

You Can't Take What's All of Ours!

Breaking Down NATO/G8 and Rising Up Against Austerity and Militarism



GRASSROOTS
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War Resisters League

A popular education resource by the War Resisters League and Grassroots Global Justice Alliance. Direct questions and comments to: <http://ggjalliance.org/contact> (GGJ) or wrl@warresisters.org (War Resisters League)

To mark the upcoming NATO summit to be held in May 2012 in Chicago and the simultaneous G8 summit to be held in Camp David, Maryland, War Resisters League and the Grassroots Global Justice Alliance release a new popular education resource.

This participatory workshop explores:

- The story of NATO and G8: who makes them up, what they do, and how they have grown over time;
- How NATO and G8 have worked together to profit from and control most areas of the world, especially the Global South;
- How the countries that control NATO/G8 have imposed an economic and/or military agenda on the people of Afghanistan, Libya, Greece, Iraq and other countries throughout the world, including the U.S.;
- How specific banks central to NATO/G8 countries' economic policies profit from militarism;
- How struggles against economic austerity, war and militarism are connected across the globe; and
- What we can do make the connections for our networks and communities between global and local struggles for justice.

Agenda of Workshop

1. Introduction and Goals (15 min)
2. G8/NATO 101 (20 min)
3. Historical Context (25 min)
4. NATO: Ideology, Lies and Justifications for War (20 min)
5. The G8: Economic Crisis and Austerity (15 min)
6. Occupation as Austerity: NATO and G8 at Work in Iraq (20 min)
7. Austerity Comes Home: Policy, Protest, and Police Crackdown (15 min)
8. Banking on Militarism (20 min)
9. Local Impact and Application (15 min)
10. Next Steps and Evaluation (5 min)

Total time: 2 hours, 50 minutes

Note: The workshop in its current form is 2 hours, 50 minutes. To shorten, feel free to make adjustments as needed.

Preparation Before the Workshop

To ensure that the workshop runs smoothly, there are certain supplies and materials that you should acquire before the workshops:

1. Easel paper, easel, markers and tape
2. Write goals of workshop and agenda on newsprint and display in a prominent place in the room
3. Print and cut out the timeline (see Appendix)

4. Print the toolkit for the facilitator(s)
5. Arrange for LCD projector and screen (for PowerPoint) and set up prior to workshop

1) Introductions, Welcome, Goals, and Workshop Framing (15 minutes)

1. Welcome participants
2. Give brief introductions and organizational affiliations, etc.
3. Review goals and agenda
4. Provide frame of workshop

Welcome (2 min)

Welcome workshop participants in the space, to the workshop, etc. Facilitator should introduce her/himself and the organization with which she/he is affiliated.

Introductions and Organizational Affiliations (3-5 min)

Invite participants to introduce themselves, the organization they represent and what brought them to the workshop (e.g., why did they come? What do they hope to get out of it?).

Goals of Workshop (3 min)

Read the following goals out loud.

1. Goal 1: To strengthen participants' understanding of the role of the U.S. in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Group of 8 (G8).
2. Goal 2: To deepen understanding of the connections between the U.S. economy and U.S. militarism globally, as well as how to deepen their work for economic and social justice in the U.S. through an antimilitarist lens.
3. Goal 3: To collectively develop language around the relationship between NATO/G8 and local/national struggles that can be shared with others.
4. Goal 4: To identify strategies and tactics that oppose militarism

General Framing (5-7 min)

Note: This section aims to draw the connections between NATO and G8 as global power formations that play a role in imposing austerity on people and nations around the world and coordinating military actions against them for the purpose of advancing the interests of the global economic elite. It may be used by facilitators for general background. After this framing piece are key take-aways.

Today's domination and control is not new. It is a continuation of more than five centuries of development of the global political economy to secure global markets where maximum profit can be made, to produce with the cheapest global labor and natural resources, and to maintain political stability. From the 1400s to 1700s, the global market system spread worldwide through colonialism – including military conquest and wars of genocide against indigenous peoples – the transatlantic slave trade and extensive use of slave labor in production for the world market, gender, racial and national domination, and the general exploitation and oppression of working

peoples by the developing capitalist class. The United States, in the 1800s, became the dominant imperialist force in the Western Hemisphere. Under the strategic direction of the Monroe Doctrine and Manifest Destiny, the U.S. prevailed in the Mexican-American War and the Spanish-American War. The victory of the North in the Civil War concentrated power in the U.S. within the industrial capitalists.

Coming out of World War II, the U.S. was able to establish hegemony within the western world. At the same time, the success of the Russian Revolution in 1917 led to socialism in the Soviet Union, and in the post-WW II period the Warsaw Pact formed as the core of the socialist bloc. The Cold War between the socialist and capitalist spheres of influence ensued. In this period the global economic expansion was driven by the destruction of WW II and the need to rebuild and, thus, the development of industrial and financial global corporations that pushed outward the globalization of the political economy.

Popular struggles for workers rights, racial and gender justice, and anti-colonial / anti-imperialist liberation movements gripped the countries of the world. Major reforms were won, new social contracts between the popular classes and the ruling class negotiated, and national liberation was in the air. For all these reasons new global financial and military institutions had to be created to expand, to contain, and to dominate the new world order.

From the 1940s to the early 1970s the Bretton Woods institutions (IMF, World Bank, GATT), the Marshall Plan (European Recovery Program), and NATO as the military arm were able to carry out their role in the global political economy. The oil shocks in 1973 and the global economic recession necessitated another economic and political formation to help manage the crisis. The United States, the United Kingdom, West Germany, Japan and France gathered in Washington, DC in 1973 and formed the Group of Five (G5). Italy joined in 1975, making it the G6; and in 1976 Canada joined, so it became the G7. NATO and the G7 met together for the first time in 1977 in London to take stock of the current global crisis and to chart a course that led to their neoliberal policy agenda and increasing militarism.

In the 1990s, with the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the dissolution of the Warsaw Pact, the landscape of the global political economy changed, as did the institutions controlling and containing it. Russia joined the G7 in 1997, making it the G8. In 2005 the G8+5 (Brazil, China, India, Mexico, and South Africa) formed. G8 summits, designed to manage increasing crises, addressed a broad range of problems and extended invitations to many nations and global institutions and agencies.

NATO's military mission also expanded in the 1990s to deal with the breakup of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. And its membership incorporated several new nations stemming from these breakups. In the 21st century NATO, as global capitalism's military arm, extended its sphere of activity to the Middle East and Arab world (most notably Afghanistan, Iraq, and Libya), and to Africa – including Sudan and the Indian Ocean coastal waters off Somalia, allegedly to combat piracy. It's new "strategic concept" includes environmental and food crises – mainly because the popular response to these crises is viewed as cause for military intervention.

Intensifying economic crises, ecological collapse, and a wave of austerity sweeping the globe characterize the 21st century. Local, national, and global struggles from below are arising across the world. The major response from the global 1% is increasing repression and militarism, linking more deeply the war abroad and the war at home.

Take-home messages

1. NATO emerged as the military arm to enforce agreements coming out of early global financial institutions (IMF, World Bank), the United Nations (GATT) and the United States (Marshall Plan) - all of which operated in the interests and on behalf of the ruling class. *Note: IMF = International Monetary Fund; GATT = General Agreement of Trade and Tariffs (it later was institutionalized as World Trade Organization).*
2. Over time, as other global economic institutions were formed, such as the Group of 5/7/8, NATO became the military formation to offensively and defensively protect their decisions: decisions that served the economic interests of member nations; decisions that imposed measures of austerity directly (structural adjustment policies) or indirectly (devaluing of currency). *Note: G8 nations imposed these policies not directly in G8 meetings, but indirectly by their influence in these various international economic institutions.*

2) G8/NATO 101 (20 minutes)

What is NATO and G-8? (5 min)

Supplies: Butcher paper, markers

Prep: Write NATO at top of one sheet and G8 at top of other

To get a sense of who is in the room, ask participants, in popcorn style, the questions below. As they respond, write their responses on butcher paper. (5 min)

1. What is G8? *Or, "when you hear the word G8, what is the first thing that comes to your mind?"*
2. What is NATO? *Or, "when you hear the word NATO, what is the first thing that comes to your mind?"*

PowerPoint Presentation (10 min)

Materials: PowerPoint presentation; **Source:** <http://afsc.org/resource/natog8-resources>

Prep: Use projector already set up. If projector is not available, print slides and distribute

Slide 1: Map of G8 Countries. Read the points below.

1. G8 countries are United States, Canada, United Kingdom, France, Italy, Germany, Japan, Russia — and the European Union holds all of the obligations and privileges of membership without the right to host or chair.
2. They represent about 15% of the world population but 65% of the world economy. The G8 is essentially the 1% of global powers.
3. G8 is an elite forum where politics, the economy, international trade and military power are intertwined.
4. Seven of the G8 countries are the top nations for military spending.
5. In 2010, the combined G8 military spending was US \$1.035 trillion, or 67% of the world's total military expenditures.
6. The US accounts for 66% of that G8 military spending total.

7. Members meet and discuss policy options that are not compulsory, but the G8 has clout in other world bodies because of the economic and political muscle of its members.
8. Due to this clout, many policies suggested become drafted, passed, and enforced around the world.

Slide 2: The G8 Agenda for the May 2011 Summit. Read the points below.

1. Pushing debt deal in Greece that would enact extreme austerity measures on the people of Greece. (People of Greece would be forced to take one for the Global capitalist economy)
2. Protecting the value of the Euro at all costs
3. Nuclear safety following the disaster at the tsunami-damaged Fukushima nuclear power plant in Japan
4. Approving a multi-billion funding package for Egypt and Tunisia “as part of broader support for democracy movements in the Arab world” (trying to play a role in new post-revolution governments in the Arab world)
5. Discussion about picking a new head of the IMF, after the former head was under house arrest under charges of sexual assault against a woman worker at a hotel in NYC
6. Discussion about the future of the internet, joined by the so-called E-G8, made up of heads of tech companies, including Google and Facebook.

Take home message: G8 promotes austerity, privatization, ensuring the free flow of capital across national borders, and state control over people and societies via social policies, economic exchange, and military threat—under the leadership of the Global North.

Slide 3: Map of NATO countries. Show the map and read the points below.

1. NATO is the world's largest global military alliance.
2. The blue countries are members of NATO. Look how many are also G8 countries.
3. There are 28 member nations of NATO, they include all of North America, all European members of the G8, and most of Western Europe.
4. Which country do you think invests most in NATO? (U.S. pays for close to 70% of NATO's budget) Who do you think calls the shots in NATO?

What does NATO do?

1. NATO is the global military alliance of the Western powers. Founded during the Cold War, NATO hasn't shrunk since the end of the Cold War in 1991, it has expanded and consolidated.
2. Purportedly set up as a defensive organization, in 1999 NATO's mission statement was rewritten to allow for offensive action. Since 1999, NATO has intervened militarily in four countries on three continents, none of which are near the North Atlantic region: in Southeast Europe's former Yugoslavia, North Africa's Libya and Central and South Asia's Afghanistan and Iraq.
3. NATO currently wages wars in the East and across the Global South under the guise of protecting people and “human rights” (e.g. Afghanistan—save people from the Taliban & protecting women—after it was clear that Al-Qaeda was no longer in the country).
4. Also committed to addressing security challenges that come from “new threats,” including: cyber security, climate change, extreme weather, population transfers, water shortage, global warming.

Take home message: NATO was created as a defensive military alliance of the Western powers during the Cold War but following the Cold War, has expanded and reframed itself as a “protector of democracy” globally that intervenes militarily where it sees fit.

Transition to Next Section

Facilitator says: Let's take a closer look at the post-WW II context of the development of NATO and G8 as leading military and economic formations to insure US hegemony and the expansion of global capitalism.

3) Historical Context: (25 mins)

Timeline Exercise

In this exercise, workshop participants are asked to volunteer to stand at the front of the room. Each is given an 8x11 piece of paper with a year written on it and given a smaller piece of paper to read. On each piece of small paper is one of the moments in NATO/G8 history. Participants are asked to line up in a semi-circle, hold up their sign with their year on it, and read the description of their event aloud, in chronological order.

Supplies: 8"x 11" piece of paper with a year on it that corresponds to the timeline years; a small piece of paper with the timeline event that happens during that year.

Prep: Print a copy of the timeline included in this curriculum (See Appendix A) and cut out along the dotted lines.

After everyone has read their timeline event, ask: *What themes or patterns do you see popping up in the timeline? What overlap do you see in the work of G8 and NATO?*

Take home message: NATO has continued to expand and consolidate itself since the Cold War and has brought Western-aligned groups from outside the North Atlantic region to implement global agendas of control over countries, peoples, and economies and to make possible G8 goals of the expansion of corporate and financial sector profits and the spread of global capital. NATO and G8 extend and overlap with IMF/World Bank policies.

Transition to Next Section

Facilitator says: This activity lifts up case studies of the violence of military occupation and war that NATO has perpetrated, and asks us to reflect on similarities to the militarization of our communities and the war at home.

4) NATO: Ideology, Lies and Justifications for War (20 min)

In this activity participants are asked to take a closer look at NATO in practice. NATO's longest and most far-reaching engagement, the occupation of Afghanistan, is followed by its most recent intervention in Libya. They demonstrate the justifications and effects of military occupation as well as engage complex debates on "humanitarian intervention."

Note: Since both of these case studies go into quite some depth, facilitators may choose to explore only one, due to time constraints, or if one is more suited to the audience you are working with.

Case Study 1: Occupation Violence - War on the Afghan People (10-12 min)

In this activity, the larger group will be broken up into three smaller groups, each taking one occupation tactic: night raids, detention, drones. The facilitator first reads the statement below. Next, in small groups, participants read the statements assigned and responds to the questions. The small groups can then report back to the larger group.

Read the following statement: On October 7th, 2001, the U.S. government, several NATO member countries (most prominently the UK and Australia) as well as allied Afghan warlords began what was to become the longest occupation in both U.S. and NATO history. Since December 2001, NATO's International Security Assistance Force, has played a key role in the war in Afghanistan. Here we will explore what three of the occupations tactics: night raids, detention and drones, have been like for every-day Afghans.

Night Raids: A tactic increasingly used by occupying forces since 2010 to locate and apprehend suspected 'militants.'

Have participants read each of the quotes below, aloud:

1. ANWAR UL HAQ, Nazarabad village, aged 61. The father-in-law of Amanullah, a mechanic with a workshop in Kabul who was killed on a visit home on April 29, 2010. The dead man's sister-in-law was an MP, but her efforts to have the case investigated came to nothing. "He called to say he's coming to Jalalabad the next day, and arrived and was sleeping in my home at around 12.30 or one in the morning. One of my neighbors (and relatives) telephoned to tell me that there were some thieves entering my house and then we saw they were Americans."
2. "They used the ladders to come up to the roof and then they came down in from there. I don't remember any calling out or anything. They directly pointed at my son-in-law and shot him. He was sleeping at the time, but they shot him in his chest, with 10 or 12 bullets."
3. "Then they told me to raise my hands. I was sitting for 30 minutes and they masked and covered my face. Then I was sent to a bathroom. There were three others in my family, my cousins who lived in the same home, who were also in the bathroom."
4. "It was small, only three or four people could fit in the bathroom standing up. They had dogs with them, to search everything." "They asked us who is coming to your home, who is coming. I said no one, only my son-in-law is my guest. His dead body was left in the room until eight in the morning. 'We have reports that there are Taliban come here', they said." "Everybody interviewed us and nothing happened. We went to president Karzai and we only took a glass of tea with no sweets." "The troops took nothing with them. No real damage to the property, but after this point the number of such incidents increased. They come during the nights." "Whenever they shoot or kill anybody, they call him al Qaeda whether he is or not."
5. In April, 2012 a statement was issued that Night Raids would be curbed. It read that U.S. troops will continue to take part in [night raid] operations, but a new elite force of Afghan special operations commandos will lead raids with American forces along to give advice and support. "From now on all night raids will be conducted by the Afghan national army, police and intelligence in close coordination with Afghan judicial bodies," Afghan Defense Minister Wardak told a news conference."

Ask the following guiding questions:

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

Sources:

<http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/02/24/us-afghanistan-raids-quotes-idUSTRE71N16K20110224>

<http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/04/08/us-afghanistan-nightraids-idUSBRE83703920120408>

***Detention:** After night raids, occupation forces often detain suspects at public or hidden sites to 'interrogate' them.*

Have participants read each of the quotes below, aloud:

1. "I was released a few weeks ago. At my release an American colonel apologized to me. He said that they had concluded that I was innocent and that I had worked for the good of Afghanistan. He said that after two and a half years! They gave me a bottle of perfume, but they did not return my possessions. When I was arrested I had \$6000 on me, as an advance for the medicines, and also my mobile phone and some Afghanis. They did not give them back. At the time I didn't say anything; I just wanted to leave. But they should give it back.
2. Now I am in a bad situation. I feel like half my life is gone. My economic situation is bad, my savings are gone. My health is not well. My legs hurt, I don't know why, maybe because of the lack of exercise. On the day of arrest I also hit my leg, when they pushed me into the car while I was blindfolded. For the first few months I couldn't walk properly. My back also hurts. We went on strike for a while in the prison, because of the bad conditions and because we were upset that our fate was not clear. After four and a half months they came in with force to break up the strike. One man broke a leg and an old man broke a rib. Two guards fell on top of me with their heavy jackets. My back still aches from that." (March 9th, 2011)
3. On March 9th, 2012, The United States and Afghanistan signed an agreement on Friday on the transfer of a major U.S.-run detention centre to Afghan authorities, improving the prospects of a deal allowing long-term American involvement in the country.

Sources:

<http://www.andyworthington.co.uk/2011/04/07/the-dark-side-of-bagram-an-ex-prisoners-account-of-two-years-of-abuse/>

<http://www.reuters.com/article/2012/03/10/us-afghanistan-usa-prisoners-idUSBRE8280BU20120310>

***Drones:** Since early 2002 U.S./NATO forces have used unmanned predator drones (often controlled by personnel on other continents) to carry out missile attacks on suspected 'militants.'*

Have participants read each of the quotes below, aloud:

1. “Nearly three miles above the rugged hills of central Afghanistan, American eyes silently tracked two SUVs and a pickup truck as they snaked down a dirt road in the predawn darkness.
2. The vehicles, packed with people, were 3 1/2 miles from a dozen U.S. special operations soldiers who had been dropped into the area hours earlier to root out insurgents. The convoy was closing in on them.
3. None of those Afghans were insurgents. They were men, women and children going about their business, unaware that a unit of U.S. soldiers was just a few miles away, and that teams of U.S. military pilots, camera operators and video screeners had taken them for a group of Taliban fighters.
4. The Americans were using some of the most sophisticated tools in the history of war, technological marvels of surveillance and intelligence gathering that allowed them to see into once-inaccessible corners of the battlefield. But the high-tech wizardry would fail in its most elemental purpose: to tell the difference between friend and foe.
5. This is the story of that episode. It is based on hundreds of pages of previously unreleased military documents, including transcripts of cockpit and radio conversations obtained through the Freedom of Information Act, the results of two Pentagon investigations and interviews with the officers involved as well as Afghans who were on the ground that day.
6. The Afghan travelers had set out early on the cold morning of Feb. 21, 2010, from three mountain villages in southern Daikundi province, a remote central region 200 miles southwest of Kabul.
7. More than two dozen people were wedged into the three vehicles. Many were Hazaras, an ethnic minority that for years has been treated harshly by the Taliban. They included shopkeepers going for supplies, students returning to school, people seeking medical treatment and families with children off to visit relatives. There were several women and as many as four children younger than 6.

Ask the following guiding questions:

1. What ways do you see that prisons, night raids, or drones have affected Afghan lives?
2. What is something you've learned about what it is like to live in a war zone?
3. Are there any connections you might make to the policing of the communities, prison, and borders here in the U.S.?
4. How do U.S. raids affect Afghan civilians? What is their intention?
5. How is the Afghan government responding to them?

Source:

<http://articles.latimes.com/2011/apr/10/world/la-fg-afghanistan-drone-20110410>

Note: If there time or is a large enough group to divide into 4 groups, the additional group can be assigned the scenario below and respond to the guiding questions.

Why NATO is in Afghanistan?

Have participants read each of the quotes below, aloud:

1. The principle of collective defense is at the very heart of NATO's founding treaty. [Article 5] provides that if a NATO Ally is the victim of an armed attack, each and every other member of the Alliance will consider this act of violence as an armed attack against all members and will take the actions it deems necessary to assist the Ally attacked. NATO invoked Article 5 of the Washington Treaty for the first time in its history following the 9/11 terrorist attacks against the United States.
2. "NATO is in Afghanistan at the express wish of the democratically elected government of Afghanistan and is widely supported by the Afghan population." (NATO Website - April, 2012)

Ask participants the following:

1. How do the justifications for the occupation relate to its effects on the Afghan people?

Source:

http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_8189.htm

The small groups now come back together and share highlights of their discussion with the larger group.

Take-home message: The ongoing U.S./NATO occupation of Afghanistan has contributed profoundly to violence that Afghans experience daily. The tactics of this occupation - night raids, detention and drones - also have far-reaching implications for Afghan sovereignty.

Case Study 2: Intervening on Libya - 'We Don't Want Our Revolution Stolen' (8-10 min)

Author's Note: The Libyan situation is complicated and contradictory. It is included because it is indicative of how NATO typically intervenes.

Identify 3-5 quotes below and ask participants to read them.

NATO intervenes

1. On March 19th, 2011, several members of NATO, led by France, the UK, the U.S., began a military intervention in Libya to "take all necessary measures to protect civilians, including enforcing a no-fly zone." A popular uprising against Libyan dictatorship had evolved into a NATO-driven military campaign to oust Qaddafi's regime. Sectors of the Libyan rebels, led by the Transitional National Council (TNC) had put out a call for international protection.

NATO will "take the lead" on . . . well, a lot of things

2. "The EU, NATO and the UN would take the lead on issues of security and justice; Australia, Turkey and the UN would help with basic services; Turkey, the US and the international financial institutions would lead on the economy. It is incredibly important that the whole of this

process is Libyan-owned. This has been done as a service to the Libyan people.” (Andrew Mitchell, the UK International Development Secretary - June 28th, 2011.)

NATO: Mission Accomplished

3. “After seven months of operations at sea and in the air NATO has ended its mission for Libya. The Alliance’s job to protect civilians from the threat of attack is done. On his historic first visit on 31 October to the Libyan capital of Tripoli, NATO Secretary General Anders Fogh Rasmussen said he was proud of the part the Organization and its partners played in helping the country and the region.” (NATO Website - October, 31st, 2011.)

NATO is making Libya pay for their intervention

4. According to Abu-Bakr al-Farjani, the spokesman for the local council of the city of Sirt, which adheres to the oppositional TNC (Transitional National Council), NATO itself is progressing slowly in its military operations against Gaddafi’s brigades in order to maintain him longer in power, and to increase [. . .] the price the opposition can be requested to pay to world powers and to the major companies that stand behind them. (*Al-Akhbar English*, June 2nd, 2011.)

NATO is negotiating on Libya’s behalf

5. We [the Libyan rebels] are holding now negotiations with Paris, we have contacts with France. The French told us that the TNC (Transitional National Council) is subordinate to them; they even told us that if they reached an agreement with us in Tripoli, they would impose a ceasefire on the [us]. . . . I say, if France [. . .] needs to talk with the legitimate Libyan government [the TNC] and with the Libyan people, through peaceful and official channels. (*Al-Akhbar Arabic*, July 11th, 2011.)

NATO is responding to Qaddafi’s war crimes

6. In the military base and detention camp of Al Qalaa. “Witnesses, together with the local prosecutor, uncovered the bodies of 43 men and boys, blindfolded and with their hands tied behind their backs.” Qaddafi forces had shot them. Going over many of these kinds of incidents, and of indiscriminate firing of heavy artillery into cities, the UN Report notes that these amount to a war crime or a crime against humanity. (Vijay Prashad, March 16th, 2012)

NATO is complicit in Libyan rebel war crimes

7. “Over a dozen Qadhafi soldiers were reportedly shot in the back of the head by *thuwar* [rebel fighters] around 22-23 February 2011 in a village between Al Bayda and Darnah. This is corroborated by mobile phone footage.” After an exhaustive listing of the many such incidents, and of the use of heavy artillery against cities notably Sirte, the UN report suggests the preponderance of evidence of the war crime of murder or crimes against humanity. (Vijay Prashad, March 16th, 2012)

NATO is Committing War Crimes

8. ‘The [UN] Commission points out that NATO did strike several civilian areas (such as Majer, Bani Walid, Sirte, Surman, Souq al-Juma) as well as areas that NATO claims were “command and control nodes.” The Commission found no “evidence of such activity” in these “nodes.” NATO contested both the civilian deaths and the [UN] Commission’s doubts about these “nodes.”’ (Vijay Prashad, March 16th, 2012)

NATO does not want to be held accountable

9. “We [NATO] note [. . .] that the Commission’s mandate is to discuss ‘the facts and circumstance of...violations [of law] and...crimes perpetrated.’ We would accordingly request that, in the event the Commission elects to include a discussion of NATO actions in Libya, its report clearly state that NATO did not deliberately target civilians and did not commit war crimes in Libya.” (International Commission of Inquiry on Libya, Human Rights Council in Geneva, March 2nd 2012.)

NATO might want to steal our revolution

10. “We don’t want our revolution to be stolen,” asserted Haithem al-Mangoush, a soft-spoken 30-year-old bank employee who was waiting for an Italian visa in search of better prospects in Rome when the uprising began. Now he cannot conceive of leaving Libya until the regime falls, Gadhafi is tried and all his crimes are a matter of public record. [Haithem] admitted that he was being unrealistic, but added that he still hoped it would be Libyan troops and not NATO or other forces who finally capture Gadhafi. (Anjali Kamat, May 22nd, 2011.)

The facilitator will then lead a discussion based on these guiding questions:

What do you believe were NATO’s motivations for intervening in Libya?

What were the Libyans rebels fighting for?

How was the idea of ‘humanitarian intervention’ used?

Take-home message: NATO’s intervention in Libya was motivated by much more than a desire than to protect Libyan civilians and their revolution, and in fact was behind war crimes committed by NATO forces, and well as some Libyan rebels they empowered. The attempt to influence post-Qaddafi Libya, as well as the Arab uprisings as a whole, explain the lack of coordination of NATO with Libyan rebels. The desire of NATO not to be investigated for their role in crimes perpetuates their status as ‘above the law.’ Finally, though Libyan’s desires and revolution are complex and sometimes contradictory, they clearly have a vision of sovereignty that came up against the reality of intervention that some of them called for.

Sources:

<http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=37808>

<http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/2401/natos-conspiracy-against-the-libyan-revolution>

http://www.nato.int/cps/en/SID-E1E644B4-D34AFED1/natolive/news_80435.htm

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http://www.alternet.org/story/151038/%27we_don%27t_want_our_revolution_stolen%27%3A_on_the_g_round_in_libya/?page=entire

Transition to Next Section

Facilitator says: Made up of the world's global military powers, the G8 is central to the global economic crisis. This activity looks at the G8's role in the crisis with a focus on Greece.

5) The G8: Economic Crisis and Austerity (15 min)

Give the following overview of this section to participants: Now that we've learned more about what NATO does when it militarily intervenes in a country, we're going to look more closely at the G8 and how it implements its agenda of prioritizing the flow and profitability (for the Global North) of global capital at the expense of the well-being of the majority of the world's people and land. We'll do this by looking at the case study of Greece.

Materials: easel, markers, powerpoint

Case Study: Greece--The G8 is Warning You

Facilitator explains: There was a meeting in Deauville, France, on Thursday 26 of May, wherein the Group of Eight leading industrial economies warned Greece to do more to resolve its current debt issues.

Have a participant read aloud the following quote from the EU Council President:

European Union (EU) Council President Herman van Rompuy: "Regarding a possible restructuring of the Greek debt, we will do our utmost not to face a default, not to face a credit event. We will do everything we can to maintain financial stability of the Eurozone...We trust Greece will take all necessary measures and all necessary reforms to reach the **fiscal goals** that have been decided upon." <http://euobserver.com/19/32408>

What are these "**fiscal goals**"? *Ask participants to describe what they think the head of the EU meant by "fiscal goals."* (List their responses on sheet of easel paper.)

Facilitator says: On February 12, the Greek government approved a package of **austerity** measures, including (**See Slide 4**):

- 15,000 public-sector job cuts
- Across the board cuts in nearly all of private sector wages and salaries; lowering the minimum wage by 20% from 751 Euros a month to 600 Euros
- The dismantling of collective bargaining and the annulment of the current collective agreement.
- Immediate elimination of rent subsidies for the poorer, cuts in pensions, mass privatization (including of water companies and the lottery).

Questions: Who benefits from the Greek debt deal? How would you describe the Greek people's response to the debt deal represented in the pictures above? (See Slide 5)

*Based on what we've learned from this case study, how do people define **austerity**? Write participants' responses on a sheet of easel paper posted on the wall.*

Facilitators can use the following definition as their guide: "Austerity means that even though the economic crisis might have been created by lack of regulations and corporate misdeeds, the 99% must take the brunt of the corrective measures. In essence it means making sure that the government stops spending money on things like social services or job creation and focuses all of its resources on paying off debt. G8 countries have for many years favored "austerity" as a means to deal with high debt, unemployment or economic crises."

Sources:

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-17620421>

<http://euobserver.com/19/32408>

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-17007761>

<http://news.firedoglake.com/2012/02/13/greek-austerity-measures-sure-to-impoverish-country-for-many-years/>

<http://afsc.org/resource/natog8-resources>

http://photos.oregonlive.com/photo-essay/2012/02/thousands_riot_as_greece_appro.html

Take-home message: The G8 is intimately involved in the implementation of austerity globally, such as through exercising its clout in calling for the passage and enforcement of austerity measures in countries like Greece. Austerity measures target entire communities and societies and benefit mostly a small number of capitalists in the Global North and those people (including heads of state) whom they support. They are counter to the survival of the world's peoples.

Transition to Next Section

Facilitator says: Historically colonial conquest and war opened up of oppressed nations and peoples as markets for global capitalism. Today's wars, militarism and privatization continue this process. This section focuses on the Iraq War.

6) Occupation as Austerity: NATO and G8 at Work in Iraq (20 min)

Facilitator gives the following overview of this section to participants: When most people think of austerity, they think of austerity measures, such as what were passed Greece in February 2012 and the "structural adjustment" measures that were enforced in Latin America and Africa in the 80s and 90s by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). But while austerity has been about paying off debt at the expense of people's survival and well-being, there are other means of imposing austerity on people--war and military occupation has long been another means of "opening up markets"to global capital, obviously at the expense of those people whose land is under occupation.

Case Study 1: Operation Iraqi Freedom and the Privatization of Iraq

Facilitator paraphrases the information in this paragraph: In 2003, the U.S. government, with support from the UK other NATO allies along with other members of the UN Security Council, launched its invasion, toppled the government of Saddam Hussein, and initiated the 8-year military occupation of Iraq. Before the questionable election of the “Iraqi-led” government of Nouri al-Maliki, hand-picked by the U.S., the U.S. installed a small group of U.S. leaders as the executive, legislative, and judicial authority in Iraq as a “transitional government,” with U.S. diplomat Paul Bremer at the center. Under Bremer’s leadership, a number of laws were introduced to privatize the economy of Iraq, opening up to multinational corporations and banks what was previously in the hands of state authorities.

Have participants read each of the quotes below:

Privatization of the non-oil economy of Iraq: Before the invasion, Iraq's non-oil-related economy had been dominated by 200 state-owned companies, which produced everything from cement to paper to washing machines. That June, Paul Bremer announced that these firms would be privatized immediately: “Getting inefficient state enterprises into private hands,” he said, “is essential for Iraq's economic recovery.” Privatization also included a provision opening up the Iraqi market to U.S. and other foreign banks. <http://harpers.org/archive/2004/09/0080197>

Response within the U.S.:

“One alliance of Republican lobbyists, New Bridge Strategies, whose interest in Iraq has earned considerable attention because of its close ties to the Bush administration, is gearing up to seek distribution rights for major U.S. companies producing everything from grain to auto parts to shampoo...“ Getting the rights to distribute Procter & Gamble products would be a gold mine,” said one of the partners at New Bridge who did not want to be named. One well-stocked 7-Eleven could knock out 30 Iraqi stores; a Wal-Mart could take over the country.”

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/ac2/wp-dyn/A30907-2003Oct1?language=printer>

The Oil Law: In 2007, under the al-Maliki presidency, a proposed Oil Law was submitted to the Iraqi Parliament. Under the law, much of Iraq’s oil would be under new “production-sharing agreements” that would allow 15-30 years of unfettered operational control over Iraq’s oil facilities to the multinationals that won contract bidding. Crucially, these arrangements were justified as necessary to attract investment and get Iraq’s economy “back on its feet.”

Response from Iraqi unionists:

We have found a variety of negative points in this draft oil law...On the level of economics, it will impact the real income of the Iraqi citizen. His income would be low, while at the same time he would have weak purchasing power as the overall national income would be limited, and that would affect all the Iraqi people at the health, developmental, social and economic levels. In addition this law could encourage the termination of the workers services, either by dismissal or by reducing the total volume of workers, or by reducing compensation, among other possible methods.

--From the “Iraqi Trade Union Statement on the Oil Law,” December 2006

<http://www.carbonweb.org/showitem.asp?article=222>

Questions:

- What were the reasons that the U.S. gave for the Iraq War? (List reasons on a sheet of flip-chart paper.)
- How do the lessons about the privatization of Iraq relate to those justifications?
- How is austerity connected to privatization in Iraq?
- What are the similarities and differences between the austerity imposed on the people of Greece and Iraq? (Facilitators can use this quote from journalist Naomi Klein as a guide: “In Iraq they were not negotiating with the government to accept their ‘structural adjustments’ in exchange for a loan; **they were the government.**” See Slide 6)
- How does militarism reinforce austerity and/or privatization in both Greece and Iraq?

*Take-home message: War and occupation can act as a means of pushing through austerity measures--the Iraq war is a particularly stark example of this, because, for a period of time, U.S. government officials **were** the Iraqi government. This is why it was so easy for them to pass through privatization decrees and austerity measures that would destroy Iraq's economy and harm the lives of Iraqis.*

Transition to Next Section

Facilitator says: We return in this section to looking at the similarities between the ways that the economic crisis, social struggle, and militarized police repression impact global working class communities and how they play out here at home- in the U.S.

7) Austerity Comes Home: Policy, Protest, and Police Crackdown (15 mins)

Give the following overview of this section to participants: Now we're going to talk about the ways that governments and state police forces have been responding to peoples' protests against austerity measures globally and people's impressions of the police response to anti-austerity protests in the U.S.

Cases of austerity: Have participants read the following quotes, aloud. Facilitators can either project the quotes on a slide or hand out each individual quote on a piece of paper. (See Slide 7)

Tunisia: Jan. 16th, 2011--The protests were triggered last month when a young man set himself on fire in front of a government building in the central town of Sidi Bouzid, saying he was driven to the act by police who had seized his fruit and vegetable cart over a permit. His self-immolation was embraced as a cause by jobless graduates, trade unionists and human right activists. Protests spread to other towns including the capital Tunis. The man, Mohammed Bouazizi, 26, died on Tuesday of his burns. Demonstrations had tapered off last week but resumed on Wednesday after his burial. Three eyewitnesses in Sidi Bouzid said a woman had climbed an electric pole after Bouazizi's burial and threatened to commit suicide with her three children in protest against poor living conditions. Officials persuaded her to abandon the idea.
<http://uk.reuters.com/article/2011/01/06/uk-tunisia-protests-idUKTRE7054CB20110106>

b. Nigeria: January 3, 2012--One protester has been killed as thousands of Nigerians have demonstrated against the removal of a fuel subsidy, which has led petrol prices and transport fares to double. Officials say the man was killed by "mob action" in Kwara state, while witnesses say he was shot by police as they tried to disperse protesters. Police fired tear gas at youths in the commercial capital, Lagos, after they blocked main roads, set up burning barricades and tried to force petrol stations to close. Analysts say many Nigerians regard cheap fuel as the only benefit they get from the nation's oil wealth. In 2012 austerity was also imposed in Sri Lanka, Romania, Spain and other countries, similarly triggering protests and crackdowns.
<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-16390183>

Ask participants the following questions, writing participants' responses on a sheet of easel paper

- What have been various governments' reactions to resistance to austerity measures?
- What does austerity look like in the U.S. and locally? (e.g. Austerity = i.e. budget cuts, etc.)
- What kind of police/militarized crackdowns on dissent are we seeing in the U.S.? In Chicago?
- Thinking about austerity, what parallels do you see between what is happening globally and what is happening locally?

Take-home message: As the people living in countries throughout the world are rising up in protest against similar austerity measures pushed on them by their governments, they are met with state violence and police repression. This includes people's experiences in the U.S., including those who are policed and incarcerated for expressing their dissent as well as those who are kept from expressing their dissent by police practices that target, incarcerate, and kill poor people and people of color and people from the Global South. The city of Chicago is putting lots of extra resources into reinforcing its police forces, bringing in the National Guard, and securing equipment that will be used against peaceful protestors while evictions and foreclosures continue throughout the city and people are still fighting for a living wage and access to underfunded public services.

Transition to next section: In this activity, we name the particular financial institutions that profit off of austerity and the global militarism that enables it.

8) Banking on Militarism (20 min)

The purpose of this exercise is to provide concrete examples of corporate ties to U.S. militarism. Facilitators should break up participants into groups of 3-4 people to discuss case studies. After groups have discussed the case studies for 10 minutes, they report back on the tactic chosen, what it is supposed to accomplish and why they selected that one.

Instructions for participants: Using these case studies as your guide, your group will spend the next 15 minutes thinking of one fully fleshed out tactic for a campaign that addresses both the issue of the war as well as local economic concerns. They will then return to the group and provide brief report backs. A tactic is an action taken, as part of a strategy, to bring about a specific outcome. [See the 'tactic star': <http://smartmeme.org/downloads/tacticstar.pdf>]. For

example: form a blockade in front of the meeting space of the NATO delegates to prevent them from entering or occupy the lobby of a bank with signs depicting photos of cluster bombs their investments fund.

Chase and Iraqi Banks

Following the U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003, and the Bremer-led transitional government's restructuring of Iraq's economy by to allow foreign banks in, J. P. Morgan Chase was selected to operate a bank the United States created in Iraq to manage billions of dollars to finance imports and exports.

NY Times said this about the Trade Bank of Iraq, which at the time included 13 international banks and now includes 30 banks: "Operating the bank, the Trade Bank of Iraq, will give banks access to the financial system of Iraq, which has huge oil reserves; foreign bank companies have not operated in the country since a policy of nationalization in the 1950's and 1960's...The trade bank will serve as an intermediary for Iraqi government agencies' purchases of equipment and supplies from companies based outside the country."

Sources:

<http://www.tbiraq.com/en/business-partners/our-banking-partners/correspondent-banks>;
http://www.powerbase.info/index.php/JP_Morgan_Chase_and_Co.;
http://www.tfreview.com/xq/asp/sid.0/articleid.3A45361D-824B-4A19-A6E5-CCE04AF36E82/eTitle.TFR_Deal_of_the_Year_2004_Tifa_Iraq/qx/display.htm
<http://www.nytimes.com/2003/08/30/business/j-p-morgan-selected-to-run-new-trade-bank-in-iraq.html>; <http://www.tbiraq.com>

HSBC and Iraqi Banks

The third largest financial institution on the planet, HSBC has gained massive profit since the beginning of the Iraq War. This was made possible by the Bremer-led transitional government's 'opening up' of the Iraqi economy. It has purchased a controlling stake (70%) of the newly created Iraqi national bank, Dar es Salaam Investment Bank, which, though small, has already amassed assets of \$91 million. The HSBC share is therefore £36,881,225 of Iraqi investors' money. HSBC's profits from its Middle East business rose 25% in 2004. [. . .] HSBC claims to be the largest international banking group operating in the Middle East.

Source:

<http://www.businesspundit.com/the-25-most-vicious-iraq-war-profiteers/>?

Chase and Afghan Gold:

"J.P. Morgan's Hunt for Afghan Gold: A team of bankers starts to tap the country's vast mineral riches, with help from the Pentagon." (*Show participants slide featuring Fortune magazine story on gold mining in Afghanistan. See Slide 8*)

"But if the risks are absurd, the potential rewards are off the charts. Hundreds of billions of dollars' worth of iron, copper, rare earth metals, and, yes, gold are buried beneath Afghanistan's deserts and mountains. This wealth has lain there mainly undisturbed for thousands of years as armies of Persians, Greeks, Mongols, Britons, Russians, and now Americans tramped above. Invaders have dreamed of exploiting it since the time of Alexander the Great, but no one has yet succeeded on a large scale. "This is the time in Afghanistan for the adventure venture capitalists - for those who can do business in tough places in the world," Petraeus says.

"It's big," Petraeus told me of the gold mine deal. "It's very big. I mean, everyone knows who J.P. Morgan is, and what that represents. That's substantial. It gives real encouragement to our Afghan partners."

Source:

<http://management.fortune.cnn.com/2011/05/11/jp-morgan-hunt-afghan-gold/>

Take home message: U.S.-based and global banks are directly involved in ventures that would not be possible without military interventions. This fact can help link local struggles for economic justice with anti-militarist work in surprising and strategic ways.

Transition to Next Section

Facilitator says: It's important to bring this collective analysis to our local (and national) organizing and movement work as we envision another world and strategize how to get there.

9) Local Impact and Application (15 min)

Facilitator reads the following questions guiding the discussion in this section.

1. What effect have these planned meetings had on your community/organizing?
2. What patterns/systems (in Chicago) do you see these gatherings as an extension of?

Engaging Others

Facilitator breaks participants into groups of 2 and instructs them to take turns pretending that they are convincing a friend or family member who doesn't know much about NATO or the G8 to join them for the counter activities (for example, the permitted march in Chicago protesting the summits).

Facilitator asks participants are asked to imagine how they will share or bring back to their organizations/communities what they just learned about NATO/G8, as well as how they plan to build towards action. Key rap components include:

1. Issue: Define the issue – Chicago is hosting this global event
2. Connection: Make the connections between their impacts globally and nationally with what happens in Chicago – The city has made budget cuts and is becoming more militarized.

3. Problem Solving: The city and elected officials will try to scare people, they will talk about people protesting as 'outsiders.'
4. Ask: Ask the person you are speaking with if they will participate in the actions/mobilizations?

10) Next Steps and Evaluation (5 min)

Facilitator asks participants to respond to the questions below and writes their responses on an easel pad.

1. What aspects of the Workshop were most useful or helpful to you?
2. Do you feel that this workshop has helped you imagine how anti-militarist organizing can support your local work/solidarity imaginings? How?

Appendix A

1944	The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank were founded by the Bretton Woods conference of over 40 countries on the eve of the Allies victory in WWII, with the goal to avoid another Great Depression by monitoring currency values and helping countries with trade deficits by making short-term loans.
1949	NATO formed comprising of 12 countries: the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, France, Denmark, Iceland, Italy, Norway, Portugal, Belgium, Netherlands, and Luxembourg following the end of World War II as a way to, in the words of NATO's first Secretary General, "Keep the Russians out, the Americans in, and the Germans down.
1961	The Non-Aligned Movement is formed made up of Global South countries and those not aligned with West or North powers "to ensure the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, and security of non-aligned countries" in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, and all forms of foreign aggression, occupation, domination...as well as against great power and bloc politics" (Fidel Castro, Havana declaration of 1979) during the Cold War.
1975	The Original G6 was formed comprised of the United States, Japan, Germany, France, Italy, and the United Kingdom.
1980s	The IMF and the World Bank reinvent themselves during the Latin American debt crisis of the 1980s. The IMF set up structural adjustment programs that put Latin American nations, including Mexico, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Bolivia, El Salvador, that indebted those nations to the governments of the Global North, and forced countries that received loans to impose strict austerity measures on their people and to open up their borders to transnational corporations.
1991	Dissolution of the Warsaw Pact and end of the Cold War removed the Soviet threat that motivated the existence of NATO.
1993	NATO intervention begins in Bosnia, which includes air strikes and the deployment of 60,000 NATO "peace-keeping" soldiers in Bosnia during the civil war, in which Serbian forces carry out the genocide of Bosnian Muslims and Croats, in an attempt to reconstitute NATO as a relevant military force after the end of the Cold War.

1996	International organizations' debut in G8 Summits. The invited ones here were: United Nations, World Bank, International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization. The G8 countries currently control almost half the votes of the IMF and World Bank (48.18% of the IMF, 45.71% of the World Bank).
1999	NATO's mission statement is rewritten to allow for offensive military action (instead of simply defensive action).
1999	NATO air strikes launched on Serbia, as Serbians were ethnically cleansing Kosovo of Albanians. Over 1,000 NATO aircraft were involved, sometimes using cluster bombs; bombing Belgrade, causing civilian casualties and massive damage of infrastructure. "The Kosovo conflict" was promoted by NATO countries as the first "humanitarian war."
2000	Formation of the G8+5 starts, including the heads of the 5 leading emerging capitalist economies, including Brazil, China, India, Mexico, and South Africa.
2001	The September 11th terrorist attacks usher in the start of the U.S.-led "Global War on Terror." The U.S. and NATO launch air strikes in Afghanistan and send in occupation forces to topple the Taliban government, initiating over 10+ years of war in Afghanistan, propping up the corrupt and violent Afghan government under the rule of U.S.-backed Hamid Karzai.
2003	The U.S.-led occupation of Iraq begins. A NATO team begins training Iraqi forces in 2004.
2004	NATO's Istanbul Cooperation Initiative is founded, an attempt to build relationships with wealthy and Western-friendly Arab regimes. It includes these four members of the Gulf Cooperation Council: Bahrain, Qatar, United Arab Emirates.

2011	The ongoing Tunisian Revolution begins against Ben Ali's decade-long austerity imposing regime.
2011	NATO intervention in Libya begins. A popular uprising against Libyan dictatorship evolved into a NATO-driven military campaign to oust Qaddafi's regime.
2012	In Nigeria one protester was killed as thousands of Nigerians demonstrated against the removal of a fuel subsidy, which led petrol prices and transport fares to double. Officials say the man was killed by "mob action" in Kwara state, while witnesses say he was shot by police as they tried to disperse protesters. Police fired tear gas at youths in the commercial capital, Lagos, after they blocked main roads, set up burning barricades and tried to force petrol stations to close. Analysts say many Nigerians regard cheap fuel as the only benefit they get from the nation's oil wealth.
2012	Austerity measures were also imposed in Sri Lanka, Romania, Spain and other countries, similarly triggering protests and crackdowns.