

# MILITARISING AFRICA: A GUIDEBOOK

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<a href="#"><u>Nothing New Under the Sun: History of Militarism in Africa (1884 – Present)</u></a> .....	3
<a href="#"><u>The Beginning of the Trans Atlantic Slave Trade</u></a> .....	3
<a href="#"><u>The Abolition of Slavery</u></a> .....	4
<a href="#"><u>The Scramble for Africa: Berlin Conference</u></a> .....	5
<a href="#"><u>Africa’s Involvement in the World Wars</u></a> .....	7
<a href="#"><u>World War I</u></a> .....	7
<a href="#"><u>World War II</u></a> .....	8
<a href="#"><u>United States in Africa</u></a> .....	9
<a href="#"><u>US Military Training Programs in Africa</u></a> .....	10
<a href="#"><u>Africa in View: Country Case Studies</u></a> .....	16
<a href="#"><u>Algeria</u></a> .....	16
<a href="#"><u>Angola</u></a> .....	17
<a href="#"><u>Congo</u></a> .....	19
<a href="#"><u>Nigeria</u></a> .....	20
<a href="#"><u>Somalia</u></a> .....	22
<a href="#"><u>Sudan</u></a> .....	23
<a href="#"><u>Military Industrial Complex 101</u></a> .....	25
<a href="#"><u>Facts</u></a> .....	26
<a href="#"><u>AFRICOM: New US Military Command effective October 1, 2008</u></a> .....	32
<a href="#"><u>The Unified Command Plan</u></a> .....	32
<a href="#"><u>Global War on Terror</u></a> .....	33
<a href="#"><u>Oil Factor</u></a> .....	34
<a href="#"><u>Development in Africa</u></a> .....	36
<a href="#"><u>US Africa Command (AFRICOM)</u></a> .....	37
<a href="#"><u>Where Do We Go From Here?: Points of Collaboration</u></a> .....	41
<a href="#"><u>Police State/Prison Industrial Complex</u></a> .....	41
<a href="#"><u>Anti-war Movement</u></a> .....	44
<a href="#"><u>Environmental Movement</u></a> .....	45
<a href="#"><u>Pan Africanism</u></a> .....	47
<a href="#"><u>Growing the Movement Against Militarism</u></a> .....	49
<a href="#"><u>Teach-in Models</u></a> .....	50
<a href="#"><u>Teach-in Model #1: Dinner Party</u></a> .....	50
<a href="#"><u>Teach-in Model #2: Student Group Activity</u></a> .....	51
<a href="#"><u>Listing of Police Departments receiving training by Blackwater or at Blackwater facilities:</u></a> .....	54
<a href="#"><u>Bibliography for further readings:</u></a> .....	57

## **Nothing New Under the Sun: History of Militarism in Africa (1884 – Present)**

### **Militarism**

Pronounced: mil · i · ta · rism

Function: noun

Date: 1864

1 a: predominance of the military class or its ideals b: exaltation of military virtues and ideals

2: a policy of aggressive military preparedness<sup>\*1</sup>

Before 1864, when the term “militarism” was coined, Africa had already been part of a global militarized operation called the Trans Atlantic Slave Trade. From the first European landing on the West African coast led by Portugal in the mid 1400s to the multi-national European agreement of the abolition of slavery in 1808, military forces had been in charge of the start and seizure of the global trafficking of Africans.

### **The Beginning of the Trans Atlantic Slave Trade**

Under the leadership of the Portugal’s Prince Henry (1394 – 1460), alias “The Navigator”, explorations led the Portuguese navy to the coasts of West Africa. The motivation for such exploits laid in Portugal’s desire to militarily defeat Arab and other European competitors that occupied North African territories, which was a strategic route to reach the resource wealth of Asia. In seeking new trade routes, large and expensive naval operations begun in 1434 when Portuguese mariners uncovered a safe navigation route beyond the southern tip of Cape Bojador – a previously accepted end zone of exploration by cosmographers, cartographers and mariners.<sup>2</sup>

Shortly following this discovery, by 1441 Portugal had begun the slave trade to the Americas – a lucrative new zone of European military expansion primarily led by Spain (in South America) and Britain (in North America).

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<sup>1</sup> "militarism." Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary. 2008. Merriam-Webster Online. 28 July 2008 <<http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/militarism>>

<sup>2</sup> Peter Edward Russell, *Prince Henry, the Navigator: A Life* (Hartford: Yale University Press, 2000): 109.

## The Abolition of Slavery

Although there are many contributing factors to Europe deciding to abolish slavery – some of which includes the economic reassessment of slave labor in light of the rising Industrial Revolution. However, another reason was due to the **organized efforts based** on moral opposition to the enslavement of African people. The first attempt to abolish slavery was in the late 1700s when England and France passed anti-slavery decrees, yet by 1802 Napoleon Bonaparte reinstated slavery due to France's new military acquisition of Guadeloupe and Guyana and need for slave labor to maintain colonial rule.

In the midst of France's new policies rose the successful Haitian Revolution (1791–1804) led by Touissant L'Overture. With the establishment of Haiti as the first liberated African nation in the Western Hemisphere, European nations feared the repetition of such actions and begun drafting individual and collective agreements to abolish the slave trade. By 1807, England passed an anti-slave trade bill that was enforced by patrolling British naval guards that navigated the seas in search of illegal slave ships. The United States followed suite with an 1808 US Congressional bill prohibiting the importation of slaves and by 1815 France and other European nations passed similar bills.

This strategy of naval patrolling of the waters was maintained until further anti-slavery organizing pressured England to pass another bill in 1833 that not only abolished the trade but also put an end to the slavery in England and its colonies – which remained militarily occupied territories until the mid 1900s. In the US, there were also pressures from the grassroots that called for the end to slavery yet not until the Civil War (1861–1865) – a war sparked by the secession of southern slave states to form the Confederate States of America – did slavery find its platform for formal abolition in 1865.

Despite historic misnomers, the Emancipation Proclamation of 1862 did not free slaves but served as a measure of President Abraham Lincoln to extend punitive measures to southern slave states that refused to join the Union. It was not until the passing of the 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment of the US Constitution on December 18, 1865 that slavery was officially abolished. The 13<sup>th</sup> Amendment reads:

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted,

shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.\*<sup>1</sup>

## **The Scramble for Africa: Berlin Conference**

The agreements made at that historic Berlin Conference (1884–85) not only changed the geo-political landscape of Africa but it also introduced new cultural practices hinged on the eradication of pre-existing social norms in order to acculturate Africans to the world order of the day. The impacts of colonization are still being felt in social institutions like education, religion and government. It is important to note that colonization, as a military practice, was not limited to the occupation of African territories but was well known in the Americas and Asia before the Industrial Revolution – which created motive for interests in African territories due to the resource wealth for development of industries.

Due to the Industrial Revolution that blossomed in the 1800s with new technological discoveries in agriculture, manufacturing and transportation, European nations were in conflict with each other due to shared interests in African resources – particular to the discovery of wealth on the Congo River basin. The solution to their conflict was to partition African landscape in an agreement reached at the Berlin Conference. This conference was birthed at the suggestion of Portugal, a nation that was at a deficit due to losses accrued from the abolition of the slave trade and its dwindling military stronghold that cost it its most prized territorial interest of Angola. In Portugal's petition to have a Pan European agreement of division of African territories, Chancellor Otto von Bismark of Germany agreed to host these agreements due to Germany's rising military might and its desire for an amicable resolution to rising tensions between European nations.

Notably, many European nations had attempted independent military occupation of several African territories and had met with some victories but overall these were failed attempts. Some previous attempts included France's occupation of Tunisia and England's occupation of Egypt. However, in agreement to meet at Berlin for a new agreement, European nations made a pact to assist each other militarily to conquer African

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<sup>1</sup> The National Park Services Website, "13<sup>th</sup> Amendment to the US Constitution, <http://www.nps.gov/archive/malu/documents/amend13.htm>

territories. Thus, Chancellor Bismark invited the following nations to participate in a preliminary conference at Berlin on November 15, 1884: Austria–Hungary, Belgium, Denmark, France, United Kingdom, Italy, The Netherlands, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden–Norway, Ottoman Empire and the United States of America.

By early 1885, the above–mentioned nations agreed to the following in what was to be known as The General Act of February 26, 1885:

Chap. I [relating to the Congo River Basin and adjacent territories]

I. The trade of all nations shall enjoy complete freedom

II. All flags, without distinction of nationality, shall have free access to the whole of the coast–line of the territories . . .

III. Goods of whatever origin, imported into these regions, under whatsoever flag, by sea or river, or overland, shall be subject to no other taxes than such as may be levied as fair compensation for expenditure in the interests of trade . . .

IV. Merchandise imported into these regions shall remain free from import and transit duties [subject to review after 20 years]

V. No power which exercises or shall exercise sovereign rights in the . . regions shall be allowed to grant therein a monopoly or favor of any kind in matters of trade...

VI. All the powers exercising sovereign rights or influence in the aforesaid territories bind themselves to watch over the preservation of the native tribes, and to care for the improvement of the conditions of their moral and material well–being and to help in suppressing slavery, and especially the Slave Trade. They shall, without distinction of creed or nation, protect and favor all religious, scientific, or charitable institutions and undertakings created and organized for the above ends, or which aim at instructing the natives and bringing home to them the blessings of civilization.

Christian missionaries, scientists, and explorers, with their followers, property, and collections, shall likewise be the objects of especial protection.

Freedom of conscience and religious toleration are expressly guaranteed to the natives, no less than to subjects and to foreigners . . .

Chap. II Documents relative to the Slave Trade

IX. ....the Powers which do or shall exercise sovereign rights or influence in the territories forming the .. basin of the Congo declare that these territories may not serve as a market or means of transit for the trade in slaves, of whatever race they may be. Each of the Powers binds

itself to employ all the means at its disposal for putting an end to this trade and for punishing those who engage in it.

#### Chap. IV Act of Navigation for the Congo

XIII. The navigation of the Congo, without excepting any of its branches or outlets, is, and shall remain, free for the merchant ships of all nations equally . . . the subjects and flags of all nations shall in all respects be treated on a footing of perfect equality . . . no exclusive privilege of navigation will be conceded to Companies, Corporations, or private persons whatsoever . . .

#### Chap. V Act of Navigation for the Niger.

XXVI. The navigation of the (River) Niger, without excepting any of its branches and outlets, is and shall remain entirely free for the merchant ships of all nations equally . . . [both Britain and France which had parts of the region of the Niger under protectorate status also undertook to apply the principle of free trade in their territories]

#### Chap. VI [Regarding new occupations on the coasts of Africa]

XXXIV. Any power which henceforth takes possession of a tract of land on the coasts of the African Continent outside of its present possessions, or which, being hitherto without such possessions, shall acquire them and assume a protectorate. . . shall accompany either act with a notification thereof, addressed to the other Signatory Powers of the present Act, in order to enable them to protest against the same if there exists any grounds for their doing so.

XXXV. The Signatory Powers of the present Act recognize the obligation to insure the establishment of authority in the regions occupied by them on the coasts of the African Continent sufficient to protect existing rights, and, as the case may be, freedom of trade and of transit under the conditions agreed upon.

XXXVII. The Powers signatory to the present general Act reserve to themselves the right of eventually, by mutual agreement, introducing therein modifications or improvements the utility of which has been shown by experience necessitated such militarized policies were necessary are also key in understanding the strategies of occupation of land.<sup>1</sup>

## **Africa's Involvement in the World Wars**

### **World War I**

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<sup>1</sup> John Jay College of Criminal Justice, City University New York, "The Berlin Conference: The General Act of Feb. 26, 1885," <http://web.jjay.cuny.edu/~jobrien/reference/ob45.html>

World War I (1914 – 1918) started as an extension of the rising tensions in Europe between nation-states formed due to ethnic alliances and the dominant empires (i.e. Ottoman Empire, Austro-Hungarian Kingdom, Kingdom of Serbia, the British and French monarchies, etc) whose allegiance were to the ruling families and their military might. In what was previously exemplified in the two Balkan Wars (1912 – 1913), various ethnic groups in Europe began creating political and military pressure towards the ruling empires in the quest for self-governance. The last straw that exploded into World War I was the assassination of the Austro-Hungarian monarch, Archduke Franz Ferdinand, by a young Serbian nationalist, Gavrilo Princip.<sup>1</sup> With this sparked dormant tensions within Europe into open warfare that included the involvement of colonial territories around the world. Specific to Africa, a BBC re-count of Africa's involvement during WWI accurately depicts:

The First World War gave rise to a crucial change in the relationship between Europe and Africa. Over two million people in Africa made huge sacrifices for the European Allies. 100,000 men died in East Africa and 65,000 men from French North Africa and French West Africa lost their lives.

Not since the American War of Independence, when 14,000 slaves and freemen fought as black loyalists alongside the British, had such a huge number of people of African descent been involved in fighting for Europeans. Very few were combatant, most of them were used as porters. They were recruited to carry heavy weapons and supplies. They were badly paid and given food which was either of poor quality or entirely foreign to them. While travelling through new territories for them, they often fell sick and were affected by different types of malaria.<sup>2</sup>

## World War II

World War I changed the geo-political landscape in Europe and the rest of the world. At the end of the war, given rise to European nationalist ideologies that stood against the business-as-usual monarchies that defined the centuries before, Asian, Latin American and African colonies also began movements towards sovereignty from the colonial powers. With events like the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, where communist ideologies defined the new nation-state, Africans, Latin Americans and Asians began conferencing and strategizing for home rule. Particular to the

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<sup>1</sup> First World War.com: The War to End All Wars, “Primary Documents: Archduke Franz Ferdinand's Assassination, 28 June 1914,” <http://firstworldwar.com/source/harrachmemoir.htm>

<sup>2</sup> BBC World Services, “The Story of Africa: Between World Wars (1914 – 1945)”, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/africa/features/storyofafrica/13chapter2.shtml>



African world, between 1919 and 1945 there were a series of Pan African congresses that met in cities in Europe and the United States where Africans from the continent and the Diaspora would discuss in detail. This determination for power and home rule would be temporarily over-shadowed by yet another global war phenomenon known as World War II (1939 – 1945).

World War II was primarily about the rise of military might of Nazi Germany and the threat it posed to other European nations but a secondary factor were the rising tensions in Asia, particularly between Japan and China. War broke out in 1939 with the unstoppable German military machine that began claiming territories through Eastern Europe but was also started bombing Western European military powerhouses like England and France. Meanwhile, in Asia, Russia who had been involved with the tensions between China and Japan had to re-address its attention to attacks by Germany. Though many United States companies were suppliers of weaponry and other goods to both all parties in Europe during WWII, the US government remained neutral until the bombing of the US naval base by the Japanese navy at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii on December 7, 1941.

Because of the global nature of this war, Africa's involvement was inevitable. Aside from the previously understood importance of Africa's wealth that was a source of strategic acquisition by the expanding military might of Nazi Germany, European nations under attack also sought to recruit Africans to fight for them. The BBC report on Africa's involvement during WWII, describes:

As in the First World War, the colonial powers needed African manpower. This time African troops (with the exception of those from South Africa who were not allowed to bear arms) were to play a much more combatant role both in and outside Africa. Half a million Africans fought for the French and the British during the war.<sup>1</sup>

## **United States in Africa**

Given its history with the colonial power of England and the struggle for self-governance, the United States earned a global political reputation as an

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<sup>1</sup> BBC World Services, "The Story of Africa: Between World Wars (1914 – 1945)," <http://www.bbc.co.uk/worldservice/africa/features/storyofafrica/13chapter11.shtml>

anti-colonial nation. This reputation was earned due to the 1823 US policy known as the Monroe Doctrine which neutralized the US's involvement in any European wars as well as served as a commitment to militarily protect the interests of nations in the Americas that fell under the threat of European colonialism. However, over the rest of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the US acquired more military might and by the signing of the 1898 Treaty of Paris, under President McKinley's administration, established its first overseas bases after the victory in the last Spanish American War and confiscated Puerto Rico, Guantanamo Bay, the Philippines, Guam and Hawaii.<sup>1</sup> With these acquisitions, the US entered the 20<sup>th</sup> century a war-ready nation with expansion of military bases around the world. A large credit to US military expansionism can be attributed to World Wars I and II with request from European nations to have the US as a military ally but also at work was the growing global economic interests that military provides in unstable regions as well a resurgence of the 19<sup>th</sup> century philosophy of Manifest Destiny that found justification in what has now expanded to over 700 military bases world wide and counting.

## US Military Training Programs in Africa

Specific to US and Africa relations, strategic interests arose primarily after World War II when the US and the former USSR engaged in an arms struggle known as the Cold War. Although the US and the USSR did not engage in warfare, both sought allies around the world (including Africa) by assisting in providing weaponry and military training programs. Since the end of the Cold War, US and Africa military relations have been based on bilateral and multilateral joint training programs and military exercises where the US would provide military training to African military personnel through a wide variety of training and education programs.<sup>2</sup> It is also important to note that many of the programs were set up after the September 11, 2001 attacks on US soil as part of counter-terrorism strategies. Listed below is a summary of current US military programs in Africa thoroughly researched by Daniel Volman of the African Security Research Project in Washington, DC:

- *Flintlock 2005 and 2007*: a program of Joint Combined Exchange Training (JCECT) conducted by units of the U.S. Army Special Forces and the U.S. Army Rangers, along with contingents from other units, to provide training experience for both American troops and for the troops of African countries. The first training took place in June 2005 where over a thousand US personnel were sent to North and West Africa for counter-terrorism exercises in Algeria, Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Niger, and Chad that involved more than three thousand local service members. As part of the Operation Enduring Freedom-Trans-

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<sup>1</sup> Sarah Irving, Oscar Reyes and Wilbert van der Zeijden, *Outposts of Empire* (Amsterdam: Transnational Institute, 2007): 6

<sup>2</sup> Daniel Volman, "Africom: The new US military command for Africa," *Pambazuka News* (November 2007), <http://www.pambazuka.org/en/category/features/44273>

Saharan Counter-Terrorism Partnership (TSCTP), the second training conducted in both April and August 2007, were conducted with forces from Mali, Algeria, Chad, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Tunisia, Burkina Faso, France, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom.

- *Africa Contingency Operations Training and Assistance Program (ACOTA)*: This program replaced the 1997 African Crisis Response Initiative launched under Bill Clinton's administration. In 2004, it became part of the Global Peace Operations Initiative and is officially designed to provide training to African military forces to improve both offensive and defensive operations to enhance their ability to conduct peacekeeping operations. This controversial program is also argued to enhance the ability to enforce police operations against unarmed civilians, counter-insurgency operations, and even conventional military operations against the military forces of other countries. Participating African countries include Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Kenya, Malawi, Mali, Mozambique, Namibia, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia.
- *International Military Education and Training Program (IMET)*: This program brings African military officers to military academies and other military educational institutions in the United States for professional training. In the 2006 fiscal year, this program trained 14,731 students from Africa (excluding Egypt) and continues to train students from nearly all African countries.
- *Foreign Military Sales Program (FMS)*: Under the Defense Security Cooperation Agency of the Defense Department, this program sells US military equipment to African countries. This program is administered by the Military Financing Program (FMF), which provides loans to African nations to finance the purchase of these equipments, however, repayment of these loans are almost always waived. In the 2006 fiscal year, sub-Saharan African countries received about \$14 million and North African countries received about \$21 million through FMF funding.
- *African Coastal and Border Security Program (ACBS Program)*: This program provides specialized equipment (i.e. patrol vessels and vehicles, communications equipment, night vision devices, and electronic monitors and sensors) to African countries for the improvement of their ability to patrol and defend their own coastal waters and borders from terrorist operations, smuggling, etc.
- *Excess Defense Articles Program (EDA)*: This program administers a transfer of surplus US military equipment to foreign governments. As a part of this program: 1) South Africa and Botswana have received C-

130 planes; 2) Uganda has received trucks, 3) Senegal has received M-16 rifles, and 4) Nigeria has received coastal patrol vessels.

- Combined Joint Task Force–Horn of Africa (CJTF–HOA): Established in 2002, as part of the US Central Command, this project was set up to detect and counter terrorist activities in the areas surrounding the Red Sea, Gulf of Aden, and the eastern Indian Ocean. This effort was based at Camp Lemonier in Djibouti and is made up of approximately 1,400 US military personnel that work with multinational navies from France, Italy, Germany and other NATO allies. In January 2007, the CJTF–HOA has provided intelligence to Ethiopia in support of its invasion of Somalia.
- Joint Task Force Aztec Silence (JTFAS): In December of 2003, the U.S. European Command created this joint task force under the commander of the US Sixth Fleet (Europe) to share information with US intelligence agencies and African military forces. This program carries out counter–terrorism and surveillance operations in North and West Africa and to coordinate U.S. operations with those of countries in those regions.<sup>1</sup>

Many of these programs not only manifest in the form of military aide, but also make provisions for direct sales to African militaries. Additionally, these programs include provisions for private military contractors and training of non–military African operational units (i.e. police departments). Through extensive research, Dan Volman has also contributed to the knowledge base of these programs that include:

- US Private Military Contractors in Africa: In FY 2003, the State Department awarded five–year contracts worth \$500,000 each to DynCorp and to Pacific Architects and Engineers to train and equip the new Liberian armed forces, to train and equip the Southern Sudanese military as part of the implementation of the peace agreement for Southern Sudan, and to train and equip African troops from all over the continent as part of the GPOI and ACOTA programs. In February 2008, the State Department announced that it would be awarding more than \$1 billion worth of contracts in Africa for the next five–year period (2009–2013) to as many as four private military contractors.
- Foreign Military Sales Program (FMS): This program sells U.S. military equipment to African countries; such sales are conducted by the Defense Security Cooperation Agency of the Defense Department. The U.S. government provides loans to finance the purchase of virtually all of this equipment through the Foreign Military Financing Program (FMF), but repayment of these loans by African governments is almost

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<sup>1</sup> (Volman, November 2007)

always waived, so that they amount to free grants. In FY 2006, sub-Saharan African countries received a total of nearly \$14 million in FMF funding, and the Maghrebi countries of Morocco and Tunisia received almost another \$21 million; for FY 2007, the Bush administration requested nearly \$15 million for sub-Saharan Africa and \$21 million for the Morocco and Tunisia; and for FY 2008, the administration requested nearly \$8 million for sub-Saharan Africa and nearly \$6 million for the Maghreb.

- *Direct Commercial Sales Program (DCS)*: Under this program, the Office of Defense Trade Controls of the Department of State licenses the sale of police equipment (including pistols, revolvers, shotguns, rifles, and crowd control chemicals) by private U.S. companies to foreign military forces, paramilitary units, police, and other government agencies. In FY 2008, American firms are expected to deliver more than \$175 million worth of this kind of hardware to Algeria through the DCS program, along with \$2 million worth for Botswana, \$3 million worth for Kenya, \$19 million worth for Morocco, \$17 million worth for Nigeria, and \$61 million worth for South Africa. Citing the commercial nature of these sales, the State Department refuses to release any further information on these transactions to the public on the grounds that this is “proprietary information,” i.e. this information is the private property of the companies involved.
- *African Coastal and Border Security Program (ACBS)*: This program provides specialized equipment (such as patrol vessels and vehicles, communications equipment, night vision devices, and electronic monitors and sensors) to African countries to improve their ability to patrol and defend their own coastal waters and borders from terrorist operations, smuggling, and other illicit activities. In some cases, airborne surveillance and intelligence training also may be provided. In FY 2006, the ACBS Program received nearly \$4 million in FMF funding, and Bush administration requested \$4 million in FMF funding for the program in FY 2007. No dedicated funding was requested for FY 2008, but the program may be revived in the future.
- *Excess Defense Articles Program (EDA)*: This program is designed to conduct ad hoc transfers of surplus U.S. military equipment to foreign governments. Transfers to African recipients have included the transfer of C-130 transport planes to South Africa and Botswana, trucks to Uganda, M-16 rifles to Senegal, and coastal patrol vessels to Nigeria.
- *Anti-Terrorism Assistance Program (ATA)*: The ATA program was created in 1983—under the administration of the State Department Bureau of Diplomatic Security—to provide training, equipment, and technology to countries all around the world to support their

participation in America's Global War on Terrorism. In FY 2006, Sub-Saharan Africa received \$9.6 million in ATA funding; for FY 2007, the administration requested \$11.8 million and for FY 2008, the request was \$11.5. The largest ATA program in Africa is targeted at Kenya, where it helped create the Kenyan Antiterrorism Police Unit (KAPU) in 2004 to conduct anti-terrorism operations, the Joint Terrorism Task Force in 2004 to coordinate anti-terrorism activities (although the unit was disbanded by the Kenyan government in 2005, and is now training and equipping members of a multi-agency, coast guard-type unit to patrol Kenya's coastal waters... ATA programs are also being used to train and equip police, internal security, and military forces in a number of other African countries, including Tanzania (\$2.1 million in FY 2006), Mauritius (\$903,000 in FY 2006), Niger (\$905,000 in FY 2006), Chad (\$625,000 in FY 2006), Senegal (\$800,000 in FY 2006), Mali (\$564,000 in FY 2006), Liberia (\$220,000 in FY 2006), Ethiopia (\$170,000 in FY 2006).... ATA utilizes training facilities at three International Law Enforcement Academy (ILEA) centers, one located in Botswana. In 2003, students from Botswana, Ethiopia, and Tanzania attended a course on "Terrorist Investigations" at the Botswana ILEA center. In 2004, students from Djibouti, Malawi, Uganda, and Zambia took the same course there. In 2005, students from Botswana, Ethiopia, Kenya, and Tanzania attended a course on "Combating Domestic and Transnational Terrorism at the Botswana ILEA center and students from Angola, Mozambique, Uganda, and Zambia took a course on the "Police Executive Role in Combating Terrorism."

- Section 1206, 1207 and 902 Programs: These programs are funded through the Defense Department budget and are named for provisions approved by Congress in the FY 2006 and FY 2007 National Defense Authorization Acts. The Section 1206 program—known as the Global Equip and Train program—was initiated in FY 2007 and permits the Pentagon—on its own initiative and with little congressional oversight—to provide training and equipment to foreign military, police, and other security forces to "combat terrorism and enhance stability." The program received \$200 million in FY 2007 and has been authorized to spend \$300 million in FY 2008 for programs in fourteen countries, including Algeria, Chad, Morocco, Nigeria, Senegal, and Sao Tome and Principe... The Section 1207 program—known as the Security and Stabilization Assistance program—was also started in FY 2007. It allows the Defense Department to transfer equipment, training, and other assistance to the State Department to enhance its operations.
- Naval Operations in the Gulf of Guinea: Although American naval forces operating in the oil-rich Gulf of Guinea and other areas along Africa's shores are formally under the command of the U.S. Sixth Fleet, based in the Mediterranean, and other U.S. Navy commands, Africom

will also help coordinate naval operations along the African coastline... The U.S. Navy has been steadily increasing the level and pace of its operations in African waters in recent years, including the deployment of two aircraft carrier battle groups off the coast of West Africa as part of the “Summer Pulse” exercise in June 2004, when identical battle groups were sent to every ocean around the globe to demonstrate that the United States was still capable of bringing its military power to bear simultaneously in every part of the world despite its commitment to the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan... In February 2008, the U.S. 6<sup>th</sup> Fleet conducted seven days of joint maritime exercises (known as Exercise Maritime Safari 2008) at Nigeria’s Ikeja Air Force Base with the Nigerian Navy and Air Force as part of the African Partnership Station Initiative. The American forces involved included P-3 “Orion” aerial surveillance aircraft from the squadron based in Sigonella, Sicily, and elements of the 6<sup>th</sup> Fleet’s Maritime Patrol Operations Command Center. The highlight of the exercises was a search and rescue exercise off of Lagos.

- Base Access Agreements for Cooperative Security Locations and Forward Operating Sites: Over the past few years, the Bush administration has negotiated base access agreements with the governments of Botswana, Gabon, Ghana, Kenya, Mali, Morocco, Namibia, Sao Tome and Principe, Senegal, Sierre Leone, Tunisia, Uganda, and Zambia. Under these agreements, the United States gains access to local military bases and other facilities so that they can be used by American forces as transit bases or as forward operating bases for combat, surveillance, and other military operations. They remain the property of the host African government and are not American bases in a legal sense, so that U.S. government officials are telling the truth—at least technically—when they deny that the United States has bases in these countries.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Dan Volman, “AFRICOM: What Is It For and What Will It Do?” (excerpt from the Book Chapter Routledge Bradford RUSI Conference Booklet, 2008)

## Africa in View: Country Case Studies

Of all the 54 nation-states that exist on the African continent, these selected case studies reflect US military involvement and lend to an understanding of the motivation for such interests. A unifying thread between these nations is their resource wealth. From the Congo, known as the “heart of Africa” due to its extensive concentration of valued goods like coltane and diamonds, to Nigeria, the number one oil producing nation in Africa and the third leading producing nation in the world, to Somalia, with its strategic proximity to the highly sourced wealth in the Middle East, Africa as a whole is a prized continent. This section of the guidebook aims to equip you with a framework to understanding country-specific histories that lend to an understanding of the greater picture that inspires an AFRICOM – a truly devastating continuation of failed US policies towards Africa.

### Algeria



The People’s Democratic Republic of Algeria became an independent nation on July 5, 1962 after a decade long struggle with the colonial power of France. With a population of over 30 million people, 99% of which are of Berber-Arab descent, Algeria is the second largest landmass African nation and is located in North Africa and borders the Mediterranean Sea, between Morocco and Tunisia.<sup>1</sup> The French colonized Algeria in 1830 and were immediately met with resistance from the well-trained Berbers who were no strangers to foreign invasion and had previously been occupied by the Phoenicians, Romans, Arabs and Turks.<sup>2</sup> Throughout the colonial period, the French military faced severe pressure from the indigenous population that eventually led to the collapse of the French Fourth Republic in 1958 due to a military uprising that aided

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<sup>1</sup> The World Factbook, “Algeria,” <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ag.html#Geo>

<sup>2</sup> David Prochaska, *Making Algeria French: Colonialism in Bone, 1870-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990): 2.



Charles de Gaulle's return to power.<sup>1</sup> A large motivation for autonomy from French colonial rule was sparked by the Algerian involvement in the French army during World War II as allies and the desire to gain independence under the freedom from imperialism propaganda that France used to recruit their support. In what became known as the Algerian War for Independence, the Algerian political party, National Liberation Front (NLF) with the assistance of international Pan African militants like Franz Fanon, led a successful campaign for independence through guerrilla warfare tactics and subsequent negotiations that ended in 1962.

The periods following the victorious Algerian War for Independence were that of political instability due to coup d'états and the over dependency on the nationalized oil reserves. This led internal rebellion of youth demonstrations in October 1988 in the streets of Algiers, Oran and other urban areas that were met with military crackdown leading to the death of hundreds of youth and a presidential declaration of a "state of siege."<sup>2</sup> Such massacres and state-sponsored terrorism led to an outbreak of civil war between the historic liberation party of FNL and the contemporary Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) from 1991 to 2002 leading to the death of millions of Algerians. Since 2002, peace talks have been attempted between the ruling FNL and the series of Islamic militants including the infamous Al Qaeda – which has an active presence in Algeria – but instability still persists in the region.

Further tensions were marked by President Bush's 2002 visits to Algiers to meet with President Abdelaziz Bouteflika which left speculators guesstimating that US aimed to replace France as Algeria's primary oil trade partner.<sup>3</sup> On April 11, 2007 the city of Algiers was bombed killing over 200 people. With Al Qaeda claiming ownership over the 2007 bombing, and a series of previous 2006 attacks on employees of the US company Halliburton, the US became increasingly concerned over interests in the region.<sup>4</sup> As it stands, the US and Algerian governments are in partnership working to counter terrorism.

## Angola

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<sup>1</sup> (Prochaska 1990, 2)

<sup>2</sup> Paul A. Silverstein, "An Excess of Truth: Violence, Conspiracy Theorizing and the Algerian Civil War," *Anthropological Quarterly* (2002)

<sup>3</sup> William B. Quant, "Forty Years of Independence, Violence and Impoverishment: US and Algeria: Just Flirting," *Le Monde diplomatique* (July 2002)

<sup>4</sup> Martin Evans and John Phillips, *Algeria: Anger of the Dispossessed* (Hartford: Yale University Press, 2008): 296.



The Republic of Angola was a formerly colony of Portugal and was an economic prize possession of the dwindling powers of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century Portuguese monarch that were unrivaled to the rising military forces of England and France. For this reason, Portugal held tightly to resource rich Angola that bordered Namibia, Zambia and the Democratic Republic of Congo until the inevitable victory of the independence movement that gained victory in 1975. Unfortunately, on the eve of independence November 11, 1975 Angola commenced what would be a 27-year civil war. The war between the Popular Movement of Angola (MPLA) led by Jose Eduardo Dos Santos and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) led by Jonas Savimbi<sup>1</sup> was primarily fought because ideological difference of how to run the newly independent nation.

A major factor for the 27-year war in Angola was due to oil. The MPLA government received vast revenues from U.S. oil companies who had contracts for off shore drilling to finance the purchase of massive quantities of weaponry from the Soviet Union and other countries.<sup>2</sup> The opposition party, UNITA, was able to similar armed goods by diamond sales with US and European nations. Additionally, the role of the CIA in Angola had both an overt and a covert strategy. Overtly, the CIA provided over \$100 million in aid to the neighboring Congo to assist in the suppression of the leftist, pro-Soviet movement in Angola. Of this \$100 million, nearly 30 million in military sales credits; \$21.5 million in security supporting assistance for fiscal year since 1976 and the transitional quarter; about \$29 million in Food for Peace and Commodity Credit Corporation loans for fiscal year 1976; and a \$20 million Export-Import Bank loan in process.<sup>3</sup> Covertly, the clandestine Africa Division developed in the 1970s an operation to boost Congolese presence in Angola by supporting the pro-US Angolan leader, Holden Roberto. Roberto was based in the Congo and took leadership of the Revolutionary

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<sup>1</sup> The World Factbook, "Angola," <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ao.html>

<sup>2</sup> Daniel Volman, "Oil, Arms and Violence in Africa," (Washington, DC: African Security Research Project, 2003): 1

<sup>3</sup> Stephen R. Weissman, "CIA Covert Action in Zaire and Angola: Patterns and Consequences," *Political Science Quarterly* (1979): 275

Government of Angola in Exile (GRAE) – a party that received military training and aide from the CIA.<sup>1</sup>

## Congo



The Democratic Republic of Congo, then known as the Congo Free State, was the personal property of King Leopold II as result of the 1885 agreement at the Berlin Conference but in November 1908, he relinquished control over the territory to Belgium.<sup>2</sup> On June 30, 1960, Congo became an independent state under the democratically elected pro-socialist leadership of the President Joseph Kasa-Vubu and the Prime Minister Patrice Emery Lumumba. Shortly after independence, the Belgian troops occupied parts of the country and helped to organize a secession of Katanga province of the Congo under the leadership of Moise Tshombe. Due to US President Eisenhower's backing of the Belgian occupation and despite the Congolese government's appeal to the United Nations, there was a delay in replacing the Belgian troops and a refusal to move against the secession of Katanga.<sup>3</sup> At the same time, Lawrence Devlin was appointed chief of the CIA station in the US embassy and immediately became involved in efforts to overthrow the Congolese government and assassinate some of its top officials – including the Prime Minister, Patrice Lumumba.<sup>4</sup>

The events following the assassination of Lumumba led to a period of political instability with brief leadership and in 1965, Congo was renamed Zaire under the CIA supported military coup d'etat led by Mobutu Sese Seko – former head of the Congolese Army as appointed by Lumumba. His 32-year rule from 1965–1997 – marked by personal exploits of Zaire's resource wealth inclusive of copper and diamonds – was protected by anti-communist US during the Cold War era and Mobutu's close relationship with former CIA director President George Bush II. Continued political instability and civil war coupled by the massive inflow of refugees in 1994 from neighboring Rwanda and Burundi fights led to a May 1997 regime change that placed Laurent Kabila as president.<sup>5</sup>

Kabila immediately renamed Zaire to it's current name of the Democratic Republic of Congo and his leadership was shortly challenged by former allies in

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<sup>1</sup> (Weissman 1979, 278)

<sup>2</sup> Georges Nzongola-Ntalaja, *The Congo from Leopold to Kabila: A People's History* (London and New York: Zed Books, 2002): 1

<sup>3</sup> (Weissman 1979, 265)

<sup>4</sup> (Weissman 1979, 265)

<sup>5</sup> The World Factbook, "Congo, Democratic Republic of the," <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/cg.html>

Rwanda and Uganda – though he retained leadership through the support of troops from Angola, Chad, Namibia, Sudan and Zimbabwe.<sup>1</sup> Laurent Kabila was assassinated in January 2001 and was replaced by his son, Joseph Kabila as president until a 2005 constitutional referendum that called for national elections that placed Vital Kamerhe as president in 2006. Continued warfare plagues the Congo claiming about 6 million lives, half of which are children 5 yrs old or younger and hundreds of thousands of women rape victims.<sup>2</sup>

## Nigeria



The Federal Republic of Nigeria is a powerhouse in Africa with a reputation as the highest populated country in Africa boasting over 130 million citizens and resource wealth in petroleum, iron ore, zinc and a host of other minerals. Prior to earning its independence in a non-violent appeal on October 1, 1960, Nigeria was a colonial property of England. Before England acquired Nigeria, the Portuguese commenced the slave trade in the port city Lagos in the 1441. By 1885, Britain expanded its presence in West Africa through the establishment of the Royal Niger Company. By 1901, Nigeria became a protectorate of England under the leadership of Lord Frederick John Dealtry Lugard whose wife named both Nigeria and the neighboring Niger. Lugard, an accomplished military man in the British army, had previous successes in setting up the colony in Uganda and was given the task of unifying the many ethnic groups in Nigeria. Though Lugard had reservations about the possibility of unifying the northern (comprised primarily of the Hausa) and southern (comprised primarily of the Yoruba, in the west, and the Igbo, in the east) protectorates of Nigeria. Lugard thought that “merely lumping together [the northern and southern protectorates] under the same administration [would be the lumping together of] groups of mutually incompatible peoples.”<sup>3</sup> In hindsight of the Biafran war, the civil war in Nigeria, Lugard’s policies of indirect rule to preserve tribal consciousness would

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<sup>1</sup> (The World Factbook, Congo)

<sup>2</sup> Break the Silence: October 19-25, 2008, “Why Congo Week?”

[http://www.congoweeek.org/english/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=61&Itemid=68](http://www.congoweeek.org/english/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=61&Itemid=68)

<sup>3</sup> Michael Crowder, *West Africa Under Colonial Rule* (London: Hutchinson & Co, 1968):

prove an insightful strategy in the economically and ethnically tense colony of Nigeria.

Shortly after independence on October 1, 1960, Nigeria quickly became a highly militarized state plagued with successive coup d'états and a civil war. From 1966–1998, Nigeria has primarily been a military state with 7 successful coup d'états and numerous failed attempts to militarily seize political power. A key motivation for these coups have been due to the oil reserves that has earned Nigeria the number one oil producing nation in Africa. These oil revenues have made it possible for Nigeria to afford major arms purchases, including combat aircraft, tanks, armored vehicles, and naval vessels.<sup>1</sup> Additionally, the quest for power through oil has caused both internal and external conflicts. Oil was a contributing factor to the secession of the oil rich eastern region of Nigeria that led to the civil war as well as it continues to be a source of tension in the Niger Delta region where the Nigerian government recently declared war on the indigenous militants. Until the historic 2008 peace agreement reached between Nigeria and Cameroon, a 50-year armed conflict over control of the oil rich Bakassi region led to death of many Nigerians and Cameroonians.

Although Nigeria's military might has been used in benevolent interventions in conflicts around Africa, the internal instability caused by excessive militarism has hindered potential political and economic growth in Nigeria. As noted earlier, Nigeria's oil reserves has contributed to conflict as well as has been as source of funding successive military rule. The US, an ally of Nigeria, has been motivated by Nigeria's oil to provide both weaponry and military training that has contributed to the prolonged arms tensions in the country. Nigeria-US military relationship has manifested in several ways, some of which include:

- a. U.S. special forces 'work with' the Nigerian military to control the Sahara, as part of the War on Terror
- b. The US and Nigeria coordinate on "security" in the Niger Delta, oil companies operating in the Delta have openly asked the US military for 'protection of their facilities'
- c. The U.S. Navy patrols the Gulf of Guinea to protect Nigerian oil fields<sup>2</sup>

Despite Nigeria's transition from a militarized state to a democratic system of governance, militarism (with assistance from the US and other western nations) continues to play a large role in internal and external politics.

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<sup>1</sup> (Volman 2003, 1-2)

<sup>2</sup> Steven Fake and Kevin Funk, "Weekly Commentary – Nigeria: A U.S. Ally at a Glance," (June 27, 2007), <http://confrontingempire.blogspot.com/2007/06/weekly-commentary-nigeria-us-ally-at.html>

## Somalia



The Somali Republic gained its independence from two of its colonial rulers England (on June 26, 1960) and Italy (July 1, 1960). As a colony, Somalia was split into two regions: the British Somaliland and the Italian Somaliland. By 1969, Somalia experienced its first coup d'état headed by Mohamed Said Barre that lasted over 20 years.<sup>1</sup> Shortly after the fall of Barre's regime in 1991, due to negligence by Barre's regime of the northwest region the country was "carved up into 16 fiefdoms controlled by faction leaders (warlords), and the Transitional Federal Government TFG) elected on [October 14, 2004] in Nairobi, Kenya."<sup>2</sup> Despite declaration of sovereignty the northwest region of Somalia, under the rulership of warlords, is not an internationally recognized state.

The political instability in Somalia is a product of both failed internal and external policies and conflicting interests. For example, "during the cold war both the US and Soviet Union vied for influence and control over Somalia because of its strategic location along oil routes from the Persian Gulf."<sup>3</sup> Consequently, both the US and Soviet Union took turns providing military aide through provisions in weaponry and training to the Somali government. In post-Cold War, post-Barre Somalia, the US continues to provide weaponry and training to Somalia. Also, a December 2006 controversial US-supported Ethiopian attack on Somalia was widely criticized as part of the US military mismanagement in the Global War on Terror. It is important to note the fallacy that the source of Somalia's conflict is due to ethnic tension. On the contrary, Somalia is a homogeneous society with most of its population sharing the same language, religion and ethnicity, thus the country continues to be plagued with internal conflict based on power struggles that have more

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<sup>1</sup> The World Factbook, "Somalia," <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ao.html>

<sup>2</sup> Vasu Gounden, Venashri Pillay and Karanja Mbugua, "African Solution for African Conflicts: Conflict Transformation and Peacebuilding in Africa," in *Shaping a New Africa*, ed. Abdullah A. Mohammed (Amsterdam: KIT Publishers, 2007): 36

<sup>3</sup> Emira Woods, "Somalia," *Foreign Policy in Focus* vol. 2, no. 19 (January 1997): <http://www.fpif.org/briefs/vol2/v2n19som.html>

to do with its strategic location in the Horn of Africa (near the Middle East) and its oil wealth.

## Sudan



The Republic of Sudan has a long history of both Arab and European influence. Prior to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the indigenous population of Sudan sustained themselves through agriculture, live stock herding and caravan trading between sub-Saharan Africa and the Mediterranean.<sup>1</sup> However, at from 1821–1880, Sudan suffered a series of brutal invasions that led to its division into several small Muslim states and a number of tribal territories.<sup>2</sup> Under control of Turco–Egyptian colonial forces, Sudan was severely depopulated by slavery and massacres forcing indigenous tribes to retreat inland. Additionally, from the mid 1870s, under the leadership of Turco–Egyptian ruler Khedive Ismail, Europeans and Americans enlisted in Ismail’s army to expand Egypt’s cotton production.<sup>3</sup>

The introduction of Europeans to the region led to weakening of Egypt’s control of Sudan that led to rise of the Madhist movement (1881–1898) –a popular uprising based on religio–political principles.<sup>4</sup> Conflicting interest in the region led to bloody clashes between the Madhists and European interests. Shortly following, Egypt and Britain co–conspired to overthrow the Madhist rule and in 1899, the succeeded in what is known as the Anglo–Egyptian Condominium Agreement where England was in full control through indirect rule and permitted Egypt with some of economic and administrative control of the region. Through nationalist efforts, Sudan earned its independence on January 1, 1956 but broke out into a civil war inspired by tensions between the Arab populated north and the indigenous population of the south of Sudan that lasted from 1955–1972.

The war ended with an agreement known as the Addis Ababa Agreement sponsored by the World Council of Churches that decreed autonomous governance for southern Sudan. However, in 1953, under the leadership of President Gaafar Nimeiry, northern Sudan attempted to take control of the south that led to second civil war that lasted from

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<sup>1</sup> Carole Collins, “Colonialism and Class Struggle in Sudan,” *MERIP Reports* (April 1976): 3

<sup>2</sup> (Collins 1976, 4)

<sup>3</sup> (Collins 1976, 4)

<sup>4</sup> (Collins 1976, 4)

1983–2005. At the same time, conflict was rising in the western region of Sudan in 2003 that displaced nearly two million people and caused an estimated 200,000 to 400,000 deaths.<sup>1</sup> In December 2007, the UN operating from the African Union took command of Sudan and since 2008 peacekeeping troops have continued efforts at attempted peace in Sudan.

Since the 1983, second civil war, a major factor in the continued instability in Sudan has been largely due to oil. As is the case in most other oil producing African countries, the acquisition of oil territories has helped regimes finance military weaponry. Although the US is a benefactor in the oil wealth of Sudan, so is China and the Sudan–China relationship has been internationally criticized for provisions in weaponry and ammunition.<sup>2</sup> Despite international attention is given to Sudan yet conflict still prevails in the country.

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<sup>1</sup> The World Factbook, “Sudan,” <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/ao.html>

<sup>2</sup> (Volman 2003, 2)



## Military Industrial Complex 101

In a 2004 interview, Noam Chomsky, renowned scholar and activist, commented on former US President Eisenhower's speech that introduced the term *military industrial complex* by stating, "I think Eisenhower's warning was appropriate, but either he didn't understand or else commentators don't understand, but the military-industrial complex, as he called it, is actually the core of the modern economy. It's not specifically military..."<sup>1</sup> And indeed, these words speak levels.

With the emergence of other such industrial complexes like the Prison Industrial Complex where the privatization of prison facilities have served as motivation to the rise in prison populations of about 2 million people serving time – with the majority convicted for nonviolent crimes.<sup>2</sup> Additionally, a disproportionate majority of people in prison being Black and Latino, and women representing the fasted growing population of incarcerated people.<sup>3</sup> Although the US ranks the highest in the number of incarcerated people in countries all over the world, the rise in prison populations is a global phenomenon as it truly is an industry with a lot of money to be made based on cheap to free labor that corporations profit from. This should be viewed in comparison with the rising number of arms weaponry sold in the world and the increasing military budgets of nation-states that are examples of the military industrial complex.

However, industrial complexes are not limited to the military and prisons but can be extended to the pretty much any government facility that seeks to benefit from the privatization of its service – this includes the healthcare industry and the development/non-profit sector. Thus, to properly understand the military industrial complex, an understanding of globalization with regards to the rise in free markets and privatization of public services in countries around the world must be accounted for.

Taking into account the complexity of industrial complexes, this section of the Resist AFRICOM guidebook focuses primarily on facts and figures of the military industrial complex.

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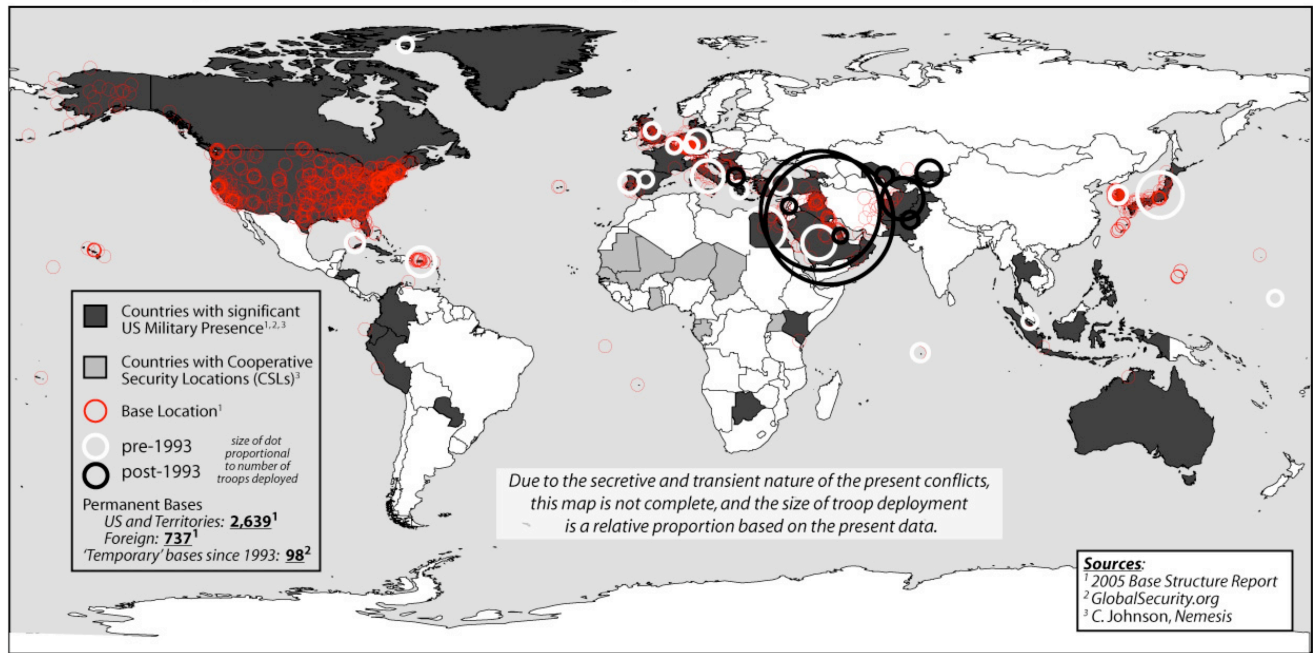
<sup>1</sup> Noam Chomsky interviewed by David Barsamina, "War Crimes and Imperialism Fantasies," *International Socialist Review* (September-October 2004), <http://chomsky.info/interviews/200408--.htm>

<sup>2</sup> Eric Schlosser, "The Prison Industrial Complex," *Atlantic Monthly* (December 1998): 54

<sup>3</sup> Chinyere Oparah, *Global Lockdown: Race, Gender, and the Prison Industrial Complex* (New York: Routledge, 2005): xv

## Facts

### Global Expansion of U.S. Military Involvement

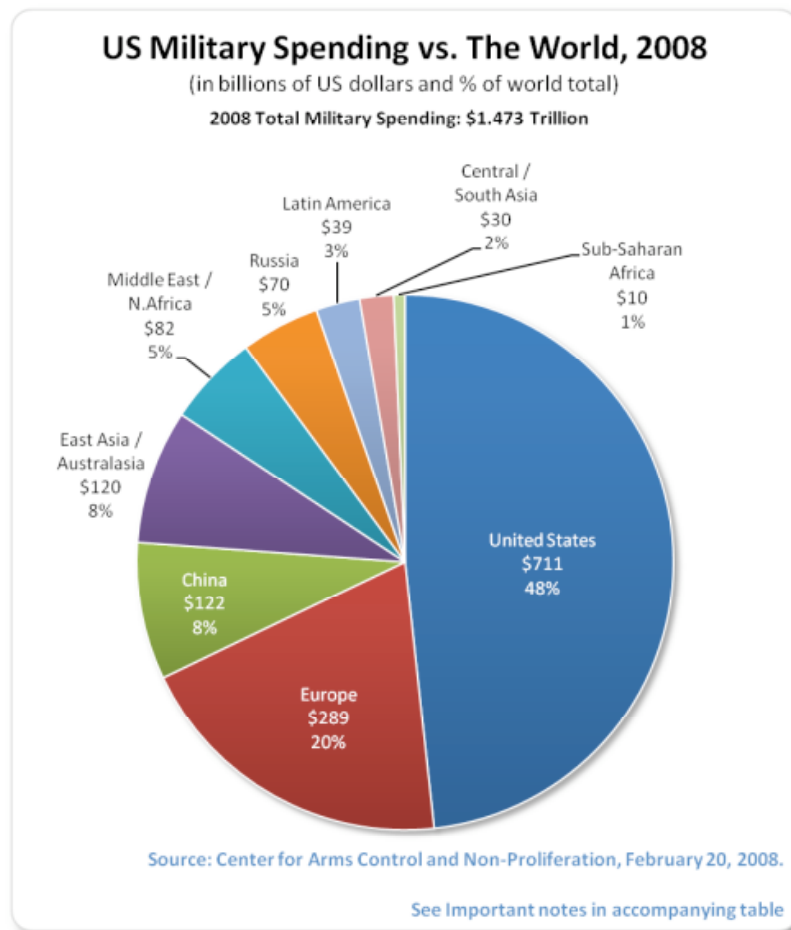


Source: Fellowship of Reconciliation / Brian McAdoo

- The term originated in a speech given by former US President Dwight D. Eisenhower's Farewell Address to the Nation on January 17, 1971 in which he stated:  
...This conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry is new in the American experience. The total influence – economic, political, even spiritual – is felt in every city, every statehouse, every office of the federal government. We recognize the imperative need for this development. Yet we must not fail to comprehend its grave implications. Our toil, resources and livelihood are involved; so is the very structure of our society. In the councils of government, we must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the **military industrial complex**. The potential for the disastrous rise of displaced power exists and will persist..."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dwight D. Eisenhower, *The Military Industrial Complex: with an Introduction by Jesse Smith* (Portland: Basementia Publications, 2006)

- Global Military expenditure and arms trade is also the largest spending in the world at 1,000 billion dollars annually<sup>1</sup>
- The US 2008 Military Budget is \$1.473 Trillion



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- The Bush administration is requesting \$515.4 billion for the Department of Defense in Fiscal Year 2009, which begins on October 1, 2008.<sup>3</sup>
- USA, Russia, France and Britain do the largest businesses of arms trade in the world.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Anup Shah, "Arms Trade – a major cause of suffering," *Global Issues* (March 2008)  
<http://www.globalissues.org/Geopolitics/ArmsTrade.asp>

<sup>2</sup> (Global Issues website)

<sup>3</sup> The Center for Arms Control and Non-Proliferations, "The FY 2009 Pentagon (DOD) Defense Budget Spending Request,"  
[http://www.armscontrolcenter.org/policy/securityspending/articles/fy09\\_dod\\_request/](http://www.armscontrolcenter.org/policy/securityspending/articles/fy09_dod_request/)

- Since 1992, the US has exported more than \$142 billion worth of weapons to states around the world<sup>2</sup>
- Lockheed Martin is the world's largest weapons manufacturer<sup>3</sup>

**Top 100 Recipients of Federal Contract Awards for FY 2008 for the 3<sup>rd</sup> Quarter as posted on USAspending.gov:**

<b>FY 2008 Rank</b>	<b>Parent Company Name</b>	<b>Dollars</b>	<b>% of total</b>
1	LOCKHEED MARTIN CORPORATION	\$10,827,278,070	7.037%
2	THE BOEING COMPANY	\$10,556,652,807	6.861%
3	NORTHROP GRUMMAN CORPORATION	\$6,978,914,779	4.536%
4	GENERAL DYNAMICS CORPORATION	\$5,519,844,615	3.587%
5	UNITED TECHNOLOGIES CORPORATION	\$3,686,831,563	2.396%
6	RAYTHEON COMPANY	\$3,641,511,127	2.367%
7	BAE SYSTEMS PLC	\$2,644,035,737	1.718%
8	KBR, INC.	\$1,994,149,854	1.296%
9	L-3 COMMUNICATIONS HOLDINGS, INC.	\$1,968,950,849	1.280%
10	LAWRENCE LIVERMORE NATIONAL SECURITY, LLC	\$1,900,595,278	1.235%
11	LOS ALAMOS NATIONAL SECURITY LLC	\$1,868,665,358	1.214%
12	MCKESSON CORPORATION	\$1,849,532,505	1.202%
13	BECHTEL GROUP, INC	\$1,763,146,330	1.146%
14	NAVISTAR DEFENSE LLC	\$1,654,707,216	1.075%
15	COMPUTER SCIENCES CORPORATION	\$1,543,849,055	1.003%
16	CALIFORNIA INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY (unknown parent company, no D & B number)	\$1,247,028,140	0.810%
17	ITT CORPORATION	\$1,211,356,558	0.787%
18	SAIC, INC.	\$1,210,781,653	0.787%
19	URS CORPORATION	\$1,203,241,935	0.782%
20	HONEYWELL INTERNATIONAL INC.	\$1,159,730,401	0.754%
21	BATTELLE MEMORIAL INSTITUTE INC	\$930,101,403	0.604%

<sup>1</sup> (Global Issues website)

<sup>2</sup> Foreign Military Sales (FMS) and Direct Sales Commercial (DSC), "Foreign Military Sales, Foreign Military Construction Sales and Military Assistance FY 1990 – FY 2000" (September 26, 2001)

<sup>3</sup> Frida Berrigan, "United States Rides Weapons Bonanza Wave," *Foreign Policy in Focus* (November 2006), <http://www.fpif.org/fpiftxt/3715>

22	ABU DHABI NATIONAL OIL COMPANY FOR DISTRIBUTION	\$918,256,500	0.597%
23	GENERAL ELECTRIC COMPANY	\$916,761,851	0.596%
24	MACANDREWS & FORBES HOLDINGS INC.	\$888,943,979	0.578%
25	INTEGRATED COAST GUARD SYSTEMS LLC	\$867,332,306	0.564%
26	UT-BATTELLE, LLC	\$865,609,547	0.563%
27	MERCK & CO., INC.	\$843,453,377	0.548%
28	CH2M HILL COMPANIES, LTD.	\$813,289,378	0.529%
29	WESTINGHOUSE ELECTRIC CORPORATION	\$781,612,597	0.508%
30	GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES	\$771,588,482	0.501%
31	INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS MACHINES CORPORATION	\$717,399,683	0.466%
32	BOOZ ALLEN HAMILTON INC.	\$715,895,935	0.465%
33	AGILITY	\$693,092,111	0.450%
34	ELECTRONIC DATA SYSTEMS CORPORATION	\$643,912,717	0.418%
35	FLUOR CORPORATION	\$632,257,559	0.411
36	BAHRAIN NATIONAL OIL COMPANY BSC	\$614,294,944	0.399%
37	BABCOCK & WILCOX TECHNICAL SERVICES Y-12, LLC	\$595,532,192	0.387%
38	GENERAL MOTORS CORPORATION	\$554,375,061	0.360%
39	THE REGENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA	\$544,279,464	0.354%
40	BWXT PANTEX, L.L.C.	\$509,904,301	0.331%
41	JACOBS ENGINEERING GROUP INC.	\$502,196,047	0.326%
42	FORCE PROTECTION, INC.	\$495,260,804	0.322%
43	ASSOCIATED UNIVERSITIES INC	\$472,612,245	0.307%
44	G4S PLC	\$430,999,283	0.280%
45	TEXTRON INC.	\$429,315,730	0.279%
46	CLARK ENTERPRISES, INC.	\$427,524,559	0.278%
47	ALLIANT TECHSYSTEMS INC	\$423,948,108	0.276%
48	UNITED SPACE ALLIANCE, LLC	\$420,555,173	0.273%
49	UCHICAGO ARGONNE, LLC	\$408,810,746	0.266%
50	CERBERUS CAPITAL MANAGEMENT, L.P.	\$407,089,808	0.265%
51	HARRIS CORPORATION	\$403,288,982	0.262%
52	WYETH	\$403,080,236	0.262%
53	VERITAS CAPITAL MANAGEMENT II LLC	\$394,843,329	0.257%
54	UNISYS CORPORATION	\$393,015,870	0.255%
55	AMERISOURCEBERGEN	\$390,196,470	0.254%

	CORPORATION		
56	THE MITRE CORPORATION	\$381,450,298	0.248%
57	CACI INTERNATIONAL INC	\$375,639,641	0.244%
58	BAE SYSTEMS LAND AND ARMAMENTS INCORPORATED (3796) (unknown parent company, no D & B number)	\$371,008,022	0.241%
59	NORTHROP GRUMMAN SYSTEMS CORPORATION	\$349,137,138	0.227%
60	SK HOLDINGS CO., LTD.	\$336,576,693	0.219%
61	OSHKOSH CORPORATION	\$332,513,735	0.216%
62	MCDERMOTT INTERNATIONAL, INC.	\$331,296,357	0.215%
63	KUWAIT NATIONAL PETROLEUM COMPANY KSC	\$327,769,948	0.213%
64	CARDINAL HEALTH, INC.	\$327,204,965	0.213%
65	AFINSA BIENES TANGIBLES SA	\$326,334,489	0.212%
66	LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY	\$324,024,843	0.211%
67	FERMI RESEARCH ALLIANCE LLC	\$321,684,192	0.209%
68	DRS TECHNOLOGIES, INC.	\$319,200,792	0.207%
69	THE CHARLES STARK DRAPER LABORATORY INC	\$316,942,257	0.206
70	GLAXOSMITHKLINE PLC	\$300,922,877	0.196%
71	BECHTEL PLANT MACHINERY INCORPORATED (unknown parent company, no D & B number)	\$297,679,886	0.193%
72	MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY	\$295,716,551	0.192%
73	SRA INTERNATIONAL, INC.	\$293,322,001	0.191%
74	ROCKWELL COLLINS, INC.	\$285,243,663	0.185%
75	RAYTHEON COMPANY (unknown parent company, no D & B number)	\$284,520,456	0.185%
76	CBS BROADCASTING INCORPORATED (0445) (unknown parent company, no D & B number)	\$282,347,840	0.183%
77	SANOFI PASTEUR MSD S.N.C. SIGLE SPMSD	\$281,249,587	0.183%
78	ACCENTURE LTD	\$264,059,785	0.172%
79	ARINC INCORPORATED	\$260,555,910	0.169%
80	COMBAT SUPPORT ASSOCIATES	\$254,700,000	0.166%
81	SSANGYONG (U. S. A.), INC.	\$254,279,679	0.165%
82	ARCTIC SLOPE REGIONAL CORPORATION	\$250,787,273	0.163%
83	EUROPEAN AERONAUTIC DEFENCE AND SPACE COMPANY EADS N.V.	\$244,533,740	0.159%
84	GENERAL ATOMIC	\$232,346,416	0.151%

	TECHNOLOGIES CORPORATION		
85	DELL INC.	\$231,715,411	0.151%
86	FORD MOTOR COMPANY	\$231,338,373	0.150%
87	SUPREME FOODSERVICE AG	\$231,185,724	0.150%
88	VERITAS CAPITAL FUND II, L.P.	\$228,592,453	0.149%
89	THE AEROSPACE CORPORATION	\$226,207,624	0.147%
90	THE SHAW GROUP INC	\$223,387,757	0.145%
91	CARGILL INCORPORATED	\$219,301,678	0.143
92	HENSEL PHELPS CONSTRUCTION CO	\$215,856,529	0.140%
93	NATIONAL SECURITY TECHNOLOGIES LIMITED LIABILITY COMPANY (unknown parent company, no D & B number)	\$213,729,909	0.139%
94	AKAL SECURITY, INC	\$204,079,103	0.133%
95	CERADYNE INC	\$204,024,441	0.133%
96	VALERO ENERGY CORPORATION	\$203,207,000	0.132%
97	THE INTERPUBLIC GROUP OF COMPANIES INC	\$199,671,020	0.130%
98	MARITIME HELICOPTER SUPPORT COMPANY LLC	\$195,908,806	0.127%
99	GLOBAL FLEET SALES INC	\$189,475,448	0.123%
100	AFFILIATED COMPUTER SERVICES, INC.	\$187,991,134	0.122%
	Total for top 100	\$97,880,156,052	63.612%
	All others (includes 106,736 other contractors)	\$55,990,768,170	36.388%
	- Total	\$153,870,924,222	100%

## AFRICOM: New US Military Command effective October 1, 2008

### The Unified Command Plan



The US is the only nation that divides the world into military commands with a general or admiral in command assigned to each region.<sup>2</sup> During World War II, the US Developed the Unified Command Plan that is defined on the Department of Defense (formerly known as the Department of War) website as:

The Unified Command Plan establishes the missions and geographic responsibilities among the combatant commanders. Among revisions to the plan that took place on Oct. 1, 2002:

\* U.S. Northern Command – new combatant command assigned to defend the United States and support military assistance to civil authorities.

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<sup>1</sup> US Department of Defense, “Command Structure,”  
<http://www.defenselink.mil/specials/unifiedcommand/>

<sup>2</sup> Bruce Blair, Brian Ellison et al, 2007 *Military Almanac Prepared by the Straus Military Reform Project* (Washington, DC: The World Security Institute’s Center for Defense Information, 2007): 21.



\* U.S. Joint Forces Command – focus became transforming U.S. military forces; geographic responsibilities shift to Northern and European commands.

\* U.S. Space Command and Strategic Command merged into an expanded STRATCOM, headquartered at Offutt Air Force Base, Neb.<sup>1</sup>

## Global War on Terror

US Africa Command, also known as AFRICOM, is the brainchild of Donald Rumsfeld– the controversial former Secretary of Defense under the Bush administration – and is an extension of the 2002 announcement of the “1–4–2–1” Defense Strategy to prepare for the Global War on Terror. This defense strategy was coined to reflect articulated military plans as followed:

The [National Defense Strategy] directs a force sized to defend the homeland, deter forward in and from four regions [Europe, Northeast Asia, East Asia and the Middle East], and conduct two [regional operations at a time], overlapping “swift defeat” campaigns. Even when committed to a limited number of lesser contingencies, the force must be able to “win decisively” in one of the two campaigns. This “1–4–2–1” force-sizing construct places a premium on increasingly innovative and efficient methods to achieve objectives.<sup>2</sup>

In accordance with the “1–4–2–1” strategy came the unprecedented establishment of Northern Command (or NORTHCOM) – the first domestic military command since the civil war.<sup>3</sup> The Department of Defense website describes the missions of NORTHCOM to include:

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<sup>1</sup> (US Department of Defense website)

<sup>2</sup> 2004 National Military Strategy Unclassified Version, “National Military Strategy of the United States: A Strategy for Today, A Vision for Tomorrow,” [www.defenselink.mil/news/Mar2005/d20050318nms.pdf](http://www.defenselink.mil/news/Mar2005/d20050318nms.pdf)

<sup>3</sup> Frida Berrigan, ““Entrenched, Embedded, and Here to Stay,” *Al Jazeera* (June 2008), <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/newsfull.php?newid=124109>

USNORTHCOM's civil support mission includes domestic disaster relief operations that occur during fires, hurricanes, floods and earthquakes. Support also includes counter-drug operations and managing the consequences of a terrorist event employing a weapon of mass destruction. The command provides assistance to a Lead Agency when tasked by DoD. Per the Posse Comitatus Act, military forces can provide civil support, but cannot become directly involved in law enforcement.<sup>1</sup>

If not for protections offered by the Posse Comitatus Act (1878) that “generally prohibiting direct participation of DoD personnel in law enforcement (e.g., search, seizure, and arrests).”<sup>2</sup> Although it was recommended by Homeland Security Director Tom Ridge to repeal this act, Posse Comitatus continues to serve to limit the domestic authority of the Department of Defense (DOD). Unfortunately, the Posse Comitatus act does not prevent DOD personnel or military subcontractors from training and assisting law enforcement divisions. As a result many police departments across the US are receiving military training.

## **Oil Factor**

Although the official AFRICOM website denies petroleum being a motivator for the establishment of this new military command, the activities exemplified under CENTCOM (the military command primarily monitoring the Middle East) as well as previous and on-going US-Africa relations suggests otherwise. With gas prices now in excess of \$140 a barrel (a significant increase from \$70 a year ago), consequently this has had adverse effects in increasing poverty that is linked to the current food crises – and both of these contribute to global instability.<sup>3</sup> Yet, history has shown that the rise in gas prices is linked to militarism.

The first time the US attempted to occupy the Middle East was shortly following the July 1958 Revolution in Iraq that led to the US landing 20,000 Marines in Lebanon with intentions of invading Iraq. These came under orders by the Eisenhower administration – in what was

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<sup>1</sup> Department of Defense, “About USNORTHCOM,” <http://www.northcom.mil/About/index.html>

<sup>2</sup> Posse Comitatus Act, <http://www.uscg.mil/hq/g-cp/comrel/factfile/factcards/PosseComitatus.html>

<sup>3</sup> Democracy Now, “With Crises in Fuel, Food, Housing and Banking, What Govt. Policies Are Being Pushed Through? Naomi Klein Reexamines ‘The Shock Doctrine,’” [http://www.democracynow.org/2008/7/15/with\\_crises\\_in\\_fuel\\_food\\_housing](http://www.democracynow.org/2008/7/15/with_crises_in_fuel_food_housing)

called the Eisenhower Doctrine – to respond to the revolutionary regime in Baghdad that threatened to nationalize the oil sector. Had it not been for the power-check provided by Cold War competitors Russia and China that promised to militarily support the new Iraqi regime, the US would not have backed down on attack options.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, as result in the hike in oil prices inspired by Saudi Arabia's embargo on Israel as a result of the 1973 **Yom Kippur/ Ramadan War** between Israel and the Arab world<sup>2</sup>, the US began deploying military capabilities in and around the Middle East region – particularly the coastal peripheries in Western Europe and offshore East Asia (except for Korea).<sup>3</sup> By 1983, under the Reagan administration, these deployed military capabilities in the Middle East were extended to the Horn of Africa (Egypt, Somalia, Sudan, Eritrea, Ethiopia and Djibouti) and made official in what is now known as Central Command, or CENTCOM. Since it's initial creation, the US has been party to scandals and warfare in the region ranging from the 1986 weapons trade scandal known as the **Iran Contra affair** to the 1990–91 Gulf War to the present day Global War on Terror.

Specific to US interests in Africa's oil, the irony is that compared to the 61.7% of proven global oil reserves that the Middle East boasts, Africa's 9.4% is miniscule.<sup>4</sup> Yet, oil-dependent industrial nations like the United States, China and the countries of western Europe, Africa's oil has been the source of competition and subject to speculation as to what motivates this creation of AFRICOM.<sup>5</sup> Yet adding to the case that securing US's oil interests is the primary mission of AFRICOM is based on the fact that US imports about 24% of it's oil from Africa – especially, Algeria, Nigeria and Angola.<sup>6</sup> In addition to these oil interests are Africa's other resource wealth of diamonds, copper, coltane and cobalt. Also, there are profits to be made militarily with the potential for increased profits of military contractors and arms dealers with the rising instability in war-torn African nations that are better remedied by addressing developmental concerns rather than military.

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<sup>1</sup> Mehdi Parvizi Amineh and Hek Houweling, "IR-Theory and Transformation in the Greater Middle East: the Role of the United States," *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology* (2007): 62

<sup>2</sup> BBC, "A History of Conflict: The 1973 Yom Kippur War," [http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/spl/hi/middle\\_east/03/v3\\_ip\\_timeline/htm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/shared/spl/hi/middle_east/03/v3_ip_timeline/htm)

<sup>3</sup> (Amineh and Houweling 2007, 63)

<sup>4</sup> BP, *BP Statistical Review of World Energy 2005* (London: BP, June 2005): 4

<sup>5</sup> Michael Klare and Daniel Volman, "The African 'Oil Rush' and American National Security," *Third World Quarterly* (2006): 609

<sup>6</sup> Emira Woods, "Africa's Own Needs Should Come First," *Yes!* (Summer 2008): 25

## Development in Africa

The development industry in Africa is not one that can be honestly understood without addressing the its many flaws. The US alone boasts a \$1.3 trillion aide industry comprised of non-profit art museums, university facilities, think thanks, church charities and social justice organizations dependent largely on governmental funds and private foundations – constituting the world’s seventh largest economy.<sup>1</sup> Increasing focus on the civil society sector begun in the 1990s in response to concerns with globalization, the change in the post-Cold War political landscape and the widening gap of global social equality.<sup>2</sup> At the core of it is the guiding principle of the role of civil society in a community is the concept of *social capital*. *Social capital* prescribes an economic principle where people can work and live together and build communities through non-market activities that inadvertently strengthen market transactions.<sup>3</sup> Yet, this apparent ideal middle ground of a civil society where state interests and the common good meet is also a place where, particularly through manipulation through funding, non-governmental/not-for-profit organizations are in a fragile position to further disadvantage the populations its ideals aim to service.

Especially in light of the old language around AFRICOM’s intent to “develop” Africa, an understanding of the pre-existing, non-military inconsistency exemplified in the pre-existing development structure – that earned the title *non-profit industrial complex* – is important for understanding how easily it is to manipulate a donor-dependent civil society and the dangers it holds for the increasingly militarized sector. Keeping in mind that in at the start of the new century, the United Nations proposed the ambitious Millennium Development Goals that called for an increase in aid worldwide. In a 2007 progress report for the Millennium Goals, the report stated:

...[T]he projected shortfalls are most severe in sub-Saharan Africa. Even in regions that have made substantial progress, including parts of Asia, face challenges in areas such as health and environmental sustainability. More generally, the lack of employment opportunities for young people, gender inequalities, rapid unplanned urbanization, deforestation, increasing

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<sup>1</sup> Incite! Women of Color Against Violence, *The Revolution Will Not be Funded: Beyond the Non Profit Industrial Complex* (Cambridge: South End Press, 2007).

<sup>2</sup> Alison Van Rooy, *Civil Society and the Aid Industry: The Politics and Promise* (London: Earthscan, 1998): 6

<sup>3</sup> (Rooy 1998, 13)

water scarcity and high HIV prevalence are pervasive obstacles.<sup>1</sup>

Although the tone of the report optimistically acknowledged achievements, it also pointed out the need for more serious concerted efforts to meet the 2015 goal mark. Ironically, global donor aid has increased significantly since the 1990s yet its measurable outcomes continue to fall short on the curbing on inadvertent behavior that cause the above-mentioned hindrances to development. Without a curbing of global behavior that inspires continued challenges of “health and environmental sustainability” and correcting social conditions that give way to “lack of employment, opportunities, rapid unplanned urbanization, deforestation increasing water scarcity and high HIV prevalence,” inflated budgets will continue to prove inconclusive.

Interestingly, militarism, which has been the source of instability in all over the world, is now being marketed (in the package of AFRICOM) to remedy these social ailes. Despite the new language on [www.africom.mil](http://www.africom.mil) that suggests a partnership between the State Department (which facilitates distribution of USAID money) and the Department of Defense, the are still undertones of imperialism that has given way to the underdevelopment of Africa. The bottom line is that AFRICOM, under any packaging or repackaging, is still an extension of militarism – which is dependent on the environmentally detrimental oil and gas industry as well as has a profit margin that spikes with each new global conflict – and therefore does not directly or indirectly benefit Africa or any region in the world.

### **US Africa Command (AFRICOM)**

*This section of the paper is taken from the Resist AFRICOM website, [www.resistafricom.org](http://www.resistafricom.org)*

According to former official description of AFRICOCM read, “*AFRICOM is a new U.S. military headquarters devoted solely to Africa. AFRICOM is the result of an internal reorganization of the U.S. military command structure, creating one administrative headquarters that is responsible to the Secretary of Defense for U.S. military relations with 53 African countries.*” But as result of pressures from civil society in Africa, the United States and around the world, the DoD has tempered its language to now reflect:

The designers of U.S. Africa Command clearly understood the relationships between security, development, diplomacy and prosperity in Africa. As a result, U.S. Africa Command, or AFRICOM, reflects a much more integrated staff structure, one that includes

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<sup>1</sup> United Nations, *Millennium Projected Goals Report 2007* (compiled by Inter-Agency and Expert Group of MGD Indictors, 2007): 4

significant management and staff representation by the Department of State, U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), and other U.S. government agencies involved in Africa. The command also will seek to incorporate partner nations and humanitarian organizations, from Africa and elsewhere, to work alongside the U.S. staff on common approaches to shared interests.<sup>1</sup>

Previously, Africa had been covered by three separate commands – European Command (EUCOM), Pacific Command (PACOM), and Central Command (CENTCOM).

Despite these victories gained from opposition to AFRICOM civil society, it still holds the potential to drastically shift US foreign policy – a foreign policy that places an emphasis on defense above diplomacy. Donald Rumsfeld, a man expelled from office for his failed policies in the Middle East, approved the creation of this command. AFRICOM is designed to fulfill the immediate special interests of the United States with little heed to the implications for the people of Africa.

## **WHERE IS AFRICOM LOCATED? WHO LEADS IT?**

AFRICOM is currently located in Stuttgart, Germany, alongside European Command. Originally, the Pentagon sought a location on the continent; however, due to the strong outcry from African governments and African civil society, the command will remain in Stuttgart until a later date.

AFRICOM is led by a four-star general, General William ‘Kip’ E. Ward. Deputy to the Commander for Civil-Military Activities is Ambassador Mary Carlin Yates and Deputy to the Commander for Military Operations is Vice Admiral Robert T. Moeller.

Due to this structure, many organizations on the continent, including USAID, will fall under the jurisdiction of General Ward. Ambassadors, whose are traditionally the point-persons for US foreign policy may be overshadowed by more military focused objectives.

## **WHAT IS THE MISSION OF AFRICOM?**

The Command has yet to articulate a clear mission, but the official website states that *“U.S. Africa Command will better enable the Department of Defense and other elements of the U.S. government to work in concert and with partners to achieve a more stable environment in which political and economic growth can take place. U.S. Africa Command is consolidating the efforts of three*

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<sup>1</sup> United States Africa Command, “About AFRICOM,”  
<http://www.africom.mil/AboutAFRICOM.asp>

*existing headquarters commands into one that is focused solely on Africa and helping to coordinate US government contributions on the continent. Unlike traditional Unified Commands, Africa Command will focus on war prevention rather than war-fighting. Africa Command intends to work with African nations and African organizations to build regional security and crisis-response capacity in support of U.S. government efforts in Africa.”*

However, in several meetings, briefings, and statements, high-level officials have said that AFRICOM has three main goals: (1) to counter terrorism on African soil as part of the Global War on Terror, (2) to protect oil resources, recognizing that the US may purchase as much as 25% of its oil from Africa by 2015, and (3) to counter China’s growing economic investment on the continent.

Yes, AFRICOM is designed to bring stability to Africa, but only as it serves US interests. It is our belief that AFRICOM will actually *destabilize* the continent in the long-run and will put our partners in Africa at risk. For all the talk of it being a new, innovative engagement, AFRICOM may simply serve to protect unpopular regimes that are friendly to US interests while Africa slips further into poverty, as was the case during the Cold War.

The so called mission of AFRICOM is not something that can be accomplished by the U.S. military– by any military– regardless of specialized training and cooperation with experts and good intentions. If the US government truly wants to promote peace, stability, and human development in Africa, it should not do so by a military command but by offering a civilian-driven just security approach.

## **WHAT IS AFRICA’S RESPONSE?**

According to DoD and State Department officials, most African governments have welcomed the presence of AFRICOM and have expressed positive interest.

However, according to our partners on the ground, African civil society, several African regional bodies, and most African governments, AFRICOM is not welcome on African soil. Many Africans have voiced a resounding “no” to AFRICOM. The Southern African Development Community (SADC), which includes 14 Southern African nations, [has publicly denounced AFRICOM](#) and has said it will not tolerate the presence of an American military structure on its soil. Nigeria, Libya, Botswana have made similar statements. The only government to offer its country as a location for the AFRICOM headquarters is [Liberia](#).

The DoD failed to adequately consult with African governments and regional bodies before announcing the establishment of the command, though now it appears to be in continued consultation with African governments.

Many Africans are concerned about the role of private military contractors such as DynCorp International, Blackwater Worldwide, and Northrup Grumman. Considering the notorious history of defense contractors in other “unstable” parts of the world, it is not unreasonable to see why there is a strong opposition to this. Several of these contractors are [already engaged on the continent](#) and have proved themselves incapable of adequately bringing security or stability to communities.



## Where Do We Go From Here?: Points of Collaboration

With every dire and testing situation breeds many opportunities for growth. It is with the hope of this sentiment that fuels social movements that ultimately bring about long-ranging, sustainable change. Yes, the military industrial complex is a vast and well-funded organism that lends to the US being a superpower. However, life gains no sustenance, and ultimately is not maintained, by military might. The true superpower is in the will of the people to organize and pressurize structures to shift in scope and methods. Of all the shortcomings of globalization, one of its gifts is the ability for all who chose to connect on positive and uplifting agendas to do so more easily. Through information sharing channels like the Internet and other media, access to knowledge to feed movements is greater now than ever. Also, with communication mechanisms like cell phones, we are able to build global movements that reach from Washington, DC to Kinshasa. These are gifts.

Nonetheless, these gifts are mere ornaments without breaking the chains that aim to isolate injustices. Being able to draw informed connections between the increasing police brutality within the United States and rampant civil wars across Africa serve as base understanding to utilizing the before-mentioned new technologies for ranging global action. Organization is key. The ability to build coalitions amongst coalitions is the most empowering thing that will help in finally putting an end to the injustices felt on localized terrains. This section provides basic information on related social movements that stem from the same seed as the military industrial complex.

### Police State/Prison Industrial Complex

**Garrison State:** (*noun*) a state organized to serve primarily its own need for military security; *also*: a state maintained by military power.<sup>1</sup>

A garrison state, also known as a police state, was a term introduced by sociologist Harold Lasswell in a 1941 article called "The Garrison State". In this groundbreaking article, Lasswell noted that, "It is no longer possible to affirm that those who enter the military services take the physical risk while those who remain at home stay safe and contribute to the equipment and the comfort of the courageous heroes at

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<sup>1</sup> "garrison state." Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary. 2008. Merriam-Webster Online. 28 July 2008 <[http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/garrison state](http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/garrison%20state)>

the front. Indeed, it in some periods of modern warfare, casualties among civilians may outnumber the casualties of the armed forces.”<sup>1</sup> He further noted that the methods in which such a police state manifests is in the “abolition of the ‘unemployed’”<sup>2</sup> and that this stigmatization – in what he coined “propaganda of the deed”<sup>3</sup> – helps in setting the psychology of the masses into a prejudiced mindset of “all who do not accept employment flout military discipline.”<sup>4</sup>

With this conditioning to accept disciplinary measures of marginalized citizens, he states, “The spectacle of compulsory labor gangs in prisons or concentration camps is a negative means of conserving morale – negative since it arouses fear and guilt. Compulsory labor groups are suitable popular scapegoats in a military state. The duty to obey, to serve the state, to work – these are cardinal virtues in a military state.”<sup>5</sup> In modern manifestations of this 1941 prediction, we see the emergence of a police dominion that justifies its presence in communities around the United States, in particular, but also in other places, on the notion of keeping law and order. However, the criminalization of the poor, specifically the unemployed and homeless, helps in the conditioning the masses of people to accept the rising prison rates and excessive police presence. Lasswell notes that that reason for such a police state lies in the interests of the business elites (i.e. corporations) that under a garrison state “will be able to regularize the rate of production, since they will be free from many of the conventions that may have stood in the way of adopting measures suitable to this purpose in the business state.”<sup>6</sup> Again, in contemporary society, most prisons have been privatized. Under the Reagan administration’s policy trend of free-market solutions, the first private prison facility emerged in 1984 and since then maintains a gross revenue of billions of dollars.<sup>7</sup> Under collaboration with the United States Immigration and Naturalization Services and the Corrections Corporation of America (CCA), the first US private prisons were instated and the first contract was signed between the Hamilton County, Tennessee and the CCA.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Harold D. Lasswell, “The Garrison State,” *The American Journal of Sociology* (Jan., 1941): 459

<sup>2</sup> (Lasswell 1941, 459)

<sup>3</sup> (Lasswell 1941, 459)

<sup>4</sup> (Lasswell 1941, 459)

<sup>5</sup> (Lasswell 1941, 460)

<sup>6</sup> (Lasswell 1941, 464)

<sup>7</sup> Stephen McFarland, Chris McGowan and Tom O’Tool, “Prisons, Privatizations, and Public Values,” (presented to Prof. Mildred Warner at Cornell University for class “Privatization and Devolution CRT 612” December 2002)

<sup>8</sup> (McFarland et al 2002)

Since 1984, the US is known to be country with the highest number of incarcerated people. With 2 million and counting, privatized prison facilities are disproportionately filled with Blacks and Latinos – with women being the fastest growing population. Another disturbing phenomenon that compliments the termed “prison industrial complex,” is police brutality. A 1998 Human Rights Watch report noted fourteen US cities for their “lack of effective public accountability and transparency, a persistent failure to investigate and punish officers who commit human rights violations, and a variety of obstacles to achieving justice.”<sup>1</sup> These cities include: Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Indianapolis, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, New Orleans, New York, Philadelphia, Portland, Providence, San Francisco and Washington, DC. With contemporary headlines of infamous cases like the NYPD shootings of Amadou Diallo and Sean Bell, are only the tip of a massive iceberg of state sponsored terrorism. Due to the lack of participation of local police departments, accurate numbers of how many people fall victim to police brutality (inclusive of shootings and mishandlings) remain a source for speculation without scientific measure. However, a New York Times article revealed that available data shows that the number of “justifiable” police murders have not increased since 1976, averaging 373 a year.<sup>2</sup> Notably, the data provided does not take into account population growth, “unjustifiable” police murders, or the increase in police officers with firearms. This precedence is not only in the US, but is also visible other countries like Indonesia, Israel and Nigeria. However, because of the international reputation of the US, its actions sets a standard, and as noted in other sections of this guidebook, the US has also supported militarism in other countries.

Organized efforts in the US to address the police state have been pioneered by grassroots organizations like Critical Resistance, the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement and the International People’s Democratic Uhuru Movement. On a judicial level, the American Civil Liberties Union works in solidarity with grassroots organizations to press charges and keep press for legislative changes that will assist in reducing the number of incarcerated people and police brutality incidents. Coalition building efforts have helped establish events like the October 22<sup>nd</sup> Coalition to Stop Police Brutality, Repression, and the criminalization of a generation – an endeavor that that begun in 1996 by concerned organizations that address not only police brutality but also the issue US

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<sup>1</sup> “Shielded from Justice Police Brutality,” *Human Rights Watch*, <http://www.hrw.org/about/initiatives/police.htm>

<sup>2</sup> Fox Butterfield, “Ideas and Trends: Bookkeeping; When the Police Shoot, Who’s Counting?” *New York Times*, April 29, 2001, online edition <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9505E6DD1139F93AA15757C0A9679C8B63>

political prisoners.<sup>1</sup> This solidarity stance takes place in over 40 US cities and is marked by demonstrations, cultural events and varying forms of protests. Internationally, groups like the Montreal Collective Opposed to Police Brutality in Canada and the Black Flag in Switzerland begun an initiative in 1997 that designated March 15<sup>th</sup> as the International Day Against Police Brutality.<sup>2</sup>

## Anti-war Movement

Throughout history, there have been fractions of society that oppose wars for various reasons inclusive of morality and illegitimate reasons for engaging in combat. However, the Vietnam War (1959–1975) sparked an organized anti-war movement that unified many organizations and individuals in solidarity to oppose the US intervention of internal Vietnamese ideological conflict of the communist North Vietnam and capitalist South Vietnam. Due to the on-going Cold War between the US and the Soviet Union, US involvement in Vietnam was one based on the power struggle interrupt the highly organized and militarized North Vietnam. By supporting South Vietnam through military aide (i.e. supplying of weapons and machinery), training programs and ultimately deploying US troops to fight in what would otherwise have been a civil war, people all over the US began protesting the war.

As a movement, it grew out of opposition to US interring in a domestic Vietnam dispute as well as for the immoral attacks on the Vietnamese people (i.e. bombings and utilization of agent orange) and sending young US citizens to fight through draft. Opposition to the war unified previously organized organizations and movements and inspired new caucuses that implemented various types of protests. Organizations like Sane Nuclear Policy (SANE), a middle class organization that represented the liberal peace activism, as well as the Student Peace Union (SPU) another liberal organization emerged on college campuses across the US but was shortly replaced by a more radical student organization called Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).<sup>3</sup> SDS's leftist politics followed the legacy of previous anti-war efforts in previous US engagement and grew out of a socialist and anti-empire culture. SDS

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<sup>1</sup> "History and Background of October," *October 22<sup>nd</sup> Coalition to Stop Police Brutality, Repression and the Criminalization of a Generation*, <http://www.october22.org/HistoryBackground.html>

<sup>2</sup> "International Day Against Police Brutality," *Wikipedia*, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International\\_Day\\_Against\\_Police\\_Brutality](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International_Day_Against_Police_Brutality)

<sup>3</sup> "The Anti-War Movement in the United States," *Modern American Poetry*, <http://www.english.uiuc.edu/maps/vietnam/antiwar.html>

grew rapidly and gave energy to the movement that helped other alliances and institutions actively oppose the Vietnam War.

There were many bridges formed to unify varying ideological oppositions to the war. For example, the Free Speech Movement that emerged out of the University of California at Berkeley begun in 1964 and was initiated by students active in the Civil Rights movement during the Mississippi Freedom Summer.<sup>1</sup> Also, other groups joined the movement like the Quakers who had a history of opposition to war with conscientious objectors like slavery abolitionist and author Henry David Thoreau during the US Civil War era. Though primarily led by pacifist groups and non-violent demonstrations, militant groups like the Black Panther Party for Self Defense also stood in solidarity and demonstrated against the war. Victories of the anti-war movement inspired President Lyndon B. Johnson to not seek a second term as well as an organized and effective strategy to assist “draft dodgers” relocate to Canada and other places in order to avoid being recruited to involuntarily participate in the war.

The legacy of the anti-war movement of the Vietnam War has sparked wide range and organized opposition to the present day wars in Iraq and Afghanistan as well as US military involvement in other wars around the world. The biggest demonstration against contemporary wars has been the 2003 protests against the March 19, 2003 deployment of US troops to Iraq. Millions of people around the world organized to oppose these attacks as sanctioned by President George Bush and from that point many organizations have emerged in efforts to continue opposition. Some US-based organizations active in this movement include: Act Now to Stop War and End Racism (ANSWER), United for Peace and Justice (UFPJ), Code Pink, Campus Anti-War Network, Not in Our Name, Iraq Peace Action Coalition, Black Voices for Peace, Veterans for Peace, War Resistance League, etc. Internationally, there has also been an active network of organizations from Africa (ex. Anti-War Coalition, Committee on South African War Resistance, End Conscription Campaign), Asia (Beheiren) and Europe (Campaign for the Accountability of American Bases, Committee of 100, Spies for Peace, School Students Against the War).

## **Environmental Movement**

US transcendental writers of the mid 1800s like Henry David Thoreau and Ralph Waldo Emerson began a literary movement that spoke about nature and humanity’s relationship to the natural world. Transcendentalism

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<sup>1</sup> (The Anti- War Movement in the United States)

opened the way for social discourse on the people's relationship to the environment as well as the effects that industrialization has on this relationship. Such philosophical and poetic questions birthed the modern day environmental movement that grows out a tradition for the need to conserve and preserve the earth's resources that are exploited in the structural application of a free market system that prioritizes commodity over humanity. Splits within the environmental movement surfaced under Theodore Roosevelt's administration that had a pro-conservation stance by establishing the Reclamation Act "whose mission was to accomplish 'the reclamation and settlement of the arid lands.'"<sup>1</sup> The Reclamation Act sparked the famous ideological debates over the difference between conservationism and preservationism. On the one hand, Gifford Pinchot, "a champion of conservation and efficient land management,"<sup>2</sup> argued the traditional conservationist ideals that upheld the right to use land for industrial gain as a benefit for social development. On the other hand, John Muir, co-founder of the Sierra Club, was a preservationist that upheld a philosophy that "embodied natural land management through the 'right use' of wilderness resources...[and] believed wilderness preservation to be imperiled by the forces of urbanization and industrialization."<sup>3</sup> This debate continues to dominate discourse in the environmental movement, nonetheless the movement continues to be well organized with a large membership base along non-profit and grassroots organizational lines.

As the environmental movement grows, it is increasingly militant in practice and ideals that deal with property, human and nature's rights within the greater context of capitalism and patriarchy that suggest that all things in the material world are to be commodified. Out of this branch of the environmental movement has opened discourse on environmental justice as the government increasingly prioritizes the needs of corporate interests and compromises the rights of people and considerations to the effects such policy has on the natural environment. Established organizations like Amnesty International, Environmental Defense Fund, Greenpeace, Indigenous Environmental Network, the Sierra Club and Friends of the Earth have addressed the question of justice issues that arise out of environmental misbehavior by corporations supported by sovereign nations and the international community.

The radicalization of the movement has inspired response from the state and has resulted in surveillance, injuries and arrests. With tactics

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<sup>1</sup> Stacy J. Silveira, "The American Environmental Movement: Surviving Through Diversity," *Boston College Law School Student Publications*, vol. 28, no. 2-3 (2001):

[http://www.bc.edu/bc\\_org/avp/law/lwsch/journals/bcealr/28\\_2-3/07\\_TXT.htm](http://www.bc.edu/bc_org/avp/law/lwsch/journals/bcealr/28_2-3/07_TXT.htm)

<sup>2</sup> (Silveira 2001)

<sup>3</sup> (Silveira 2001)

like disrupting construction of factories that have been assessed to disrupt the ecosystem or organized public demonstrations that speak out against animal and land rights. Organizations like People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), Earth First, the Animal Liberation Front and the Earth Liberation Front have implemented successful campaigns to bring to light the various environmental injustices that affect poor and indigenous communities as well as compromise the health and safety of animals of the natural world.

## **Pan Africanism**

The Pan African movement has its roots in the struggle for black liberation from the slave trade era that lasted from the mid-1400s to the mid-1800s to the European colonial rule from late 1800s to the late 1900s. Particular to the post-slavery era and the rise of the black intellectual and artistic class around the world gave way established ideologies and organized efforts to liberate black people all over the world. Though there are several fractions within pan African ideologies, there is a consistent philosophical agreement that white supremacy has stunted, and continues to stunt, the growth Africans all over the world. In the legendary split between Marcus Garvey and W.E.B. DuBois that varied on the idea of how to go about correcting the injustices that black people faced in the early 1900s. Garvey's philosophy of Africa for the Africans and a grassroots campaign that sought to create a movement that prioritized the rights of working poor as sponsors of revolution was not compatible with DuBois's early theory of the Talented Tenth that said that a small percentage of the black intelligentsia are charged with the task of liberating all black people of the working class.

Since the early developments and ideological struggles of the Pan African movement, other considerations have also emerged in ideological splits. For example, during the civil rights era there were two primary camps: non-violent response to oppression and militant response that prioritized armed self-defense. The ideological representatives of these two trends were visible in the public persona of Martin Luther King, Jr (guided by the principles of pacifism and non-violence) and Malcolm X (guided by principles of black nationalism and self-defense 'by any means necessary'). Fractions continue to expose the splits in the different fractions of the black world. Africa and its Diaspora tackles with the most effective approach to correcting the material disenfranchisement that have led to rampant poverty that follow black people everywhere.

Interestingly, the state response to most fractions of African ideologies has been aggressive and aimed to suppress leftist movements in general but specifically targeting Pan African struggles. From covert

and overt tactics as practiced by the FBI's Counter Intelligence Program as exposed by the 1975 Church Committee Hearings to the rise in police brutality, drugs and increased prison rates in the black community aimed suppress the rise of future movements. According to a book by Brian Glick entitled *War at Home* (1989), the FBI used four main counter intelligence methods:

1. **Infiltration:** Agents and informers did not merely spy on political activists. Their main purpose was to discredit and disrupt. Their very presence served to undermine trust and scare off potential supporters. The FBI and police exploited this fear to smear genuine activists as agents.
2. **Psychological Warfare from the Outside:** The FBI and police used a myriad other 'dirty tricks' to undermine progressive movements. They planted false media stories and published bogus leaflets and other publications in the name of targeted groups. They forged correspondence, sent anonymous letters, and made anonymous telephone calls. They spread misinformation about meetings and events, set up pseudo movement groups run by government agents, and manipulated or strong-armed parents, employers, landlords, school officials and others to cause trouble for activists
3. **Harassment Through the Legal System:** The FBI and police abused the legal system to harass dissidents and make them appear to be criminals. Officers of the law gave them perjured testimony and presented fabricated evidence as a pretext for false arrests and wrongful imprisonment. They discriminatorily enforced tax laws and other government regulations and used conspicuous surveillance, 'investigative' interviews, and grand jury subpoenas in an effort to intimidate activists and silence their supporters.
4. **Extralegal Force and Violence:** The FBI and police threatened, instigated, and themselves conducted break-ins, vandalism, assaults, and beatings. The object was to frighten dissidents and disrupt their movements. In the case of radical Black and Puerto Rican activists (and later Native Americans), these attacks – including political assassinations – were so extensive, vicious and calculated



that they can accurately be termed a form of official 'terrorism'.<sup>1</sup>

These counter-intelligence programs date back prior to the Civil Rights Era and is known to be a factor in the deportation of Marcus Garvey back to his birth place of Jamaica as well as a contributor to W.E.B. DuBois's excommunication from the United States to Ghana. These programs have been known to target Pan African organizations like the Black Panther Party for Self Defense, The Republic of New Afrika, MOVE, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Students Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), etc. Internationally, the CIA also had an international strategy to suppress movements in Africa similar to the tactics utilized by the FBI (*see country case studies, Angola and Congo*).

Though these counter-intelligence programs did not just target Pan African movements, it is noted that some of its most vicious practices were directed towards black-nationalist organizations. These counter-intelligence practices are forms of militarism and aimed to suppress and destroy movements that oppose the garrison state. All the before mentioned points of connection to address this issue of militarism have all been targets of counter-intelligence but historically and in contemporary surveillance programs implemented by locally, nationally and internationally.

## **Growing the Movement Against Militarism**

In coming together to combat militarism, it is not just to limit the amount people that get killed in war but to address the fundamental violations of human rights that are ignored under the tenants of the militarized, or garrison, state. As part of the strategy to address militarism, coalition building has been key. With this as the guiding principle, the Resist AFRICOM coalition is a growing network of organizations and individuals that are committed to addressing militarism in manner that prioritizes Africa.

Since 2003, the anti-militarism movement has grown primarily because of the Global War on Terror and its effects globally as well as on the domestic front. AFRICOM symbolizes a progression in this dangerous agenda. The Resist AFRICOM coalition has grown out of this dissent and primarily functions through public education and base building. Each organization that benefits from this information sharing mechanism is at

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<sup>1</sup> Brian Glick, *War at Home: Covert Action Against U.S. Activists and What we Do About it* (Cambridge: South End Press, 1989): 10

liberty to utilize the knowledge base to further their work. Organizations involved in the Resist AFRICOM network include a think tank, non-governmental organizations, scholars, grassroots organizations and concerned global citizens. We encourage all take heart to the issue of militarism as the glaring movement of this generation of change makers to join the movement! There are many organizations that engage in this work and are part of the Resist AFRICOM network. To join this network and learn more about our partners visit, [www.resistafricom.org](http://www.resistafricom.org). Some of the organizations that are active in the Resist AFRICOM coalition include:

Africa Action  
Africa Faith and Justice Network  
Association of Concerned African Scholars  
International People's Democratic Uhuru Movement  
Foreign Policy in Focus  
Friends of the Congo  
Hip Hop Caucus  
Institute for Policy Studies  
Malcolm X Grassroots Movement  
Priority Africa Network  
TransAfrica Forum

## **Teach-in Models**

On October 24, 2008, many communities around the world will be participating in the Global Teach-In on Militarism in Africa. Educators, student groups, community organizations and individuals are encouraged to participate in this political education initiative that provides indepth information on militarism and the movements that have formed to address its unchecked and expansive global influence.

In consideration that there are many different ways of sharing the information provided in the guidebook, we hope that some of these models assist in varying learning and teaching styles.

### **Teach-in Model #1: Dinner Party**

The organizer of this teach-in model is encouraged to call on family and friends together for dinner and information sharing. Because this is for familiar people, the organizer is encouraged to get familiar with

the information provided in the guidebook as best to facilitate an enriching conversation about militarism in Africa. Because of the intensity of this subject matter, focusing on one section of the guidebook might be more effective and digestible, versus an attempt to cover all of the material in one sitting. Another effective way of information sharing is for the organizer to give a synopsis of the different sections and ask open questions to stimulate conversation.

## **Teach-in Model #2: Student Group Activity**

For those interested in organizing a teach-in at their high school or university, the first thing to do is to secure an accessible meeting space on or near campus. If this event will occur during school hours, it is advisable to notify teachers and professors so as to include them in the process. It is also advisable to invite knowledgeable instructors and community members to assist in disseminating this information about militarism in Africa. The more preparation and planning that goes into coordinating and promoting the teach-in, the more effective the desired goal of educating the student body will be. Here are steps to follow to organizing:

**Step One: Notify teachers and professors.** Recruiting instructor allies could possibly help with organizing the teach-in, as they are people that create educational curriculums on a daily basis. Notifying instructors is also a respectful thing to do, as it avoids isolating school authorities from benefiting from this educational process. Also, if the teach-in takes place during school hours, an instructor ally could even offer his or her classroom time as a period for the teach-in.

**Step Two: Secure space or venue.** Again, if it during school hours it is advisable to notify school authorities so as to easily and lawfully secure a central place for students to convene for a teach-in. Places like a school auditorium, cafeteria or an instructor-ally's classroom are ideal place. In the case of university students, there are more options open like assigned meeting spaces on campus.

**Step Three: Advertise for the event.** Personal contacts are always an effective strategy of spreading the word but also designing a flyer and distributing it vastly electronically and physically. The sooner that the event is advertised, the higher the chances for a good attendance.

**Step Four: Follow up.** The main objective of the Resist AFRICOM working group is to grow a movement that opposes militarism as has

been practiced for the past 500 years of slavery and colonialism. Creating contact forms and feedback forms are effective ways of staying in touch.

# Resist AFRICOM

## Global Teach-in Evaluation Form

*The primary purpose of this evaluation is to know how to improve on the teach-in model and grow a stronger movement.*

NAME: \_\_\_\_\_

COUNTY : \_\_\_\_\_

ORGANIZATION AFFILIATION: \_\_\_\_\_

DATE : \_\_\_\_\_

EMAIL : \_\_\_\_\_

PHONE NUMBER: \_\_\_\_\_

**WAS THE TEACH-IN INFORMATIVE?**

\_\_\_\_\_

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\_\_\_\_\_

What are ways to improve it: \_\_\_\_\_

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What are ways to improve it: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**DOES THIS INFORMATION  
MOVE YOU TO ACTION:**

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\_\_\_\_\_

If yes, how will you continue the work? :

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

**Listing of Police Departments receiving training by Blackwater or at Blackwater facilities:**

1. Iowa Department of Natural Resources
2. Maricopa County, Arizona Sheriff's Department
3. Matthews, North Carolina Police
4. Atlanta Police
5. Chillicothe, Ohio Police
6. Charleston, South Carolina Police
7. Port Chester, NY Police
8. Highland, Indiana Police
9. Unalaska, Alaska Police
10. Metropolitan Washington, DC Police
11. Charlottesville, Virginia Police
12. Metropolitan Washington Airports Authority (Dulles and Reagan National Airports)
13. St. Louis County Police (Missouri)
14. Queen Anne's County, Maryland Police
15. Prince George's County, Maryland Police
16. FBI SWAT Team
17. Gloucester Township, New Jersey Police
18. Tempe, Arizona Police
19. New York Police Department
20. Yonkers, New York Police

21. Fairfax County, Virginia Police
22. Maplewood, New Jersey Police
23. Gastonia, North Carolina Police
24. Tampa Police
25. U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA)
26. DeKalb County, Georgia Police
27. Arlington County, Virginia Police
28. Baltimore Police
29. U.S. Coast Guard
30. Suffolk, Virginia Police
31. Franklin City, Virginia Police
32. Milford, Delaware Police
33. University of Texas Police
34. Norfolk, Virginia Police
35. Ottawa–Carleton, Canada Police
36. San Bernardino County, California Sheriff
37. Plattsburgh, New York Police
38. Chicago Police Department
39. Oregon State Police
40. Los Angeles Police Department
41. Tonawanda, New York Police

42. Special Forces of Colombia
43. Jacksonville, North Carolina Police
44. Harvey Cedars, New Jersey Police
45. Elmira, New York Police
46. Department of Corrections, New Jersey
47. Lexington, Kentucky Police
48. Willimantic, Connecticut Police
49. Georgia Department of Law Enforcement
50. City of Fairfax, Virginia Police
51. Alexandria, Virginia Police Special Operations
52. Illinois State Police
53. Dallas, Texas Police
54. Hamilton, Ohio Police
55. Morganton, North Carolina Police<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Wayne Madsen Report, “Blackwater Training Police in US Cities and Towns,”  
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