culture if she entered the school. The organization collected over 14,000 signatures from local residents who wanted the institution to remain all-male.

But the Citadel lost its court case, and over the years has gradually begun admitting women. The school now has 98 women, a small, but steadily rising 5.1 percent of the Citadel's cadet population.

Two years later, the national media spotlight again turned on South Carolina as the battle began to rage over the fairly recent (1962) practice of flying the Confederate flag over the state capitol. In the midst of this struggle, the Confederate Heritage Trust discovered that the Citadel's football stadium (initially built by and for the city of Charleston) was sitting atop the remains of several Confederate soldiers. The city's preservation society asked administrators at the Citadel to allow them to excavate the remains in order to give these soldiers a proper burial.

On November 19, 1999, over 2,500 residents of Charleston – many of them dressed in black hoop skirts or Confederate uniforms – marched silently through Charleston to honor their fallen heroes in the Magnolia Cemetery. The immensely solemn funeral procession was held at the peak of the state's controversy over the Confederate flag, which heated up with the NAACP and Gov. Jim Hodges squaring off against state legislators who were damned and determined not to lose this particular battle.

The funeral procession through Charleston, though ostensibly a simple, apolitical memorial service, was a loud statement about the unspoken racial politics of the white people of Charleston. Civil War issues are never completely devoid of politics in the South. That is particularly true in Charleston, where the first shots of the war were fired and where residents are more likely to refer to it as "the war of Northern aggression" than as the Civil War.

The flag did come down, and it was Citadel cadets – as requested by the legislative committee overseeing the matter – who lowered the Stars and Bars from the roof of the capitol for the last time.

Most recently, Charleston has been thrust into the national news with the controversy surrounding the prosecution of the Charleston Five. The politically ambitious Attorney General Charlie Condon hit a group of longshoremen (four out of five were black) with astoundingly trumped-up charges after the police sent to control the 150 union members prompted a scuffle that got out of hand. The transparent political ambitions of Condon, the clear anti-union sentiment motivating the arrests, and the undercurrent of Old South racial politics prompted an international response. Over 5,000 activists from across the state and many from places as far away as New York convened on the state capitol to protest the harsh punishment of the longshoremen. The overwhelming response to the case was apparently more than Condon had anticipated, and last October he removed himself from the case. The Charleston Five quickly plead no contest to

a misdemeanor charge and were immediately released from their house arrest.

The swift and coordinated response to the Charleston Five has demonstrated that there is significant organizing potential within South Carolina and the South in general. But the image of Old South traditions has seeped into the nation's consciousness. Becci Robbins, an organizer with the South

encouragement for progressive activists around the region.

Yet the anachronistic pieces of the state's past continue to hold immense symbolic power for many residents and leaders of the state, a power represented in its extreme in the case of the Citadel and the controversy over the Confederate flag. In both cases, the parties defending the Old South traditions were willing to

of many a Southerner. The gigantic, pastel-colored waterfront mansions that line South Battery and all the rest of the narrow, cobbled streets of downtown Charleston perfectly embody the noble wealth of a South that exists more in the imagination than in reality. Even though there are many people in Charleston who do indeed still hold debutante balls, send their children to formal cotillions and

own those palatial mansions, Charleston as a whole is terribly poor. It is, per capita, the 24th poorest county in the nation.

All the genteel charm that draws tourists to those horse-drawn carriage rides around Battery Park is – like the “military” cadets at the Citadel – much more show than substance.

Charleston has a lot at stake in protecting that image: over 3.9 million tourists

contributed approximately \$1,000 each, pumping nearly \$4 billion into the local economy last year alone. But the melodramatic responses to the admittance to women at the Citadel and the lowering of the Confederate flag all seem to indicate that there's more at work here than simple financial calculus. A quick look at the largest local employers might point to an answer.

The second and third largest employers in the city are not the Citadel or Fort Sumter, or even those horse-drawn carriage tour companies. The U.S. Navy and Air Force rank second and third respectively, employing together



Carolina Progressive Network, the group that helped coordinate the Charleston Five response, says that image stalls organizing in the region. Robbins says it is more difficult to get money and support from national organizations that see the South as a sure-fire loss each time around.

Robbins does believe, however, that the massive response to the Charleston Five, while it wasn't able to change decades-old assumptions about the region, did go “a long way toward energizing the labor movement in the South” – certainly words of

sacrifice large amounts of money (in legal fees for the Citadel and in tourism dollars for the state) to defend what they saw as a dying cause. Both of these cases are notable not only because they eventually resulted in change, but also because so many people became so emotionally and intensely invested in preventing that inevitable change.

It's clear that history (at least some versions of it) is fiercely protected in the state of South Carolina, and that is nowhere more obvious than in Charleston, the city that perhaps best exemplifies the plantation myth that still survives in the thinking

over 11,000 full-time employees in the Charleston metropolitan area. More than the 8,000 individuals are employed by the city's largest employer, the Medical University of South Carolina. Charleston and South Carolina, like much of the South, are dependent upon the financial purse strings of the United States government and multinational corporations for their economic survival. South Carolina is notorious for its desperate attempts to entice outside – often international – industry to the state.

Many of these deals have resulted in such outrageous bargains for the corporations that the localities receive little to no tax money while the workers so gratefully employed within the state's lagging economy are paid pitiful wages because of the state's fierce right-to-work laws, which continue to grow fiercer each year. South Carolina is the 10th poorest state in the nation, but it is not alone. Eight of those top 10 states are located within the South and many of them have an economic profile strikingly similar to that of South Carolina: right-to-work laws that prevent unionization of workers and keep wages low, weak environmental laws that protect corporations at the expense of local residents, and lower levels of educational attainment than the nation's average.

It is no wonder, then, that South Carolinians hold desperately to the traditions that distinguish them from the rest of the nation and that they feel bring a sense of aristocracy and self-importance to a region badly beaten by our changing global economy. Seventy-six percent of cadets at the Citadel are from the South and many view it as a uniquely Southern and tradition-rich institution.

The Citadel is still intimately linked to its Civil War past. All knobs (first-year cadets) are required to memorize the battles fought by the Citadel regiment in the Civil War. "Dixie" was sung at each football game as recently as 1998, when the administration finally put that tradition to bed. Its location in Charleston also reinforces this immediacy of the past for the cadets. Tour buses drive through campus each day with people as interested in the history of the Citadel as in the downtown Slave Market, where a man dressed in colonial garb still tolls a bell at passersby.

But it might be less the costumes or battle hymns than that notorious hazing process that makes the Citadel most clearly a Southern institution. Brent Meyers, a third-year cadet from Jacksonville, Florida, says that "tragedy and hardship" are unifying forces between cadets. The brutal life of first-year knobs and the camaraderie that results are what define the Citadel experience for Myers: "That for me is the Citadel. They put you through nine months of hell that forms an amazing bond."

C. Vann Woodward, the well-respected Southern historian, understood Southern identity to be rooted largely in the experiences of defeat and poverty that are so foreign to much of the rest of the American experience. The desire to suffer through a tortuous period of hazing in order to be remade into a "Southern gentleman", is not then unlike the South's readiness to hand over basics like environmental protection or taxes in return for low-wage jobs that foster an illusion of economic independence, while granting ever more control over the Southern economy.

The show of military might in

the Citadel – a school completely unaffiliated with the military, aside from its ROTC program – is intimately linked to the costumed tour guides in downtown Charleston that parade visitors through the slave market-turned-shopping plaza while most residents of the state gaze from afar at the stately mansions that dominate the city's landscape. Both are merely performances, but performances that carry an awful weight in this poverty-stricken state burdened with aristocratic Southern tradition.

When Meyers discusses the relationship between the Citadel and the much more elite United States Military academies, he says that everyone at the Citadel hates the cadets from the academies because "they think they're the greatest thing to happen to the military." The academies lack the harsh militarism of the Citadel or the Virginia Military Institute and instead focus on academic classes designed for service in the military.

He goes on to tell a joke about the relationship between South Carolina's Citadel and the United States Military academies, pointing out that the cadets at the academies are paid to attend and are constantly reassured of their importance to the future of the military, without suffering through the harsh environment at the Citadel.

"But here at the Citadel," Meyers says, "we pay for our beatings," an observation not far removed from the economic life of the South.

Jenny Stepp is a recent graduate of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

Killing Me Softly:



Reflections of a Vietnam Combat Veteran

By Stan Goff

Pictured above: the author (center) breaks camp as a Special Forces operative.

I never actually saw any tigers in the Tiger Mountains. We walked into them, though – the mountains, not the tigers – from an eight-day stay at an eight-cubicle whorehouse on Loh Du Beach, where one of the prostitutes called herself Pussycat.

A few days into our sojourn in the Tigers, we got word that November Rangers, our Long Range Reconnaissance guys, had just hit a North Vietnamese Army (NVA) hospital. We had to secure it for a damage assessment.

The Landing Zone was an artillery crater on the side of a mountain, and the choppers hovered over 10 feet off the ground. When I leaped out, I hit the ground and tumbled into a heap with around 60 pounds of rucksack and radio pinning my head against the mud and shredded vegetation.

To my credit, I never let go of my weapon.

We'd all taken a few hits off the "DXs," Kool cigarettes with some heroin sprinkled into them, before the helicopter "assault," so I didn't really feel the latest knots on my head, and I was able to walk off the funny sensation in my ankle.

When the November Rangers had pulled back, a CH-47 Chinook came in with a sling load of thickened fuel called Phugas. It was released in a wide pattern over the target,

then ignited by a spotter plane with a little rocket ...

It seems like that's what happened, anyway, but to be honest my memories have bunched up ... The whole place was on fire when we got there. I remember that much.

Some of the guys from First Squad linked up with us. I was in Second. They told us they'd found the bodies of four NVA nurses.

Since it was an NVA "hospital", then the women there had to be NVA "nurses," right?

They'd been lined up in a row, all on their backs, and they were pretty burnt from the Phugas, but the First Squad guys had scoped them out up close. Lined up on their backs, side by side, all of the bodies had sharpened sticks thrust into their vaginas, and each had a bullet hole in her head. There was a little laughter. "Fuckin' rangers."

I laughed a little, too. The most dangerous thing I might be was a pussy or a gook lover. Laughter was armor. Inside that armor, like when I first got in country and watched

We rotated back to the States, where we could nurse our post-trauma disorders, but they were there for the duration.

members of my platoon go into the ville to murder an old woman hoeing her potato patch, my spirit divided like a cell ... again.

Male to Alpha Male, I had arrived. On the rack. Between the tight-lipped morality of my upbringing and the savagery – now making itself known – that I had inherited with my scrotum. Boy to Man, Male to Alpha Male.

Warrior. Not the Homeric ideal warrior-hero. We laughed at that shit! Our work was wet work. Nasty work. Smoke a DX after.

I was nineteen. I was afraid. So I laughed.

Memory is a funny thing. Like when my dad died, and that was only 10 years ago, and the grief cascaded out of me seeing him there in the box with his funny hat on (a family sense of humor) and not moving. We closed the lid, loaded him into a car, and buried him in a rocky little oak stand outside of Hot Springs.

I remember vaguely that when I was very young every sentient being I encountered was someone I loved. Step by step, being by being, parents and relatives and strangers and associates and the black and white television in our living room all taught me to stop loving. I didn't stop, but they crippled my capacity for love. They made me strong. My sister was encouraged in her loving. But once she started to grow tits, she was encouraged to stop thinking.

I wonder, if I had a choice now to go back and start over, would I choose to live with thinking distorted by crippled loving, or loving distorted by crippled thinking?

My father taught me to fish when I was very young, and he brought home the corpses of animals from hunting. He taught me to clean them, the fish and the quail and the rabbits and an occasional deer. I learned to cut into their bodies and remove their skins and eviscerate them. My father picked me up and hugged me for my performance. I learned that I could win approval by stepping over my reticence and fear and loathing. The truth is, too, that this cutting was a thrilling, sensual thing.

I was a loving boy who delighted in the flight of quail, a loving boy who delighted in the approval of his father, and a sensual boy who could cut into reality. They stood against each other, but not equally. And I ate the fish and the rabbit and the quail and the deer.

I don't really remember the original boy. I just

have the memory, so that's all I can grieve for now and I don't remember really deep grief, so the grieving is removed from itself. I didn't know it at the time, but I was being shaped for a career in the Army.

I was very small for my age as I grew up, and I remain a fairly diminutive person today – perhaps a bit less diminutive around my midsection, but still never a very imposing physical presence. In the world of boys becoming men, this can be a terrible liability and the source of a paralyzing fear.

One day in junior high school, where I was the smallest person, male or female, our science class had recruited a volunteer – me – to have his finger lanced

with a sterile medical lancette for a drop of blood on a microscope slide.

I had the girls' attention because the bigger boys had emphatically refused, and I swelled inside at my little victory over them.

Later in the cafeteria, after stealing several of the lancettes, I sat down and ate lunch. Then, I pulled out the lancettes, opened one, and systematically lanced all 10 of my fingertips, nursing a drop of blood from each one. Several people paled, and some of the biggest, most aggressive boys in school – boys who had entertained themselves by closing me in my gym locker – gave me a look of pure terror. I had cut into my own body. I began to understand the psychology of power and transgression. They never locked me

in that locker again.

A friend recently asked me if I had ever been diagnosed with post traumatic stress disorder. I haven't, but I picked up a book about trauma after she asked the question. Here's what it said: trauma destroys our fundamental assumptions about the safety of the world; trauma destroys the positive value of the self; trauma destroys the belief in a meaningful order of creation.

But the Army sent me to a kind of two-decade school, and in "school" I learned some things.

The world is not fundamentally safe.

The first time I felt like I was universally validated was when I joined the Army. People couldn't stop praising me, even after I'd burned down folks' homes, even after I became an accomplice in a mass murder.

I've heard the bullshit stories about the poor spat-on Vietnam vets, but no one ever spit on me when I got back from Vietnam. They didn't spit on me when I came back from other exotic places either: El Salvador, Guatemala, Grenada, Colombia, Peru,

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Somalia, Haiti ... I got a chest full of ribbons like fruit salad on my Class-A uniform, and people just admired the hell out of me. In exchange for my "trauma," I was awarded a very high value for my "self."

And there is no meaningful order in creation. Trauma or no trauma, look as hard as you want, and you have to lie to make it happen. There is plenty that is gratuitous.

A lot of the brown people I ran into, in the process of securing Uncle Sam's favorable investment climates around the world, never had any assumptions about the safety of the world. Moreover, I can drive fifteen minutes from where I'm writing right now and find people who can't assume safety. So is the world suffering from post traumatic stress disorder, and if it is, what is its meaning? Who is responsible?

Even those who purport to heal us don't understand. It don't mean nuthin', we used to say. What? Nuthin.'

People think we're all damaged. A lot of that's hype. A lot of it is veterans who never saw combat cashing in on the tragic pose they can cop with the credulous war-worshipping public. But those of us who did see combat, we are really just the healthiest people in the whole society, at least by some standards. No patience for hypocrisy. We understand why the guy in *All Quiet On the Western Front* goes back to the front. Shit is real there; honest. Some of us can be what you wanted us to be, men, but not like you wanted us to be, liars.

The military boosters would hesitate to tell you how homoerotic the whole thing is, because they are still bent on the instrumental project of de-feminizing their boys so they'll be good workers, good husbands, good fathers. Good soldiers. Men, good men.

Get with your significant other sometime and do something that cheats death. Jump out of an airplane. Get into a fight with firearms. That luminous feeling lasts for hours. It's like an orgy, like entering a haunted house, like murder, like giving up your religion.

Transgression.

Then it's just a question of whether you refuse to see or not. I started to see something.

I saw people who were supposed to be my enemies who practiced transgression. But they didn't do it out of fear, like me. They did it because there were no options left open to them. They did it because their families had been burned out or murdered or had

sharpened stakes driven into their vaginas. They did it so a next generation might not have to live under someone's heel. They did it out of hate, because they did it out of love. Some were older than soldiers, and some were younger than soldiers, and some were women.

They fought not to dominate but to defend and liberate. We rotated back to the States, where we could nurse out post-trauma disorders, but they were there for the duration.

I don't know how to explain this because the voices in me, after 50 years, two marriages, five continents, and more than two decades in a uniform are as numerous as they are contradictory. And I was so slow to learn, lost in the fog of my phallicentric, shattered little world. The veterans.

Former U.S. Senator Bob Kerrey of Nebraska ordered the execution of 15 Vietnamese children, women and old men in 1969. Do we remember how fast that story popped up last year, then disappeared?

He's a liar. That lame story that the victims were caught in the crossfire! He's a liar. But everyone hushed right up on that one, because his fly was open, and his dick was showing, and we do so cherish our denials.

Fifteen people don't get killed outright in the crossfire of a single, short, small-scale firefight. The odds against it are astronomical. And it was night.

On April 23, 1971, as a member of Vietnam Veterans Against the War, future Massachusetts Senator John Kerry, whose name and background are so similar to Kerrey's that it had me confused for a day about the Kerrey story, testified to the U.S. Senate that U.S. troops he knew "had personally raped, cut off ears, cut off heads, taped wires from portable telephones to human genitals and turned up the power, cut off limbs, blown up bodies, randomly shot at civilians, razed villages in fashion reminiscent of Ghengis Khan, shot cattle and dogs for fun, poisoned food stocks, and generally ravaged the countryside," and that "these were not isolated incidents but crimes committed on a day-to-day basis with the full awareness of officers at all levels of command."

He'd get it if I told him about the Tiger Mountains. Thirty years later, Senator Kerry has been mainstreamed. He supports the sanctions on Iraq, and has been a vocal cheerleader for the bombing of Yugoslavia, the attacks on Afghanistan, Iraq, et al.

**I hope Bob Kerrey
can come to terms
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This is a testimony to "compro-mise and reform," the lexicon of opportunism. He set aside his hate and his love for a career. What a man!

Bob Kerrey is a liar today, but I can assure you that John Kerry told the truth on April 23, 1971.

I was a machine gunner with the 173rd Airborne Brigade in a mountain range we called the Suikai on that day. All that he was describing to the comfortable white men of the U.S. Senate was still

taking place in Vietnam at the very moment of his description. Months earlier, in the Tiger Mountains, the November Rangers "took out the NVA hospital" and the nurses were shot in the head and had stakes driven into their vaginas, who knows in what order.

Bob Kerrey says he is ashamed. Maybe.

I don't think our shame is enough. Do you?

Military people, especially that minority who have actually been combatants (and know that in the end we are all combatants), who take that first baby step of comprehending the poisonous lies of the American military fetish, the most important transgression of all, have a duty to go beyond mere shame.

We must witness. And we must interpret, with all our pathologies, and all our voices.

Kerrey's foray into the Mekong, the My Lai massacre, No Gun Ri in Korea, the current slow-boil murder of Iraqi people, the violation of Yugoslav sovereignty, and the financing and advisement of the bloodthirsty Colombian Army and their drug-trafficking paramilitary allies: these are not, in John Kerry's words, "isolated incidents but crimes committed on a day-to-day basis with the full awareness of officers (and political officials) at all levels of command." The truth has ever been the same. The cover stories have ever been the same. The job of penitent veterans must be to assault the denial that these cover stories market to the public consciousness and conscience.

This is the transgression that can begin to redeem us, the way to grace from our wretchedness as soldiers, as imperialists, and as men. If we want meaning, we better make it.

Even as many of our own people go without, we have acquiesced to a government in the thrall of corporate money and power that wants to appropriate \$350 billion a year for what is



Honduran paramilitaries pose next to the U.S. embassy.

euphemistically called "defense." The U.S. military establishment is a monstrous thing, put to monstrous purposes, and we who were the instruments of that establishment – if we are to reclaim our own humanity – must come forward and help Americans understand what is done in their name.

Especially Southerners, because we are still trapped in the deadly headlights at the race-sex-

death intersection. We must be the blasphemers, because that gives others permission to confront the orthodoxy of reverence before "warriors." What were the lynching parties and the rapes of black women but rites of masculinity and war? What did they serve but systemic power?

Our children who go, as I did, into the armed services, are being made tools – or worse – for an institution whose sole purpose is to employ violence against those who threaten the dominance of those who are dominant, and against those who would tell the submissive that they need not submit.

We often worry about sending our children to die, but we should also worry about sending our children to kill. To do that, we will have to encourage them to love, and not to fear.

Mea culpa. Mea culpa.

I hope Bob Kerrey can come to terms with it. I really do. But ...

The women and children who died in the Mekong on February 25, 1969 do not have the living luxury of shame and reassessment. Neither do the "NVA nurses." The most any of us can do for them now is tell their story, in all its truthful brutality, and tear down the walls of denial that stand between a people and their consciousness.

If you want meaning, that's all the meaning I've got.

Stan Goff concluded a 24-year career in the military after taking part in the U.S. invasion of Haiti in 1994. As a Special Forces operative in Haiti, Goff defied his superiors' instructions to cooperate with the CIA-backed death squad FRAPH, leading to his removal. Now an organizer with the North Carolina Alliance for Democracy/ North Carolina Network for Popular Democracy, Goff lives in Raleigh.

At the height of the Vietnam War in 1969, John Lee Hooker recorded "I Don't Want To Go To Vietnam." In the song, he moaned grimly, "We've got so much trouble at home," before adding simply, "We don't need to go to Vietnam." But the black American soldiers already in Vietnam, trudging tirelessly across that country's saturated rice fields or creeping through its elephant grass and sticky, airless jungles, were understandably more explicit in expressing themselves. Wallace Terry, the Vietnam correspondent for *Time* magazine between 1967 and 1969, taped black soldiers airing their anger in the summer of 1969. Throughout the recording, their rage is tangible. Speaking about his teammates, one black soldier declares, "What they been through in the bush, plus what they have to go through back in the world [America], they can't face it. They're ready to just get down and start another civil war." Another adds, "Why should I fight for prejudice?" When Terry inquires, "Tell me what you think the white man should be called?" a chorus of "devil ... beast" erupts from the group.

Although President Johnson predicted that the Vietnam War would create a political nightmare, he neglected to foresee the racial one. The ongoing

domestic conflicts between black and white Americans were reflected and exacerbated over in Vietnam, principally because the very apex of this increasingly unpopular war, between 1968 and 1969, coincided explosively with



WAR WITHIN WAR

THE HIDDEN HISTORY
OF BLACK WAR RESISTERS

By James Maycock

the rise of the Black Power era in America. In these years, there was a surge of interracial violence within the U.S. forces in Vietnam. Discrimination thrived and, as in America, a racial polarization arose out of this tension. Black soldiers embraced their culture as well as the emerging Black Power politics and its external symbols.

In fact, the war in Vietnam was America's first racially integrated conflict. Black soldiers had fought in all of America's preceding military engagements, but in segregated units. Although President Truman put pressure on the U.S. armed forces to integrate in 1948, some units in the Korean war were still divided by race.

Prior to 1967, racial animosity had been negligible within the U.S. armed forces in Vietnam because the black men stationed there were professional soldiers seeking a permanent career. Generally, if there were racial slights, they were quietly ignored by these men. On his first exploratory trip to Vietnam in the spring of 1967, Terry today concedes that he sensed "democracy in the foxhole — same mud, same blood'." Within a year, however, his feelings had been transformed.

At the beginning of 1965, there were about 23,300 U.S. servicemen in Vietnam. By the end of 1967, this number had jumped to a

phenomenal 465,600, the result of Project 100,000, initiated by Johnson in 1966. This dramatically increased the number of U.S. troops in Vietnam by dropping the qualification standards of the draft. Many black Americans who had received an inferior education and, consequently, had evaded the draft, discovered, like Muhammad Ali, that they were now eligible. Of the 246,000 men recruited under Project 100,000 between October 1966 and June 1969, 41 percent were black, although black Americans represented only 11 percent of the U.S. population. With a bitter irony, the other group that Project 100,000 condemned was the poor, racially intolerant white men from the Southern states of America.

In a country riddled with institutional racism, the draft boards were naturally infected. In 1967, there were no black Americans on the boards in Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana. In fact, Jack Helms, a member of the Louisiana draft board, was a Grand Wizard in the Ku Klux Klan. In one fatuous outburst, he described the NAACP, the highly respected and conservative black civil rights group, as "a communist-inspired, anti-Christ, sex-perverted group of tennis-short beatniks." Although a poll in 1966 established that three out of four black Americans supported the draft, by 1969, 56 percent of the black American population opposed the Vietnam War.

In 1967 and 1968, indignation against the war accelerated among both black and white Americans. Some thought the draft was simply a covert mode of genocide instigated by the U.S. government, while others watched aghast as monstrous sums of money that could ease the impoverished black communities such as Watts in Los Angeles, were pumped into the

war machine. The Black Panther, Eldridge Cleaver, denounced these repellent contradictions, stating that black Americans "are asked to die for the system in Vietnam; in Watts they are killed by it."

The perception that the Vietnamese were parallel sufferers of white colonial racist aggression also flourished in the late 1960s and was reflected in a comment made by Muhammad Ali on the TV program *Soul!* "They want me to go to Vietnam to shoot some black folks that never lynched me, never called me nigger, never assassinated my leaders." Before his murder in 1968, Martin Luther King also damned America's foreign policy. He charged the U.S. government with being "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today," and urged those against the draft to seek the status of conscientious objectors.

Although the image of a white hippy tentatively depositing a flower in the barrel of a rifle is one of the most potent icons of anti-war sentiment from the 1960s, black Americans also fought against the

"I'm not a draft evader, I'm a runaway slave."

draft. Groups such as the Black Panthers and SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) denounced the war, black Americans burned their draft cards in public, and one man escaped to Canada, exclaiming, "I'm not a draft evader, I'm a runaway slave."

Robert Holcomb, one of those interviewed in *Bloods*, Terry's oral history of the war by black veterans, describes how, after being hounded by the FBI, he was

"sworn into the army in manacles." Like other young black Americans, he diagnosed the Vietnam War as "an attack on minority people, minority people being used to fight each other."

Holcomb perhaps personified what Terry describes today as "a different breed of black soldier entering the battlefield" in the latter half of the 1960s. Terry adds that these hostile black recruits were "veterans of the civil rights movement or the urban upheavals, the riots in the streets. They were being told by judges: 'You'll either join the Marines or go to jail.'" In 1969, during a conversation with Terry, a black naval lieutenant stationed in Vietnam also characterized these black men forced to fight in southeast Asia as "a new generation." He added, "They are the ones who ain't going to take no more shit."

In the aftermath of Martin Luther King's assassination on April 4, 1968, black Americans rioted in more than 100 U.S. cities. But in Vietnam many white soldiers flagrantly applauded his murder. At Cam Ranh Bay, a group of white men wore Ku Klux Klan robes and paraded around the military base. At another compound, the Confederate flag, so symbolic of racial persecution, was hoisted for three days. Don Browne, a black staff sergeant in Vietnam, overheard a white soldier protesting that King's image was always on TV. "I wish they'd take that nigger's picture off," the soldier said, a moment before Browne granted him "a lesson in when to use that word and when you should not use that word – a physical lesson." King's demise was, of course, a pivotal incident in the 1960s because it represented the switch from the nonviolent civil rights movement to the more militant and aggressive Black Power era. James Hawkins, a black

soldier in Vietnam, understood this: "Dr. King's death changed things. It made a lot of people angry, angry people with weapons."

At this stage, with the extraordinary increase of mostly reluctant troops – black and white – to Vietnam, covert and overt racism was now rife. The fledgling black American conscript was expected to endure the sight of the Confederate flag painted on Jeeps, tanks and helicopters, and sometimes encountered menacing graffiti, such as "I'd rather kill a nigger than a gook," scrawled on the walls in the latrines of U.S. bases. Other grisly practices, such as cross burnings, were uprooted from Alabama and Mississippi to the war theater of Vietnam, and some commanders tolerated Ku Klux Klan "klaverns" on their bases.

Young black soldiers also discovered that white soldiers, notably at Da Nang, repeatedly refused to pick up exhausted black soldiers in their Jeeps and that army barbers were not trained to cut black hair, although the merest hint of an Afro was penalized. In Terry's recording from 1969, one black sailor describes how, "when they caught a brother with an Afro, they just took him down to the brig and cut all his hair off and throw him in jail. All these beast motherfuckers walking around with their hair looking like goddamn girls and we can't wear our hair motherfucking three inches long." White officers were either sympathetic to or simply disregarded white soldiers who printed "Fuck the war" or "Peace" on their helmets, yet black Americans were disciplined for comparable offences. One black soldier was ordered to remove a "Black is beautiful" poster from the inside of his locker.

The post exchanges and libraries on the bases did not stock black

hair products, tapes of soul music or books on black American culture and history. Magazines such as *Ebony* and *Jet* were also scarce, as one black private grumbled: "Every time a soul brother over here gets an *Ebony* or *Jet*, there is a waiting line of at least 30 to 50 soul brothers waiting to

"You should see for yourself how the black man is being treated over here and the way we are dying. When it comes to rank, we are left out. When it comes to special privileges, we are left out. When it comes to patrols, operations and so forth, we are first."

read it." Terry once stated, "If blacks can account for up to 22 percent of the dying, they should at least have 22 percent of the jukebox or the music on Armed Forces radio." Yet black American music was neglected by the Armed Forces Radio Network and in the enlisted men's clubs in preference for country music.

Today, Terry comments, laughing, "I find it amusing to see a Vietnam movie and the white guys are popping their fingers to black music. That just didn't happen. This is revisionism." In fact, Terry Whitmore, the author of *Memphis-Nam-Sweden: The Story Of A Black Deserter*,

witnessed a minor riot in the Freedom Hill post exchange at Da Nang after the manager of the beer garden, irritated by the number of black marines socializing there, promptly withdrew all soul music from the jukebox. But such incidents weren't confined to land. Off the coast of Vietnam, on the USS *Sumpter*, Captain JS Keuger also banned the music of the Last Poets, whose recordings included "When The Revolution Comes." The affronted black sailors subsequently signed a petition, a fight erupted and they were charged with mutiny. Dissension over music resulted in a multitude of other brawls, and *Jet* magazine reported that a white officer was killed in Quang Tri after ordering black soldiers to turn down their music.

Military justice in Vietnam was also rarely racially impartial. Black servicemen were frequently sentenced to longer terms than their white counterparts and, once inside a military prison, black Muslim inmates were refused copies of the Koran. During this period, one black marine pointed out, "The Corps says it treats all men just one way – as a marine. What it actually has done is treat everybody like a white marine." But, most disturbingly, black Americans were dying at a disproportionate rate and this only inflamed their indignation, as one black private remonstrated: "You should see for yourself how the black man is being treated over here and the way we are dying. When it comes to rank, we are left out. When it comes to special privileges, we are left out. When it comes to patrols, operations and so forth, we are first."

Their predicament was aggravated by a weakening in the chain of command. Many of the very young, naive white officers were incapable of diffusing the

racial tension and, at times, white privates informed their superior black officers, including Allen Thomas, that they "weren't going to take orders from a nigger."

But, as the naval lieutenant informed Terry back in 1969, these black soldiers were "the ones who ain't going to take no more shit." The black Americans who were drafted from 1967 to 1970 called themselves "bloods," and many were influenced by the teachings and politics of Stokely Carmichael, the Black Panthers, and Malcolm X.

Terry explains, "They would wear black amulets, they would wear black beads, black gloves to show their identity and racial pride." Some wore "slave bracelets" made out of bootlaces and walked with "Black Power canes," sticks with the nub carved into a clenched fist. To offset the oppressive ubiquity of the Confederate flag, these soldiers flew black flags from their patrol boats and Jeeps. Another group of black servicemen, who were followers of Ron Karenga's U.S. (United Slaves), created a flag that asserted in Swahili "My fear is for you." The "dap," a complicated ritualized handshake that changed from unit to unit, was also common among black personnel in Vietnam. Black privates and officers, too, acknowledged each other in public with a Black Power salute.

One black soldier, drained by the tense racial atmosphere in the enlisted men's clubs, commented, "Chuck's [euphemism for a white man] all right until he gets a beer under his belt and then it's nigger this and nigger that, and besides, to be honest, Chuck ain't too much fun, you dig?" Indeed, by the late 1960s in Vietnam, black and white soldiers were socializing in separate bars and clubs. In Saigon, the black servicemen congregated in the Khanh Hoi district and, sometimes, protected their preferred venues with signs that

warned "No Rabbits [white soldiers] Allowed."

To increase their racial solidarity, some black troops also started semi-militant bodies. Blacks In Action, the Unsatisfied Black Soldier, the Ju Jus and the Mau Maus were just some of these groups that, as Terry explains, "supported each other, and studied black history, and talked

**If black soldiers
survived their tour
of duty, they
returned to a frigid,
indifferent
America.**

about events in America, and were willing to support each other in an enlisted club over black music. If they wanted something in the post exchange, they would collectively request it."

The tension between the races, though, was not tamed before it erupted into violence. White officers who didn't offer lifts to black marines were attacked, there was a major riot at the principal military prison, the Long Binh Stockade, in October 1968, and a critical interracial clash on the Kitty Hawk aircraft carrier in October 1972. At China Beach, some white soldiers started flinging rocks and abuse at black servicemen. Soon, the two racial groups were nervously facing each other with loaded weapons.

However, most assaults involved only a few participants, generally in a deserted corner of an army base at night. Such conduct was wholly advocated by members of the Black Panthers in America. Kathleen Cleaver, the wife of

Eldridge Cleaver, urged black soldiers, "Right inside of the U.S. imperialist beast's army, you are strategically placed to begin the process of destroying him from within." Huey Newton, the founder of the party, also suggested that black Army personnel turn their weapons on white officers.

"Fragging" was the term used to describe either wounding or killing an officer by rolling a fragmentation grenade into his tent. But both black and white soldiers were involved in this and only some of these attacks were racially motivated.

A few black soldiers chose to desert, and while some, like Terry Whitmore, were smuggled through the USSR to Sweden, most fugitives hid within Vietnam. By 1971, about 100 deserters were living furtively in a district of Saigon nicknamed "Soul Alley," beside Tan Son Nhut airport. Understandably, though, some of the young black troops cracked. Robert Holcomb recalled in *Bloods*, "This black soldier had taken some drugs and he just sort of went crazy. A lot of his anxieties and hostilities came out. He got an M-16 and he sprayed a sergeant, killed him and two others."

The Vietcong were quick to detect and exploit the racial conflicts within the U.S. forces. They dropped thousands of propaganda leaflets on the battlefields. A typical one read: "If you go AWOL because you don't want to fight or because you can't put up with the army racism, the NFL will get you out of the country." But authentic images of U.S. policemen beating black civil rights workers were also scattered across the war zones to undermine the black soldier's morale. Today, Wallace Terry recalls that, bizarrely, the Vietcong sometimes screamed, "Go home, soul man," at the black soldiers during combat,

and Browne, who was interviewed in Terry's *Bloods*, described how, "to play on the sympathy of the black soldier, the Vietcong would shoot at a white guy, then let the black guy behind him go through, then shoot at the next white guy." Other black servicemen, including the deserter Whitmore, reported identical cases. But the huge number of black soldiers killed in action and the maltreatment of black prisoners of war was ample proof that the Vietcong and the NVA were simply manipulating the racial discord within the American ranks.

Amazingly, though, it was in these very war zones that the antagonism between black and white infantrymen dissolved, as the black soldier James Hawkins admitted, "In the jungle, you don't think in terms of black and white." Another said, "When I'm out in the bush carrying a grenade launcher, no white man is going to call me nigger." Arthur Woodley, a black long-range patrolman interviewed by Terry, explained, "No matter what his ethnic background is, or his ideals, you start to depend on that person to cover your ass."

In fact, Woodley rescued a wounded member of the Ku Klux Klan in his unit who had been discarded by his white teammates. The man was forced to re-examine his bigotry and, throughout the war, there were other examples of white men whose racial prejudices were shattered by the selfless acts of black soldiers. Although, in 1969, one black lieutenant commented somewhat cynically that the "threat of death changes many things, but comradeship doesn't last after you get back to the village," the disparity in inter-racial hatred at the rear army bases and in the war theater itself was immense.

Initially, white Army officials reacted aggressively to both the potent exhibition of black unity

and to the racial turmoil within the U.S. army in Vietnam. They ordered crowds of black servicemen to be broken up, a few symbolic gestures, such as the "dap," were banned, numerous soldiers were disciplined and the more radical militants were presented with dishonorable discharges that subsequently disqualified them from financial aid back in America.

Ultimately, however, the military authorities were compelled to confront the deepening crisis, and in 1969 General Leonard Chapman conceded, "There is no question we've got a problem." Surprisingly, and to its credit, the Army responded with impressive speed and instigated myriad reforms. It investigated and addressed each field in which discrimination and prejudice had thrived, from the post exchanges to the dearth of black officers. Mandatory Watch And Action Committees were introduced into each unit, and today, Terry confirms, the U.S. military authorities "make it clear to their top officers that racism can cost you your career." He adds, "I call it the last civil rights movement. It started in the armed forces in Vietnam, and it spread into revolts on the high seas on certain ships and then to air force bases in the States and Army bases in Germany."

In fact, in 1972 Wallace Terry was hired by the U.S. Air Force to examine parallel racial predicaments in Germany; and today he is adamant that "Colin Powell would not have become chairman of the Joint Chiefs had it not been for those black kids protesting in Vietnam. You can draw a direct line."

But although the defiant black servicemen in Vietnam at the end of the 1960s created a robust and

positive legacy for the next generation of black soldiers and sailors, it was, of course, forged at a price. If they survived their tour of duty, they returned to a frigid, indifferent America, the country for which they had risked their lives. Sadly, the extraordinary unity that Terry had witnessed among the black soldiers in Vietnam crumbled. "They didn't come home together, they went to different cities and they returned at different times." Forty percent of black veterans suffered from post-traumatic stress disorder, compared with 20 percent of white veterans, and in the early 1970s Richard Nixon's policy of "benign neglect" was dismantling the progress of the civil rights movement. One black veteran with an administrative discharge said bitterly, "I've got friends who've robbed liquor stores who can get jobs easier than me."

Arthur Woodley had enlisted in the U.S. Army to "escape from my environment and get ahead in life." On his return to America, he worked sporadically in miscellaneous jobs throughout the 1970s but, when interviewed by Terry in the early 1980s, he was unemployed. He had recently met, quite by chance, a South Vietnamese man he had befriended during the war and who was, years later, residing in Baltimore. "He's got a business, good home, driving cars, and I'm still struggling," he reported angrily. "Living in America in the 1980s is a war for survival among black folks, and black veterans are being overlooked more than everybody."

James Maycock is a music journalist based in London. This story was originally published by the Guardian of London on September 15, 2001. Copyright (c) Guardian Newspapers 2001. All Rights Reserved.



GI resisters at Fort Hood in Texas.

Fayettenam, 1969: Tales From a GI Coffeehouse

By Adolph Reed Jr.

■ Photos of GI anti-war rallies by Alan Pogue

In the late 1960s, anti-war organizing moved from college campuses to military bases where enlisted soldiers openly defied U.S. militarism and organized to end the war in Vietnam. All these efforts, part of a submerged radical history,

were centered around GI coffeehouses such as the Oleo Strut at Fort Hood in Texas, the UFO at Fort Jackson in South Carolina, and the project Reed helped initiate at Fort Bragg in North Carolina.

■ A New Challenge For a Young Organizer

In the fall of 1969 I left Chapel Hill, North Carolina, where I'd been in college and involved in anti-war, student and labor organizing activities, to go to Fayetteville as part of a group intending to set up a GI-organizing project. I had just been involved in a long, grueling, and very intense strike by non-academic employees at the university, during the course of which I was among a number of people arrested and convicted for our strike support activity. After the strike, I felt that it was time for me to leave campus organizing, as did the North Carolina authorities. (The terms of my two-year probation included a prohibition on engaging in any "disruptive"

activity on the campus of any public education institution.)

At the same time, though, I had become friends with a grad student who earlier had helped set up the Oleo Strut at Fort Hood, Texas, and the UFO at Fort Jackson in South Carolina, two of the first GI antiwar coffeehouses. Through him I got to know Howard Levy, a dermatologist who had been court-martialed and imprisoned for his political activities – including his refusal to train Green Berets in dermatological torture techniques. They talked to me about a plan originating from the United States Servicemen's Fund, the group that funded and raised money for antiwar coffeehouses, to recruit people to begin a project at Fort Bragg, and they asked me to consider being part of the group.

I hadn't been thinking about doing anything remotely like GI organizing. However, I had done a great deal of anti-war work and had some experience with "Fayettenam," as it was commonly called. A year earlier I was part of a group that got arrested passing out anti-war leaflets on post. So I'd already had an up-close and personal encounter with the 503rd MPs, seen the inside of the stockade, been permanently banned from the base, tried before the U.S. Commissioner and threatened with being sent to federal prison, escorted to the county line by state troopers, and tailed and threatened on the highway by either Klansmen or military intelligence.

■ What Better Place to Fight Against the War?

As I thought it over, going to Fayetteville made more and more sense. What better place to fight against the Vietnam War than Fort Bragg? It was at that time the largest military installation in the world with a permanent party (counting Pope Air Force Base that

served it) of 83,000, and it was home to the 82nd Airborne Division, 18th Airborne Corps, Special Forces, and the JFK School of Special Warfare. In addition, the 53rd did riot duty up and down the East Coast, and Bragg was a basic training center.

Also, I knew the other people who were going to be part of the project and considered them good friends and comrades. We had all worked together frequently. We were all serious, level-headed and experienced organizers. We all trusted and respected one another and generally got along well. Trust and respect were more important than friendship, though I think it was a common experience that those with whom one became really friendly were those whose judgment one trusted. We were all in the middle of a dynamic movement that had a real constituency to be accountable to, with formidable adversaries who weren't afraid of violence or sabotage.

■ Building the Coffeehouse

We decided to organize into two distinct but closely coordinated projects: one focusing on working

generally and that activists elsewhere didn't want to acknowledge the fact. For instance, organizers from the Camp Pendleton project used to travel around with a black marine and a white marine to show off "interracial proletarian solidarity."

Before we moved to Fayetteville, a few of us visited the Fort Dix coffeehouse in New Jersey to see how a functioning project operated. Everyone was security conscious; the Fort Dix coffeehouse had been firebombed recently. We made up a cover story that we were thinking about setting up a project at Fort Polk in Louisiana just to try to misdirect military intelligence for long enough to acquire leases in Fayetteville.

In retrospect, they probably knew anyway, but the intelligence apparatus' inefficiency may have given us some operating room. Once we got to Fayetteville, however, we experienced constant surveillance and petty intimidation from city and county law enforcement agencies as well as the military.

We were able to get set up in Fayetteville and pretty much hit the ground running. One of the

We were all in the middle of a dynamic movement that had a real constituency to be accountable to, with formidable adversaries who weren't afraid of violence or sabotage.

with black troops, the other with white troops. Our thinking, with which organizers at several other coffeehouses disagreed, was that at that point it didn't make sense to try to organize black and white soldiers into the same organization, at least not at Bragg. Racial polarization on post was intense, and black troops had formed an independent black power group. I suspect, though, that what was true at Bragg was true more

organizers with the white project had been working in the city for some time with the Fayetteville Area Poor People's Organization (FAPPO). Both GIs United Against the War and the smaller Black Brigade (later, the Black Servicemen's Union) had been meeting for a time at the Quaker House, a center for anti-war and progressive activities generally in the city.

■ Bridges Between Black GIs and Black Civilians ...

Not long after getting more intimately involved with black troop life, we realized that it would be tactically necessary and politically interesting to link GI organizing efforts with the work going on in the city's black community. Black soldiers and black Fayettevillians were alien to each other in ways that at first impeded organizing on both sides.

Black GIs tended to repair to black Fayetteville for R & R, a sort of more familiar, local version of Thailand. When they were in that mode, they were both uninterested in local issues and often hostile to any serious undertakings like rallies, meetings, political discussion or demonstrations. To the extent that they maintained relationships with – and exerted depoliticizing pressure on – women in town, this attitude was a major source of tension with FAPPO, which worked almost exclusively in black communities and whose most active participants were female.

On the other side of the ledger, we hoped that joint organizing would help to humanize GIs and, ideally, build anti-war, anti-

After some time, the Black Servicemen's Union gained representation on FAPPO's governing council, and the groups worked closely together in planning and executing projects. For instance, when Representative Ron Dellums of California came through on his tour of the stockades, he addressed a FAPPO mass meeting in a housing project. Not only did this address prompt a new wave of infiltrators from Military Intelligence but it almost got Dellums arrested when he couldn't find his congressional immunity badge after upbraiding a racist cop who had harassed the occupants of the car taking him to the meeting.

... In Combined Community Organizing

We found ways to involve GIs in community issues, which in turn provided a basis for their broader political education. And linking the role the military played in Vietnam



implications of a possible victory. The Army certainly would have treated it as part of its domestic public relations work. They were already dropping in Green Berets to do service work in isolated, rural communities in the mountains and on the coast.) Actually, FAPPO's reputation and practice were such that it wasn't necessary to designate special youth initiatives. When young people – for example, in a controversy growing out of racial injustice in meting out discipline at a local high school – began to consider political activism, they naturally sought out FAPPO's assistance and guidance.

■ Real War Stories?

Another virtue of the joint GI-community focus was that it was a counterweight to the militarist and adventurist rhetoric to which many GIs were disposed. First-timers at meetings often would express impatience with a notion of politics less flamboyant or more elaborate than "picking up a gun." I remember one man, who went off on a diatribe about how the racist Russians were giving the Vietnamese guns to "kill brothers."

I've wondered over the years whether he really had such wacky politics or if he was just a too enthusiastic agent. Some people were just looking for something to attach themselves to, the simpler and more formulaic the better. I recall cases of guys who went from the Black Panthers to the Nation of

**His plan was to rip off an arms room
in the Special Forces area, move into the slave market
and proclaim the revolution.**

militarist and anti-imperialist consciousness among FAPPO's main constituencies and in black Fayetteville at large. At its height, FAPPO had a membership of over 2,000 and was well known as a center of black activism in the area. They organized the local chapters of the National Welfare Rights Organization and the National Tenants Organization.

to the role it played in Fayetteville helped broaden the focus and perspectives of community activists.

An early, unsuccessful effort to get the Army to pave unpaved streets in the city's poor, black neighborhoods was a nice educational vehicle, especially for youth organizing. (I had mixed emotions about this initiative because of the counter-productive



GI resisters at Fort Polk in Louisiana.

Islam to other sects and maybe back again in the span of a few months; this was no different from what one saw on campuses. The Black Panthers, who – on the East Coast, at least – related to the GI movement in a decidedly opportunistic way, fueled this kind of rhetoric and created all sorts of openings for provocateurs.

One of the most bizarre cases I encountered was of a guy who just materialized in town, alleging to be a Panther, and made contacts with a small group of black Special Forces NCOs (non-commissioned officers). This was already weird because very few NCOs supported political work, and Special Forces troops, unsurprisingly, had not been all that receptive. Fayetteville's town center revolved around a former slave market, which had been restored – rebuilt, actually, because Sherman's troops had blown it up on their way through town during the Civil War – and preserved, supposedly as a symbol of town pride.

Groups of black people in the city had talked off and on since the 1940s about blowing it up again, and this kind of musing was common in the late 1960s and early 1970s. This "Panther," though, had

a different idea. His plan was to rip off an arms room in the Special Forces area, move into the slave market and proclaim the revolution. The black community supposedly would rise spontaneously in support to boycott all white businesses and provide a cover of disruption for the guerilla band to withdraw to the countryside to begin systematic guerilla warfare. We were able to defuse that scheme at a very tense meeting in a trailer park, and the supposed Panther vanished just as suddenly as he had shown up.

■ The Seeds We Planted

I wish that I could report more dramatic and inspiring successes. We had small, finite accomplishments – like winning victories for individual soldiers against arbitrary and unjust punishment and discriminatory treatment, and creating a climate in which several troops refused to do riot duty for the Panther trial in New Haven and planned to refuse mobilization when they were put on alert to go to Jordan in 1970. There were more in the community organizing as well.

Our main victories, however, were in developing the politics of

those who were involved in the efforts. This applies not only to the organizers and activists themselves; in later years I've come across people who were adolescents and preteens in Fayetteville during that period and report being shaped in their politics by our work and presence in the area.

All these small victories, both concrete and otherwise, are tiny pieces of a much bigger movement. Most immediately, they were our contribution – along with many, many other bigger and smaller ones – to ending the Vietnam War by cultivating dissent and creating a climate that threatened to raise the cost of maintaining domestic social peace if it continued. In the longer view, we helped to develop a cadre of activists who've gone on from there to engage in struggles elsewhere for decades.

I know that I found some of my closest friends and comrades in that activity; intense political struggles confer a particular kind of enduring trust and mutuality upon those who participate intimately in them. And that is a basis for building subsequent political relationships. At the same time, however, I returned to Fayetteville at the dawn of the Reagan era after several years' absence, and it was all too easy to find my old FAPPO coworkers. They still lived on the same unpaved streets, still worked the same unrewarding jobs. That's a sobering reminder that we didn't win. There's still a great deal of work to be done.

Adolph Reed Jr. is a professor of political science at New School University in New York and the author of The Jesse Jackson Phenomenon, W. E. B. Du Bois and American Political Thought, Stirrings in the Jug, and Class Notes.



In a show of international solidarity, women prepare to march on the military training base formerly known as the School of Americas at Fort Benning, Georgia.

So Long As We Struggle, We Are Winning

Prospects for peace and challenges for our movement

By *Rania Masri*

February 16: Agence France Presse reports, "Israeli tanks staged four incursions in the Gaza Strip overnight, moving into the Al-Maghazi refugee camp for the third time this week, destroying the military intelligence headquarters in the autonomous village of Hai Al-Zeitun and invading the village

of Juhu Al-Dik and the refugee camp of El-Bureij. Three Palestinians were killed and 15 injured in El-Bureij."

February 17: John Donnelly and Anthony Shadid of the *Boston Globe* write: "Bad intelligence, errant bombs, and the changing nature of the war in Afghanistan have led to the

deaths of a thousand or more civilians in U.S. attacks since October."

February 19: The Associated Press reports, "Eight Palestinians, including a 14-year-old girl and three other civilians, were killed Tuesday ... In one strike, Israeli helicopter gunships fired three missiles ... in the crowded

Jebalya refugee camp, killing two Palestinians and critically wounding four, including a 10-year-old girl, doctors said."

February 19: Julian Borger and Ewen Macaskill of *Daily Mail & Guardian* write: "The Pentagon and the CIA have begun preparations for [a more prolonged military] assault on Iraq involving up to 200,000 United States troops."

News of the day. And there is more, much more. Is it just another day?

I read the news alone, and feel restless, overpowered, guilty for not speaking out loud enough, angry at the mindless murders and insanity (yes, insanity, what else can these policies be but pure insanity when there is enough for us all?). I read the news, and sometimes the pain is so overwhelming that my feelings go numb and the news becomes merely letters on a page, pictures on a TV screen, routine. And I feel scared, for isn't it scary for the soul to read the horrors taking place as merely routine, and to close the newspaper to watch the latest episode of a TV show?

Today is another day, yes. But I remember a day not so long ago.

There we were. Thousands of strangers, united by a common vision, walking as *camaradas*. Thousands of people, marching for a new world, united in the belief that another world is possible. Thousands of people, from vastly different – and yet very similar – places, from Nepal, Mali, Palestine, France, Uruguay, Argentina, indigenous communities of Latin America, and, yes, the United States, all marching in Porto Alegre, at the World Social Forum in Brazil. There we were, marching amidst the music of our different languages, the Palestinian

delegation chanting in Spanish with the Argentines, and all together chanting in Portuguese "Viva Palestina livre!" The sky of Porto Alegre was filled with our flags, and we felt that each flag was our own, and that all the flags, together, represented our vision.

All of us. Together.

I am not alone, although reading the news – as presented by the mainstream press – from the solitude of my room, leads me to feel enclosed in an isolated and lonely bubble. I am not alone, but linked to advocates for justice.

I am not only linked to the thousands of beautiful activists (approximately 52,000) who came to the World Social Forum, but also to all those they represent, the hundreds of thousands, the millions of people in communities struggling to live, believing that another world is possible. And they, in turn, are linked to each other and to us. That is our globalization, the globalization we believe in, the globalization that we have created, and that we need to empower, and enrich, and understand.

It is our responsibility, those of us who believe in the possibility of a just world, to examine and articulate the specific globalization-related components of whatever issue on which we are concentrating our efforts. How are the struggles for a livable wage for workers in the South, voting rights for African-American communities, civil rights for all people living in the United States, and the struggle to de-militarize our economy and our lives linked – and how are these struggles linked to the struggle to liberate Palestinians from 54 years of oppression and apartheid, and to liberate Iraqis from the 11-year siege of economic sanctions and

bombings?

We are working on global issues when we are working to end the "War on Drugs" or the "War on Crime" or the "War on Terrorism" – all of which are wars against the poor and the oppressed, all of which are wars to maintain the power of the militarized corporations (what else do you call corporations whose power is backed by military expenditures or actions?).

I believe our road to justice can only be achieved if we walk the road together, and when we walk together, the loneliness and despair collapse. I believe in what a well-known advocate for equality stated:

Because lack of freedom makes us the same
 Because we are united in the racism we suffer within and across borders
 Because the war they impose on us makes us *compañeros* and *compañeras*
 Because we no longer want this kind of world
 Because we no longer want crime celebrated
 Because we no longer want falsehood treated as a virtue
 Because we no longer want others to impose their forms of being and thinking on us
 We want to be free
 And the only way to be free is to be so together.
 This is why we want to be free and in solidarity ...
 We won't remain silent
 We'll stand fast
 We'll struggle
 We'll build another world
 A better one
 Bigger
 Better
 One in which all worlds can fit.

These are the words of Subcomandante Marcos,

who are fighting for their basic rights in Chiapas, in southern Mexico.

And when we recognize how our many issues are linked, and recognize the intrinsic need to understand these linkages, as Marcos explained, then we will be strengthening our movements for peace and overcoming the injustices we face. And we will be fulfilling what another famous advocate for peace urged us to do decades ago. "Those who love peace," said the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., "must learn to organize as effectively as those who love war."

And the core of organizing is communication – speaking to people in our communities, and listening to them as well. Before I strive to change the perspective of those who are openly for war, I need to talk to those who are being oppressed by the wars. I believe that peace-work begins with the people themselves, with the empowerment of communities through information and hope.

Yes, and hope.

I must believe that another world is possible if I am to struggle and to empower others to struggle to change this world. I must believe, truly believe, that there will be justice, and not merely be acting out of desperation, out of a gnawing need to ease my conscience.

This is difficult for me, at times. At times, I am not so sure, not so sure if we can really win this struggle, all our struggles. There are those days, and that is when I remind myself of our histories. Yes, although our histories are filled with stories of power-hungry men (and some women) committing mass murder for economic profit, our histories are also filled with stories of women and men whose hearts were so

filled with love that they committed themselves to work for justice – to work for the eight-hour work day, the abolition of slavery, the woman's right to vote – and, more recently, the women and men who struggled against the privatization of their water in Bolivia and won last summer! And the women and men who took to the streets in Argentina to reclaim their economic livelihood – and succeeded in raising their voices loud enough to challenge the religion of free market rule across the hemisphere.

And the millions of women and men who are struggling to remain – to remain on their lands, in their homes, on their farms, so long as they are struggling, they are winning.

I must believe that another world is possible. And I do. I believe it because we have no choice. I believe it because tyrants cannot rule for ever. They have always fallen. Always.

And, I must remind myself of another task, one that may be even more difficult. In this struggle for justice, in our struggles for peace, may I be at peace, with myself.

It is the words of yet another beautiful advocate for peace that reminds me of this task (how empowering it is that there are so many beautiful advocates for peace!). Eduardo Galeano writes of the importance of joy:

I pursue the enemy voice that has ordered me to be sad. At times I feel that joy is a crime of high treason, and I am guilty of the privilege of being alive and free.

Then it helps me to remember what Chief Huillca said in Peru, speaking before the ruins. "They came here. They even smashed the rocks. They wanted to make us disappear.

But they have not been able to, because we are alive, and that is the main thing.' And I think that Huillca was right.

To be alive: a small victory.

To be alive, that is: to be capable of joy, despite the good-byes and the crimes, so that exile will be a testimony to another, possible country.

The task ahead – building our country – cannot be accomplished with bricks of shit. Will we be of any use if, when we return, we are broken?

Joy takes more courage than grief. In the end, we are accustomed to grief.

To be alive and to be capable of joy, despite the horrors that we feel, yes, that is the real victory. And that is the core of a revolutionary spirit.

The joy. The hope. The simple and most beautiful truth of equality. The many webs that tie the struggles together, so that they all become one global struggle. Together, this other world will be possible.

Rania Masri, Ph.D., is Director of the Economic and Environmental Justice Program at the Institute for Southern Studies.

★ ALABAMA STATE PROFILE



Senator Richard Shelby of Alabama

First elected in 1986 at the height of Reagan's Star Wars mobilization, Republican Senator Richard Shelby has collected over \$1.2 million in campaign contributions from the defense aerospace industry in the current election cycle. Shelby's allegiance to military contractors, especially those involved in missile defense, is

highlighted by the 0 percent rating from Peace Action's 2000 voting scorecard. Shelby's Defend America Political Action Committee (PAC) also receives large contributions from leaders in the missile defense industry.

Working closely with special interest groups such as the Space and Missile Defense Working Group based in Huntsville, Shelby has been instrumental in bringing federal defense dollars into the state. The Working Group's goal is to educate the public about the need for increased military spending, and they try to reach out to top officials across the country. As vice chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence and member of the Appropriations Committee, Shelby is in a prime position to ensure that money is allocated to military programs in Alabama.

The dramatic increase in military spending in the wake of September 11 is no surprise, and Shelby has made sure that a significant amount of these federal dollars go straight to Alabama industries. Money from the Defense Appropriations Bill of 2002 will be doled out to various military installations throughout the state. The Center for Domestic Preparedness in McClellan is set to receive nearly \$36 million from Congress this year. Last November, they were approved for \$19 million, but Shelby and junior Republican Senator Jeff Sessions wanted more. Shelby has also been instrumental in the funding of Anniston defense programs. Anniston Army Depot, the largest employer in Calhoun County, covers 150,000 acres. The bill includes \$49 million for additional vehicle upgrades to M-113 Carriers, known as the "workhorses" of the Army.

The industry brought into the Anniston

area by the military has had significantly detrimental effects on communities surrounding the Depot. The depot ranks second in the nation for toxic releases. Two nearby African-American neighborhoods have been contaminated by PCB pollutants. In 1996, the Kentucky Environmental Foundation reported that pollution from local industries and the military affects the populations living around the depot, the site of a proposed incinerator close to the west side of town.

In November 2000, the depot was awarded a portion of a \$1 billion contract to build the new Light Armored Vehicle (LAV-3). Anniston's portion is 26 percent of a cumulative \$4 billion contract awarded to General Dynamics and General-Motors Canada. Like Shelby, Anniston's Republican representative, Bob Riley, has effectively directed federal defense dollars to Alabama, in part through his seat on the House Armed

Services Committee. Riley's campaign contributions indicate his allegiance to military interests. In the last election cycle he received \$5,000 from Shelby's Defend America PAC, and \$2,000 in soft money contributions from Collazo Enterprises, the parent company of Huntsville-based Colsa Corp.

As the self-proclaimed "Rocket City," Huntsville is an example of what military money can do to

In Alabama

In November 2000, General Dynamics and General Motors Canada won a \$4 billion contract to build the new Light Armored Vehicle. Twenty-six percent of the work will take place at the Anniston Army Depot.

Top 10 Alabama defense contractors in 2001			
	Company & location of contract work	Company HQ	Cumulative amount
1	The Aegis Technologies Group	Huntsville	\$235,294,118
2	Lear Siegler Services Inc., Fort Rucker	Annapolis, MD	\$159,944,436
3	Miltope Corp.	Hull Hope	\$110,554,950
4	American Apparel Inc., Selma, Fort Deposit	Selma	\$102,070,270
5	Document & Packaging Brokers Inc.	Pelham	\$100,000,000
6	Honeywell International Inc., Anniston	Tempe, AZ	\$82,092,573
7	Keane Federal Systems, Montgomery	McLean, VA	\$63,500,000
8	Madison Research Corporation	Huntsville	\$62,007,579
9	Eagle Global Logistics	Houston, TX	\$33,581,892
10	TREVIISCOS/RODIO, a joint venture, Shorterville	Clearwater, FL	\$25,072,878

Total amount of prime contracts to Alabama companies in 2001	\$1,324,713,471
Rank for troops stationed per capita	32
Rank for defense dependency	21
Contract dollars per capita	\$298
Change in contract amount from 1995 to 2000	75%
Alabama Senate delegation's 2000 Peace Action voting records:	
Sen. Jeff Sessions (Republican)	11%
Sen. Richard Shelby (Republican)	0%

stimulate local economy. The population of Huntsville exploded after World War II from 13,000 in the 1940s to nearly 160,000 today. Huntsville companies hold 150 missile defense contracts worth a total of \$1.7 billion. Huntsville is now third in the nation for high-tech job creation, with average salaries of \$34,000, and was ranked by *Expansion Management* magazine as the nation's number-three "cybermecca" in 2001. All these attributes make Huntsville an attractive site for companies to locate and for federal dollars to follow.

So far in 2001-2002 election cycle, the Huntsville aerospace engineering company Mevatec Corp. has donated money to such Senate heavyweights as Republican Phil Gramm of Texas and Republican Ted Stevens of Alaska, with contributions of \$10,000 to each.

Colsa is just one of many Huntsville companies enjoying the benefits of the growing missile defense program. In 1998 and 1999, Colsa received nearly \$139 million from the Pentagon, making it the nation's tenth largest missile-defense contractor. Colsa recently scored a \$72 million deal with the Space and Missile Defense Command to run the Advanced Research Center, a war-games facility that digitally simulates battles and tests missile-defense components.

For this privilege, Colsa's parent company pours the cash into the campaign finance system. Collazo Enterprises' contributions of \$31,560 make it the largest soft money donor in Alabama. Collazo and its employees collectively gave \$53,000 of the almost \$350,000 donated to Shelby's Defend America PAC.

In July 2000, Collazo Enterprises announced a donation of \$55,000 to the University of Alabama at Huntsville (UAH) to endow a scholarship in engineering, science, mathematics or any field related to technology. In 1964, UAH launched an undergraduate program that churned out engineers to feed the growing military-industrial complex in the state. This is emblematic of the intertwined relationship between private companies and public institutions, specifically universities.

Last December, Lockheed Martin Corp. announced a \$25,000 contribution to Tuskegee University, a historically black college that graduates more African-American aerospace engineers than any other university in the nation. The money will be used to establish a new micro-satellite program on campus; and the first project, "Skegeenik," will enable students and professors to design, build and launch a satellite with a functional payload. With programs like this,

Lockheed Martin is ensuring that there will be an educated labor force to support future projects. Students from the business school will also be engaged in an educational setting that simulates the business operations of Lockheed Martin missile and space facilities in Sunnyvale, California; Denver; and Huntsville.

— Tara Purohit

★ ARKANSAS STATE PROFILE

Arkansas is the birthplace and home of Carlos Hathcock, the legendary competitive marksman and Marine sniper who is reputed to have killed more human beings with a rifle than any American in history: 93 confirmed kills – one at 2,500 yards – during the U.S. invasion of Vietnam.



Senator Tim Hutchinson
of Arkansas

Arkansas ranks third in child poverty, fifth in children lacking health insurance, sixth in infant mortality, ninth in violent crime per capita, 15th in people below the official poverty line, 17th in unemployment, 49th in median income, 48th in school spending per pupil, 48th in per capita income, and 44th in teacher pay. The average per capita income in Arkansas is \$17,429, 24 percent less than the national average of \$22,788.

Despite these miserable statistics, Senator Tim Hutchinson is a true believer in military Keynesianism, and he is a yeoman for defense contracts in this little state. He boasts on his website about every advance he makes in pulling Defense Department money into the state.

The closing of Fort Chaffee outside of Fort Smith by the 1995 Base Realignment and Closure Commission was a big blow to Hutchinson, and sent a shock wave through Fort Smith. But Hutchinson, fueled in his 2000 campaign by over \$45,000 in defense contractor money (with top contributions from General Dynamics and Lockheed Martin) came back out swinging.

Arkansas is militarily secure with Little Rock Air Force Base (AFB) outside of Jacksonville, a training, maintenance, and airlift hub for the U.S. Air Force C-130 fleet – the old, but sturdy workhorse of the Military Airlift Command. Little Rock AFB has 6,692 active-duty Air Force and 1,414 civilian employees, and its economic impact on

surrounding areas amounts to almost half a billion dollars annually.

Nothing to worry about here for Hutchinson. His focus has turned to Pine Bluff Arsenal, a former munitions factory that employed 6,000 people in its heyday. The arsenal has now been converted into a storage facility for outdated chemical weapons, including mustard gas munitions from as far back as World War II. It has 86 storage igloos for 3,850 tons of decaying rockets, mines, bombs and artillery shells, many of which have started to leak, and some of which will inevitably become unstable. Hutchinson has wrangled a contract to convert Pine Bluff into a hazardous munitions incineration facility, set to begin operations in 2003.

Scientists at the University of Arkansas admit that incineration poses some hazard, but their grim prognosis is that the leakage and potential destabilization of explosives in continued storage constitutes a greater potential risk to surrounding, poverty-wracked Jefferson County – where both leakage or incineration emissions will settle – than does incineration.

Environmentalists around the state contest the minimization of the incineration hazard and point out that some of the scientists may have conflicts of interest, given that they work for the University of Arkansas system, which participates in numerous and lucrative grant and “cooperative” programs with the Department of Defense.

They also point out that after five years of operation, when the incineration is complete, and the igloos are torn down, the jobs will be torn down with them.

In Jefferson County, the top five careers open to its residents are cutting up chickens for Tyson Foods, mopping floors at Jefferson Regional Medical Center, working at

International Paper, becoming a turnkey with the Arkansas Department of Corrections, and working at Pine Bluff Arsenal. And the Arsenal, which provides 1,350 jobs, is federal work, with union membership and full benefits. Between now and 2003, when the incinerator comes on line, there are

Top 10 Arkansas defense contractors in 2001			
	Company & location of contract work	Company HQ	Cumulative amount
1	Lockheed Martin Corp. Lockheed Martin, Missile & Fire Control; Camden, East Camden Lockheed Martin Corp.; Little Rock Air Force Base	Bethesda, MD Grand Prairie, TX Orlando, FL	\$376,730,105 \$365,597,866 \$11,132,239
2	Pine Bluff Sand & Gravel Co., Desha County	Pine Bluff	\$83,082,335
3	Air Transport International	Little Rock	\$62,391,099
4	Raytheon Co., Camden	Tucson, AZ	\$20,028,063
5	BAE Systems, East Camden	Austin, TX	\$15,973,200
6	Atlantic Research Corp., Arkansas Solid Propulsion Division	Camden	\$15,138,232
7	David Boland Inc., Pinebluff Arsenal	Titusville, FL	\$14,052,000
8	WG Yates & Sons Construction Co., Little Rock	Biloxi, MS	\$8,127,120
9	Luhr Bros., Desha County	Columbia, IL	\$ 6,932,500
10	ECI Construction Inc., Little Rock AFB	Stilwell, KS	\$6,661,919

Total amount of prime contracts to Alabama companies in 2001	\$166,256,278
Rank for troops stationed per capita	35
Rank for defense dependency	42
Contract dollars per capita	\$62
Change in contract amount from 1995 to 2000	54%
Arkansas Senate delegation's 2000 Peace Action voting records:	
Sen. Tim Hutchinson (Republican)	0%
Sen. Blanche Lincoln (Democrat)	55%

also 1,000 construction jobs for Central Arkansans.

Pine Bluff Arsenal pumps \$62 million annually into the local economy. Hutchinson is a Republican, so he downplays the subsidized nature of the whole operation. The federal government is paying \$512 million a year to run the facility.

Right now Hutchinson is in the catbird seat, with the mobilization of the entire nation's paranoia in the wake of September 11. He seems positively prescient, having touted the threat of bioterrorism since 1999 in an effort to add a vaccine production facility to Pine Bluff, as well as a Weapons of Mass Destruction Training Center.

The training center opened in June 2001, its first students members of the American Red Cross, trained by General Physics Corporation for their roles and responsibilities in the event of attack. Outgoing Red Cross president Dr. Bernadine Healy spoke at the opening, stressing the importance of preparedness, and helped inaugurate the Clara Barton Center for Domestic Preparedness.

Anthrax has been a godsend. And other politicians in the state have latched on.

On October 19, 2001, after the deaths of two Washington postal workers from anthrax exposure, Representative Mike Ross (D-Hot Springs) calmed his constituents and warned of the hazards of antibiotic resistance, adding as an aside, “The Pine

In Arkansas

Republican Senator Tim Hutchinson has become a strong advocate for maintaining a government-run biological warfare program, hoping to add a vaccine production facility to Pine Bluff Arsenal.

Bluff Arsenal would be an excellent place to locate a vaccine production facility."

The vaccine production would be a "partnership" between Pine Bluff Arsenal, the adjacent National Center for Toxicological Research, and the University of Arkansas Medical School in Little Rock. Conveniently enough, the vaccines could be shipped anywhere right out of Little Rock AFB.

Hutchinson chairs the Senate Armed Services Personnel Subcommittee. "I will continue to work with DoD officials," said Hutchinson in one of his constituent communiqués, "to see that this project goes forward, and to advocate that the facility be located at Pine Bluff Arsenal."

— Stan Goff

★ FLORIDA STATE PROFILE



Senator Bob Graham of Florida

Florida is a state identified more by its theme parks and beaches than a Southern identity or military economy. But between the orange trees and roller coasters, Florida's economy profits heavily from the support of the United States' — and Israel's — military-industrial complex. Unlike much of the rest of the South, however, Florida's military involvement is rooted

in high-tech weapons development and has a stronger hold on the investments and profits from these mega-corporations, many of which have located their U.S. headquarters in Florida. Military heavies like Lockheed Martin, Raytheon and Northrop Grumman all have major divisions in Florida and bring in millions of dollars in military contracts to these corporations within the state.

While these companies have continued to receive their military dollars, the Florida economy as a whole has faltered in recent months. The post-September 11 hit to the tourism sector has compounded the already existing problems that prompted \$1 billion in cuts to the state's budget, in areas ranging from a 4.2 percent cut in the state's university system to \$309 million in cuts to the state's public school system, now ranked 39th in the nation in per-pupil spending.

But even as the state's education budget shrinks, numbers drop at theme parks and homeless shelters

in tourism centers like Orlando fill beyond capacity, Florida's military complex has remained strong. Northrop Grumman, for example, ranks fourth in military money sent to Florida, receiving over \$338 million in defense contracts. In the shaky post-September 11 economic environment, Northrop Grumman's stocks have grown 25 percent, General Dynamics has grown 18 percent, and Raytheon has seen stock growth in excess of 40 percent.

The military action in Afghanistan has been good news then for the shareholders of these defense contractors, but less so for the thousands of men and women in uniform who live in the Sunshine State. Florida ranks fourth in the number of individuals sent into the military per capita, while close to 110,000 individuals serving in the armed forces are stationed in Florida. The Navy has several installments in Jacksonville, including Mayport Naval Station, which plays host to the Navy's popular stunt air team, the Blue Angels. MacDill Air Force Base in Tampa stands out among Florida's outposts as the U.S. Central Command headquarters for the military campaign in Afghanistan.

It is the presence of so many high-tech, corporate defense contractors that makes Florida stand out among the other Southern states receiving large amounts of defense dollars. Lockheed Martin leads the way among defense contractors, receiving over \$1.8 billion in defense dollars last year alone. CAE USA Inc. is the Tampa-based subsidiary of CAE, a military corporation headquartered in Canada. Formerly BAE Systems Flight Simulation and Training, the company was bought out by CAE in April 2001 and became a part of CAE's Military Simulation and Training Division. The move gave CAE the ground it needed to start winning contracts from the most profitable contractor in the defense industry, the U.S. government. Since the move, CAE USA has won over \$333 million in

defense dollars, positioning it as the fifth largest recipient of defense money in the state. CAE USA's contracts include the development of training material for the Predator Unmanned Aerial Vehicle,

which is currently in use in Afghanistan. CAE USA also won a \$35 million contract last May from the Israeli government to produce a training simulator for the Israeli Air Force.

Israel also awarded a contract to General Dynamics, which operates a major facility in St. Petersburg. The \$206 million contract provides for the development of intelligence work on military

In Florida

Florida ranks fourth in the nation for providing troops for the armed forces.

aircraft. Headquartered in Falls Church, Virginia, General Dynamics is a major presence in Florida's defense industry, bringing in over \$143 million to produce everything from light-armored vehicles to ammunition systems to the Marine Corps' Advanced Amphibious Assault Vehicles, which can operate on both water and land.

These massive defense industries are not maintained on their own, of course, and find great help in Congress from Florida's senators, perhaps most notably from the state's popular senator (and former governor), Bob Graham, a Democrat who has been a vocal supporter of the United States' war on drugs in Colombia. DynCorp Technical Services trains Colombian employees at Patrick Air Force Base in Melbourne in preparation for the coca eradication campaign in Colombia. Graham's fellow Democrat, Senator Bill Nelson, is also supportive of the Colombia campaign, and as a former astronaut and member of the Armed Services Committee, is heavily funded by the defense industry. During the 2002 election cycle, Nelson has received \$5,000 from Northrop Grumman, \$4,000 from Lockheed Martin, \$3,000 from Newport News Shipbuilding (the recently acquired subsidiary of Northrop Grumman), and \$1,500 from Raytheon.

Representatives in the House are no less indebted to the defense industry, particularly Tampa's Republican Representative Bill Young, who received \$53,000 from defense industry political action committees in 2000 alone. Only nine other members of Congress receive more. In the current election cycle, Young has taken in another \$5,000 from Newport News Shipbuilding. John Mica, the Republican representative from the Orlando and Daytona Beach area – home to two of the largest defense manufacturing sites in the nation – has also received a substantial amount of money from the defense industry. Thus far in the 2002 election cycle, Mica has taken \$5,000 from Harris Corp., Florida's third largest defense contractor.

But even as Florida's elected representatives work to support the military complex that financially supported their campaigns, there is grassroots organizing within the state to oppose Florida's military development. The Florida Coalition for Peace & Justice (FCPJ), for example, has done statewide

Top 10 Florida defense contractors in 2001							
	Company & location of contract work	Company HQ	Cumulative amount				
1	Lockheed Martin Corp. Missiles & Fire Control Information Systems Lockheed Martin Corp.; Orlando, Hurlburt Field, Clearwater, Tampa Integrated Systems Naval Electronics & Surveillance Systems; Riviera Beach Missile & Space; Clearwater Millimeter Technologies Services; Whiting Field, Pensacola, Tyndall Air Force Base Launch Services; Cape Canaveral Aeronautics Lockheed Martin Corp., Tactical Defense Systems; Clearwater	Bethesda, MD	\$1,849,075,560				
		Orlando	\$849,173,862				
		Orlando	\$492,611,837				
		Orlando; Mitchel Field, NY	\$305,096,089				
		Orlando	\$76,612,553				
		Syracuse, NY	\$55,900,000				
		Sunnyvale, CA	\$39,400,044				
		Orlando	\$11,666,667				
		Chesapeake, VA; Las Vegas, NV	\$10,440,316				
		Littleton, CO	\$6,400,000				
2	Support Systems Associates Inc.	Melbourne	\$1,233,333,333				
		3	Harris Corp. Harris Corp. Harris Corp., Government Communication Systems Division	Palm Bay	\$588,921,169		
				Palm Bay	\$310,121,169		
				Palm Bay	\$278,800,000		
		4	Northrop Grumman Corp. Integrated Systems Sector, Airborne Ground Surveillance and Battle Management Systems; Melbourne Northrop Grumman Corp.; Melbourne Northrop Grumman Systems Corp.	Los Angeles, CA	\$338,155,737		
				Melbourne; Bethpage, NY	\$212,253,319		
				Bethpage, NY	\$93,048,290		
		5	CAE USA Inc.	Melbourne	\$32,854,128		
				Tampa	\$333,333,333		
				6	Raytheon Co. Command, Control and Communication Systems Raytheon Co.; Orlando, St. Petersburg, Largo Intelligence, Information and Aircraft Integration Systems; Jacksonville Electronics Systems; Orlando, Largo	St. Petersburg	\$199,101,021
St. Petersburg, Marlboro; Tucson, AZ	\$114,454,245						
Marlboro; Bedford, MA	\$69,029,759						
7	Sverdrup Technology Inc.; Tampa, Cape Canaveral, Fort Walton Beach			Greenville, TX	\$9,900,000		
				Tampa, Fort Walton Beach;	\$178,726,700		
				Tallahassee, Boca Raton	\$5,717,017		
				8	General Dynamics General Dynamics, Ordnance & Tactical Systems General Dynamics Land Systems Inc.; Tallahassee, Boca Raton	Falls Church, VA	\$143,545,647
						St. Petersburg	\$82,177,416
		9	Everglades Partners Joint Venture various locations in FL	Sterling Heights, MI	\$61,368,231		
				Jacksonville	\$120,145,525		
		10	Gemini Industries Inc. various locations in FL	Billerica, MA	\$120,000,000		

Total amount of prime contracts to Florida companies in 2001	\$15,212,004,913
Rank for troops stationed per capita	28
Rank for defense dependency	7
Contract dollars per capita	\$952
Change in contract amount from 1995 to 2000	4%

Florida Senate delegation's 2000 Peace Action voting records:	
Sen. Connie Mack (Republican) retired	0%
Sen. Bob Graham (Democrat)	33%

organizing against the recent campaign in Afghanistan. Their long-term work includes a demand to end the bombing of the Ocala National Forest (a situation they compare to the bombing of Vieques) and a reevaluation of the U.S. militarization of Colombia. FCPJ's ability to form a coalition of over 50 different organizations across the state is evidence that while Florida's politicians and industry are heavily indebted to our nation's intense militarization, individuals surrounded by that culture continue to resist.

– Jenny Stepp

Top 10 Georgia defense contractors in 2001			
	Company & location of contract work	Company HQ	Cumulative amount
1	Lockheed Martin Corp. Lockheed Martin Corp. Missile & Space; Kings Bay Integrated Systems, Americus Aeronautics	Bethesda, MD Marietta Sunnyvale, CA Orlando, FL Marietta	\$2,090,171,192 \$1,993,932,782 \$49,037,464 \$36,995,951 \$10,204,995
2	Scientific Research Corp.	Atlanta	\$106,231,330
3	Keane Federal Systems; Atlanta	McLean, VA	\$63,500,000
4	McKnight Construction Co.; Savannah	Augusta	\$43,874,861
5	JA Jones Management Services Inc., Kings Bay	Charlotte, NC	\$43,556,697
6	Eagle Global Logistics	Houston, TX	\$33,581,892
7	Elekt Oncology Systems Inc.	Norcross	\$30,000,000
8	Treviiscos/Rodio, a joint venture; Fort Gaines	Clearwater, FL	\$25,072,878
9	Northrop Grumman Corp.; Warner Robins Air Force Base	Rolling Meadows, IL	\$19,996,297
10	PYA Monarch Atlanta	Atlanta	\$18,250,000

Total amount of prime contracts to Georgia companies in 2001	\$4,430,706,357
Rank for troops stationed per capita	3
Rank for defense dependency	13
Contract dollars per capita	\$541
Change in contract amount from 1995 to 2000	4%
Georgia Senate delegation's 2000 Peace Action voting records:	
Sen. Paul Coverdell (Republican) deceased	0%
Sen. Max Cleland (Democrat)	22%

★ GEORGIA STATE PROFILE

Georgia's "first city" of Columbus, home of the Army Infantry at Fort Benning, perched convivially on the banks of the Chattahoochee river, has a dirty little secret: it's training terrorists.

The School of the Americas (or, as it was obscurely renamed in 2001, the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation) has a half-century tradition of quietly training Latin American soldiers in decidedly un-democratic tactics like "counter-insurgency, infantry tactics, military intelligence, counter-narcotics operations, and commando operations." Its esteemed graduates include Manuel Noriega, Argentine dictator Leopoldo Galtieri, and Gen. Guillermo Rodriguez, who seized power in Ecuador in 1972 after overthrowing the popularly-elected government.

The classes are conducted in Spanish, funded with U.S. taxpayer dollars. No surprise, then, that this tradition of sponsorship raises some unattractive issues for a White House that has vowed to "close

terrorist training camps," and conquer enemies who "believe they are invisible." After the September 11 attacks, President Bush proclaimed, "If any government sponsors the outlaws and killers of innocents, they have become outlaws and murderers, themselves." Seems his policy is inconsistent at best.

Georgia's human demographic is primed, in numbers and ideology, to accommodate Fort

Benning's controversial military activity: almost 1.3 percent of its population is active-duty military, giving it the second-highest number of active-duty military personnel in the country (105,914, after Texas). After Fort Benning, Georgia's other Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine installations command a substantial force of over 70,000 at Robbins Air Force Base, Fort Gillem, and the Naval Supply Corps School, to name a few. Buffering the ranks is a broad corps of 42,913 Reserve and National Guardsman standing ready.

Georgia's economic support for military activities comes in the form of defense contractors who make advanced military aircraft for the U.S. government and provide an employment base for many of the state's citizens. Lockheed Martin, the state's number-one military contractor, holds a post in Marietta, on the northern rim of metropolitan Atlanta.

The company established itself in the Peach State in 1950 when the Air Force convinced Lockheed Aircraft Corp. to reopen Air Force Plant #6 – leased by Bell Aircraft Corp. during World War II – to refurbish B-29 bombers for the Korean War effort. Since then, the plant has built military hardware bearing ever more complex alphanumeric

In Georgia

Last March, workers represented by the International Machinists and Aerospace Workers at Lockheed Martin's Marietta plant went out on strike, citing outsourcing and job insecurity as their major grievances.

Photo by elin o'Hara slavick



The Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation at Fort Benning, Georgia, formerly the School of Americas, has drawn condemnation for its connection to human rights abuses in Latin America.

designations. Their portfolio includes “the C-130 Hercules airlifter, the XV-4 Hummingbird research aircraft, the LASA-60 general aviation aircraft, the C-141 StarLifter jet transport, the C-5 Galaxy, and the P-3 Orion.”

Their newest baby, the “next-generation fighter of tomorrow,” is the celebrated F-22 combat aircraft. Lockheed Martin has stated that the “highly lethal” F-22 is critical to the national defense program given “the continuing export of current air defense and adversary advanced fighter technology to the Third World.” The company’s press flaks should know: Lockheed Martin’s overseas business leapt from 5 percent to 18 percent in the last half of the 1990s.

Another top Georgia defense contractor, TRW, has not had such lucky public relations gains as of late. The cutting-edge communications and intelligence company has been, for over half a century, one of the

nation’s top producers of surveillance systems, imagery intelligence, and information technology for the U.S. military. However, the integrity tests done on one of their newest National Missile Defense (NMD) systems has recently been criticized by the nation’s scientific elite.

A joint study lead by physicists at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), the Union of Concerned Scientists, and the American Physical Society questioned whether TRW’s technology was fit for the sky. Dr. Theodore Postol, a scientist at MIT pointed out that “the current NMD system has shown no capability to distinguish between a nuclear warhead and a simple decoy.”

How did TRW effect damage control after the incident? Not with more rigorous testing or tougher standards,

but with a posh luncheon held for the politician who can dig them out of their own mess. TRW held the event at the Philadelphia Union Club last July for Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman John Warner (R-Virginia), the go-to man for NMD support in Washington. Warner had headed a Republican effort to defeat an amendment to require the Pentagon to complete further testing on TRW’s NMD system before deploying it.

Georgia Representative Saxby Chambliss (R - Macon), like Warner, is a steady recipient of defense money. As a member of the House Armed Services Committee, Chambliss netted a healthy \$29,000 from the defense aerospace industry in the last election cycle.

The congressman’s present-day notoriety, however, comes not from skirmishes on campaign finance, but from an incident of cultural

insensitivity. Chambliss, who was made chairman of the House Subcommittee on Terrorism and Homeland Security after the September 11 attacks, has been tainted by a reputation for anti-Arab racism. In a meeting last November with 30 local officials in Valdosta, Chambliss reportedly suggested that to combat terrorism, Georgia sheriffs could "arrest any Muslim that crosses the state line." Chambliss's image consultants backpedaled, claiming the remark was a "joke," and Chambliss himself responded, "If anybody's offended by it, I feel very apologetic toward them."

The Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), for one, called on Speaker of the House Dennis Hastert to remove Chambliss from his position as chair of the Subcommittee. "Joking or not," wrote ADC President Ziad Asali, Chambliss' comments "reveal a level of insensitivity and intolerance which is completely inappropriate given the concerns attached to this important position."

Chambliss' red-hot militarism is nearly matched by a steady progressive fire from his peer Representative Cynthia McKinney (D-Decatur) in the Georgia congressional delegation. McKinney has tirelessly pressed to curb the production and use of depleted uranium in lethal weapons. McKinney points out that over 300 metric tons of the unstable substance were used in munitions during the Gulf War, and may have a causal link to the family of illnesses grouped under the term "Gulf War Syndrome." The British Royal Navy, the Canadian Navy, and even the U.S. Navy have announced they will phase out weapons production involving depleted uranium. Though the Yugoslav and Iraqi governments have both claimed depleted uranium used in weapons is having adverse health effects on their citizens, the U.S. Department of Defense has not committed to phasing out the contaminated munitions.

It's worth mentioning here that the half-life of plutonium, a substance thought to have contaminated the depleted uranium in question, is in the ballpark of 4.5 billion years – a long time for military boosters to pay off their radioactive debt.

– Erin Callahan

★ KENTUCKY STATE PROFILE

Kentucky has an enduring streak of yeoman independence, with its humanizing strands of literary tradition and homegrown music – in many ways a result of its economic isolation and rugged landscape.

With notable exceptions such as the Army's

101st Airborne Division at Fort Campbell and General Electric Aircraft Engines' blades and vanes plant in Madisonville, the Bluegrass State is largely free of the economic domination of the military.

The top defense contract of 2001 in Kentucky went to an enterprise unrelated to war making: CJ Mahan Construction Co. for cofferdam work near the Land-Between-the-Lakes area in the western part of the state. Contracted by the Army Corps of Engineers, Grove City, Ohio-based CJ Mahan accumulated \$47.9 million in contracts from the Defense Department last year.



Kentucky Senator Mitch McConnell

Kentucky's defense economy has a heavy reliance on construction contracts, food services, and electrification to support over 36,000 active-duty military personnel stationed primarily at Fort Campbell and Fort Knox. These include contracts to Prospect-based TJC Engineering Inc.; Lend Lease Actus, a construction company based in California, and Sysco Louisville, a beverage and food vending service.

Kentucky's live-and-let-live ethos is compromised by absentee corporate contracting for munitions production. In May 1999, Raytheon Co.'s Louisville plant rolled out the first Phalanx radar and gun systems and the RAM "fire-and-forget" missiles, celebrated as "a momentous occasion for the city of Louisville" by C. Dale Reis, general manager of the company's Defense Systems division.

United Defense LP's Armament Systems division, based in Minneapolis, also has production facilities in Louisville. Independent populist activists in the Bluegrass state should know that United Defense is a subsidiary of the Carlyle Group, the insider consulting business that has contracted the talents of former president George Bush Sr. to do business with the bin Laden family, among other Saudi clients. Elite business dealings like these should prove a slap in the face for a state that has struggled for decades to overcome poverty.

In Kentucky

In March 2001, the 101st Airborne Division, based at Fort Campbell in Kentucky, took part in some of the fiercest fighting of the Afghanistan war, trading fire with remnants of Al Qaeda in the Shah-I-Kot valley.

Top 10 Kentucky defense contractors in 2001			
	Company & location of contract work	Company HQ	Cumulative amount
1	CJ Mahan Construction Co., Grand Rivers	Grove City, OH	\$47,851,412
2	TJC Engineering Inc.; Louisville, Fort Campbell	Prospect	\$38,022,674
3	Sentinel Contractors Joint Venture, Louisville	Fort Knox	\$25,000,000
4	Raytheon Co., Louisville	Tucson, AZ	\$24,967,000
5	Sysco Louisville	Louisville	\$18,900,000
6	Lend Lease Actus, Fort Campbell	Napa, CA	\$17,075,239
7	General Electric Aircraft Engines, Madisonville	Lynn, MA	\$16,618,310
8	United Defense LP, Armament Systems Division; Louisville	Minneapolis, MN	\$15,623,030
9	Specialty Defense Systems; McKee	Dunmore, PA	9,621,867
10	American Support Services Inc.	Louisville	8,172,500

Total amount of prime contracts to Kentucky companies in 2001	\$206,648,348
Rank for troops stationed per capita	33
Rank for defense dependency	43
Contract dollars per capita	\$51
Change in contract amount from 1995 to 2000	62%
Kentucky Senate delegation's 2000 Peace Action voting records:	
Sen. Jim Bunning (Republican)	0%
Sen. Mitch McConnell (Republican)	0%

In rural areas such as Jackson County in the Appalachian foothills, where the local economic base has been eviscerated since the 1940s, Specialty Defense Systems offered an employment lifeline when it set up shop in 1997 and 1998. The Pennsylvania-based company, which produces personnel load-carrying equipment packs for the Marine Corps, cites Jackson County as a "labor-surplus" area whose proximity to 75 in a Rural Empowerment Zone offers it access to markets, and significant tax abatements.

Specialty Defense opened operations in the shuttered facilities of a Laura Ashley clothing factory, easily hiring back 320 sewing operators from the mail-order fashion company's decimated ranks. In a county whose total employment is only slightly more than 3,000, where 120-mile work commutes are not uncommon, the importance of these jobs is hard to discount. At the same time, Specialty Defense's product has a tangible consequence for the people around the world affected by U.S. military aggressions. In the company's own words, the load-carrying equipment is "designed to enhance the survivability and lethality of the modern soldier."

The military base communities of Radcliff, and Clarksville, Tennessee – near Fort Knox and Fort Campbell respectively – are heavily reliant on a precarious low-wage retail and service economy. The City of Radcliff boasts that at one time it "had

more fast food restaurants per capita than any other." Over half of Clarksville's workers are employed in retail and service, with average incomes of only \$18,000 per year – because of the capricious consumer demand of a fluctuating troop population.

Mitch McConnell, Kentucky's senior Republican senator, boasts that "Kentucky military installations and businesses are key players [in the nation's defense] and help ensure that our soldiers are the best prepared in the world." The \$70 million earmarked for Kentucky in the Defense Appropriations Bill of 2002 is piddling in comparison to the multibillion-dollar military industries in states like Texas and Virginia. But McConnell is a senior member of the powerful Appropriations Committee and may be able to wrangle a bigger cut for his state in coming years.

For FY 2002, McConnell secured \$45.5 million for United Defense and Raytheon in his hometown of Louisville, and even managed to snag \$6 million for the McConnell Technology Training Center to undertake research for the Navy. The senator

also takes credit for \$1 million allocated to the University of Louisville for research on armored vehicles.

McConnell is married to President Bush's labor secretary, Elaine Chao, and had the honor of hosting the President's inauguration ceremony. McConnell has distinguished himself as an errand runner for the Republican corporate patronage coterie, vehemently opposing campaign finance efforts from his perch as ranking member of the Senate Rules Committee. This usefulness has earned him the honorary of "one of Washington's most powerful people" by publications like *Congressional Quarterly* and *George*.

Kentucky legislators were also important national players at the outset of the military-industrial complex, but the state lagged behind the rest of the region economically. Two important political events short-circuited efforts to secure Kentucky a favorable share of the largesse: Democratic Senate Majority Leader Alben Barkley of Kentucky had sparred publicly with President Roosevelt on inequities in the War Production Board's contracting practices. He resigned from his position in 1944 after Roosevelt humiliated him because the Senate's war appropriation bill contained only 20 percent of the funding the president asked for. Then, in 1947, Kentucky Representative Andrew Jackson May was

convicted of accepting bribes for his influence in munition contracts awarding, serving nine months in prison.

Today, there is a peace movement afoot in Kentucky that is vocal, but largely ignored in the local media. Pax Christi, a Catholic peace group, has organized recent demonstrations in Louisville calling for a cessation of U.S. aggression against Afghanistan. In addition, the Committee for Israeli/Palestinian States has been holding weekly demonstrations in front of the Louisville Federal building since well before September 11 to protest U.S. military support of Israel.

"We've felt all along that the Israeli-Palestinian issue was key to the terrorism problem," says retired Presbyterian minister and committee member George Edwards, "because it's so emblematic of the Arab world's relationship to the West."

- Jordan Green

★ LOUISIANA STATE PROFILE

Its close proximity to large fossil fuel deposits make Louisiana home to almost 10 percent of all oil in the nation and the producer of over a quarter of all natural gas in the United States. Louisiana also ranks as the third largest refiner of oil and second in the production of petrochemicals like plastic and fertilizer. Its location on the Gulf of Mexico gives Louisiana prime access to the shipbuilding industry, where much of the state's military work is focused.



Louisiana Senator
Mary Landrieu

Louisiana's intense reliance on oil refineries and the production of petrochemicals has wreaked havoc upon the health of Louisiana's residents and given one area of the state the nickname "Cancer Alley." The mostly poor and black residents of the eighty mile stretch along the Mississippi River between New Orleans and Baton Rouge have suffered severe health problems ranging from respiratory illness to astronomical rates of cancer, all a result of living in a region soaked with the toxic emissions of chemical plants. Local residents and environmental justice organizations have waged long battles against these plants, often without the help of their elected officials.

Louisiana's junior Democratic senator, Mary Landrieu, has contributions in her 2002 PAC war chest from 24 different oil and gas companies for a total of \$44,020, including \$11,000 from ChevronTexaco, \$7,000 from El Paso Corp. and \$2,000 each from BP America, Dynegy, and Occidental Petroleum. She received another \$45,667 from electric utilities including Duke Energy, Reliant Energy and Southern Nuclear Operating. On top of all this, Landrieu has taken \$10,500 from chemical companies, including \$5,000 from Dow Chemical. Landrieu's position on the Energy and Natural Resources Committee, which decides on key environmental and energy issues, perhaps explains the largesse of energy donors to her upcoming re-election campaign in 2002. Landrieu also sits on the Armed Services Committee, which oversees funding of weapons systems and other defense related agenda items. Landrieu received a total of \$34,000 from defense industry political action committees.

Landrieu's cohorts in the House are similarly financed. Representative Chris John, who represents Lake Charles, the home of defense contractor Arch Chemicals, has received \$35,124 from oil and gas concerns, \$1,000 from defense firm Northrop Grumman and another \$500 from defense company McDermott International. New Orleans Representative David Vitter has received financing from a range of major defense contractors, among them Northrop Grumman (\$2,500), Textron (\$1,000), Raytheon (\$1,000), McDermott International (\$2,000) and another \$500 from Litton Avondale Industries (acquired in April 2001 by Northrop Grumman). Along with his colleague Representative Richard Baker (Baton Rouge), Vitter also received financial support from Building Our Bases, the PAC managed by Speaker of the House-turned-influential-lobbyist Bob Livingston, who counts the Avondale shipyard among his many clients.

In Louisiana

Northrop Grumman's Avondale Operations, which builds landing platform docks and strategic airlift ships for the Navy, is Louisiana's largest manufacturing employer.

Several of the military contractors based in Louisiana have been charged with failures to comply with environmental regulations in a state plagued with the type of environmental degradation that has resulted in places like Cancer Alley. Notable among these Defense Department-financed violators are Arch Chemicals and Placid Refining.

Located in Lake Charles, Arch Chemicals is a defense contractor with the Air Force and NASA and works to produce equipment including MX missiles and F-16 aircraft. A recipient of over \$204

Top 10 Louisiana defense contractors in 2001			
	Company & location of contract work	Company HQ	Cumulative amount
1	Arch Chemicals Inc.	Lake Charles	\$204,408,000
2	ExxonMobil Fuels Marketing Co.; Baytown	Fairfax, VA	\$179,538,112
3	Cubic Applications Inc.; Fort Polk	Lacey, WA	\$79,682,521
4	Placid Refining Co. LLC	Port Allen	\$76,696,132
5	Litton Avondale Industries; Shipyards Division (Northrop Grumman Corp.)	New Orleans (Los Angeles, CA)	\$67,922,275
6	Textron Land & Marine Systems, New Orleans	New Orleans	\$35,032,109
7	Bollinger/Incat USA LLC; Lockport	Lockport	\$22,303,500
8	Carothers Construction Inc.; Barksdale AFB	Water Valley, MS	\$12,982,208
9	Fordice Construction Co.; St. Francisville	Vicksburg, MS	\$12,730,975
10	Priola Construction Corp.; Fort Polk	Lake Charles	\$10,630,400
Total amount of prime contracts to Louisiana companies in 2001			\$712,718,428
Rank for troops stationed per capita			30
Rank for defense dependency			\$31
Contract dollars per capita			\$159
Change in contract amount from 1995 to 2000			88%
Louisiana Senate delegation's 2000 Peace Action voting records:			
Sen. John Breaux (Democrat)			22%
Sen. Mary Landrieu (Democrat)			33%

million in defense dollars last year alone, Arch Chemicals was hit with a \$20,000 fine by the State of Louisiana for the release of toxic vapors in 1998. Officials of the Port of Shreveport-Bossier and employers who share space on the port with Arch called for increased fines, citing numerous incidents of leaking clouds of gas entering other work sites and repeated health problems suffered by nearby employees, such as vomiting and burning skin and eyes.

Placid Refining – located in Port Allen and recipient of over \$65 million in Defense Department contracts to produce jet fuel – has had similar problems with environmental regulations and agreed to pay \$200,000 in fines from the Environmental Protection Agency as a result of a 1993 inspection that found an array of problems ranging from leaking valves to a failure to keep records on their own environmental tests. In 1990, residents of the small community of Sunrise sued Placid Refining and Exxon for over \$1 billion and asked for an immediate court injunction halting all production at the plant, claiming severe health risks to area residents.

Northrop Grumman Ship Systems Avondale Operations is the largest industrial employer in Louisiana and one of the larger defense contractors in the state, receiving over \$120 million from the Defense Department for the company's work on amphibious transport ships for the Navy.

Avondale Operations has become notorious for

its unsafe working conditions, and paid out almost \$80,000 in March 2001 in fines resulting from violations of workplace safety that led to the deaths of three workers in the summer of 2000. These fines were tacked onto \$717,000 in earlier fines for 63 safety violations cited in a 1999 investigation by the Occupational Safety and Health Administration.

In large part because of these violations, the workers at Avondale have been engaged in a long battle to be officially recognized as a union. It is this decade-long attempt at union busting for which Avondale is most infamous. Initially approved by workers in 1990, Avondale entered an 11-year battle to deny the results of the ballots through worker intimidation and incessant court appeals, all of which were ultimately lost by the employer.

The Navy and Coast Guard spent over \$5.4 million in billed hours to help support Avondale's union-busting activities, as admitted by former Secretary of the Navy Richard Danzig in 1999. The union busting received national attention and support from national leaders including Senator Paul Wellstone and the Rev. Jesse Jackson. In December 2000, the Avondale workers were finally able to approve their first union contract, voting 80 percent in support of the new union negotiated pay structure. As recently as December 2001, the National Labor Relations Board agreed to a settlement between Avondale Operations and the New Orleans Metal Trade Department to reinstate 54 employees who were illegally fired for their involvement in the union. The company will pay these employees full back pay and benefits – payments the union estimates could run as high as \$2.5 million.

– Jenny Stepp

MISSISSIPPI STATE PROFILE

Senate Republican leader Trent Lott has distinguished himself for his generosity to the defense industry and his skillful ability to funnel defense dollars back to his home state.

Campaigning in September 2000 for Georgia Republican Senate candidate Mack Mattingly, Lott told a crowd outside the Lockheed Martin plant in Marietta, "You don't want all those C-130s built in Meriden, Mississippi. But if Mack is not up there (in Washington), I will do all I can to move the whole operation to Mississippi." (Mattingly lost the race.)

The threat may not be completely idle. As Senate

Majority Leader from 1996 through 2001, Lott helped bail out Lockheed's multi-billion dollar C-130 transport plane and F-22 fighter, both Marietta-produced aircraft slated for phase-out as the defeat of the Soviet Union diminished the need for Cold War spending.

In turn, Lockheed Martin Corp. has been a generous underwriter of Lott's political career, plunking down \$60,000 for a lavish 1950s-style dance party and fundraiser emceed by Dick Clark that the senator organized to kick off the 2000 Republican National Convention in Philadelphia.



Mississippi Senator Trent Lott

A strong supporter of military aid to Colombia, Lott has never turned his back on the home-grown defense industry that dominates the economy of Mississippi, a state that continues to rank near the bottom for household poverty and jobs with high risk of disease. In the last election year, Lott pulled out \$500 million to build warships in his native Pascagoula – money the Department of Defense didn't even ask for.

At every turn, it seems, Lott has found a way to advocate for defense contractors. Addressing an assembly of enlisted men and women at Keesler Air Force Base in Biloxi in 1998, the senator rhapsodized, "We are free, we are at peace because you have been vigilant." He promised them that he would push for increases in military spending, that Congress and the Defense Department would "work together next year so the top line goes up." But one key stakeholder in this campaign to build up the military went unmentioned in Lott's appeal.

Only 20 miles away is Lott's hometown of Pascagoula where Northrop Grumman Corp., the largest Naval shipbuilder in the nation, owns Ingalls Shipbuilding. Over the past decade 7,000 Ingalls workers have lost their jobs because of defense cuts. Even so, as an indication of how severely the Mississippi economy has atrophied through the decline of manufacturing, Ingalls remains the largest private employer in the state.

Through the 1990s Lott fought a pitched battle with former Defense Secretary William Cohen to keep shipbuilding jobs in Mississippi. Originally,

Top 10 Mississippi defense contractors in 2001			
	Company & location of contract work	Company HQ	Cumulative amount
1	Northrop Grumman Ship Systems, Ingalls Operations	Pascagoula	\$889,351,732
2	McDonnell Douglas Corp.; Meridien, Forest City	St. Louis, MO	\$91,380,836
3	Halter Marine Inc., Moss Point	Gulfport	\$26,748,852
4	DynCorp Technical Services, Columbus Air Force Base	Fort Worth, TX	\$26,561,258
5	Computer Sciences Corp.; Vicksburg	Huntsville, AL	\$22,786,610
6	Hunt Building Corp.; Gulfport	El Paso, TX	\$18,707,855
7	Mississippi State University	Mississippi State	\$13,551,119
8	The Merchants Co.; Jackson	Hattiesburg	\$12,200,00
9	Raytheon Co.; Forest	El Segundo, CA	\$11,775,000
10	Mississippi Department of Rehabilitation; Madison	Madison	\$7,080,000

Total amount of prime contracts to Mississippi companies in 2001	\$1,110,521,807
Rank for troops stationed per capita	20
Rank for defense dependency	16
Contract dollars per capita	\$390
Change in contract amount from 1995 to 2000	1%
Mississippi Senate delegation's 2000 Peace Action voting records:	
Sen. Thad Cochran (Republican)	0%
Sen. Trent Lott (Republican)	0%

production of 29 Arleigh Burke destroyers was slated for Bath Iron Works in Cohen's home state of Maine, but through Lott's deft maneuvering, Ingalls Shipyards managed to take half the order. Last December, Northrop Grumman Ship Systems-Ingalls Operations received a Christmas bonus of \$370 million as a modification to the Arleigh Burke contract.

Lott's advocacy on behalf of the shipbuilding industry has not necessarily translated into rising fortunes for the many workers who are employed there. Last May, 11 African-American workers brought a class-action lawsuit against Ingalls for discrimination. As in many other industries, black workers at Ingalls frequently find their attempts to advance beyond low-skilled jobs frustrated by a labor structure reinforced by a climate of racism. "The presence of nooses, written messages of hate, and racial harassment are signs and symbols of modern day forms of slavery and racial hatred," says

Sandra Jaribu Hill, director of the Mississippi Workers' Center for Human Rights in Oxford, which filed suit on behalf of the workers.

While the anti-discrimination suit has languished in the courts, Lott has intervened successfully on behalf of Ingalls' parent company Northrop

In Mississippi

Ingalls Shipbuilding, a subsidiary of Northrop Grumman Corp. which builds the Aegis guided missile destroyer for the Navy, is the largest private employer in Mississippi.

Grumman to block a bid by General Dynamics to take over Newport News Shipbuilding in Virginia. Lott twice met with his old friend from the Senate, Attorney General John Ashcroft, to plead that General Dynamics' acquisition would be "anticompetitive." The Justice Department filed an antitrust suit to block General Dynamics and on the same day the Pentagon endorsed Northrop Grumman's bid - finalizing the sale for \$2.1 billion.

Mississippi's industrial muscle in producing warships has spilled over into the university system. Mississippi State University landed a lucrative \$13.6 million contract last April for its High Voltage Laboratory to research lightning-protection for Naval ships.

Mississippi's war economy is also interwoven into the U.S. militarization of Colombia. DynCorp Technical Services, which is subcontracted by the State Department to carry out a defoliation campaign to eradicate coca production in Colombia, is the fourth largest defense contractor in Mississippi. The Reston, Virginia-based company had an explosive growth in business after the 1991 Gulf War and subsequently hired its employees out as International Peace Monitors in Haiti and the Balkans.

Many of its employees are "soldiers of fortune" whose past military service gives them security clearance to take part in covert operations. DynCorp's contract with the Defense Department to provide aircraft maintenance services at Columbus Air Force Base in Lowndes County has allowed the company the diversification to keep its operations warm in preparation for hot wars.

- Jordan Green

NORTH CAROLINA STATE PROFILE

At first glance, people might assume that the military provides a lot for North Carolina. It is, after all, home to 13 active-duty military installations, including Camp Lejeune, Fort Bragg, Pope Air Force Base and Seymour-Johnson Air Force base, none of them training and doctrine bases, logistical side shows, or research and development backwaters. All of them are front-line outfits, containing a tactical air wing, a Marine division, a paratroop division, a major military airlift command component, and a goodly share of the Special Operations troops we hear so much

Top 10 North Carolina defense contractors in 2001			
	Company & location of contract work	Company HQ	Cumulative amount
1	SAFT American Inc.	Valdese	\$150,000,000
2	Caddell Construction Co. Inc.; Fort Bragg	Montgomery, AL	\$80,264,000
3	Powerware Corp.	Raleigh	\$76,024,415
4	Bell-Boeing Joint Program; New River, Jacksonville	Patuxent River, MD	\$67,028,463
5	KCA Corp.; Fort Bragg	Hopkinsville, KY	\$41,511,065
6	BL Harbert International LLC; Fort Bragg	Birmingham, AL	\$41,000,000
7	Hunt Building Corp.; Marine Corps Air Station, Cherry Point	El Paso, TX	\$35,950,000
8	Seagoing Uniform; Wadesboro, Robersonville	Marshall	\$18,794,051
9	Novo Nordisk Pharmaceuticals Inc.; Clayton	Princeton, NJ	\$14,906,599
10	Bean Stuyvesant; Wilmington	New Orleans, LA	\$11,970,000

Total amount of prime contracts to North Carolina companies in 2001	\$587,578,469
Rank for troops stationed per capita	6
Rank for defense dependency	44
Contract dollars per capita	\$73
Change in contract amount from 1995 to 2000	-11%
North Carolina Senate delegation's 2000 Peace Action voting record:	
Sen. Jesse Helms (Republican)	0%
Sen. John Edwards (Democrat)	44%

about in the news these days. North Carolina has the fourth highest number of active duty military personnel in the United States.

But looks are deceiving. In fact, most of the active-duty military in North Carolina pay taxes in another state, most of the big contractors are repatriating their profits to out-of-state headquarters, and the military personnel economy (as opposed to the military production economy) leaves communities not stronger, but far more vulnerable to the ebb and flow of those personnel

when they respond to the National Command Authority's call to deploy.

Of the top ten military contractors in North Carolina, seven were from out of state. Saft American, with \$150 million, is native. So are Powerware Corporation of Raleigh, with \$76 million in contracts, and Seagoing Uniform, with \$18.8 million. Total for North Carolina: \$245 million. The remaining \$302 million went to

Most people think these contracts are competitive. However, 97 percent of military contracts are non-competitive, and therefore subject to heavy political influence.

Caddell Construction of Montgomery, Alabama; Bell-Boeing of Patuxent River, Maryland; KCA Corporation of Hopkinsville, Kentucky; BL Harbert International of Birmingham, Alabama; Hunt Building Corporation of El Paso, Texas; Novo Nordisk Pharmaceuticals of Princeton, New Jersey; and Bean Stuyvesant of New Orleans. That balance might change soon, if Research Triangle Institute gets what it's angling for: an extensive research contract to produce "virtual domain replication"

In North Carolina

North Carolina troops are among the first activated when the United States goes to war, including the Fort Bragg-based Special Forces and the 26th Marine Expeditionary Unit from Camp Lejeune, which have both seen heavy action in Afghanistan.

computer software to train Air Force pilots, tank operators and other modern war fighters.

Most people think these contracts are

competitive. However 97 percent of military contracts are non-competitive, and therefore subject to heavy political influence.

While much of the contractor profit is repatriated elsewhere, there are still all those troops, almost 90,000 of them in North Carolina on active duty with the best job security available today, and they all have paychecks to spend. Aren't they a boon to local economies?

Well, yes and no. The chambers of commerce in military communities find themselves on the horns of a dilemma. They fight hard for more dollars to go to the Department of Defense in order to catch the fat crumbs falling off that table. But when the political rulers in Washington decide it's time to have them do what they they're trained to do, it makes the camp-follower entrepreneurs very nervous. When the troops are deployed overseas, communities that are dependent on the consumer spending of military personnel suffer. (See "The Company In the Company Town" by Catherine Lutz on pg. 19)

North Carolina's military-community economies are very fragile. Taking seven metropolitan areas in North Carolina, a pattern of service economy dependence emerges in those tied to military bases. Two of those cities, Fayetteville (Fort Bragg-Pope Air Force Base) and Jacksonville (Camp Lejeune Marine Corps Base), are adjacent to very substantial troop concentrations; another, Goldsboro, is near Seymour-Johnson Air Force Base. The rest are civilian communities, including Charlotte, the Triangle area, Asheville, and Rocky Mount. Combining the total number of jobs from sales, retail and food service, divided by the total

number of jobs in the production sector, a picture emerges of base economies highly dependent on inputs like military paychecks.

Rocky Mount had the least dependency on the service sector, with a roughly one-to-one ratio of service to production jobs, with Charlotte, and the Triangle somewhat more service-dependent. In Goldsboro, the ratio of service to production jobs is more than three-to-one, while Fayetteville is five-to-four, and Jacksonville is a whopping eight-to-one. There is a very strong correlation between the military-to-civilian population ratio and dependence on the unstable service sector economy.

The evidence is reinforced by the experience of Fayetteville from August 1990 to February 1991, when most of Fort Bragg was sent off to Operation Desert Storm in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Iraq. Home sales dropped 40 percent. Retail sales dropped 7.3 percent. Unemployment leaped from 3.5 to 6 percent. Bankruptcies increased by a staggering 35.7 percent, and car sales fell 22.4 percent. Businesses closed on virtually every block of Fayetteville. When the troops returned, there was a manic party

atmosphere for days, not on the base, but in Fayetteville itself.

When the troops returned, there was a manic party atmosphere for days, not on the base, but in Fayetteville itself.

Retiring Senator Jesse Helms is the ranking minority member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and exerts a unilateralist pressure on U.S. policy towards Latin America and the Caribbean, expressing open hostility towards international accords and United Nations resolutions. Helms

scored 0 percent in Peace Action's 2000 voting scorecard, underlining his loyalty to the military lobby. Junior Senator John Edwards qualifies as a foreign policy moderate with his 44 percent score. Befitting a state whose military economy is comprised of food service and construction contracts, the defense industry plays a minimal role in underwriting Helms' and Edwards' political careers.

That said, North Carolinians have been very influential on the military. Fort Bragg entered a period of rapid ascendancy after the end of the Cold War, when military doctrine had to be re-tooled from its obsolete emphasis on conventional mechanized warfare to a new global strategic reality that included the flexibility of Special Operations, for whom Fort

Bragg is Mecca. Bragg itself became a beehive of new construction, and Special Operations budgets, traditionally very lean through the Cold War, were suddenly bursting. Colin Powell, the smooth Pentagon technocrat, was replaced as Chair of the Joint Chiefs by Tarboro native and North Carolina State graduate Hugh Shelton, who cut his teeth on light infantry craft and was baptized in battle in parachute infantry platoons and Special Forces teams.

Now the Bush administration needs them for their secretive wars to restructure the imperial architecture, so perhaps North Carolina will provide the soldiers again.

– Stan Goff

SOUTH CAROLINA STATE PROFILE

South Carolina's defense industry is clustered along the I-85 high-tech corridor – connecting the state commercially with Atlanta and Richmond, Virginia – with the largest contracts going to Lockheed Martin Tactical Systems' Greenville outpost and Honeywell Engines & Systems' plant in Greer. Both companies are out-of-state investors, based in Eagan, Minnesota and Phoenix, Arizona, respectively. Lockheed Martin and Honeywell's operations, which run the gamut from guidance and positioning systems to engine parts, have benefited from generous corporate tax breaks.

The Lockheed Martin Aircraft & Logistics Center in Greenville found a secure berth in the new war economy when the lucrative Joint Strike Fighter contract was announced last October, humming to life again after weathering cuts to fighter jet programs in the 1990s. The facility provides maintenance and logistics support for Lockheed

Martin, which also has maintenance centers in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, and Guangzhou, China.

The war economy has spilled over into the research budget of nearby Clemson University, which landed a contract of nearly \$10 million from the Defense Department in September. Since September 11, military technology has gained new prestige,

In South Carolina

The Navy and Air Force are respectively the second and third biggest employers in the Charleston metropolitan area, after the Medical University of South Carolina.

Top 10 South Carolina defense contractors in 2001			
	Company & location of contract work	Company HQ	Cumulative amount
1	Lockheed Martin Tactical Systems; Greenville	Eagan, MN	\$94,626,714
2	Honeywell International Inc. Honeywell Inc., Engines & Systems; Greer Honeywell International, Greer	Morristown, NJ Phoenix, AZ Tempe, AZ	\$70,973,276 \$47,450,194 \$23,523,082
3	FN Manufacturing Inc.	Columbia	\$52,434,115
4	United Defense LP; Aiken	York, PA	\$44,322,419
5	PYA Monarch Inc.; Walterboro	Lexington	\$27,500,000
6	AAI Engineering Support Inc.; Summerville	Hunt Valley, MD	\$18,808,556
7	Medlin Construction Group; Charleston Air Force Base	San Antonio, TX	\$11,575,000
8	Charleston Marine Container Inc.	Charleston	\$10,357,685
9	Clemson University	Clemson	\$9,993,250
10	Darlington Inc.; Wando	Arlington, VA	\$9,644,362

Total amount of prime contracts to South Carolina companies in 2001	\$110,301,645
Rank for troops stationed per capita	-89%
Rank for defense dependency	48
Contract dollars per capita	\$27
Change in contract amount from 1995 to 2000	5%
South Carolina Senate delegation's 2000 Peace Action voting record:	
Sen. Strom Thurmond (Republican)	0%
Sen. Fritz Hollings (Democrat)	22%

urgency, and funding. The Clemson research focuses on nano-technology, a blend of physics, chemistry, and material science. The university hopes to produce a veiling substance to give combat aircraft greater stealth, further insulating U.S. bombers from the carnage of war on the ground.

Then there is South Carolina's old-guard nuclear defense production. The Savannah River Plant near Aiken dates back to 1950.

Last October, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission released a letter vindicating black workers who claimed to have experienced discrimination at Westinghouse Savannah River Co., a nuclear weapons maker that leases the site from the Department of Energy. The letter on behalf of 99 complainants proved a minor irritant to Westinghouse, which has been insulated by a U.S. district judge's refusal to grant class-action status to the workers.

The facility has had a troubled history of causing health problems and public safety concerns. In 1997, disabled Savannah River worker Freddie Fulmer told *The (Nashville) Tennessean*, "It's like the devil has been let loose in my body," summing up his ailments of degenerative joint and spine disease, kidney problems, and an inexplicable disorder that causes his immune system to attack his internal organs.

A newer player is DynCorp Technical Services, a

diversified military services firm that has made a rapid ascension in the defense contracting business since the end of the Gulf War. The Reston, Virginia-based company best known for its role in the

Ironically, given its secessionist legacy, service in the U.S. military is a virtual requirement for any South Carolinian with political aspirations.

fumigation of illegal coca crops in Colombia, has contracted with the Defense Department to maintain the Air Force's "pre-positioned war reserves" in the Middle East, along with its complimentary domestic supply stock at Shaw Air Force Base near Sumter.

Charleston reflects the legacy of onetime Republican House

Armed Services chair L. Mendel Rivers who brought the air force base, a naval base, a Polaris missile maintenance training center, a naval shipyard and ballistic training station, a naval hospital, a coast guard station, a mine warfare center, and the Sixth Naval District headquarters there in the 1960s.

South Carolina has never been quite the powerhouse in the defense economy that its neighbors Virginia and Florida are. It does have a sizeable population of troops, with 38,000 active-duty military personnel, many of them fresh Marine Corps recruits reporting to Parris Island for basic training. In addition, there are more than 38,000 reserve and National Guard based in South Carolina.

While economic boosters in Atlanta were frantically securing a military aircraft industry during World War II for "the city too busy to hate," South Carolina was ill placed to lobby for its share of the domestic war spoils, dominated as it was by a recalcitrant elite hostile towards federal intervention. Strom Thurmond's campaign for president in 1948 as a States Rights Democrat – which nearly cost the Democratic Party the presidency – at the crucial moment when political-military interests were gelling, is emblematic of the state's troubled relationship with the federal government.

Thurmond has since gained renown as the U.S. Senate's oldest member at the ripe age of 99, but he has little ability to direct defense-spending largesse to South Carolina, out-ranked as he is on the

Armed Services Committee by Senator John Warner of the state's rich cousin to the north, Virginia.

South Carolina's junior senator, Fritz Hollings, touts himself as the state's "first progressive governor" (through the contentious civil rights years from 1958 to 1966), but in the U.S. Senate he tends to be hawkish, along with his elder colleague.

With only sporadic efforts at electrification and paved road completion before World War II, due to the jealous sectionalism of local elites, South Carolina is more aptly described as a military-base economy than a military-armaments economy. Ironically, given its secessionist legacy, service in the U.S. military is a virtual requirement for any South Carolinian with political aspirations. (Both Thurmond and Hollings are veterans of World War II.)

In fact, South Carolina's main contribution to the military effort is in training and deploying troops. At one end of the spectrum is the Citadel in Charleston, one of the most decorous military colleges in the country. At the other end, there are the Air Force pilots at Charleston Air Force Base making supply drops to the ground troops in Afghanistan. True to its motto, South Carolina is "prepared in spirit and resources."

– Jordan Green

TENNESSEE STATE PROFILE

Many states now are struggling to balance their budget, but Tennessee, without the cushion of an income tax, is hit harder than most. The state is almost totally reliant on its 6 percent sales tax, which sufficed when manufacturing was the leading contributor to the gross state product. But with the exception of the defense industry, which has remained relatively constant, manufacturing has declined in the past few years – NAFTA alone has cost 25,000 Tennessee manufacturing jobs – and been surpassed by the un-taxable service industry, compounding the effects of the slowing economy.

Sales tax can remain adequate only if the state guts already lacking social programs, and particularly vulnerable is the expensive TennCare health insurance program, often used as a scapegoat for politicians to avoid dealing with the true causes of the state's budget problems. Tennessee's economy ranks 45th in the nation, considering factors such as employment growth, households living in poverty, and salaries, with over half of the state's high-growth jobs paying poverty wages.

Top 10 Tennessee defense contractors in 2001			
	Company & location of contract work	Company HQ	Cumulative amount
1	Sverdrup Technology Inc.	Tulahoma	\$307,954,174
2	Federal Express Charter Program Teaming Arrangement	Memphis	\$182,449,534
3	CH2M Hill Inc.	Oak Ridge	\$35,000,000
4	Royal Ordnance North America Inc.	Kingsport	\$32,346,190
5	IT Corp.	Knoxville	\$25,000,000
6	Williams Alaska Petroleum; Memphis	Tulsa, OK	\$16,520,800
7	American Ordnance LLC	Milan	\$16,433,865
8	Kilgore Flares Co. LLC	Toone	\$12,185,046
9	Power Manufacturing Co., Covington	Atoka	\$11,225,347
10	Camel Manufacturing Co.	Pioneer	\$10,000,000

Total amount of prime contracts to Tennessee companies in 2001	\$850,877,993
Rank for troops stationed per capita	15
Rank for defense dependency	32
Contract dollars per capita	\$150
Change in contract amount from 1995 to 2000	-1%
Tennessee Senate delegation's 2000 Peace Action voting record:	
Sen. Bill Frist (Republican)	0%
Sen. Fred Thompson (Republican)	11%

Because of the relatively low cost of labor, power, and raw materials, private industries are particularly attracted to Tennessee, a state emblematic of the national privatization trend. Memphis, Nashville, Chattanooga and Knoxville are the state's main industrial centers, but as a rule the eastern part of the state is the most highly industrialized. Eastern Tennessee is a prime example of the trend in industrial site selection of choosing manufacturing locations in rural communities, where there is an abundance of space and a cheap, plentiful workforce.

Republican Senators Fred Thompson and Bill Frist help maintain the state's militarism, both scoring low in Peace Action's 2000 voting record scorecard, with respective

In Tennessee
 Tennessee's biggest military contractor is Sverdrup Technology, a union-busting firm that was charged with inflating overhead costs to defraud NASA last September.

records of 11 and 0 percent. These men were instrumental in securing millions of dollars for Tennessee companies in the 2002 Defense Appropriations bill. The funding provides \$54 million for the publicly-owned, privately-operated Army Ammunitions plants in Milan and Kingsport, and will go towards manufacturing ammunition and armor tiles for vehicles.

Included in these contracts is a \$16.4 million contract with the Milan plant's American Ordnance, awarded post-September 11 to supply machine gun rounds for the Army. This contract followed a federal order earlier that year that created 149 new jobs and allowed the plant to call back 140 workers that had been laid off. Although ammunition is a consistently large defense procurement in Tennessee, the business of the Army Ammunition plants has suffered severely since the end of the Cold War.

Frist and Thompson also secured \$116 million for Tennessee's major military installations in the 2002 Military Construction Appropriation Act. There is \$67 million for projects in Fort Campbell, just across the Kentucky state line, which impacts the economy of nearby Clarksville, in Tennessee. The legislation also includes \$24 million for projects at Arnold Air Force Base (AFB) in Tullahoma, \$21 million for Tennessee National Guard projects and \$4 million for the Millington naval facility near Memphis.

Operated by Arnold Engineering Development Center (AEDC), the world's largest flight simulation complex is regarded as a model of successful outsourcing by the Department of Defense. The AEDC is the largest employer in both its home of Coffee County and neighboring Franklin County, employing almost 3,000 people. Arnold AFB's personnel mix is unique in that less than 10 percent are government employees. Two prime contractors employ the vast majority of workers: Sverdrup Technology, a subsidiary of Jacobs Engineering Group; and to a lesser extent, Aerospace Center Support.

Sverdrup Technology provides scientific and engineering services, weapon systems development, research and test facility design, construction, operation, and maintenance. In 2001, Sverdrup received the majority of Tennessee's Defense Department prime contract dollars, as well as winning the single largest defense contract in the state, valued at \$195 million. The contract provides technical, engineering and acquisition support for test programs at Eglin Air Force Base in Florida.

Sverdrup's other major contract in 2001 (\$113 million) also provides work primarily outside of Tennessee. Sverdrup has been charged with union busting in the past, but it won't lose the support of Tullahoma's U.S. Representative Van Hilleary, who sits on the House Armed Services Committee and

its Subcommittee on Readiness. Hilleary has the AFL-CIO's lowest labor voting record among the state's representatives, most of whom also vote anti-labor, but still - at seven percent - scores higher than both senators.

In August 2001, Sverdrup settled with the U.S. government for \$2.5 million to resolve allegations that it defrauded the government while contracting with NASA in 1994 by inflating overhead expenses. In a similar 1998 settlement, Aerostructures Corp. (then Textron Aerostructures), based in Nashville, was forced to pay the U.S. government \$9.8 million on charges that it submitted inflated labor costs in the construction of the B-1B Bomber for the Air Force in the 1980s.

Chattanooga-based Heil Trailer International's employment practices reinforce the notion that the military state is buttressed by patriarchy. In December 2001, it settled a sex-discrimination lawsuit filed by the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission on behalf of 100-200 women who were allegedly denied entry-level welding jobs in the 1990s. Yet, Heil's \$250,000 settlement is negligible compared to the five-year \$82 million Defense Department contract awarded the same week.

Until its closure in 1997, the Memphis Defense Depot provided material support to the U.S. military services. The depot also conducted numerous operations dealing with hazardous substances, operating a secret military dump for dangerous toxins and hazardous waste that contaminated the air, soil and water of its unsuspecting neighbors, low-income black communities, in a classic case of environmental racism. The Defense Depot Memphis Tennessee-Concerned Citizens' Committee is fighting back, educating residents about the injustices the Defense Department has inflicted upon black people in Memphis living near the federal facilities.

The National Priorities Project estimates that the United States could save \$40 billion each year if it stays within the current generation of sophisticated weapons systems, cuts nuclear weapons to no more than 1,000, cuts back deployment in Europe and continues research and development programs on new technology rather than introduce it into the force. Tennessee's share of this \$40 billion is \$847 million, which is enough money to provide health care for every uninsured child in the state, provide Head Start for 15,520 more children, build 3,328 affordable housing units and provide \$241 million to rebuild schools.

- Rachael Young

★ TEXAS STATE PROFILE

The name practically says it all: Fort Worth. The North Texas cattle town, which in the 19th century helped secure the conquest of the West, finds itself in the 21st century at the vanguard of America's global military dominance. Last October, Lockheed Martin Corp. landed the lucrative Joint Strike Fighter contract to make the next generation of fighter jets in Fort Worth. At \$20 billion, it's the largest defense payout in history, making Fort Worth the most defense-rich metropolitan area in the country.

The political clout of the Lone Star State has been



Texas Senator
Kay Bailey Hutchison

notable since a construction company named Brown & Root Services propelled Lyndon Johnson to the U.S. Senate in 1948. When Johnson found himself in the White House 15 years later with the Vietnam intervention escalating, Brown & Root got the contracts for troop bases, and Bell Helicopter Textron started churning out the infamous UH-1 "Huey" assault helicopters from their plant in

Fort Worth. Brown & Root is now a subsidiary of Halliburton Co., whose former CEO Dick Cheney is the vice president.

Now another Texas political dynasty has asserted itself on the national stage in the incarnation of the Bush family - whose deep

connections to the energy and defense industry in Texas no doubt helped Halliburton lap up the lucrative "logistics capacity" contract to

In Texas

In October 2001, Lockheed Martin Corp. won the contract to build the Joint Strike Fighter, worth a total of \$200 billion, making it the largest defense contract in history. Most of the work will take place Lockheed Martin's Aeronautics division in Fort Worth.

provide troop and base support for the "anti-terrorism" campaign through the next nine years.

No state quite rivals Texas for its confluence of military-corporate influence and political power. Former Secretary of State and Bush's Florida legal strategist James Baker is the namesake of the influential James Baker Institute for Policy Studies at Rice University in Houston, which formulates U.S. petroleum diplomacy for the Middle East. But

Top 10 Texas defense contractors in 2001			
	Company & location of contract work	Company HQ	Cumulative amount
1	Lockheed Martin Corp. Aeronautics Lockheed Martin Corp. Missiles & Fire Control; Grand Prairie, Dallas, Horizon City Tactical Aircraft Systems Services; Corpus Christi, Kingsville	Bethesda, MD	\$15,814,457,494
		Fort Worth	\$12,813,223,707
		Fort Worth; Marietta, GA	\$2,536,693,606
		Grand Prairie	\$316,204,332
2	Karta Technologies Inc.	San Antonio	\$1,500,000,000
3	Equilon Enterprises LLC; Deer Park	Houston	\$408,823,627
4	Stewart & Stevenson, Tactical Vehicles Division	Sealy	\$384,347,330
5	Raytheon Co. Raytheon Aircraft Co.; Laughlin Air Force Base Raytheon Co.; Arlington, Plano, McKinney, Waco Command, Control, Communication & Information Systems; Waco Raytheon Systems Co.; Premont, Waco, McKinney Raytheon Support Services; King Ranch, Escondido Ranch, El Paso Aerospace; Laughlin Air Force Base Electronics Systems; El Paso	Lexington, MA	\$339,780,892
		Wichita, KS	\$193,250,689
		Arlington, McKinney	\$110,461,603
		Huntsville, AL	\$40,744,032
		McKinney; Sudbury, MA	\$181,213,337
		Burlington, MA	\$3,606,984
6	L3 Communications	Arlington	\$333,333,333
7	Litton Systems Inc. (Northrop Grumman Corp.) Litton Systems Inc., Electro-Optical Systems; Garland, Dallas Litton Systems Inc.; Garland	Los Angeles, CA	\$277,184,724
		Dallas; Tempe, AZ	\$272,184,724
		Dallas	\$5,000,000
8	IBM Global Government Industry, Houston	Boulder, CO	\$250,000,000
9	Valero Marketing & Supply Co.; Texas City	San Antonio	\$244,985,341
10	ExxonMobil Fuels Marketing Co.; Baytown & Beaumont	Fairfax, VA	\$241,818,978

Total amount of prime contracts to Texas companies in 2001	\$27,886,859,856
Rank for troops stationed per capita	15
Rank for defense dependency	5
Contract dollars per capita	\$1,337
Change in contract amount from 1995 to 2000	34%
Texas Senate delegation's 2000 Peace Action voting record:	
Sen. Phil Gramm (Republican)	11%
Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison (Republican)	0%

energy money plays a more distinct role in propelling Texas political elites now than defense, with President Bush receiving \$736,800 from Enron Corp. since 1993.

Both of Texas' senators, Phil Gramm and Kay Bailey Hutchison, are loyal militarists, scoring 11 percent and 0 percent respectively on Peace Action's 2000 voting record scorecard. Gramm was also a major beneficiary of Enron's largesse. (His wife, Wendy, is the former chair of the Commodity Futures Trading Commission, a position she used

to show favor towards the collapsed energy giant of whose board she currently serves on as a director.)

Hutchison, a resident of Dallas, plays a powerful role in north Texas' defense industry as the ranking Republican on the Commerce Committee's Subcommittee on Aviation. Her primary political patrons are the gas and oil industries. House Majority Whip Tom Delay carries water for the utilities and banking industries.

Texas is a seedbed for the armed forces. Nearly one out of 100 people in the state is in active-duty military service. Military installations continue to dominate the social and economic realities of the state. Fort Hood's military population dwarfs the nearby town of Killeen where major ground force hardware rumbles across the central Texas prairie in mock battle. Fort Bliss, near El Paso, covers a geographical area larger than the state of Rhode Island. There are 108,835 active-duty military personnel in Texas, and 84,721 national guard and reservists.

Military dollars have seeped into the university system, with University of Texas at Austin's Applied Research Laboratories receiving \$291 million from the Defense Department in 2001, ranking it third in the nation. The Applied Research Laboratories are practically a research and development arm of the Pentagon, where they reap the benefits of the states' publicly-funded education systems to apprentice top engineering students in the private sector.

Texas defense companies are heavily integrated into the global security apparatus, which has dire implications for human rights under authoritarian U.S. client states. In July 2000, Fort Worth-based Bell Helicopter Textron announced a partnership with Tusa Aerospace Industries in Ankara to produce attack helicopters. The initial deal was worth \$1.5 billion. A 1996 Amnesty International

report noted that US-made helicopters were used by the Turkish armed forces against Kurdish villages "during which disappearances occurred."

This followed a 1999 sale of 16 Bell 412 helicopters to the Royal Saudi Air Force, and of eight UH-1 "Huey II" helicopter upgrade kits to the Colombian government, which has been tied to paramilitary massacres of union leaders, peasant groups and guerilla sympathizers.

This past December, Lockheed Martin won a

contract to sell Israel 52 F-16 fighter jets – also made in Fort Worth, which have been used continuously by the Israeli Air Force to bomb Palestinian cities since the beginning of the Al-Aksa Intifada.

In a recent development just as troubling, Fort Worth-based DynCorp International received a defense contract of \$120 million on January 15 to “provide for all personnel, equipment ... to perform forward operating locations, base operating support services in support of the U.S. Southern Command’s aerial counterdrug surveillance mission in Aruba, Curacao, and Ecuador.” These locations surround Colombia, and the timing of the contract coincides with the launching of an all-out war against the communist rebels there.

The choice of DynCorp as a company to outsource this operation is curious: former employees like Texan Ben Johnson have come forward alleging the company tried to cover up a sex slavery racket in Bosnia run by supervisors and employees alike.

This weight of military-political power does not go unopposed in the Lone Star State though. Austin, with a longstanding counter-cultural history going back to the Johnson era, is mobilized against the “anti-terrorist” war under the auspices of Austin Against War. Likewise, Houston Non-Violent Action has taken on much of the organizing work there. In both cities, Independent Media Centers serve as a vital conduit of information and alternative media coverage.

In San Antonio, the Southwest Workers Union (SWU) has been instrumental in a struggle to get the Defense Department to clean up the contaminated Kelly Air Force Base, which closed in July 2001. SWU’s Committee for Environmental Justice Action claimed a victory in getting three jet fuel storage tanks removed from Kelly, which threatened the environmental health of nearby communities.

Texas anti-imperialists have found an unlikely ally in Republican Representative Ron Paul from the Gulf Coast area, who has spoken out against the persecution of dissent at home and voted against bombing Iraq last December.

“A policy driven by our fear of losing control over the oil fields in the Middle East has not contributed to American security,” Paul told his colleagues in the House at the end of September 2001. “Too many powerful special interests drive our policy in this region, and this does little to help us preserve security for Americans here at home.”

– Jordan Green

★ VIRGINIA STATE PROFILE

Forty years ago, the Hampton Roads area on Virginia’s southeastern coast was little more than a patch of hog farms with the twinkling lights of nearby Norfolk beckoning to a sailor’s paradise of tattoo parlors and honky tonks. But a steady stream of military dollars since World War II has irreversibly changed that.

Northrop Grumman’s Newport News Shipbuilding anchors a defense installation that, combined with Langley Air Force Base in Hampton, and the Army’s Fort Belvoir Administrative and Logistical Support Center, comprises what the Defense Department terms the nation’s “largest concentration of military might.”



Virginia Senator
John Warner

Newport News Shipbuilding began in 1882 when railroad magnate Collis P. Huntington established a modest shipyard to repair ships serving the transportation hub of his Chesapeake and Ohio railroad trains, which ran coal from the Ohio valley to the Chesapeake Bay. The first shipyard was chartered as Chesapeake Dry Dock and Construction Company in 1886.

In the military buildup preceding the First World War, the company bulked up to meet the demands of war-hungry hawks, who felt the lure of claiming a global manifest destiny with battleships. (In 1910, Eugene Ely had championed national defense innovation when he “proved the feasibility of the aircraft carrier” and piloted his Curtiss-Hudson plane off the cruiser Birmingham.) Between 1918 and 1920, employment topped out at 12,000. In 1943, well into the next war, Newport News made hay while the war sun shone, and

boosted its employment rolls to 50,000.

It was in 1954, in the thick of the Cold War, that the company’s future calling

In Virginia

In November 2001, Northrop Grumman Corp. acquired Newport News Shipbuilding for \$2.1 billion, making it the world’s largest builder of naval ships.

would begin to take shape as the company, working with Westinghouse and the Navy, developed a prototype nuclear reactor for a carrier propulsion system. On the heels of this advance came the first nuclear-powered supercarrier,

Top 10 Virginia defense contractors in 2001			
	Company & location of contract work	Company HQ	Cumulative amount
1	Newport News Shipbuilding (Northrop Grumman Corp.)	Newport News (Los Angeles, CA)	\$5,340,461,554
2	Seta Corp.	McLean	\$1,500,000,000
3	CH2M Hill	Herndon	\$598,000,000
4	Amec Construction Management; Pentagon, Arlington	Bethesda, MD	\$545,000,000
5	Lockheed Martin Corp. Technology Service Group; Chesapeake Naval Electronics & Surveillance Systems; Manassas, Reston & Dahlgren Mission Systems; Manassas, Springfield Lockheed Martin Corp., Fort Belvoir Lockheed Martin Services Inc.; Norfolk Management & Data Systems; Manassas, Dahlgren Undersea Systems Missile & Space; Gainesville	Bethesda, MD	\$533,244,482
		Cherry Hill, NJ	\$210,942,078
		Manassas; Moorestown, NJ	\$189,828,498
		Manassas, Springfield	\$43,796,588
		Fairfax	\$38,971,602
		Cherry Hill, NJ Philadelphia, PA	\$26,503,557 \$12,343,254
6	General Dynamics Land Systems, Amphibious Systems Subsidiary Electronic Systems, Joint Command and Control, Communications, Computers, and Intelligence Surveillance Battle Center; Suffolk General Dynamics Corp.; Tidewater	Falls Church	\$457,440,089
		Woodbridge	\$420,586,654
		Chesapeake	\$31,233,585
		Needham Heights, MA	\$5,619,850
7	North American Airlines Contractor Team; Sterling, Herndon	Sterling	\$372,582,081
8	Science Application International Corp. Science Applications International Corp., Technology Services Co.; Reston Science Applications International Corp.; McLean, Crystal City, Arlington	San Diego, CA	\$340,097,121
		Reston	\$232,267,739
		Arlington	\$107,829,382
9	NLX Co.	Sterling	\$333,000,000
10	Booz Allen & Hamilton Inc.; McLean, Fort Lee, Chesapeake, Fairfax, Arlington, Falls Church	McLean, Falls Church; Lexington Park, MD	\$325,863,330

Total amount of prime contracts to Virginia companies in 2001	\$20,944,218,859
Rank for troops stationed per capita	5
Rank for defense dependency	1
Contract dollars per capita	\$2,959
Change in contract amount from 1995 to 2000	12%
Virginia Senate delegation's 2000 Peace Action voting record:	
Sen. John Warner (Republican)	0%
Sen. Charles Robb (Democrat) defeated	44%

Enterprise, called the "largest, most powerful, most modern ship of all time."

Newport News' century-old shipbuilding operation was acquired last November by Northrop Grumman, thanks to some deft behind-the-scenes maneuvering by Republican Senate Minority Leader Trent Lott, whose home state of

Mississippi is beholden to the California defense giant for jobs at Ingalls Shipbuilding. Lott leaned on his old friend from the Senate, Attorney General John Ashcroft, to block rival General Dynamics' bid for Newport News. Ironically, Lott made the case that General Dynamics, the hometown favorite with corporate headquarters in Falls Church, would be anti-competitive. For his dutiful legwork Lott has been rewarded with \$11,000 from Northrop Grumman in the current campaign cycle.

So much for competition. Northrop Grumman now owns shipbuilding operations in Newport News, New Orleans, and Pascagoula, Mississippi. And Lott has a little more leverage to keep some of the contracts in his economically-beleaguered home state.

The Hampton Roads area – as is dubbed the urban amalgamation of Norfolk, Newport News, Chesapeake, and Portsmouth – is home to 110,000 military personnel, 40,000 civilian employees, and 50,000 military retirees whose paychecks and pensions come out of Defense Department payroll.

The area is the home port of nearly three quarters of the 194 ships assigned to the U.S. Air Force, and home base to 49 aircraft squadrons. In 1993, the Hampton Roads area became home to the U.S. Joint Command. Norfolk itself, a smallish city of 1.5 million, is the headquarters of the Allied Command Atlantic, the senior military authority for NATO land, sea and air forces in the North Atlantic area in the United States.

Military contracting is not a mere industry in Hampton Roads; it's an institution. The Hampton Roads area is the fifth richest metropolitan area in military contracts. But for sheer dollar amount, the Hampton Roads area can't compete with the military largesse bestowed on the northern Virginia suburbs of Washington, where high-tech firms like Seta Corp. and security-force-for-hire outfits like DynCorp cluster around the Pentagon in Arlington and the CIA in McLean. (DynCorp

has recently been named as a defendant in a class-action lawsuit filed on behalf of Ecuadorian farmers suffering from its spraying of defoliants in the Colombian drug war, and by a former employee who alleges the company is involved in child prostitution in Bosnia.) Last year, the northern Virginia suburbs accounted for over \$12.5

billion of the Defense Department's contracting dollars.

And the current state of military proliferation seems poised for massive re-concentration: military policy researchers note that the number-one trend in defense industry demographics has been steady, seamless consolidation throughout the country. In other words, big military towns are getting bigger.

The House Armed Services Committee was mobbed by Virginia defense industry money in the 1999-2000 election cycle, with Falls Church-based General Dynamics pitching in \$201,707 and Newport News Shipbuilding contributing \$190,554. The top contributor to members of the House Armed Services Committee was Lockheed Martin, with \$212,834. (Lockheed Martin is Virginia's fifth largest military contractor, not to mention a defense giant in Georgia, Florida, and Texas.)

Over the past two election cycles, Virginia's congressional delegation has received just short of \$400,000 in campaign contributions from defense-related companies.

Aside from the "dollars-for-democracy" policymaking of the defense establishment, Virginia is infused with a military culture that gives the state's representatives a natural ease in assuming positions of leadership. Senator John Warner, a veteran of World War II, makes his stance plain. "The Senator has always acknowledged his gratefulness for the opportunity to serve with, and work on behalf of, the men and women of the armed forces," his publicity material reads. "He owes his college and law education to a grateful nation that provided G.I. Bill opportunities to millions of veterans during that period."

Altogether, the relationship of Virginia's military contractors with the federal government constitutes a well-oiled machine. With Warner sitting on the Senate Armed Services Committee (under his chair, the Committee increased military pay by a full 8 percent), it's a machine that will be lovingly maintained for years to come.

— Erin Callahan & Jordan Green

★ WEST VIRGINIA STATE PROFILE

As combatants in the Vietnam War, West Virginia soldiers suffered more casualties per capita than in any other state in the union. Like Native Americans, Puerto Ricans, and blacks –

groups similarly oppressed by de facto colonialism – young men from the Appalachian region surged into the armed forces to escape the intense pressures of poverty and were often the fiercest warriors.

But the perks of a military economy – capital formation, private wealth, a diversified economy, and a steady stream of defense dollars – have bypassed the "wild and wonderful" state. With no

major military bases and less than \$10 million in defense contracts going to out-of-state investors, West Virginia's main export is warm bodies to fight U.S. wars in far-flung locales.

In 1971, the largest defense contractor in West Virginia was Occidental Petroleum (chaired by then recently retired liberal senator Albert Gore Sr., father of the

future vice president). Since then, energy companies in the Mountain State have receded from the Pentagon's contract list. As for Occidental Petroleum, the company has curtailed its sales to the Defense Department, focusing on shoring up its drilling operations in Colombia and expanding into the Middle East, areas that are now in the crosshairs of U.S. military intervention.

Only two defense contracts went to projects in West Virginia last year: \$9 million to Strongville, Ohio-based National Engineering and Construction Co. for dam construction in Hinton, and \$595,198 to New York-based Parsons Brinckerhoff for work in Herndon.

In the early 1970s, under the stewardship of then-Senate Majority Whip Robert Byrd, West Virginia began to accumulate a

modest cluster of defense industries with companies like Hercules Inc., the U.S. Aerospace Agency, and Martin-Marietta investing in missile development and testing in the eastern panhandle. Local business boosters were so enthusiastic about the enterprise that they chartered a new town,

Senator Byrd has apparently noted the defense industry's lack of interest in his state, and has developed a relatively dovish legislative record.

In West Virginia
Harry Byrd of West Virginia had the highest Peace Action voting record for 2000 of any senator in the Southern delegation.

Top 3 West Virginia defense contractors in 2001			
	Company & location of contract work	Company HQ	Cumulative amount
1	National Engineering & Construction Co.; Hinton	Strongville, OH	\$9,206,700
2	Alliant Techsystems Inc., Allegany Ballistics Laboratory	Rocket Center	\$8,569,740
3	Parsons Brinckerhoff/NAMMO DEMIL LLC; Herndon	New York, NY	\$595,198

Total amount of prime contracts to West Virginia companies in 2001	\$8,569,740
Rank for troops stationed per capita	40
Rank for defense dependency	49
Contract dollars per capita	\$5
Change in contract amount from 1995 to 2000	-64%
West Virginia Senate delegation's 2000 Peace Action voting record:	
Sen. Jay Rockefeller (Democrat)	55%
Sen. Henry Byrd (Democrat)	66%

Rocket Center, but lately the contracts have been falling off.

Byrd is still in the Senate, now as chairman of the powerful Appropriations Committee and a senior member of the Armed Services and Rules committees. In consideration of his clout, Byrd received a perfunctory \$5,000 from defense industry political action committees in the 2000 election cycle. West Virginia's senior senator has apparently noted the industry's lack of interest in his state and developed a relatively dovish legislative record, voting 66 percent with Peace Action's agenda.

Last February, the octogenarian senator was the strongest critic of the Bush administration's proposed military spending increase of \$48 billion per year. Byrd told Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, "Practically every weapons systems that's ever been thought of, I've been a supporter of." But now, he said, "We have a budget here

that's going to spend over a billion dollars a day on defense."

To fill the void left by the military-industrial pullout, West Virginia's junior senator, Jay Rockefeller, has taken to traveling to East Asia to lure foreign investment, last December clinching a deal with Mitsubishi Corp. to buy unmanned air vehicles from Aurora Flight Services in Clarksburg.

Rockefeller, as chair of the Veterans' Affairs Committee, has noted the adverse health effects experienced by Gulf War veterans who were exposed to depleted uranium shells – which, according to a spokesperson at the U.S. Central Command, are not being used in the Afghanistan campaign, though Afghan doctors have

observed signs of radioactive poisoning in dying children. In 1998, upon passage of veteran support legislation, Senator Rockefeller acknowledged, "[The U.S. soldier's] pain has been compounded by their difficulty in getting the government they served to acknowledge their problem and provide the care and benefits they deserve." Despite his empathy with the men and women who are burdened with the duty of fighting wars, Rockefeller has expressed his support for Bush's "anti-terrorist" war.

West Virginia's main export is warm bodies to fight U.S. wars in far-flung locales.

– Jordan Green

Contributors

■ Erin Callahan has written for Creative Loafing, Fairfield County Weekly, and Yale Daily News. She is an avid rugby player with the Eno River Women's Rugby Squad.

■ Stan Goff is an organizer with the NC Alliance for Democracy and the NC Network for Popular Democracy.

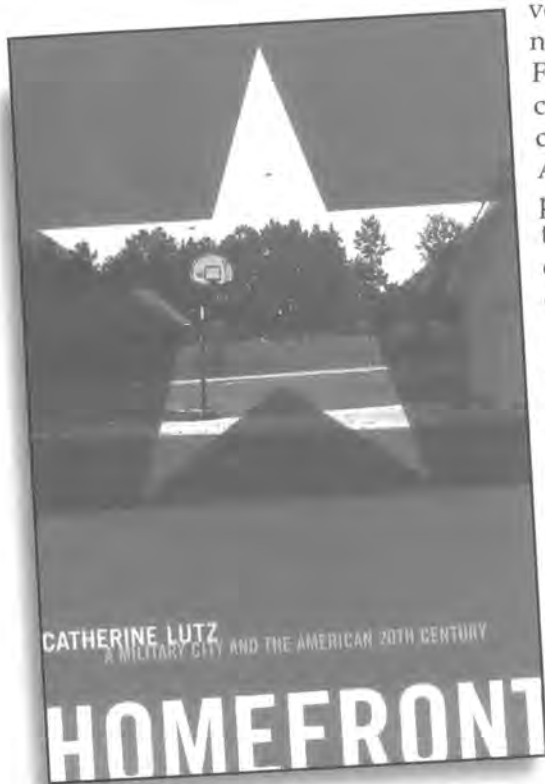
■ Jordan Green is Associate Editor of Southern Exposure.

■ Tara Purohit is Senior Editor of Boiling Point, a political journal at University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

■ Jenny Stepp is an editorial intern with Southern Exposure and is a recent graduate of University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

■ Rachael Young is Editor of Boiling Point.

Recommended Wartime Reading



■ Homefront: A Military City and the American 20th Century

By Catherine Lutz, Beacon,
317 pp. \$28.50

In *Homefront*, UNC Chapel Hill professor Catherine Lutz has given us a detailed portrait of Fayetteville, North Carolina, home to the largest U.S. Army base. (See "The Company in the Company Town," by Catherine Lutz on pg. 19)

As the subtitle remarks, this is a 20th century military city – a civilian community perpetually engaged in preparations for war. But the portrait rendered is striking in its ordinariness. Despite having one of North Carolina's "smallest tax bases,

voter registration rates, and number of sidewalk miles," Fayetteville's civic character contains many of the same complexities as other American cities. The provocative implication is that we have all been, to one degree or another, part of a civilian war mobilization.

Lutz gives us Fayetteville as a microcosm for this larger war economy, taking us through a dizzying array of local cultural changes shaped by U.S. wars abroad, beginning with the base's founding during World War I and its role in displacing Scotch, black, and Native American families against a backdrop of low-intensity race war; continuing through the

larger national anxieties about race through the Second World War; and shifting into a postwar campaign of war games that uneasily coexisted alongside the real-life insurgency of the Civil Rights revolution.

In the Vietnam era, we see the war's social disorders of drug use and prostitution boomerang back on Fayetteville with a vengeance, and reckon with a history of concerted GI resistance that has been largely submerged. Following Vietnam, Lutz shows us how Fayetteville was faced with an awkward restructuring of its service-based economy.

The burning question that drives Lutz is "how

human communities can sustain or question organized violence." More specifically, "How did it come to be that we live in a society made by war and preparations for war?" For answers to this question, readers should see the prolific work of Noam Chomsky, but Lutz poignantly shows us how civilians in the midst of warmaking respond in ways that are sometimes thoughtful, sometimes conflicted, but always evidence of the contested cultural terrain.

– Jordan Green

■ The New Intifada: Resisting Israel's Apartheid

Edited by Roane Carey, Verso,
347 pp. \$20.00

This book brings together an exemplary collection of essays from 21 writers on the uprising launched in September 2000 in



the occupied lands of Palestine. The effects of the Israeli repression and violence against the Palestinians (economic and military) are revealed, as is the mainstream media's (mis)-representation of the issue.

Most powerfully, these essays deconstruct of the myths of the Oslo Accords, revealing that the "peace process" never was a process towards peace, but rather, as Mouin Rabbani asserts, "a process that necessarily leads to separation within the occupied territories under continued Israeli hegemony, as opposed to the partition of Palestine through a comprehensive Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza Strip. In doing so it formalizes arrangements tantamount to apartheid."

The strength of the book is not only in the well-researched studies, but in the inclusion of the voices of the people most affected in this struggle. We hear from "the forgotten people of the camps in Lebanon who do not allow themselves to forget about Palestine," from those in refugee camps in the Occupied Territories, from students enduring constant bombing in a Palestinian town, and from Palestinians within Israel. And, we hear about one of the critical, though all too often ignored crux issues: the right of return of the 5 million Palestinian refugees. We also hear from the Israeli peace movement (though there is no mention of how many of those Israeli peace activists support the right of return of Palestinians).

The book ends with a powerful – though all too short – appeal for organized and sustained activism to liberate Palestinians from occupation and apartheid.

– Rania Masri

■ **Fortress America: The American Military and the Consequences of Peace**

By William Greider, Public
Affairs, 1998,
216 pp. \$10.00

The Nation's national affairs correspondent makes the argument that the U.S. military ought to be reduced in size and re-designed to fit mutual international security objectives.

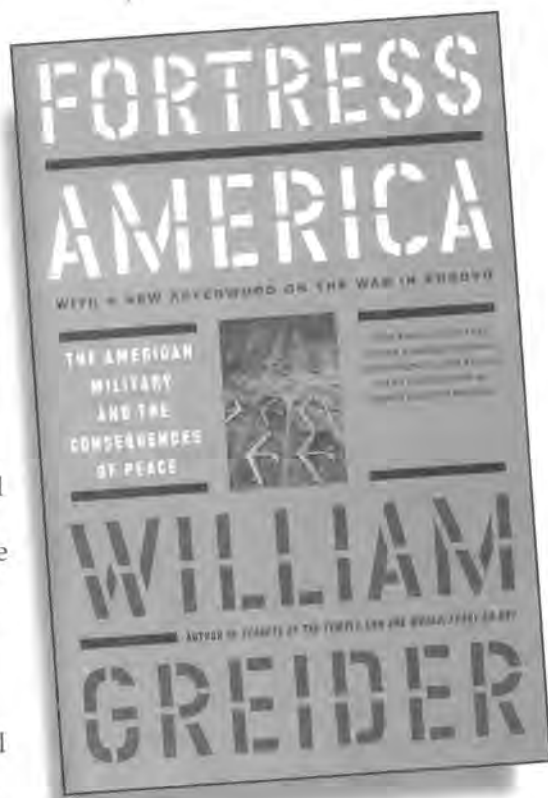
A brilliant economics reporter, Greider puts the military in context: "The global economic system, led by the United States, governs trade, financial markets, and the rights of capital by imposing complex rules, but insists that fundamental human freedoms are not a legitimate basis for global regulation."

In many ways *Fortress America* is a review of militarism in Clinton time. Forced to consolidate because of the end of the Cold War, the industrial giants of the defense sector slashed employment rolls and pocketed the peace dividend in the form of capital gains from cashed-out stocks – a massive transfer of wealth at taxpayer expense.

Rather than truly reduce the size of the military, Congress revitalized it by expanding the Foreign Military Sales program to create new markets. This had the ominous effect of making the United States the world's

number-one arms dealer, in effect creating a potentially endless series of future "national security threats" and "rogue states."

Written to spark a national debate in anticipation of a "looming crisis," this book pre-dates September 11; the quiet



debate it describes has transmuted into a strained discourse. More provocative than instructive, Greider poses these questions: "Is the military's purpose to defend the sovereign nation or the global economic system? Is the core objective to protect American values or the amorality of the marketplace?" Welcome to the globalized era of militarism.

– Jordan Green

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Tallahassee Network for Justice & Peace
850/893-7390
organize@tnjp.org

GEORGIA

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ilisec@aol.com

Project South: The Institute for the
Elimination of Poverty & Genocide
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Atlanta, GA 30315
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www.projectsouth.org
general-info@projectsouth.org

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Central Kentucky Council for Peace &
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www.peaceandjusticeky.org

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ragin1970@hotmail.com
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editors@agrnews.org

Campaign to End the Cycle of Violence
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www.end-the-cycle.org
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c/o Southern Anti-Racism Network
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TENNESSEE

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615/321-9075
npa@igc.apc.org

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Alliance
PO Box 5743
Oak Ridge, TN 37831
865/483-8202
orep@earthlink.net

Tennessee Peace Action
Mid-South Peace & Justice Center
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TEXAS

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www.austinagainstawar.org
aawaction@yahoo.com

Houston Coalition for Justice Not War
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Houston, TX
713/459-2092
www.houstonjusticenotwar.org
info@houstonjusticenotwar.org

North Texas Coalition for a Just Peace
Dallas Peace Center
214/823-7793
northtexaspeace@home.com

Texas Peace Action
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Fort Worth, TX 76101
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