

# SOUTHERN EXPOSURE

March 2007  
Volume XXXV, No. 1



## North Carolina at War

# North Carolina at War

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# North Carolina at War

## Contents

<b>Introduction</b> - Elena Everett and Chris Kromm .....	1
<b>A Player in the Business of War</b> - Jordan Green .....	3
<b>Recruiting North Carolina</b> .....	8
<b>From Recruiter to Critic</b> - Ben Carroll .....	9
<b>Military Recruitment Centers In North Carolina</b> .....	13
<b>A Hostile Climate for Civil Liberties</b> - Kate Akin .....	15
<b>Is North Carolina Running a Torture Taxi Service?</b> - Jill Doub .....	17
<b>The Cost of War</b> - Kate Akin .....	22
<b>Resources</b> .....	26
<b>Sponsors</b> .....	27
<b>Contributors</b> .....	28



## INTRODUCTION

Billboards across the state declare North Carolina's new motto: "Most military-friendly state." North Carolina has long been hospitable to the nation's armed forces, serving as the headquarters of key military bases and the home of many soldiers, deeply influencing the politics, economics and culture of the state.

Now, at the fourth anniversary of the Iraq war and as the country becomes increasingly entangled in conflicts abroad, Gov. Mike Easley and state officials seek to expand North Carolina's military ties. Last year, leaders successfully lobbied for North Carolina bases to expand in the latest round of base realignment, even as the nation's net base forces declined. In December, Lt. Governor Bev Purdue announced the launch of the North Carolina Military Foundation, which aims to boost the state's share of defense dollars and jobs.

North Carolina leaders paint rosy projections of the benefits from deepening the state's links to the military. But policy-makers have rarely been asked: what

are the costs – economic and social – of making our state increasingly dependent on the business of war?

Recent news headlines have revealed a darker side to North Carolina's military ties, events that have damaged the state's global reputation:

\* In the wake of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, North Carolina communities and base towns have been devastated and destabilized by a steady stream of war casualties, including the state's injured soldiers returning to overburdened veteran medical facilities;

\* In January 2007, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the state's jurisdiction in a lawsuit filed by surviving family members of Blackwater USA employees, killed in 2004 by a mob in Fallujah;

\* Also in January, international attention focused on Johnston County Airport and North Carolina pilots believed to be connected to the kidnapping and torture of Khaled el-Masri, an innocent German citizen. German officials are seeking extradition of the pilots in the investigation of the CIA's "extraordinary rendition" flights of terror suspects.

\* In February this year, the U.S. District Court in Raleigh sentenced CIA contractor David Passaro of Lillington, N.C.,





to eight years and four months in prison for beating and killing an Afghan detainee in 2003.

Banking on military bases and defense dollars is a risky economic strategy: base towns rise and fall by constantly-shifting troops deployments; decisions about base sizes and defense contracts often hinge on back-room Washington deal-making. Thousands of livelihoods and lives in our state are increasingly dependent on the White House and Congress and their decision to take our country to war.

Ironically, North Carolina's decision to become more deeply enmeshed in what President Dwight D. Eisenhower called "the military-industrial complex" comes as public opposition to our country's current wars is growing in the state and region.

An October 2006 poll by the Institute for Southern Studies found that 57% of residents in 13 Southern states felt the U.S. "should have stayed out of Iraq." This finding was echoed in January 2007, when a Public Policy Polling survey found 57% of North Carolinians are opposed to escalating the Iraq war, and a plurality – 37% – want U.S. troops to come home

"immediately." Anti-war sentiment is even felt in places like Fayetteville, home of Fort Bragg: a 2005 poll found most respondents (44%) thought the Iraq war "wasn't worth it."

Which raises a deeper question for our state: aside from the economic and social costs of being increasingly linked to – and impacted by – war, what are the moral implications? In an interview in this report, North Carolina native Jimmy Massey – an Iraq war veteran and former Marine recruiter – doesn't mince words: "If money is coming from these industries ... the people of North Carolina have blood on their hands."

As the casualties and money needed for war escalate and opposition grows in North Carolina and beyond, we hope this report helps ignite a long-overdue conversation in our state: what are the costs of being "the most military-friendly state," and what is best for the future of North Carolina? ■

Elena Everett and Chris Kromm  
 Institute for Southern Studies  
 March 2007

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# A 'PLAYER' IN THE BUSINESS OF WAR

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by Jordan Green

*The recently-launched N.C. Military Foundation aims to lure more defense dollars to North Carolina. But are there costs to depending on a state of "permanent war?"*

It was the summer of 2005, and North Carolina leaders were desperate. Over 200,000 jobs had vanished in the previous five years. Poverty was up and wages were flat; the state's fund for unemployment benefits went bust twice in 2003 alone. The state's cloudy economic forecast, combined with troubling news about the fate of North Carolina troops in Afghanistan and Iraq, were battering public livelihoods and morale, and state officials were scrambling for a quick boost.

Buried in a little-known outpost of the state's community college system, researchers at the N.C. Military Business Center in Fayetteville thought they had the answer. They had just received a report from a firm called AngelouEconomics, arguing that the Bush administration's ever-expanding "war on terror" shouldn't be seen as a problem – it was a golden business opportunity.

"President Bush's new strategic doctrine for the U.S. ... signaled an end to the Cold War doctrine of deterrence because it failed to prevent terrorist attacks," said the report, unassumingly titled *Defense Industry Demand Analysis*. "Instead, the administration outlined a doctrine based on preemptive action against rogue states believed to be harboring terrorists, most notably Al-Qaeda ... These changes place the U.S. on a permanent war footing."

Being in a state of "permanent war" might not sound like a good thing, but AngelouEconomics was upbeat. The "staggering" growth of the U.S. defense budget – which has ballooned 41 percent since 2001, not counting \$100 billion for the two wars – was making the military one of the nation's top growth industries. By the Military Foundation's estimation, if North Carolina increased its share of defense contracts by just .5% by 2010, the state would draw an additional \$1.7 billion in Pentagon dollars and create 30,000 jobs.

A year and a half later, the Military Foundation may get their wish. Last December, Lt. Gov. Beverly Purdue announced the launch of the N.C. Military Foundation, a pioneering public-private collaboration aimed at dramatically boosting North Carolina's take in the spoils of war.

"The North Carolina Military Foundation will help North Carolina become a national player in the defense industry business," Purdue said in a statement. Noting that the state hasn't landed many big defense con-



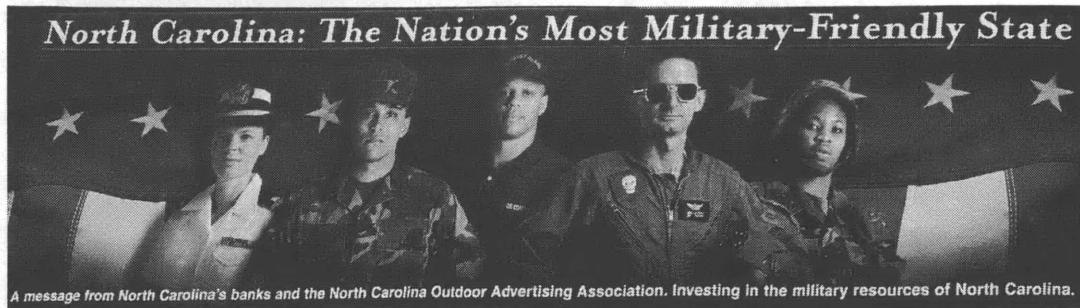


PHOTO CREDIT: DEBRA DILLARD

tracts, she added: “This is the most military-friendly state in America and we can do better.”

Will the strategy work? Are there costs to becoming a bigger “player” in the military economy? Perdue declined to comment for this story, but the Foundation is gaining political steam and corporate backers, forcing the debate about who gains – and who loses – as North Carolina enmeshes itself deeper in a state of “permanent war.”

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### A Bigger Share Of The Pie

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North Carolina has earned its slogan of being “the most military-friendly state in America,” but mostly by serving as a home for bases, not a destination for defense dollars. State officials point out that North Carolina ranks third in number of active military personnel, but 25<sup>th</sup> for Defense Department prime contracts, according to DoD statistics.

Pentagon dollars haven’t bypassed the state entirely. In February, the Defense Department announced a \$22.7 million contract to Asheboro-based Fox Apparel to make coats and trousers for the Army combat uniform. A week earlier, Raleigh-based Whiting-Turner Contracting Co. landed an \$11.6 million contract to build a dining facility at Camp Lejeune near Jacksonville. And days earlier, Saft America received a contract of up to \$30.9 million to make batteries for the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marines at its factory in Burke County.

But apparel, batteries and construction aren’t big-ticket items on the Defense Department’s rapidly-growing shopping list. For instance, Michelin North

America of Greenville, S.C. received a contract valued at \$852 million on January 25 to supply, store and distribute tires for the four major branches of the military.

In addition, much of the contract money for construction at North Carolina’s sprawling military bases actually goes to companies located outside of the state. A \$17.6 million contract awarded on



PHOTO CREDIT: JORDAN GREEN

January 22 to build an elementary school at Fort Bragg, home of the Army’s 82<sup>nd</sup> Airborne Division and Special Operations Command, went to RC Construction Co. of Greenwood, Miss.

“In North Carolina the emphasis has never been on high-tech industries,” said John Suttle, spokesman for General Dynamics Armament and Technical Products in Charlotte and a member of the new foundation’s board. “It’s economically tied to legacy industries such as textiles, furniture and agriculture. Only now is North Carolina able to present itself to defense contractors as an environment favorable to

competitive operation in the globalized economy, and that is the case that the North Carolina Military Foundation is trying to make.”

General Dynamics is one of five companies that have committed \$200,000 over the next two years to get the foundation off the ground. The company relocated its armament and technical products division to Charlotte in 2003, receiving \$7.8 million in corporate incentives from state and local governments in the process.

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## Common Interests

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The Foundation’s success in attracting backers like General Dynamics can be traced back to the interlocking web of interests among the political, business and military leaders involved. Founding corporate partners include Duke Energy, Progress Energy, Wachovia Bank, and Parsons Corp., represented on the foundation board by retired Gen. Earnest Robbins.

Capitalizing on the state’s large military base presence, the foundation has recruited more than half a dozen retired military leaders to serve on its board of directors.

“We have an extraordinary amount of talent here in the civilian community and the military community transitioning into retirement that we can take advantage of,” said Gen. James J. Lindsay, a board member from Vass, N.C. who commanded the 82<sup>nd</sup> Airborne Division and Special Operations before retiring in 1990. Lindsay, like other retired military leaders, acknowledged that he has worked as a private consultant since his retirement.

Board members who have parlayed their military experience into lucrative second careers in the private sector include the chairman, retired Gen. Buck Kernan, who serves as vice president for Virginia-based MPRI; and retired Gen. Hugh Shelton, a consultant for shipbuilding giant Northrop Grumman.

## NC Military Foundation Board of Directors

“The Foundation board is comprised of highly-decorated military leaders and the state’s top corporate citizens.”

—Office of the Lieutenant Governor, Bev Perdue

- Executive Director: Will Austin
- Chair: General Buck Kernan, USA, (Ret.)
- General Hugh Shelton, USA, (Ret.), former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff
- General Jim Lindsay, USA (Ret.)
- Admiral Leighton Smith, USN, (Ret.)
- Lt. General Martin Berndt, USMC, (Ret.)
- Lt. General Buster Glosson, USAF, (Ret.)
- Lt. General Robert Springer, USAF, (Ret.)
- Ellen Ruff, President, Duke Energy Carolinas
- John Suttle, Sr. Director of Communications, General Dynamics Armament and Technical Products
- General Earnest Robbins, USAF, (Ret.) Senior Vice President, Parsons Corporation
- Fred Day, President and CEO, Progress Energy Carolinas
- David Parker, Executive Vice President and Regional President for Eastern North Carolina, Wachovia Bank

The 5 companies represented on the board gave \$200,000 each in startup funds for the Military Foundation. The million dollars will reportedly pay Executive Director Will Austin’s salary, consulting fees, and costs of economic studies in the state.

*Research by Jill Doub*

The state’s two major utilities, Duke Energy and Progress Energy, also have an interest in bringing more military contracting to the state, as well as spurring economic development, their representatives point out. Ellen Ruff, president of Duke Energy Carolinas, serves on the foundation’s board. “We try to attract and retain industries to the Carolinas that have the best growth potential for the future or are already here,” Duke Energy spokeswoman Paige Sheehan said. “Clearly when you’ve already got a military infrastructure in the Southeast we see there is benefit in supporting economic development that supports that infrastructure. That’s why we’re involved at such a high level with Ellen serving on the board.



## Bev Perdue Campaign Contributors

Bev Perdue (D), elected Lieutenant Governor in 2000 and re-elected in 2004, has publicly stated that she will run for Governor in 2008

Political Action Committee Contributions of the 5 startup corporations to Bev Perdue's Campaign Committees

### Duke Energy

Duke Energy Corporation PAC - State

- \$4,000 to Friends of Perdue in 2004
- \$1,000 to Beverly Eaves Perdue Campaign in 2002
- \$2,000 to Bev Perdue in 1999

Duke Energy Corporation PAC

- \$1,000 to Bev Perdue for Governor in 2005

### Wachovia

Wachovia Bank NA, NC Employees for Good Gov.

- \$5,000 to Bev Perdue campaign in 2000

Wachovia Corporation NC Employees for Good Gov. Federal Fund III

- \$4,000 to Bev Perdue committee in 2006

Wachovia NC Employees for Good Gov. Fund

- \$4,000 to Bev Perdue campaign in 2004
- \$8,000 to Friends of Perdue in 2004
- \$2,000 to Bev Perdue campaign in 2003
- \$3,000 to Bev Perdue campaign in 2000
- \$2,000 to Bev Perdue campaign in 1999

Wachovia employees made individual contributions to Bev Perdue's campaign in 2004 election cycle totaling \$6,150

### Progress Energy

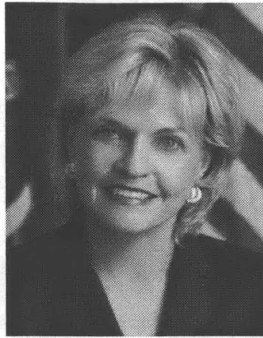
Progress Energy Employees of the Carolinas PAC

- \$2,000 to Bev Perdue campaign committee in 2006
- \$4,000 to Friends of Perdue committee in 2006
- \$2,000 to Friends of Perdue committee in 2003
- \$1,000 to Bev Perdue campaign in 2000

General Dynamics and Parsons have not contributed to Perdue's campaigns

Research by Jill Doub

SOURCE: NORTH CAROLINA STATE BOARD OF ELECTIONS



"We intend to nurture and grow a defense industry economic presence in North Carolina.... This military presence is significant and strong. I'm working with the North Carolina Military Foundation and others to make it an even bigger part our state's economic future."

- Lt. Governor Bev Perdue

"Duke Energy cannot be successful unless its customers are successful," Sheehan added. "When industry is in the region, that fuels the economy. They're certainly large energy users, so it is all interconnected as far as we're concerned."

Scott Dorney, executive director of the Military Business Center, said construction companies should be encouraged to bid on base support contracts — an opportunity heretofore overlooked.

"It's primarily because they're fully engaged in other sectors," he said. "We have a booming commercial market and a booming public market with universities and community colleges. We're trying to change that based on the huge projection of new [military] spending."

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## An Economic Boost?

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Those who have studied the historical development of the South's military economy since World War II suggest that state boosters' efforts to shift more contracting to North Carolina might be easier said than done.

"What stood the Southern states so well in getting defense contracts and facilities was the power of their congressional representatives, which was in great measure a function of their seniority and where they were positioned in the Democratic Party," said Gavin Wright, a professor of American economic history at Stanford University. "Most of these things are a product of the Cold War, how they were positioned in relation to [President] Lyndon B. Johnson."

James C. Cobb, a history professor at the University of Georgia and author of the classic text *The Selling of the South: The Southern Crusade for Industrial Development, 1936-1990*, said the concentration of military bases in the South has spurred a demand for goods and services to support those bases, but contracts for weapons development and other activities that would stimulate capital investment and create high-paying jobs have typically gone elsewhere.

“It’s likely to follow the pattern of states outside of the South getting the most lucrative contracts,” he said. “Most of the systems are pretty specialized and tend to be something coming off the research board. That’s going to benefit states with a research and development infrastructure.”

Cobb expressed skepticism about whether the state’s congressional delegation could develop the clout to steer high-end weapons development and research contracts to North Carolina.

“It’s just a question of how much pork barrel can be tolerated in these contracts,” he said. “If it’s a case of something where there’s urgent need, it’s going to be harder to conceal the fat or the pork barrel. You can conceal a certain amount of inefficiency or illogic, but if you are looking at it without the political coloration, it makes sense to go with a place that has more of a track record in dealing with cutting-edge technology.”

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### Morally Suspect or ‘Routine Business’

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Others point to a moral cost should North Carolina become more successful at steering defense contracts to local businesses.

“Making money off the machinery of taking life is not something we believe is in our best interest for economic development,” said Barbara Zelter, a program associate at the Raleigh-based N.C. Council of Churches, which represents 15 mostly mainline Christian denominations in the state. “We under-

### Top Recipients of Department of Defense Dollars in North Carolina

**URS Corporation** - Charlotte, N.C.  
Engineering Services

**Saab Barracuda LLC** - Lillington, N.C.  
Camouflage and Decoys

**General Dynamics Corporation** - Charlotte, N.C.  
Small Arms and Air Missiles

**Blackwater USA** - Moyock, N.C.  
Security Services

*Research by Kosta Harlan*

SOURCE: DoD AND GAO

stand that people believe that the military-economic complex is normal and fine. We agree with [President] Dwight D. Eisenhower that it’s dangerous. Just because it can be an economic engine doesn’t mean it’s the best vision of a sustainable economy here or anywhere.”

“I’m not knocking Bev Perdue,” Zelter added. “She’s going by a certain kind of logic of ‘if there’s a pie, get a piece of the pie.’ But the church has to speak with a different voice.”

The Military Foundation’s Austin suggested that North Carolina’s proud military tradition overwhelms any consideration of the morality of building an economy based on preparation for war.

“Our military installations have been in North Carolina for many years and this latest round of [Base Realignment And Closure] is bringing even more troops to North Carolina,” he said. “This is an important part of the fabric of our state, an important part of our economy. These bases require services. That’s just routine business for our nation’s military installations.” ■



# RECRUITING NORTH CAROLINA

The table below shows the total number of active-duty Army recruits, and the number of recruits per 1000 youth population, for fiscal year 2005 and 2006 for each state. States are ranked according to recruits per 1000 youth. Youth population numbers are for 2005 and are not yet available for 2006.

Rank in 2006	Location	15-24 Youth Population 2005	Number of Army Recruits FY 2006	Total Army Recruits per 1000 youth FY 2006	Total Army Recruits per 1000 youth FY 2005	Change
-	U.S. States	42,076,849	68,556	1.63	1.57	3.78%
1	Arkansas	397,584	981	2.47	2.22	11.14%
2	Oklahoma	530,591	1,296	2.44	2.41	1.35%
3	Montana	140,307	335	2.39	2.52	-5.25%
4	Texas	3,445,669	8,214	2.38	2.27	5.02%
5	Maine	182,012	432	2.37	2.09	13.56%
6	Alabama	645,504	1,518	2.35	2.17	8.37%
7	South Carolina	609,057	1,298	2.13	1.92	11.00%
<b>8</b>	<b>North Carolina</b>	<b>1,189,267</b>	<b>2,533</b>	<b>2.13</b>	<b>1.92</b>	<b>10.93%</b>
9	Alaska	111,905	238	2.13	2.1	1.28%
10	Kansas	416,292	863	2.07	1.84	12.67%

Source: National Priorities Project

From List of Top 100 Counties in the United States by Number of Army Recruits, 2006

The table to the right shows the top 100 counties in the U.S. ranked according to the number of active-duty Army recruits in fiscal year 2006. Recruits according to ZIP code were obtained from the Army through a FOIA request submitted by National Priorities Project, and were placed into counties using Claritas data purchased by NPP.

Rank	Location	Total Army Recruits
-	U.S. States	68,556
1	Los Angeles County, California	1,231
2	Harris County, Texas	1,134
3	Bexar County, Texas	838
4	Maricopa County, Arizona	832
5	Cook County, Illinois	653
<b>13</b>	<b>Cumberland County, North Carolina</b>	<b>390</b>
<b>50</b>	<b>Wake County, North Carolina</b>	<b>185</b>
<b>98</b>	<b>Mecklenburg County, North Carolina</b>	<b>119</b>

From the List of Top 100 Counties by Army Recruits per 1000 Youth, 2006

Rate Rank	Location	Total Army Recruits per 1000 youth	Total Recruits
-	U.S. States	1.6	68,556
1	Edmonson County, Kentucky	11.4	17
2	Dallam County, Texas	9.3	8
3	Pope County, Illinois	8.9	6
4	Izard County, Arkansas	8.6	14
5	Liberty County, Georgia	8.5	90
<b>13</b>	<b>Cumberland County, North Carolina</b>	<b>7.7</b>	<b>390</b>
<b>24</b>	<b>Gates County, North Carolina</b>	<b>6.5</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>34</b>	<b>Lee County, North Carolina</b>	<b>5.7</b>	<b>40</b>
....	....	....	....
<b>61</b>	<b>Robeson County, North Carolina</b>	<b>4.9</b>	<b>92</b>
<b>62</b>	<b>Hoke County, North Carolina</b>	<b>4.9</b>	<b>29</b>

The table to the left shows top counties in the U.S. according to active-duty Army recruits per 1000 youth. The data and statistics are for counties with five or more recruits in fiscal year 2006. Recruits according to ZIP code were obtained from the Army through a FOIA request submitted by National Priorities Project, and were placed into counties using Claritas data purchased by NPP. Population numbers are from the 2005 U.S. Census Bureau population estimates.

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# FROM RECRUITER TO CRITIC

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## Interview with Jimmy Massey

by Ben Carroll

*In February 2007, Institute for Southern Studies correspondent Ben Carroll interviewed Jimmy Massey, a 35 year old Marine veteran who currently lives in western North Carolina. Massey joined the Marines Corps in 1992 and served for twelve years, during which time he worked as a recruiter and completed a tour in Iraq. Upon returning from Iraq, Massey retired from the Marines and developed several physical and mental disabilities. After talking with other veterans of the Iraq and Afghanistan wars, Massey helped co-found **Iraq Veterans Against the War**, an organization which calls for the immediate end to the Iraq and Afghanistan wars.*



JIMMY MASSEY

**Ben Carroll:** What prompted you to join the Armed Forces and what was your experience after you enlisted?

**Jimmy Massey:** I went to a technical college in Houston after I graduated in 1990... I was holding down two jobs and my stepfather was laid off. I decided to drop out and take a sabbatical, find myself, earn some money, and then go back to college... But shortly after I dropped out, I took a job working in the oil fields in and around New Orleans. Being young, I discovered Bourbon Street, and fell in love with Bourbon Street. I lost my job, lost my apartment, and I was basically living out on the streets. I was living in Lake Pontchartrain Park, homeless.

On my way to a job interview to wash cars, I passed by a Marine recruiter at a gas station. I was basically panhandling for money to get something to eat. And when I saw the recruiter I was like, 'Ok, this is my lunch. I'll go talk to this guy and get him to buy me lunch. We'll see what the Marines say.' So I started making conversation and after he figured out that I was a high school graduate, I told him I would do the interview if he bought me lunch—which he did. At the end of the conversation I was nodding and thinking, "Ok, the Marines is something I want to do."

You know, I can't say that my overall time with the Marines was totally negative or just indifferent. They did teach me certain things, traits in life that have helped me out. However, generally, those traits are only for one purpose and that's to get you to kill when the time comes. I don't have any regrets going into the Marines. I have regrets that we have a president that has chosen to use the military in an imperialist and fascist way, rather than using them for good, rather than using them for the potential humanitarian missions that the Marines could accomplish. I don't hold the Marines responsible for what's happening in Iraq, I hold the administration responsible.

**BC:** After you joined the Marines, you became a recruiter yourself. What was that like and what kinds of things did you do as a recruiter?

**JM:** When I went into recruiting, I was full force. I knew that if I wasn't successful at recruiting, my career in the Marines was over. When you get to recruiter school, it's a very sterile environment, kind of like being in a hospital; it's not a real-world scenario. So when you get out on the streets of America and you start reflecting back on the things they taught you in recruiter school, it really doesn't apply anymore. I had a senior Marine that took me underneath his wing when I first got on recruiter duty, he showed me the 'right way' to recruit, not the recruiter school way. And I found that the 'right way' to recruit involved fraudulent enlistment, deception, and so on.

There was a particular incident where I signed up a mentally handicapped young man...to make a long story short, this young man went to boot camp and was kicked out, saying that he defrauded the U.S. government and hid his medical problems. I knew this was a complete lie. I knew of his medical problems, we just covered them up. Congressman Charles Taylor's office investigated the incident and found unsubstantiated evidence towards me, saying that I didn't do anything wrong. However, I knew that I lied and told this young man to cover up his medical problems. It was after that point [that I started to become indifferent to the military], because you're taught from the very beginning when you go into Marine Corps boot camp about honor, courage, and commitment, that Marines don't lie, Marines don't steal—all [this] Boy Scout ethos and morality. When we got on recruiting duty, that creed and code no longer existed.

They'd use intimidation, fear, and what-

ever they could do to try and make you productive. At that point, I had to come to a moral decision in my life, a moral dilemma: am I going to continue to go forward with this knowing what I know, or am I going to speak out? I began to speak out when I was on recruiting duty and quickly raised a lot of flags. They tried to relieve me because I was speaking out and I wasn't pulling the quotas. I was pretty indifferent and actually considered getting out of the Marines.

**BC: You were in Iraq from the beginning. What kinds of things did you see and what was it like to be a U.S. soldier in Iraq?**

**JM:** When we first got into Iraq, we were treated as liberators. The Iraqis would come out and bring us food, tea, bread, and flowers. It was like that pretty much up until the day I left. But there were problems, we started to lose the Iraqi people. I saw a lot of needless deaths, especially civilian deaths. When the Iraqi people started seeing this needless death, and the harshness and cruelty of the American forces, that's when the tide started to slowly turn. When Abu Ghraib happened, the Iraqi people said at that point, 'These people aren't our friends and they're not here to do what they said they were going to do.'

**Y**ou're taught from the very beginning when you go into Marine Corps boot camp about honor, courage, and commitment, that Marines don't lie, Marines don't steal—all [this] Boy Scout ethos and morality. When we got on recruiting duty, that creed and code no longer existed.



Another thing really broke my heart early on at the beginning of the war... we would take the reporters and the embedded journalists and we would show them all the humanitarian food, all the humanitarian medical supplies that we were going to give to the Iraqis to help alleviate these thirteen years of sanctions. But we didn't take them—we left them in Kuwait. So we invaded a coun-

sively worse.

There was a young Iraqi boy, a diabetic, who came into our camp in Karbala, Iraq. He was looking for insulin. After a couple phone calls, medical personnel finally came to our camp and notified me that there was nothing they could do for the child. In fact, that child and his relative had been to all the Marine camps in Karbala looking for insulin with no success. So I asked the medical officer, 'You mean to tell me we can travel thousands of miles across one of the harshest deserts in the world, bring thousands of gallons of fuel for us, food for us, medical supplies for us, but we can't find one syringe with insulin to give to this diabetic boy?' It's a very sickening feeling to go to a child and have to look him in the eyes and say, 'You know what, son, I can't help you. You have to leave my compound.' Just the look in his eyes, he just lost all hope. It was like he was just dreaming. And here my Marines are high-fiving this kid, playing with this kid, and I have to come back and tell him, 'You're a dead man. You're dead. There's nothing I can do for you.'

It's harder when you're in a position of leadership like I was. You take an oath swearing allegiance to the Geneva Conventions and international law, and when you do things like this, it really makes you question what our true intentions were in Iraq.

try with no humanitarian supplies. I was thinking to myself, 'How are we supposed to win the hearts and minds of the Iraqi people when they come up to us and ask us for food or medical supplies and we don't have anything to give to them?' That was before we even invaded the country and it just got progres-

**BC: Reflecting on those experiences, you came back and decided to co-found Iraq Veterans Against the War (IVAW). Could you speak a little bit about what prompted you to start this organization and what kind of work you all are doing now.**



IMAGE BY MILES HOLST

**JM:** I started doing research online and looking up the newspaper reports about my battalion and what we did. The more I read, the more I became disgusted. I saw quite clearly that it was propaganda compared to what we actually did. I was angry, the more I read, the more I saw on CNN... I called a writer for the Mountaineer [the local paper that had taken an interest in my story] and said, 'I'll tell you what. If you want an interview, I'll do it. But I don't think you'll publish it.' And he said, 'Well, let me be the person to make that judgment.' And he published it, word for word. I had become a member of Veterans for Peace; after it was published, they contacted me and they said, 'We've got this Veterans for Peace conference in Boston and we'd like you to come. If you want to, you can speak. If you don't, that's up to you'.... So I publicly spoke out for the first time at the Veterans for Peace convention.

The president for Veterans for Peace at that time was a man by the name of Woody Powell. Powell called all of us into a meeting room—me and seven other young Iraqi veterans back from Iraq and Afghanistan—and gave us a proposal and said, 'Ladies and gentlemen, how would you like start a non-profit organization called Iraq Veterans Against the War.' We looked at each other and said, 'Ok.' And that's the story. We formed IVAW in the summer of 2004.

The taxpayers of America have paid my salary for twelve years. They're going to continue to pay my salary because I'm disabled. I could either sit at home, go fishing everyday, live a relaxed life, take the taxpayers money, or I can do something about it—create a change.

**BC:** North Carolina calls itself 'the most military friendly state in the country,' inviting military business into the state. How do you feel about this and do you think this is a good thing for North Carolina?

**JM:** Throughout history, every society that has based their economy solely on war profits and building war revenue has ultimately failed. And my concern is that the state of North Carolina is building that kind of business and revenue, rather than building business and revenue that is in support of humanity. These types of industries embolden the war effort. If you show the world that you're about war rather than peace, then that's the exact type of perception the world is going to see....[I]t's very sad for me to say that my state's major economy comes from the war. When I see these billboards around North Carolina, I don't think it's something to be very proud of. I think it's something to be ashamed about to say that we have to rely on a system that kills other people in order for us to live in the state of North Carolina. If money is coming from these industries, from the military industrial complex, then it's blood money, and the people of North Carolina have blood on their hands. ■

**I**f money is coming from these industries, from the military industrial complex, then it's blood money, and the people of North Carolina have blood on their hands.

# MILITARY RECRUITMENT IN NORTH CAROLINA

**Alamance County**  
Air Force Recruiters  
2260 S Church St  
Burlington, NC 27215

**Beaufort County**  
National Guard Recruiters  
399 Minuteman Ln  
Washington, NC 27889

**Bladen County**  
National Guard Recruiters  
1001 Swanzy St  
Elizabethtown, NC 28337

**Buncombe County**  
National Guard Recruiters  
Asheville, NC 28801

**Burke County**  
Army Recruiters  
138 S Sterling St  
Morganton, NC 28655

**Cabarrus County**  
Air Force Recruiters  
700 Church St N Ste 70  
Kannapolis, NC 28025

**Carteret County**  
National Guard Recruiters  
2609 Bridges St  
Morehead City, NC 28557

**Catawba County**  
US Marine Corps  
Recruiters  
1730 US Highway 70 SE  
Hickory, NC 28602

**Chatham County**  
NC National Guard  
Recruiters  
801 Alston Bridge Rd  
Siler City, NC 27344

**Cleveland County**  
US Army Recruiters  
2001 E Dixon Blvd  
Shelby, NC 28152

Marine Corps Recruiters  
Cleveland Mall  
Shelby, NC 28152

**Columbus County**  
Army Recruiters  
616 S Madison St Unit A  
Whiteville, NC 28742

National Guard Recruiters  
Chadbourn Hwy  
Whiteville, NC 28472

**Craven County**  
National Guard Recruiters  
317 Glenburnie Dr

New Bern, NC 28560  
Army Recruiters  
308 US Highway 70 W  
Havelock, NC 28532

Marine Corps Recruiters  
1222 S Glenburnie Rd  
New Bern, NC 28562

National Guard Recruiters  
Glenburnie Dr  
New Bern, NC 28560

**Cumberland County**  
Air Force Reserve &  
Army Recruiters  
2620 Bragg Blvd  
Fayetteville, NC 28303

Army Recruiters  
1141 N Bragg Blvd  
Spring Lake, NC 28390

US Marine Corps &  
Navy Recruiters  
2620 Bragg Blvd  
Fayetteville, NC 28303

Air Force Recruiters  
Eutaw Village  
Fayetteville, NC 28301

National Guard Recruiters  
387 Westwood Shop. Ct.  
Fayetteville, NC 28314

**Davidson County**  
National Guard Recruiters  
130 Culbreth Ave  
Thomasville, NC 27360

**Davie County**  
National Guard Recruiters  
804 US Highway 64 E  
Mocksville, NC 27028

**Durham County**  
Air Force, Navy, &  
Marine Corps Recruiters  
3400 Westgate Dr  
Durham, NC 27707

**Edgecombe County**  
NC National Guard  
Recruiters  
400 E Walnut St  
Tarboro, NC 27886

**Forsyth County**  
Army Recruiters  
501 Shepard St  
Winston Salem, NC

US Marines Recruiters  
3320 Silas Creek Pkwy  
Winston Salem, NC  
27103

**Gaston County**  
Army National Guard  
Recruiters  
2100 Robinwood Rd  
Gastonia, NC 28054

US Army Recruiters &  
Air Force Recruiters  
3036 E Franklin Blvd  
Gastonia, NC 28056

**Granville County**  
Army National Guard  
Recruiters  
Central Ave  
Creedmoor, NC 27552

NC Battery Recruiters  
105 W Spring St  
Oxford, NC 27565

**Guilford County**  
Air Force, Army, & Marine  
Corps Recruiters  
2404 Merritt Dr  
Greensboro, NC 27407

National Guard Armory  
Recruiters  
3515 Armory Dr  
High Point, NC 27260

National Guard Recruiters  
201 W 9th Ave  
Lexington, NC 27292

US Marine Corps  
Recruiters  
2404 Merritt Dr  
Greensboro, NC 27407

**Halifax County**  
Air Force & Army  
Recruiters  
1808 E 10th St  
Roanoke Rapids, NC  
27870

National Guard Recruiters  
813 E 14th St  
Roanoke Rapids, NC  
27870

**Harnett County**  
Army National Guard  
Recruiters  
901 Susan Tart Rd  
Dunn, NC 28334

**Hoke County**  
National Guard Recruiters  
401 Teal Dr  
Raeford, NC 28376

**Iredell County**  
Army National Guard  
Recruiters  
N Broad St  
 Mooresville, NC 28155

**Jackson County**  
Air Force Recruiters  
158 Asheville Hwy  
Sylva, NC 28779

Navy, Army, & Marine  
Corps Recruiters  
158 E Sylva Shopping  
Center  
Sylva, NC 28779

**Johnston County**  
Army Recruiters  
1 Noble St  
Smithfield, NC 27577

Navy & Marine Corps  
Recruiters  
1327 N Brightleaf Blvd  
Smithfield, NC 27577

**Lee County**  
Navy, Army, and Marine  
Corps Recruiters  
1919 Bragg St  
Sanford, NC 27330

**Lenior County**  
Army, Marine, and Army  
Reserve Recruiters  
909 W Vernon Ave  
Kinston, NC 28501

**McDowell County**  
US Marine Corps  
Recruiters  
501 Lady Marion Plaza  
Marion, NC 28752

NC National Guard  
Recruiters  
102 Spaulding Rd  
Marion, NC 28752

**Martin County**  
Army & National Guard  
Recruiters  
190 W Boulevard St  
Williamston, NC 27892

**Mecklenburg County**  
Air Force Reserve & Army  
Recruiters  
1300 Baxter St  
Charlotte, NC 28204

Air National Guard  
Recruiters  
5225 Morris Field Dr  
Charlotte, NC 28208

Air Force & Navy  
Recruiters  
3124 Eastway Dr  
Charlotte, NC 28205

Army Reserve Recruiters  
5800 N Sharon Amity Rd  
Charlotte, NC 28215



US Army Recruiters  
9201 University City Blvd  
Charlotte, NC 28223

US Coast Guard  
Recruiters  
537 W Sugar Creek Rd  
Charlotte, NC 28213

Army National Guard  
Recruiters  
4240 West Blvd  
Charlotte, NC 28208

US Marine Corps  
Recruiters  
6115 N Hill Cir  
Charlotte, NC 28213

**Moore County**  
National Guard Recruiters  
Old Pinehurst Rd  
Southern Pines, NC  
28387

**Nash County**  
Navy & Army Recruiters  
3420 Sunset Ave  
Rocky Mount, NC 27804

Air Force Recruiters  
110 Jones Rd  
Rocky Mount, NC 27804

US Marine Corps  
Recruiters  
3420 Sunset Ave  
Rocky Mount, NC 27804

**New Hanover County**  
Army & Army National  
Guard Recruiters  
351 S College Rd  
Wilmington, NC 28403

US Marine Corps  
Recruiting  
3715 Patriot Way  
Wilmington, NC 28412

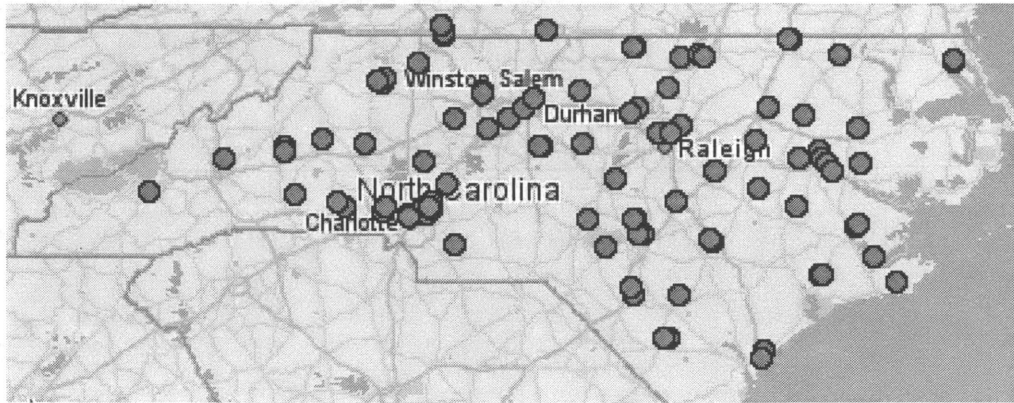
**Northampton County**  
NC National Guard  
Recruiters  
Cherry St  
Woodland, NC 27897

**Onslow County**  
US Navy Recruiters  
Western Blvd  
Jacksonville, NC 28540

Marine Corps Recruiters  
11500 Western Ave  
Jacksonville, NC 28546

**Orange County**  
Army Recruiters  
1502 E. Franklin St.  
Chapel Hill, NC 27516

**Pasquotank County**  
Army Recruiters



MAP BY ELENA EVERETT

Southgate Plz  
Elizabeth City, NC 27906

Coast Guard Recruiters  
510 Deby St  
Elizabeth City, NC 27909

US Air Force Recruiting  
1419 W Ehringhaus St  
Elizabeth City, NC 27909

National Guard Company  
119 Westover St  
Elizabeth City, NC 27909

**Person County**  
US Army Recruiters  
208 S Main St  
Roxboro, NC 27573

National Guard Recruiters  
605 Burlington Rd  
Roxboro, NC 27573

**Pitt County**  
National Guard Recruiters  
100 W Horne Ave  
Farmville, NC 27828

Army, Air force, Navy, &  
Marine Corps Recruiters  
Southpark Shopping Ctr  
Greenville, NC 27833

National Guard Recruiters  
ECU/701 E 5th St  
Greenville, NC 27858

National Guard &  
Army Recruiters  
3000 Mills Rd  
Greenville, NC 27858

**Randolph County**  
Navy, Air Force, & Marine  
Corps Recruiters  
1437 E Dixie Dr  
Asheboro, NC 27203

National Guard Recruiters  
1430 S Fayetteville St  
Asheboro, NC 27205

**Robeson County**  
Army Recruiters

2548 Fayetteville Rd  
Lumberton, NC 28358

National Guard Recruiters  
6000 Fayetteville Rd  
Lumberton, NC

**Rockingham County**  
Marine Corps Recruiters  
201 E Meadow Rd  
Eden, NC 27288

**Rutherford County**  
National Guard Recruiters  
890 Withrow Rd  
Spindale, NC 28160

**Sampson County**  
Army & Marine Corps  
Recruiters  
513 Raleigh Rd  
Clinton, NC 28328

National Guard Recruiters  
101 Armory Dr  
Clinton, NC 28328

**Surry County**  
National Guard Recruiters  
1775 N Bridge St  
Elkin, NC 28621

National Guard Recruiters  
185 Patrol Station Rd  
Mount Airy, NC 27030

Army Recruiters  
2133 Rockford St  
Mount Airy, NC 27030

US Marine Corps  
Recruiters  
803 W Pine St  
Mount Airy, NC 27030

National Guard Recruiters  
Fancy Gap Rd  
Mount Airy, NC 27030

**Union County**  
Marine Corps & Navy  
Recruiters  
1306 Skyway Dr

Monroe, NC 28110

**Vance County**  
Air Force & Marine Corps  
Recruiters  
855 S Beckford Dr  
Henderson, NC 27536

US Army Recruiters  
943 E Andrews Ave  
Henderson, NC 27536

**Wake County**  
Air Force, Army, & Marine  
Corps Recruiters  
315 N Academy St  
Cary, NC 27513

Army Recruiters  
3136 Calvary Dr  
Raleigh, NC 27604

Navy Reserve Recruiters  
2725 Western Blvd  
Raleigh, NC 27606

**Wayne County**  
Army Recruiters  
1310 Parkway Dr  
Goldsboro, NC 27534

**Wilkes County**  
US Navy Recruiters  
1301 Westwood Ln Ste 6  
Wilkesboro, NC 28697

NC National Guard  
Recruiters  
191 Armory Rd  
North Wilkesboro, NC  
28659

US Marine Corps  
Recruiters  
1717 Winkler St  
Wilkesboro, NC 28697

**Wilson County**  
Army & Marine Corps  
Recruiters  
1468 Tarboro St W  
Wilson, NC 27893

Research by Krista Howell and Travis Starkey

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# A HOSTILE CLIMATE FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES

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## Interview with Azadeh Shahshahani

by Kate Akin

*Azadeh Shahshahani is the Muslim/Middle Eastern Outreach Coordinator for the ACLU-NC. With backing from a grant from Z. Smith Reynolds, the object of her work is to raise civil liberties awareness within the Muslim community. Since 9/11 the Muslim and Middle Eastern communities living in America have suffered an increase in racial profiling and discrimination, especially religious discrimination. Azadeh sat down with writer Kate Akin from the Institute for Southern Studies to discuss her work and current political policies that threaten the civil liberties of the Muslim and Middle Eastern communities in N.C.*



IMAGE BY MILES HOLST

**Kate Akin:** How have the civil rights of the Muslim-American communities been affected since September 11 and especially since the Military Commissions Act of 2006?

**Azadeh Shahshahani:** There have been a lot of random FBI questionings of Muslim and Middle Eastern Americans conducted without any basis for suspicion. After the 9/11 attacks people, especially middle-aged Muslim men, were detained in airports based on their religion or their native countries. People who did not know about their right to an attorney were being asked inappropriate questions. They were being asked about their religious beliefs, their voting history, and whether or not they make the Hajj (religious pilgrimage), and many people did not realize that their rights were being violated.

The [national] ACLU has since made a class-action lawsuit against the Department of Homeland Security and the FBI Terrorist Screening Center, asking them to streamline their list of Muslim and Middle Eastern people who are under suspicion, as innocent people have been repeatedly detained for no reason.

For example, a man was coming back from Canada, coming through the border check, and he and his family were greeted by border police with weapons drawn. He had never committed a crime and was detained for several terrifying hours and questioned without being offered an explanation or an attorney. And his children were there... it was a frightening and unnecessary thing to happen.

There is also the NSA wiretapping, warrantless wiretapping which threatens all Americans, not only Muslims. The President is ignoring the system that has been in place since 1978 and has deemed FISA courts (which used to look into and authorize all government wiretapping) unnecessary to regulate government wiretapping. The court was not a stringent one, either. In all its years of operation it only turned down nine proposals, and it was willing to allow people in emergency intel-

ligence situations to file their requests one or two days after they had done the wiretapping.

**K.A.:** Can you give some specific examples of how the civil liberties of Muslims and people of Middle Eastern backgrounds in N.C. have been targeted, threatened and compromised over the past six years?

**A.S.:** Today I got a call from someone in Wake County schools who was upset because a speaker, who had been invited to a teacher's classroom by the teacher, had been bad-mouthing Islam. This type of behavior is plainly illegal. The government can't endorse any religion and cannot hold one set of religious values over another, and this speaker was from a group whose mission was clearly a proselytizing mission.

Unfortunately, a lot of things happen that the ACLU doesn't hear about. Part of my job is to get people to be more assertive about their rights. Another part is helping to pull together attorneys willing to help victims whose liberties have been violated.

In 2001, throughout N.C., a memo was issued by the Commissioner of the DMV stating that no person should wear headgear when appearing in a photo for a driver's license. If someone wished to wear headgear, the memo stated that they were required to have a court affidavit stating their issue and signed by themselves and a second person of their faith. The policy was applied in a discriminatory manner—people with wigs, for example, were not usually required to submit the affidavit while Muslim women wearing head scarves were. Because the Muslim community became more aware of their civil rights and more willing to speak out against injustice throughout the following years, people raised their voices against this issue and raised hell. A new policy was released in this year stating that only the person wearing the headgear must sign the affidavit.

On a larger scale, we can cite issues like the case of Khaled el-Masri and other secret detentions of

Muslims. One of the scariest things is that now anyone, citizen or not, regardless of their race or religion, can be branded as an 'enemy combatant' and put in indefinite detention.

**K.A.:** What work have you done surrounding the Khaled el-Masri case?

**A.S.:** Well, a suit has been brought by the ACLU national. At the ACLU-NC we have been involved in the case, engaging in advocacy on a grassroots level, because one of the defendants in the lawsuit is Aero Contractors out of Smithfield, whose plane took off to abduct el-Masri from facilities leased to them in Kinston, N.C., by the state-funded Global TransPark.

We, the ACLU and NC Stop Torture Now, are asking non-profits and faith based groups to sign a letter asking for a formal investigation of Aero Contractors by the SBI of N.C. There is also a petition for individuals to sign located online.

We feel that if more people were aware of what's going on, no one would want to play host to a company that conducts torture flights. (See "Is North Carolina Running a Torture Taxi Service?" p. 18)

**K.A.:** Have you seen any uplifting response to the injustices that have occurred within the Muslim and Middle Eastern community? Are people coming together to support the Muslim community in N.C.?

**A.S.:** People are very supportive. The Durham and Orange County Bill of Rights Defense Committees conducted a national conference call on 9/11 of last year letting people know how they can and should support the rights of the Muslim and Middle Eastern communities in America. And certainly the 30 attorneys I have recruited have been more than willing to take up cases pro-bono for those who have come forward to claim their rights. ■



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# IS NORTH CAROLINA RUNNING A TORTURE TAXI SERVICE?

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by Jill Doub

**O**n December 31, 2003, officials forcefully removed Khaled el-Masri, a German citizen, from a bus at the Macedonian border while he was traveling on holiday. Officials confiscated his passport and transported him to a hotel room in Skopje, denying him contact with anyone outside the room. After a month of interrogations, a Boeing 737 took off from a runway at the Global TransPark in Kinston, N.C. and arrived in Macedonia to render a beaten and sedated el-Masri to a prison in Afghanistan. For the next four months, he was aggressively interrogated about his personal contacts, his place of worship, and whether he was a member of al-Qaeda. On May 28, 2004, el-Masri's captors released him on a deserted road in Albania. Albanian officials helped him board a flight back to Germany. Khaled el-Masri was never charged with any crime nor given any explanation for his five-month detention.

In the months that followed his ordeal, Khaled el-Masri claimed that he had been a victim of the CIA's extraordinary rendition program. Through extraordinary rendition, the CIA picks up terrorist suspects and transports them to prisons in other countries where they are interrogated and links to terrorism can be established. Khaled el-Masri was neither the first nor the last in a long line of suspects the CIA has abducted. El-Masri was rendered because his name was similar to an actual suspect. He was believed to be innocent after the first round of interrogations by American CIA operatives.<sup>1</sup> Without Washington's release authorization, however, his detention went on for months, despite the fact that CIA Director George Tenet and

National Security Advisor Condoleeza Rice received at least two reports regarding strong suspicion of el-Masri's innocence.<sup>1</sup>



KHALED EL-MASRI

The CIA's program of abducting terrorist suspects from foreign countries began in the mid-1990s during the Clinton administration. At that time, evidence was collected against a suspect before the rendition. Suspects were generally those against whom there were outstanding foreign arrest warrants, and the countries to which they were delivered had some prior claim on them.<sup>2</sup> Prior to 9/11, the United States abducted an estimated 70 people through the rendition program. Since 9/11, the program has expanded significantly. Suspects are often abducted in the absence of evidence of criminal activities. The countries to which they are taken have usually been cited for human rights abuses, and often no charges are brought against them to justify the detention.<sup>3</sup>

The declaration of the "Global War on Terror" and the advent of the term "enemy combatant" helped the Bush administration widen the pool of potential extraordinary

rendition victims and claim that these are unique cases to which the normal rules of war and human rights do not apply.<sup>4</sup> In the past five years, over 150 people have been captured through the extraordinary rendition program, more

**K**haled el-Masri was never charged with any crime nor given any explanation for his five-month detention.

than twice than in the previous decade.<sup>3</sup>

A recent report released by the European Parliament estimates that “at least 1,245 undeclared flights operated by the CIA flew into European airspace or stopped over at European airfields after September 11, 2001.”<sup>5</sup>

According to FAA records collected by European and American prosecutors, the planes used in extraordinary renditions are Boeing 737s and Gulfstream Vs. The CIA has created shell companies to serve as the owners of its approximately 26 planes. The agency commissions real U.S. companies to operate these jets, providing them with flight orders and rendition crews. On a typical flight, a plane departs from its airstrip and lands in Virginia to pick up a CIA team. It then flies to an overseas base such as the one in Majorca, Spain so the crew can rest and the plane can refuel. The next step is to render a suspected terrorist from his current location and fly him to one of a number of secret CIA-operated prisons. FAA flight records show that many of these planes visit several subsequent locations, possibly transporting more suspects to other secret prisons, before returning home to the United States.<sup>1</sup>

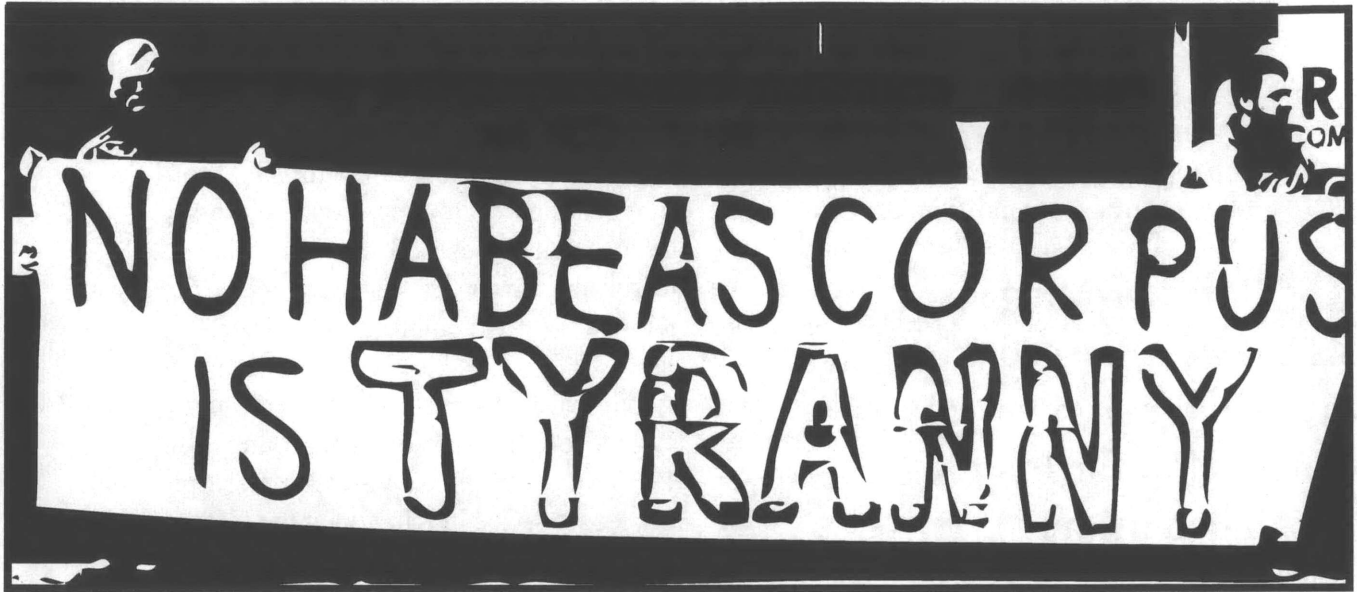
In September 2006, President Bush acknowledged that the CIA does operate prisons at secret sites in Europe, the Middle East, and South Asia. While the Bush administration still claims that torture is not part of the mysterious interrogation repertoire used in these prisons, testimony from former detainees like Khaled el-Masri suggests otherwise.

A North Carolina aviation company called Aero Contractors, Ltd, founded in 1979 by a former CIA Air America pilot, leases space in Kinston at the Global TransPark and Smithfield at the Johnston County Airport. FAA records show that the company does not actually own any planes but offers clients aircraft charters with a pilot. The investigation of el-Masri’s case led lawyers to a plane flown by Aero Contractors that matched precisely the flight plan their client described.



North Carolina  
Global TransPark

At the time of el-Masri’s rendition, this plane was owned by Massachusetts-based Premier Executive Transport Services and operated by Aero Contractors. Its tail number was N313P. Shortly thereafter, the plane changed ownership to Keeler & Tate Management, widely believed to be an alternate CIA shell company to replace the now-defunct Premier, and also changed its tail number to N4476S. The plane now looks to have changed hands again amid recent media attention to el-Masri’s case. The tail number N4476S is deregistered according to the FAA, but a search for the plane’s serial number, 33010, shows that the Boeing 737 was registered in August 2006 to MGM Mirage Aircraft Holdings, LLC in Las Vegas.<sup>6</sup>

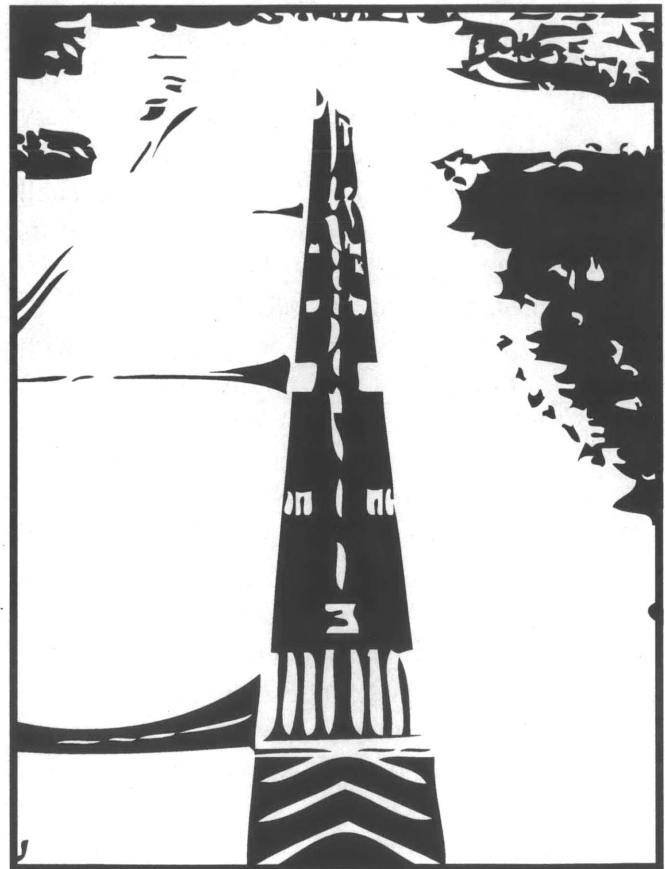


STOP TORTURE NOW DEMONSTRATION

Back in Germany, after his extraordinary rendition experience, Khaled el-Masri contacted his lawyer, Manfred Gnjdic. Gnjdic wrote letters to the German chancellor and the minister of foreign affairs, both of whom opened investigations.

On December 6, 2005, the American Civil Liberties Union filed a lawsuit on behalf of Khaled el-Masri, naming former CIA Director George Tenet, Premier Executive Transport Services, Aero Contractors, 10 unnamed CIA operatives, and 10 unnamed employees of Aero Contractors as defendants. The case was dismissed in May 2006 on the grounds that it would reveal state secrets. The United States government argued, as it does when detainees at Guantanamo Bay have tried to bring their cases to trial, that court proceedings would force them to publicize evidence that might aid America's enemies and compromise the fight against terrorism.<sup>7</sup> The ACLU filed an appeal in July 2006 and, in March 2007, the court rejected that appeal, upholding the dismissal based on the state secrets privilege.

In North Carolina, activists and elected state representatives have begun to question the legality and morality of Aero Contractors' presence in the state. The space that Aero Contractors leases in Kinston and Smithfield, North Carolina is publicly owned,



JOHNSTON COUNTY AIR STRIP



with tax dollars paying for the airstrips. Furthermore, there are several state officials on the board of directors of the Global TransPark—most notably, Governor Mike Easley is the board's chair.

On January 18, 2007, North Carolina Attorney General Roy Cooper received a

**T**he space that Aero Contractors leases in Kinston and Smithfield, North Carolina is publicly owned, with tax dollars paying for the airstrips. Furthermore, there are several state officials on the board of directors of the Global TransPark — most notably, Governor Mike Easley.

letter signed by 22 state legislators urging him to instruct the State Bureau of Investigation to undertake an investigation of Aero Contractors. The legislators wrote specifically that the SBI should “investigate credible allegations that Aero Contractors conspired to commit federal crimes and then provided material support to the commission of those crimes on property owned by the State of North Carolina.” The letter to Cooper was a second attempt by state legislators to act on media and public outcry about Aero's connection to illegal activities. In October 2006, 12 of the 22 legislators who signed the current letter signed onto a similar letter addressed to SBI Director Robin Pendergraft. Pendergraft responded that the SBI had no jurisdiction over the matter and therefore refused to open an investigation of Aero Contractors. In the current letter, legislators cite a North Carolina Supreme Court decision that contradicts Pendergraft's opinion, ruling that it is the conspiracy agreement itself and not the overt acts that must be car-

ried out in North Carolina for the state to have proper jurisdiction. As of February 2007, Attorney General Cooper has not responded to the letter.

Groups seeking to bring attention to the issue, most notably Stop Torture Now, have also taken their requests to the federal level. Stop Torture Now is currently urging Congressional representatives to sponsor legislation to ensure that the United States keeps its commitments under federal and international laws and treaties, halting the extraordinary rendition program.

Internationally, a great deal more action is taking place to investigate and react to the CIA's program. Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper has issued a formal apology

to extraordinary rendition victim Maher Arar, who was picked up in New York City's JFK airport and transported to Syria, where he was detained and tortured for almost a year. Arar will receive \$12.5 million in compensation from the Canadian government for their role in aiding the CIA in his rendition.<sup>8</sup>

According to the Syrian ambassador in Washington, Syria found Arar to have no ties to terrorism, but the United States refuses to take him off the terrorist watch list.

In Europe, major action is now be-

**T**he European Parliament recently issued a report condemning the CIA program of extraordinary rendition and found 14 European member states guilty of complicity. It warns member states not to allow CIA over flights or stops in European airspace.

ing taken against CIA operatives who kidnapped European citizens in extraordinary renditions. In 2007, Germany issued arrest warrants for thirteen of Khaled el-Masri's captors, and a number of their real names have been discovered. At least three operatives named in the German case live within 30 miles of Aero Contractors' base in Smithfield, North Carolina.<sup>9</sup> Italy issued similar arrest warrants for operatives who kidnapped an Italian citizen and flew him to detention in Egypt.<sup>10</sup>

The European Parliament recently issued a report condemning the CIA program of extraordinary rendition and found 14 European member states guilty of complicity. The report establishes the stance that extraordinary rendition is "an illegal instrument used by the United States in the fight against terrorism." It warns member states not to allow CIA over flights or stops in European airspace.<sup>5</sup> ■



LADY LIBERTY AT STOP TORTURE NOW DEMONSTRATION

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# THE COST OF WAR

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by Kate Akin

Fort Bragg and Camp Lejeune. New River Air Station and Pope Air Force Base. The Blackwater USA training center. North Carolina is home to some of the nation's largest and most significant military bases, where tens of thousands of active duty personnel – and countless more families, friends and communities – are directly or indirectly tied to the military and U.S. wars abroad.

In December 2006, Lt. Governor Beverly Perdue noted that “North Carolina has more active military personnel than all but two other states.” At a time when many states are slated for drastic cuts in military bases, the Pentagon's latest plan recommends that North Carolina slightly grow, with a planned 4,145 decrease at Pope AFB more than balanced by a 4,325 boost at nearby Fort Bragg.

Along with North Carolina's plans to lure more defense contracts to the state (see “A Player in the Business of War,” p. 4), these trends indicate that the share of the state's people and communities dependent on war will only grow. More base personnel and military contracts undoubtedly will offer the state a short-term economic boost.

But what are the costs of war to North Carolinians? War takes a toll in many ways, and it's impossible to put a price tag on the loss of life and other social costs. North Carolina must face hard questions – how does this help our communities? what do we lose from war? – before seeking to expand its dependence on the military economy.

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## We All Pay For War

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War spending – especially in the form of military bases and contracts – can offer a state like North Carolina an economic boost, but war has staggering

economic costs as well.

The National Priorities Project, a non-profit budget watchdog, keeps a “Costs of War Calculator” to measure the cost of the Iraq war over time. By March 2007, NPP estimates, the United States will have accrued \$378 billion in debt to finance the war. The “incremental costs” measured by NPP don't include standard costs of military operations, like soldiers' pay, but do include costs such as activating the National Guard, combat pay, equipping troops, paying for reconstruction, repairing and replacing equipment, and training Iraqi forces.

But even this measure doesn't capture the full economic impact of war. “Potential future costs, such as future medical care for soldiers and veterans wounded in the war, are not included,” the researchers at NPP state. “It is also not clear whether the current funding will cover all military wear and tear. It also does not account for the Iraq War being deficit-financed and that taxpayers will need to make additional interest payments on the national debt due to those deficits.”

A similarly large estimate comes from Linda Bilmes, Assistant Secretary of Commerce in the Clinton Administration, and Joseph Stiglitz, a former chief economist at the World Bank and Nobel Prize recipient. They project the costs of the Iraq war alone will eclipse \$2 trillion, an estimate that includes future costs of medical care for veterans, rebuilding the U.S. military, and interests payments on running up the debt to pay for the war.

Many of the costs of war balloon over time. In 2006, the Congressional Budget Office estimated that payments on debt used to finance the Iraq war will total between \$264 and \$308 billion dollars. Meeting the needs of veterans returning home



from war will be even more costly to an already-overburdened Department of Veteran Affairs. "Government medical facilities are currently overwhelmed by the needs of soldiers injured in Iraq," Bilmes and Siglitz write. "Some 144,000 of them sought care from the VA in the first quarter of 2006 – 23 percent more than the Bush administration had estimated for the entire year!"



MISAEEL MARTINEZ

Like all taxpayers, North Carolinians feel these costs in the end. Using their more conservative estimates of war costs, the National Priorities Project breaks down economic impact on a state-by-state basis, based on a state's share of federal tax revenues. In their latest report, "The Local Costs of the Iraq War" (March 2007), the cost to North Carolina taxpayers alone is \$12.3 billion.

## Lost Lives, Devastated Communities

Misael Martinez, a 24 year-old soldier from Carrboro, N.C. was killed by a roadside bomb while on his third tour in Iraq in November 2006. According to a January 2007 article in The Independent Weekly, Martinez joined the army hoping to expand his options for college and a career. In January 2007, Israel Martinez, Misael's younger brother, left for Iraq to serve his first tour of duty – two short months after burying his brother.

As of February 2007, 72 soldiers from North Carolina have died in Iraq, but some communities have borne more loss than others. According to a report released by the Associated Press in February 2007, almost half of the 3,100 U.S. military personnel killed in Iraq were from towns of less than 25,000 people.

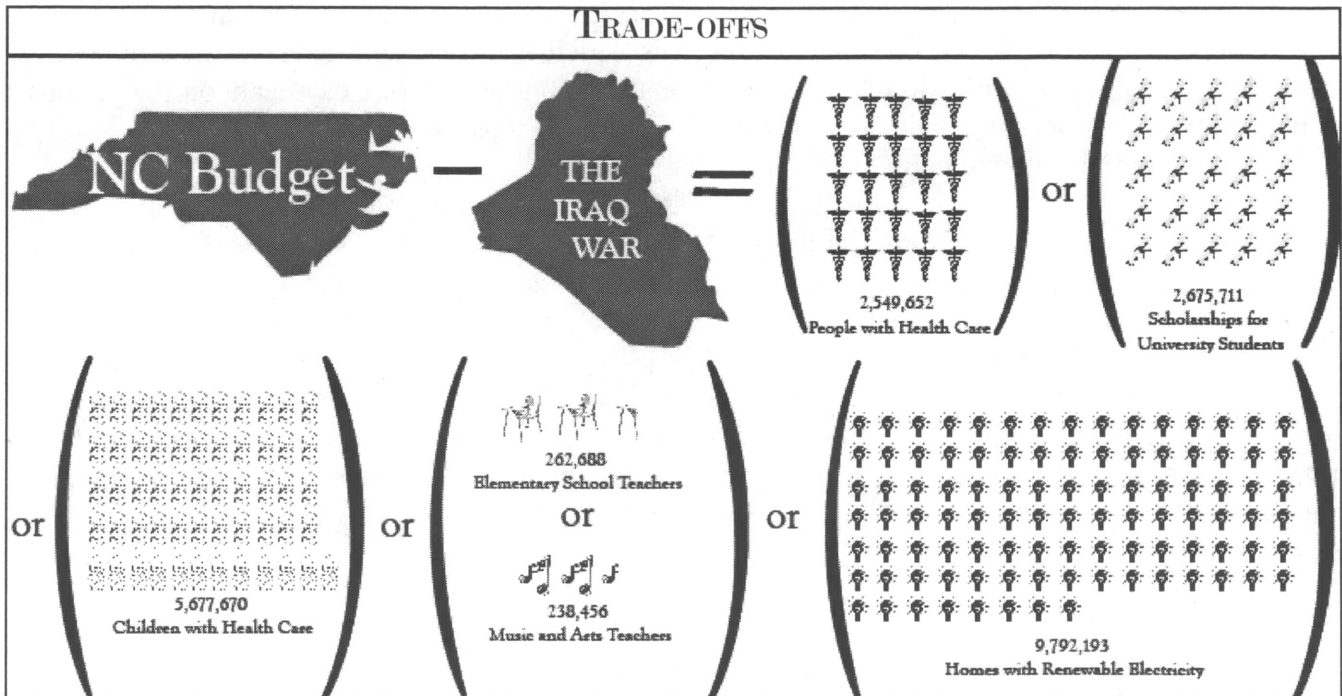


IMAGE BASED ON THE CALCULATIONS OF THE NATIONAL PRIORITIES PROJECT OF THE COSTS OF NORTH CAROLINA-FUNDED PROGRAMS.

IMAGE BY JESS FRUCHT

Martin Luther King, Jr. once said that “war is an enemy of the poor,” and those of lower socio-economic status have paid more dearly in Iraq. Nearly three quarters of those military fatalities hailed from towns where the per capita income was below the national average.

The impact of each fallen soldier’s death can’t be measured in dollars and cents – it’s a devastating blow that ripples throughout the community. But there’s also a cost in cold economics: as Bilmes and Siglitz note, one of the long-term consequences is “the loss of productive capacity of the young Americans killed or seriously wounded in Iraq.”

Across the country, communities are struggling to care for veterans who return with debilitating injuries. The Washington Post recently exposed a host of scandals at Walter Reed Military Hospital, depicting infested, unsanitary conditions in its outpatient buildings and detailing stories of wounded veterans’ bureaucratic battles for promised assistance. These headlines are just the tip of the iceberg of an over-stretched system of long-term care for veterans.

According to Veteran Administration, the agency has a 400,000-case backup on new claims in the 2006 fiscal year. In an article from ArmyTimes.com, “Wounded and Waiting,” Col. Robert Norton, deputy director of Government Relations for the Military Officers Association of America, told the Committee on Veterans Affairs in 2006, “Taken together, the convalescence, [medical evaluation board] and [physical evaluation board] processes appear to average between nine and 15½ months for Army soldiers.” Recent reports from The Washington Times, Newsweek, and the LA Times are still discussing the VA’s disappointing response to soldiers’ needs.

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## A Marine’s Story

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Jacek Teller is a student at East Carolina University in Greenville, N.C. He’s uniquely qualified to talk about the costs of war – he was among the first U.S.

Marines to enter Iraq in 2003.

Sergeant Teller joined the Marines for two reasons: he could no longer afford college, and he had always been driven to have an impact in the world. “When you join you feel like you are exploring your boyhood desires of doing something adventurous, rough and manly,” Teller said. “I decided to become a Marine because they used a different tactic from the Air Force or the Army—they told me that I wouldn’t make it. That was appealing.”

Teller joined the marines in 1999 and was sent on his first six-month tour to Kuwait in 2001. He returned in 2003 to be a part of one of the initial flight missions into Iraq, whose job it was to secure oil refineries in Umm Qasr on the Faw Peninsula. The mission was extremely dangerous, Teller said, because they left at 3 a.m. in the middle of a sandstorm so terrible that there was no way of knowing the distance between their aircraft and the ground.

“One of our aircrafts took a nose dive and killed four American Marines and eight British Marines,” Teller said. “My best friend was one of the American Marines who died in that crash. That was a serious personal cost to me. There was no point in going on after he died. But you aren’t afforded grief when you are invading a country.” The mission that took his friend’s life was called off until the next day, after the oil fields were secured.

Teller and his company next moved north to Iraq’s cities, where they dropped off infantry troops to enter homes, separate the Iraqi men from women, and search houses for weapons. None of the soldiers spoke Arabic, and very few of the Iraqis spoke English.

“Troops with AK-47s were bursting into peoples’ homes and looking for weapons, and if the men misbehaved they were taken to prisons and holding facilities like Abu Ghraib,” Teller said. “Which is why there are roughly 14,000 arbitrary detainees in Iraq at any given time – then they wait for weeks or years to be interrogated. People at the processing

**T**here is an extremely high divorce rate in the Marines. A lot of guys come back to empty homes. It is hard to be worried sick every day about your loved ones and to know so little about what they are doing. Then when the soldiers do come home they don't know how to react. There is no standard rehabilitation into society, no way to break away from the culture of violence to which you have become accustomed.

facility are left with the problem of figuring out who was just yelling inside to their families and who is potentially harmful. I see that as another cost of this war—that Iraqi families have to endure this kind of trauma.”

Teller was in Iraq for a total of nine months. But he says the worst part was coming home.

“Nearly two years passed before it was clear to me that I was having emotional, psychological problems,” Teller said. “I felt abandoned. The Marines give you answers, they give you context – they look after you. After you are out, you begin realizing you were morally wrong. There is a lot of survivor’s guilt.”

Teller described feeling like he should be in prison and be punished for what he was a part of in Iraq. He spoke of soldiers who lost even more than he had.

“There is an extremely high divorce rate in the Marines. A lot of guys come back to empty homes,” Teller said. “It is hard to be worried every day about your loved ones and to know so little about what they are doing. Then when the soldiers do come home they don't know how to react. There is no standard rehabilitation into society, no way to break away from the culture of violence to which you have become accustomed.”

Teller has found new ways to have impact. He joined Iraq Veterans Against the War, an organization with members in 41 states and many bases overseas. At a recent forum on the Iraq war, he drew on his experiences to spell out this warning: “Don't buy into the drumbeat for war, don't rally around the flag thinking it's going to provide you security, because it's not.” ■



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# PEACE AND JUSTICE RESOURCES

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## North Carolina Organizations and Resources

**American Friends Service Committee:** Greensboro: [www.afsc.org](http://www.afsc.org), [www.ewonc.org](http://www.ewonc.org)

Sponsoring 'Eyes Wide Open,' a touring exhibit on the human and financial costs of the war in Iraq to North Carolina, and "What's Next: A Guide for North Carolina Teens," a manual of alternatives to the military; [info@ewonc.org](mailto:info@ewonc.org) or [ALennon@afsc.org](mailto:ALennon@afsc.org)

**Black Workers for Justice:** <http://www.bwfj.org>

**Muslim American Society Freedom Foundation:** [www.masnet.org/freedomfoundation.asp](http://www.masnet.org/freedomfoundation.asp)

**North Carolina Choices for Youth:** [hankelkins@mindspring.com](mailto:hankelkins@mindspring.com)

**North Carolina Code Pink Women for Peace:** [www.codepink4peace.org](http://www.codepink4peace.org)

**North Carolina NAACP:** <http://www.naacp.ubernc.org>

**North Carolina Peace and Justice:** [www.ncpeacejustice.org](http://www.ncpeacejustice.org)

**North Carolina Council of Churches:** [www.nccouncilofchurches.org](http://www.nccouncilofchurches.org)

**Quaker House:** [www.quakerhouse.org](http://www.quakerhouse.org); [qpr@quaker.org](mailto:qpr@quaker.org)

**Southern Anti-Racism Network:** <http://www.projectsarn.org>

**Western Carolina Peace Coalition:** [www.wncpeacecoalition.org](http://www.wncpeacecoalition.org)

## North Carolina Youth and Student Organizations

**SURGE (Students United for a Responsible Global Environment):** [www.surgenetwork.net](http://www.surgenetwork.net)

**Traction (Triangle area left-leaning 20- and 30-somethings):** [www.gettraction.org](http://www.gettraction.org)

**UNC-Chapel Hill SDS (Students for a Democratic Society):** [www.chapelhillsds.org](http://www.chapelhillsds.org)

**ECU Peace and Justice:** [www.clubhouse.ecu.edu/peaceandjustice](http://www.clubhouse.ecu.edu/peaceandjustice); [jt0409@ecu.edu](mailto:jt0409@ecu.edu)

**Campus Anti-War Network:** [www.campusantiwar.net](http://www.campusantiwar.net)

**Raleigh FIST (Fight Imperialism Stand Together):** [www.fist.cc](http://www.fist.cc)

**Davidson College Just Peace:** [erjaeger@davidson.edu](mailto:erjaeger@davidson.edu)

## Veteran Organizations

**Military Families Speak Out:** [www.mfso.org](http://www.mfso.org)

**Gold Star Families for Peace:** [www.gsfp.org](http://www.gsfp.org)

**Veterans for Peace:** [www.veteransforpeace.org](http://www.veteransforpeace.org)

**Iraq Veterans Against the War:** [www.ivaw.org](http://www.ivaw.org)

## National Resources and Organizations

**United for a Fair Economy:** [www.faireconomy.org](http://www.faireconomy.org)

War and the Economy Popular Education Kits

**Recruitment Education:** [www.recruitmenteducation.org](http://www.recruitmenteducation.org)

**Rethinking Schools:** [www.rethinkingschools.org](http://www.rethinkingschools.org)

Whose Wars Curriculum

**United for Peace and Justice:** [www.unitedforpeace.org](http://www.unitedforpeace.org)

**Troops Out Now Coalition:** [www.troopsoutnow.org](http://www.troopsoutnow.org)

**World Can't Wait:** [www.worldcantwait.org](http://www.worldcantwait.org)

**International A.N.S.W.E.R. (Act Now to Stop War and End Racism):** [www.internationalanswer.org](http://www.internationalanswer.org)

**Womens International League for Peace and Freedom:** [www.wilpf.org](http://www.wilpf.org)

# North Carolina at War Sponsors

Thank you for the support of the following individuals and organizations that have helped make this report possible:

American Friends Service Committee (AFSC)

GRIM (Grass Roots Impeachment Movement)

North Carolina Council of Churches

NC Choices for Youth

NC Stop Torture Now

Peace 1st

Piedmont Area Green Party

Triangle Area Code Pink

Transylvanians for Peace

Wendy Mischner



PHOTO CREDIT: AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE



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