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Killer Drone Attacks Illegal, Counter-Productive

By Marjorie Cohn & Jeanne Mirer

The Bush administration detained and tortured suspected militants; the Obama administration assassinates them. Both practices not only visit more hatred upon the United States; they are also illegal. Our laws and treaties prohibit torture. The Constitution forbids the government from depriving any person of life without due process of law; that is, arrest and fair trial. Yet President Obama has approved the killing of people, many of whom were not even identified before the kill order was given.

Jo Becker and Scott Shane reported in the *New York Times* that Obama maintains a "kill list." After consulting with his counterterrorism adviser John O. Brennan, Obama personally makes the decision to have individuals executed. Brennan was closely identified with torture, secret prisons, and extraordinary rendition during the Bush administration. The Times story, based on interviews with three dozen current



and former Obama advisers, reports that "Mr. Obama has avoided the complications of detention by deciding, in effect, to take no prisoners alive. While scores of suspects have been killed under Mr. Obama, only one has been taken into US custody" because he doesn't want to add new prisoners to Guantanamo.

The leak of the kill list angered Republicans, evidently because they believe it demonstrates Obama's "strength" in foreign policy. Some progressives who do not fully understand the profound illegality of drone attacks find them preferable to the United States' all out invasions of more countries. We all need to understand that the unlawful precedent the United States is setting with its use of killer drones not only undermines the rule of law; it also will prevent the United States from reasonably objecting when other countries that obtain drone technology develop "kill lists" of persons those countries believe represent threats to them.

On June 15, for the first time, Obama publicly acknowledged that his administration is engaging in "direct action" in Yemen and Somalia. Although the

United States is not at war with either country, George W. Bush's "War on Terror" has morphed into Obama's "War on Al Qaeda." Obama's "war" has been used as an excuse to assassinate anyone anywhere in the world whenever the President gives the order.

But "there is not a distinct entity called Al Qaeda that provides a sound basis for defining and delimiting an authorized use of force," according to Paul P. Pillar, deputy director of the CIA's Counterterrorist Center from 1997 to 1999. The United States is not at war with Yemen and Somalia. Even if Obama identifies certain people living in Yemen or Somalia as members of Al-Qaeda who are desirous of committing acts of terror against the people of the United States, there is no basis in law for our government to declare war on individuals it considers a threat. The United States has legal means to indict and extradite, both under US and international law.

Since 2004, some 300 drone strikes have been launched in Pakistan. Twenty percent of the resulting deaths are believed to have been civilians. The Pakistan Human Rights Commission says

US drone strikes were responsible for at least 957 deaths in Pakistan in 2010.

In the three and one-half years since Obama took office, between 282 and 585 civilians have been killed, including more than 60 children. "The CIA's drone campaign has killed dozens of civilians who had gone to rescue victims or who were attending funerals," a new report by the London-based Bureau of Investigative Journalism found.

But, according to the Times article, Obama has developed a creative way to count civilian casualties. All military-age men killed in a drone strike zone are considered to be combatants, "unless there is explicit intelligence posthumously proving them innocent." As a result, Brennan reported last year that not one civilian had been killed during one year of strikes. An administration official recently claimed that the number of civilians killed by drone strikes in Pakistan was in the "single digits." Three former senior intelligence officials told the Times that they couldn't believe the number could be so low.

Obama, who has been targeting "suspected militants" (called "personality strikes") in Pakistan, Yemen and Somalia, even killing US citizens, has authorized expanded drone attacks—whenever there are suspicious "patterns of behavior" at sites controlled by a terrorist group. These are known as "signature strikes." That means bombs are being dropped on unidentified people who are in an area where suspicious activity has taken place. This goes beyond the illegal practice of "targeted killing." People are being killed without even being an identified target.

The administration justifies its use of armed drones with reference to the Authorization for the Use of Military Force that Congress passed just days after the September 11 attacks. In the AUMF, Congress authorized force against groups and countries that had supported the terrorist strikes. But Congress rejected the Bush administration's request for open-ended military authority "to deter and preempt any future acts of terrorism or aggression against the United States."

(See Killer Drones P 14.)

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Missile Defense: Is it Working?

By Bruce K. Gagnon

One of the biggest questions in the space technology world today is will “missile defense” (MD) really work? Recently we’ve seen articles making a case that it does not work and never will. I would suggest that depending on where you are standing, a strong case could be made that MD is working quite well. It’s all a matter of perception and definition.

When looked at from the point of view of the Russians or Chinese one might consider that they view it very differently than some of the critics. Critics see scripted Missile Defense Agency tests while Russia and China see a hyperactive deployment program, which is directly connected to a larger U.S./NATO military expansion ultimately leading to their encirclement.

Critics might see the MD system today largely as a corporate boondoggle while the Russians and Chinese are looking toward 2020 and beyond when new generations of a well funded research and development program (now committed to by NATO’s 28 members) has delivered faster, more accurate and longer range interceptor missiles.

Critics in a sense can help demobilize opposition to the program. Some peace activists think it would be a waste of their valuable time and meager organizing resources to spend energy working against a program that has been labeled by experts as unworkable and an exaggeration. But viewed from a wider perspective, that includes US and NATO military encirclement of Russia as well as the Obama administration’s “pivot” of military operations into the Asia-Pacific, one may see an entirely different picture.

The U.S./NATO military encirclement of Russia and China puts a very different framework around the MD issue. Keep in mind the Space Command’s annual computer war game first-strike attack on China (reported in *Aviation Week*) set in the year 2016. The existence of MD becomes a crucial factor considering China’s 20-some nuclear weapons capable of hitting the west coast of the US. In the war game the Space Command launches another new speculative space technology, called the military space plane that is now under development. This system helps to deliver the initial attack on China’s nuclear forces. When China fires its remaining nuclear missiles in a retaliatory strike it is then that the US MD systems, now being deployed throughout the Asia-Pacific region, are used to pick off these nuclear weapons. Today ground-based PAC-3 interceptor systems are being deployed in Taiwan, Japan, South Korea, and Okinawa. In

addition, the SM-3 interceptors on-board Navy Aegis destroyers are increasingly being ported near China’s coast. So China’s experience is that the war-game scenarios—which we presume, they always lose—come alive with each new deployment, each new military base, and each new Aegis destroyer positioned in the region.

Coupled with that is the Strategic Command’s mission of Prompt Global Strike (to hit targets on the other side of the planet in one hour with “non-nuclear” missiles) as another key element in Pentagon first-strike planning.

China will be forced to respond to these moves on the grand chessboard. Its decision to deploy several ballistic-



missile submarines demonstrates a deep commitment to make its nuclear forces survivable against US first-strike attack planning. And in turn, Maine’s Congressional delegation, like those from other states, argue that we need to build more Aegis destroyers at Bath Iron Works because China is now expanding its naval forces.

China has long been a strong supporter of Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space (PAROS) at the United Nations Conference on Disarmament. Its reluctance to fully support the Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty (FCMT) is directly linked to US unwillingness to seriously negotiate around PAROS and thus is integrally connected to MD. China feels it can’t afford to forego its option to upgrade or build more nuclear weapons while its coastal region is being sprinkled with MD systems. Chinese leaders nervously view the scene from space satellite imagery as the US essentially doubles its military presence in China’s neighborhood.

China is also concerned about possible developments of space-based MD systems that would undercut its stra-

tegic nuclear deterrent in even greater ways. With the infusion of funding for additional research and development that will surely come from a broader NATO-wide participation in MD one can understand China’s consternation.

Russia’s leaders, also long-time supporters of PAROS, are now questioning their continued participation in the new Start Treaty. They maintain that the Start Treaty and future nuclear disarmament negotiations are in jeopardy if the delicate balance between strategic offensive weapons and MD systems is destroyed due to an expanding US/NATO program.

Russian military chief Nikolai Makarov didn’t broach the subject of launching

Additionally, when a US interceptor missile launched from an Aegis warship in 2008 struck a falling American spy satellite orbiting 130 miles over the Pacific Ocean, fears that these MD systems could be used as anti-satellite weapons also surfaced.

To be correctly understood MD must be viewed in a much larger context than is presently done by most critics. The current global competition for declining scarce resources is driving much of the world’s conflict today. Canada’s recent announcement that it will spend \$35 billion to expand its warship-building program in coming years is clearly connected to the reality of melting ice in the Arctic regions, which makes it possible for oil and gas corporations to drill there. The US is already lining up Canada, Norway and other Arctic allies to stand against Russia in this push-and-shove for control of these resources.

The fact that Russia has the world’s largest supply of natural gas, and significant supplies of oil, indicates one likely reason the US and NATO are militarily surrounding her.

Haven’t we come to realize by now that the Pentagon’s primary job today is to serve as the resource extraction service for corporate globalization?

In the case of China, while the US can’t compete with its economy, the Pentagon has apparently determined that controlling China’s access to vital resources would give the US the keys to its economic engine.

Historians have made the case for years that even though nuclear weapons have not been used since Hiroshima and Nagasaki, they have been strategically utilized in numerous incidents since 1945 as guns pointed at the heads of particular countries.

In the same way the mere threat of MD as a key element in Pentagon first-strike attack planning is a loaded and cocked gun pointed at the heads of Russia and China. Both of these nations have to assume the worst-case scenario and prepare and plan to respond. Perception informs and creates reality.

MD deployments indeed provoke military responses from Russia and China (and Iran and North Korea). Their responses are then used to further demonize those nations in the eyes of the citizens of the US and people around the world. These images of aggressive Russian and Chinese militarists are then used to justify even greater military spending in the US (and among NATO allies) in order to ward off their supposed aggression.

The public in the US knows virtually
(See *Missile Defense P 3.*)

preemptive strikes against US MD sites in Eastern Europe because Russia views Obama’s Phased Adaptive Approach as—merely—a corporate pork barrel. At a recent two-day conference in Moscow, Makarov maintained that third and especially fourth phase deployments (Standard Missile-3 Block IIA and IIB missiles) would be capable of destroying intermediate-range missiles. When they are positioned in the Baltic and Black Sea regions this makes them able to take down Russian ICBMs.

These concerns largely spring from Obama administration promises to deploy Aegis based interceptors in the Black and Baltic seas in the years ahead.

U.S./NATO now has bases and/or military operations in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, Lithuania, Estonia, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan. At the same time NATO partnerships are expanding into the Asia-Pacific region to include the likes of Australia, Japan, South Korea, and very likely India. NATO expansion throughout Eastern Europe and into Asia-Pacific will further Chinese and Russian fears of containment.



KAUAI: Prior to traveling to South Korea for our conference last February, GN leaders Dave Webb (England), Lynda William (California), and Bruce Gagnon (Maine) stopped in Hawaii for meetings with local activists on Oahu and Kauai. This photo was taken on Kauai following a talk about Obama’s “pivot” into the Asia-Pacific and the expansion of US bases on Pacific Islands like Hawaii, Guam, Philippines, Okinawa, and Jeju. Kauai hosts the

Navy’s Pacific Missile Range Facility—the world’s largest instrumented, multi-dimensional testing and training missile range. It is the only range in the world where submarines, surface ships, aircraft and space vehicles can operate and be tracked simultaneously. There are over 1,100 square miles of instrumented underwater range and over 42,000 square miles of controlled airspace. Navy Aegis “missile defense” systems are tested there.

Missile Defense? (Cont. from p. 2)

nothing about the Pentagon surrounding Russia and China with MD systems but they do know that US Secretary of War Leon Panetta hosted China’s Defense Minister at the Pentagon on May 7. *The Washington Times* reported at the time, “A key issue the US will explore is the objective of China’s ‘very robust and rapid’ military modernization, especially in a region that is ‘at peace,’ a senior defense official told reporters.”

Given enough time and money it is possible to consider that some kind of MD systems could be made to “work”. If we’ve learned anything over the years it should be that technological advances in weapons development are a guarantee. Humans started out throwing stones at one another and graduated to the club. Then they moved on to the bow and arrow, the Gatling gun, nuclear weapons, stealth bombers, and now space scientists land rovers on Mars. True or not, who is going to believe that MD will “never” work?

The Pentagon always says, “We work on many technologies at once. Some of them work and some don’t. But we make progress along the way and are able to get

something to work in the end by adapting various technologies.”

Russia and China see the development of MD and clearly understand the mission configuration. These systems are designed to serve as key elements in Pentagon first-strike planning. Whether one version of MD works or not is less important than the overall decision to build and deploy a first-strike offensive web of weapons systems surrounding Russia and China.

The historically important goal to rid the world of nuclear weapons hinges on serious negotiations and treaties that must include banning weapons from, in, and through space.

To say MD does not work is to miss the larger point. MD is working quite effectively to help destroy

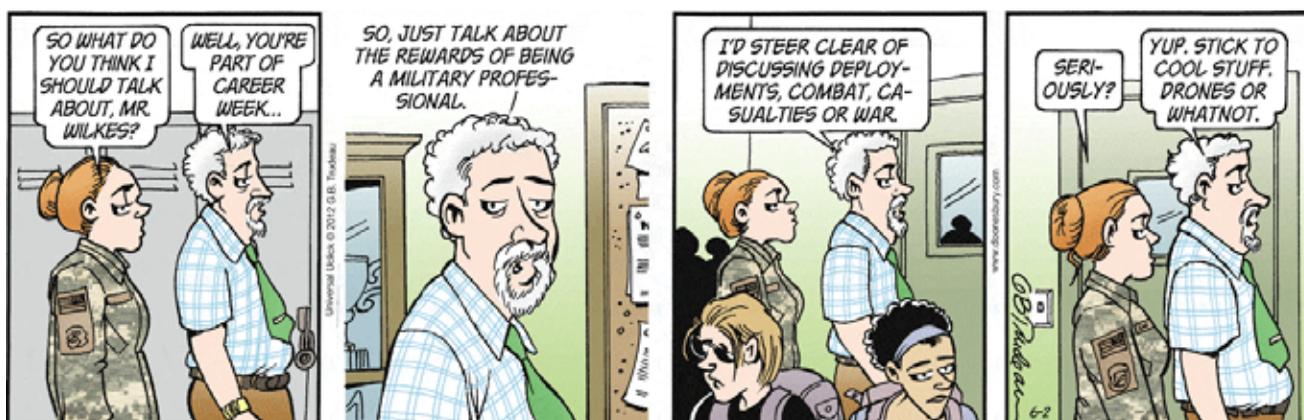
the system of international treaties that limits humanity’s mad rush to extinction. The UN’s Conference on Disarmament has largely been frozen for the past 20 years and one key reason is the space technology issue. The US and its NATO allies seek control and domination of space and the Earth below on behalf of corporate interests and investments. Why would the US be so adamant in its refusal to seriously negotiate on PAROS unless it still maintained hopes and plans to create a space-based MD first-strike attack system?

I would hope that critics of MD would use this current controversy over U.S./NATO military expansion eastward to help the public understand the larger issues in play. We miss the key issue of our

time when we do not see that MD, and all other military systems being used to surround Russia and China, are obstacles to nuclear disarmament, serious negotiations on PAROS, and true peace.

We have real problems today called climate change and growing global poverty. We cannot afford to stand by and watch the dismantling of international treaties and institutions like the United Nations while US and NATO push an aggressive campaign to further militarize the world. Future generations remind us that we should oppose not just some of the technology systems, but that we stand against the policies of endless war that are tearing the world to pieces.

—Bruce K. Gagnon lives in Bath, Maine and coordinates the Global Network



MD's Implications on PAROS and FMCT

By Julian V. Gagnon

During Congressional debates on the India nuclear deal, also referred to as the 123 Agreement, which required the US to provide fissile material for India's civilian nuclear reactors, Congressperson Edward Markey predicted that as a result of passing the nuclear deal, "Pakistan is not going to sit idly by while that happens." As a result of the India nuclear deal, India's capacity to produce nuclear weapons increased from about seven to forty or fifty per year. In fact, Markey pointed out during debates on the House floor, "Pakistan is expanding their nuclear program, building a plutonium production reactor." Others noted that Pakistan would also seek a nuclear deal with the US to provide fissile material for their own civilian reactors. Of course the US would never agree to provide Pakistan with fissile material, so "Islamabad's best bet will be China."

It is of critical importance to draw historical connections between Pakistan's (and China's) desire to produce fissile material, the US commitment to India's civilian nuclear program, Pakistan's current opposition to the Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty (FMCT), the United Nations Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space Treaty (PAROS), and the future development of space missile defense. All of these interrelated events, treaties, and weapons systems create a cycle of action-reaction that fuels arms races throughout the world. Luckily, it may not be too late for change. The weaponization of space and deadlock at the U.N. Conference on Disarmament (CD) are by no means inevitable, but rather a product of particular choices and circumstances. Those activists who oppose militarism and space warfare must make these links publicly known in order to expand the grassroots

network and make their efforts to pressure those inside the beltway more, for lack of better words, credible or effective. However, this strategy alone may prove to be insufficient.

Some observers recently called the CD "obsolete," perhaps even on its "death bed." While it is true that the CD has not produced much in the last twenty years, many critics made little attempt to assess the reasons for the "deadlock." Instead of investigating the motivation for Pakistan's opposition to the FMCT, the rationale behind US opposition to PAROS, activists preferred to focus on the necessity for "new attitudes towards nuclear doctrine." But how can activists expect government and military leaders to change those attitudes without an understanding of what are forming them?

At a recent CD meeting, negotiations on FMCT and PAROS were not even called for. Again, most paint the blame on Pakistan for "obstructing" the process. However, the context for Pakistan's concern was limited to "disparities in existing stockpiles." None of these activists, or even the journalists, connected the dots between the 123 Agreement and FMCT. The India nuclear deal created the "comparative advantage!" Without reductions to India's existing stockpiles that were largely a result of the 123 Agreement, or a verification regime, Pakistan will not agree to limits on their own future production of fissile materials. Many commentators have called for China to pressure Pakistan into supporting FMCT, but why would China pressure Pakistan to support the current drafting of the treaty when one of the explicit goals of the India nuclear deal was to contain China?

Most readers know that China is one of the biggest supporters of PAROS, which would prevent countries from positioning weapons in outer space. In fact, China is not just an advocate but also one of the original fifteen co-sponsors of the treaty. However, many activists, even journalists and foreign policy commentators, omit discussion of the interrelationship between PAROS and FMCT. For years China conditioned their support for FMCT on US compliance with PAROS. In the past few years China seems to have dropped their demands for linkage of the two treaties, but China cannot be considered as strong of an advocate for FMCT as they are for PAROS. If the US continues to oppose PAROS, it is highly improbable that China will stress the importance of FMCT to Pakistan.

China's support for PAROS, and their lack of urgency to support FMCT, is directly related to ground and space-based missile defense. If a missile defense was

effective, it would represent a major threat to Chinese strategic nuclear forces. In a recent article, Hui Zhang (Senior Research Associate, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs at Harvard University) makes this link: "China is even more concerned about space-based BMD systems that would be far more dangerous to China's nuclear deterrent than a non-space-based BMD system." As a result of potential space applications of missile defense, China is taking a wait-and-see approach. Instead of signing off on FMCT, which would prevent them from producing more fissile material and making more strategic nuclear weapons, China intends to keep their options open. If the US was willing to sign PAROS and commit itself to banning weapons in space, China would have less of an incentive to maintain an ambiguous position in relation to FMCT.

Many policy wonks in the US worry that PAROS would constrain our military options while allowing China to cheat. Such fears seem overblown, and equally applicable to the US. In his statement to the 2006 Plenary of the CD, the Chinese Ambassador for Disarmament Affairs Jingye noted: "China and the Russian Federation have jointly submitted... thematic papers regarding definition, verification, transparency and confidence-building measures." PAROS is much more comprehensive and developed than critics argue. The same people who warn that China will cheat often point to its test of anti-satellite weapons (ASAT) or modernization of its military as proof. Rarely, if ever, do they acknowledge that the US has done similar ASAT tests, or our policy of containment and encirclement of China. Some even argue China's ASAT test was a warning: "Get on with treaty talks or we will challenge you in space."

Of course, if the US ever places directed energy weapons, like space-based lasers, or the more technologically feasible kinetic kill weapons, such as Brilliant Pebbles, in space, China will be forced to react. Chinese leaders cannot afford to stake their countries future on the unreliability of these weapons. While the US maintains that missile defense is only a "defensive" weapon, China's perception of the threat is significantly different. Missile defense has offensive capabilities as ASATs, and at the very least compliment US first strike capabilities. As Zhang notes in his 2002 article, "China could be driven to expand its ICBM arsenal significantly both in quantity and quality." In addition to increasing the number of nuclear weapons, China would likely equip weapons with decoys and counter-measures that could neutralize the effectiveness of mis-

sile defenses. And in response to further Chinese nuclear development, the US and India would likely interpret these "defensive" moves as "offensive," and bulk up their own forces. The history of the Cold War seems to confirm the mirror imaging of such military moves. As the current negotiations of FMCT demonstrate, Pakistan would seek to combat any Indian "comparative advantage" in nuclear weapons.

The solution to the potential weaponization of space and ensuing arms race it would create is simple: US ratification, without reservations, of PAROS. The most difficult question is, "what it would take to get the US to that point?" Unfortunately, there is no easy answer to this question. Certainly the work of the Global Network demonstrates that some level of international grassroots pressure exists. But these movements have not gained the widespread support and media attention that we see in the Occupy struggles, or the Arab Spring and recent protests in Greece. The differences might be both strategic and tactical: strategic in the sense that what these other movements have in common is a focus on economic issues; and tactical with regards to the invention of new forms of protest. It may not be enough to inform the grassroots of missile defenses implications on disarmament in order to better speak the language of policy makers. The fact that Congress is more responsive to money than arms control should not be news to anyone.

Virtually every election cycle reveals that monetary issues, not war, are the top priority for voters since economics affects people's everyday lives. To put it in philosophical terms, anti-war is too particular a struggle, while capitalism is the universal problem. Perhaps it is time to switch the focus from security implications to questions of the political economy while altering traditional forms of resistance. Hip-hop artists played an integral role in fanning the flames of revolution in Tunisia. Social media provides instantaneous modes of communication connecting people throughout the world. Occupy encampments staged permanent protests, extending the duration of dissent. More than anything, the most effective recent struggles were not limited to anti-war themes, but instead called for anti-neoliberal policies and revolution. After all, one of the lessons we learned from the Global Network is that "if your number one industrial export is weapons, then your global marketing strategy is war."

— Julian V. Gagnon lives in Jersey City, N.J. and is a high school debate coach



West Coast Trip



Bruce Gagnon talked in Olympia, Washington on his 30-day west coast speaking tour during the month of April. His 24-city trip took him from San Diego, California to Bellingham, Washington. Along the way he did a total of 31 talks including six events at colleges/universities. The trip marked the 20th anniversary of the Global Network.

LETTER FROM GUAM:

Connect the Colonized Pacific Islands

By Michael Lujan Bevacqua

For many in the Asia-Pacific region, Guam is a tourist paradise. When there is discussion as to where countries like South Korea or Japan should put unwanted US bases, Guam is always mentioned due to its close proximity to Asia.

Guam is not "a part" of the U.S., but rather territory "owned" by the US First taken in 1898 during the Spanish-American War, it has been militarized to the point of becoming "the tip of America's spear" today, where 28% of its 212 square miles host US military bases.

In 2005 the US military first announced a massive troop buildup to Guam that promised to bring billions of dollars to Guam's economy. But as the years passed and people learned more and more about what the buildup would entail, they began to realize that it would damage the coral reefs, drive up the cost of living, overcrowd the hospitals and schools, and place more land behind military fences, they began to turn against this buildup.

A key point in the struggle is an area in northern Guam called Pagat, which the military planned to turn into live firing ranges for Marines who would be transferred from Okinawa to Guam. Pagat is considered to be a sacred place full of spirits. When the people of Guam realized that this sacred place could be in range of the 10 million bullets the US military planned to fire each year, they began to protest. As a territory, a contemporary colony, Guam is not supposed to have a say over how its colonizer uses it.

It is for this reason that the solidarity networks across the Asia-Pacific need to be strengthened. So that we can see our islands such as Guam, Hawaii, Jeju and Okinawa as connected through militarism, and work effectively for our collective demilitarization and decolonization.

— Michael Lujan Bevacqua is Professor of Guam History at the University of Guam and Chair of the Independence for Guam Task Force

DOD's 110 Potential Drone Basing Locations

| Location | Service | UAS | Location | Service | UAS |
|----------------------|---------|------------|------------------------|---------|-----------|
| ALABAMA | | | | | |
| Fort McClellan | ARNG | RQ11B | | USSOCOM | Wasp |
| | ARNG | RQ7B | NS Mayport | USN | MQ8 |
| Redstone | USA | RQ11B | Starke | ARNG | RQ11B |
| | USA | RQ7B | | ARNG | RQ7B |
| ALASKA | | | | | |
| Fort Greely | USA | RQ11B | GEORGIA | | |
| | USA | RQ7B | Fort Benning | USA | RQ11B |
| Fort Richardson | USA | RQ11B | | USA | RQ7B |
| | USA | RQ7B | | USSOCOM | PUMA AE |
| Fort Wainwright | USA | RQ11B | | USSOCOM | RQ11B |
| | USA | RQ7B | | USSOCOM | Viking |
| | USA | RQ7B | | USSOCOM | RQ7B |
| ARIZONA | | | | | |
| Conchise College | USA | MQ5 | Fort Stewart | USA | MQ5 |
| Florence | ARNG | RQ11B | | USA | RQ11B |
| Fort Huachuca | USA | MQ1B | | USA | RQ7B |
| | USA | MQ1C | | USA | MQ1C |
| | USA | MQ5 | | USSOCOM | MQ1B |
| | USA | RQ7B | | USSOCOM | MQ9A |
| | USMC | RQ7B | Hunter AAF | USSOCOM | PUMA AE |
| MCAS Yuma | USMC | RQ7B | | USSOCOM | RQ11B |
| | USMC | RQ21A | | USSOCOM | RQ7B |
| Whetstone | ARNG | RQ7B | | USSOCOM | Viking |
| Yuma Proving Ground | USN | MQ8 | HAWAII | | |
| ARKANSAS | | | | | |
| Fort Chaffee | ARNG | RQ11B | Kaneohe Bay | USMC | RQ11B |
| | ARNG | RQ7B | | USMC | RQ7B |
| | ARNG | RQ11B | Wheeler | USA | RQ11B |
| Little Rock | ARNG | RQ11B | | USA | RQ7B |
| CALIFORNIA | | | | | |
| Beale AFB | USAF | RQ4* | IDAHO | | |
| | USN | RQ4A BAMS | Boise | ARNG | RQ11B |
| Camp Morena | USSOCOM | PUMA AE | | ARNG | RQ7B |
| | USSOCOM | RQ11B | ILLINOIS | | |
| | USSOCOM | Wasp | Havana Airport | ARNG | RQ7B |
| NAWS China Lake | USN | MQ8 | Ipava | ARNG | RQ11B |
| Camp Roberts | ARNG | RQ11B | INDIANA | | |
| | ARNG | RQ7B | Camp Atterby | ARNG | RQ11B |
| | USSOCOM | Scan Eagle | | ARNG | RQ7B |
| El Mirage | USA | MQ1B | Jefferson Range | USSOCOM | PUMA AE |
| | USA | MQ1C | | USSOCOM | RQ11B |
| Filmore | USA | Wasp | | USSOCOM | RQ7B |
| Filmore | USA | PUMA AE | | USSOCOM | Viking |
| | USSOCOM | Wasp | KANSAS | | |
| | USSOCOM | PUMA AE | Fort Riley | USA | RQ11B |
| Fort Irwin | USA | RQ11B | | USA | RQ7B |
| | USA | RQ7B | | USA | MQ1C |
| Gray Butte | USAF | MQ1B | KENTUCKY | | |
| | USAF | MQ9A | Corbin | USSOCOM | PUMA AE |
| MCAGCC 29 Palms | USMC | RQ11B | | USSOCOM | RQ11B |
| | USMC | RQ7B | | USSOCOM | Wasp |
| | USMC | Scan Eagle | Fort Campbell | USA | RQ11B |
| | USMC | RQ21A | | USA | RQ7B |
| MCB Camp Pendleton | USMC | RQ11B | | USA | MQ1C |
| NAS Lemoore | USN | UCLASS | | USA | RQ7B |
| Pt Mugu | USN | MQ8 | | USSOCOM | PUMA AE |
| San Clemente Island | USA | RQ11B | | USSOCOM | RQ11B |
| | USSOCOM | MQ1B | | USSOCOM | Wasp |
| | USSOCOM | MQ9A | LOUISIANA | | |
| SCLA Victorville | ANG | MQ1B | Camp Claiborne | ARNG | RQ7B |
| | USA | YMQ-18A | Fort Polk | ANG | MQ1B |
| | USSOCOM | A160 | | USA | RQ11B |
| | USSOCOM | RQ11B | | USA | RQ7B |
| SSTC, Imperial Beach | USSOCOM | PUMA AE | | USSOCOM | MQ1B |
| | USSOCOM | RQ11B | | USSOCOM | MQ9A |
| | USSOCOM | Wasp | MARYLAND | | |
| Simi Valley | USA | RQ11B | NAS Patuxent | USN | RQ4 Blk10 |
| | USSOCOM | PUMA AE | | USN | RQ4A BAMS |
| | USSOCOM | Wasp | | USN | MQ4C BAMS |
| Vandenberg AFB | USSOCOM | RQ11B | | USN | MQ8 |
| | USSOCOM | RQ11B | | USN | UCAS-D |
| Fort Carson | USA | RQ11B | | USN | UCLASS |
| | USA | RQ7B | | USMC | RQ7B |
| | USSOCOM | MQ1B | Webster Outlying Field | USN | MQ8 |
| | USSOCOM | MQ9A | | ARNG | RQ7B |
| Pinon Canyon | USA | RQ11B | MASSACHUSETTS | | |
| | USSOCOM | RQ7B | Camp Edwards | ARNG | RQ11B |
| USAF Academy | USAF | Aerosonde | MICHIGAN | | |
| | USAF | Rascal | Camp Grayling | ARNG | RQ11B |
| | USAF | Alpha 60 | | ARNG | RQ7B |
| FLORIDA | | | | | |
| Appalachicola | USSOCOM | Wasp | Lake Margretha | ARNG | RQ11B |
| | USSOCOM | Raven | MINNESOTA | | |
| | USSOCOM | Puma AE | Camp Ripley | ARNG | RQ11B |
| Archer Field | USAF | Wasp | | ARNG | RQ7B |
| | USAF | MAV | MISSISSIPPI | | |
| Avon Park | USSOCOM | MQ1B | Camp Shelby | ARNG | RQ11B |
| | USSOCOM | MQ9A | | ARNG | RQ7B |
| Homestead | USSOCOM | PUMA AE | Stennis Space Center | USSOCOM | PUMA AE |
| | USSOCOM | RQ11B | | USSOCOM | RQ11B |
| | USSOCOM | Wasp | | USSOCOM | Wasp |
| Hurlburt Field | USSOCOM | MQ1B | MISSOURI | | |
| | USSOCOM | MQ9A | Fort Leonardwood | USA | RQ11B |
| | USSOCOM | PUMA AE | NEVADA | | |
| | USSOCOM | RQ11B | Creech AFB | USAF | MQ1B |
| | USSOCOM | Wasp | | USAF | MQ9A |
| NAS Jacksonville | USN | RQ4 Blk10 | | USSOCOM | MQ9A |
| NOLF Choctaw | USSOCOM | PUMA AE | Desert Rock Airstrip | USSOCOM | Puma |
| | USSOCOM | RQ11B | NEW JERSEY | | |
| | USSOCOM | Scan Eagle | Warren Grove | ARNG | RQ7B |



| Location | Service | UAS | Location | Service | UAS |
|-----------------------|---------|---------|--------------------|---------|------------|
| NEW MEXICO | | | | | |
| Albuquerque | USA | Wasp | Fort Worth | USSOCOM | RQ7B |
| Cannon AFB | USSOCOM | MQ1A | Gatesville | ARNG | RQ11B |
| | USSOCOM | MQ9A | | USSOCOM | Viking |
| | USSOCOM | PUMA AE | UTAH | | |
| | USSOCOM | RQ11B | Camp Williams | ARNG | RQ11B |
| Holloman AFB | USAF | MQ1B | | ARNG | RQ7B |
| | USAF | MQ9A | Dugway | USA | MQ1B |
| Playas | USSOCOM | PUMA AE | | USA | MQ5 |
| | USSOCOM | RQ11B | | USA | RQ7B |
| | USSOCOM | Wasp | VIRGINIA | | |
| White Sands | USSOCOM | MQ1B | Fort Pickett | USSOCOM | Viking |
| | USSOCOM | MQ9A | | ARNG | RQ11B |
| | USSOCOM | RQ7B | | ARNG | RQ7B |
| NEW YORK | | | | | |
| Fort Drum | ANG | MQ9A | Fort Story | USSOCOM | PUMA AE |
| | USA | RQ11B | | USSOCOM | RQ11B |
| | USA | RQ7B | | USSOCOM | Scan Eagle |
| Seneca | ARNG | RQ11B | | USSOCOM | Wasp |
| | ARNG | RQ11B | Fort AP Hill | ARNG | RQ11B |
| NORTH CAROLINA | | | | | |
| MCB Camp Lejeune | USMC | RQ11B | | ARNG | RQ7B |
| | USMC | RQ21A | Fort Eustis | USA | RQ11B |
| | USSOCOM | RQ11B | MCB Quantico | USMC | RQ11B |
| | USSOCOM | Wasp | | USMC | Wasp |
| | USMC | RQ21A | | USMC | RQ21A |
| Fort Bragg | USA | RQ11B | NALF Fentress | USSOCOM | PUMA AE |
| | USA | RQ7B | | USSOCOM | RQ11B |
| | USA | MQ1C | | USSOCOM | Wasp |
| | USSOCOM | MQ1B | | USSOCOM | S100 |
| | USSOCOM | MQ9A | WASHINGTON | | |
| | USSOCOM | PUMA AE | Fort Lewis | USA | RQ11B |
| | USSOCOM | RQ11B | | USA | RQ7B |
| | USSOCOM | RQ7B | McChord AFB | USSOCOM | PUMA AE |
| | USSOCOM | Viking | | USSOCOM | RQ11B |
| | USSOCOM | Wasp | | USSOCOM | Wasp |
| | USSOCOM | Wasp | Yakima Training | ARNG | RQ7B |
| | USSOCOM | Wasp | | USSOCOM | MQ1B |
| | USSOCOM | Wasp | | USSOCOM | MQ9A |
| | USSOCOM | Wasp | WISCONSIN | | |
| | USSOCOM | Wasp | Fort McCoy | ARNG | RQ11B |
| | USSOCOM | Wasp | | ARNG | RQ7B |
| | USSOCOM | Wasp | Camp Douglas | ANG | RQ7B |
| | USSOCOM | Wasp | WYOMING | | |
| | USSOCOM | Wasp | Camp Guernsey | ARNG | RQ11B |
| | USSOCOM | Wasp | GUAM | | |
| | USSOCOM | Wasp | Anderson AFB | USAF | RQ4 |
| | USSOCOM | Wasp | | USMC | RQ7B |
| | USSOCOM | Wasp | | USMC | RQ21A |
| | USSOCOM | Wasp | PUERTO RICO | | |
| | USSOCOM | Wasp | Salinas | ARNG | RQ11B |
| | USSOCOM | Wasp | OCEANIC | | |
| | USSOCOM | Wasp | Worldwide Oceanic | USN | MQ8 |

*Only block 20/40 RQ-4B aircraft remain at Beale AFB after FY 2013 budget is authorized (Block 30s cancelled).

SOURCE: Department of Defense, Report to Congress on Future Unmanned Aircraft Systems, Training, Operations, and Sustainability, Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition, Technology and Logistics April 2012

There's No Place Like Home

By Denis Apel

I met Kristina after Mass on Sunday. She was sitting on a bench in her brightly colored Mumu, her dark deeply etched face aglow with twinkling eyes and a brilliant white smile. She was waiting to talk to me. Gary, my guide and translator, had arranged for us to meet there in the shade outside Queen of Peace Catholic Church on the Island of Ebeye in the Republic of the Marshall Islands. I was as amazed as Katrina at the unlikely intersection of our lives, each lived into our sixties 4,200 miles apart with the massive glimmering Pacific Ocean between us.

A little background: In February I made a two-week trip to the Marshall Islands in the eastern equatorial Pacific and to Jeju Island off the southern tip of South Korea. Although the purpose for visiting the two was initially thought to be quite separate, in the end the similarities and reflections were starkly alike. I went to the Marshall Islands because they are on the receiving end of the I.C.B.M. tests that we have been resisting now for almost 16 years at Vandenberg Air Force Base in California. I wanted to meet the people, hear their stories, understanding the impact we have had on their lives. I went to Jeju Island to attend the annual conference of the Global Network Against Weapons & Nuclear Power in Space. I wanted to meet the people of Gangjeong village and to witness to and support their now five-year struggle to resist the destruction of their sacred land to build a naval base to port US warships. What I saw was a before-and-after picture of what happens when our Pentagon's aspirations collide with a peoples' life and land and how easily we dismiss their rights and concerns as irrelevant. We will have what we want.

The Marshall Islands were, by all accounts, brutally occupied by the Japanese during World War II and when the US delivered them from that occupation and they became our "Protectorate," we had the opportu-

nity to give them back their land and livelihood and autonomy. Instead, we immediately began shuttling natives off their home islands to make way for our above ground testing of increasingly powerful nuclear weapons. We detonated 67 nuclear bombs in the atolls of Bikini and Enewetak over 12 years. In the process we irradiated the people of the Marshall Islands some of whom suffer to this day, as do their children and grandchildren. We then took 10 islands in Kwajalein Atoll and moved the residents to the small island of Ebeye, which is now home to 11,000 native people on 80 acres of land. About 900 of those residents work as employees (for an average of \$5.00/hour) for our military base on the island of Kwajalein, shuttled daily from, and back to, their slum on a US Army barge.

The military base, which made it necessary to displace and then impoverish and hold dependent the native people of Kwajalein Atoll, is called USAKA or United States Army at Kwajalein Atoll. We have spent billions to establish a base with all the amenities (sports facilities, swimming pool, golf course, private beaches, etc.) and high tech radar equipment to detect anything launched into space by any country on the planet. In addition, the lagoon at Kwajalein, the largest in the world, is the bulls eye for the warheads attached to the I.C.B.M.s we regularly launch from Vandenberg. For 30 years we have dropped our warheads in their lagoon and on their islands contaminating the environment with depleted uranium and beryllium.

When this project was first gearing up in the 1980's there was resistance by the Marshallese people who re-occupied their islands and refused to leave. But the resistance was worn down and our military has had carte blanche ever since. The island lifestyle of the people of Kwajalein Atoll is gone now for generations. No more living sustainably off the land and sea, instead they live on meager salaries and suffer the marginalization of our military base and its project.

Ebeye has become their reservation.

Back to Katrina after Sunday mass: Katrina is next in line, when one of her siblings dies, to receive money as a landowner from the US Government for the land they took from her family. I asked Katrina, now exiled from her home island for almost 60 years, "If you had your choice, would you rather receive the compensation from the US Government or would you rather the military leave your island and you resume the life you had as a child?" Without a blink, Katrina looked at me and smiled, "There's no place like home."

Fast forward to today. As the people of the Marshall Islands live the life to which they have been relegated, about 3,000 miles to the East and North another group of people are in an epic struggle to save their land and lifestyle from yet another military encroachment. The US is offering protection to the South Korean government in return for that government building a Navy base to port US warships, specifically Aegis destroyers equipped with interceptor missiles with which to surround China. The people of Gangjeong village on Jeju Island off the southern tip of South Korea, after 5 years of struggle and resistance to the base, are now witnessing the dynamiting of their coastline. This coastline is centuries-old sacred grounds and designated UNESCO Natural Heritage Site as well as one of the 7 Natural Wonders of the World. Here, the Roman Catholic Bishop of the Diocese of Jeju has asked his priests and nuns to join in the resistance and many have been arrested and imprisoned. As many as 3,400 priests from all over Korea showed up on one weekend to protest the construction. Over 200 of the villagers of Gangjeong have been arrested. The island, dubbed the "Island of Peace" in the 1990s in response to public outcry after the revelation of a US directed Korean Government slaughter of more than 30,000 residents of Jeju in the years following World War II, is overwhelmingly opposed to a Naval base on their island. The US will have their way. And, in the process, the people and their sacred land will be discarded.

There is no place like home. But for each of us, home is a different place.

As the intensely beautiful song "Finlandia" reminds us,

*My country's skies are bluer than the ocean,
And sunlight beams on cloverleaf and pine.
But other lands have sunlight too and clover,
And skies are everywhere as blue as mine.*

What right have any of us to strip another of that home? Since World War II, between our wars and our military expansion, the US has taken the livelihood and homes of more people on the planet than any other country in history. We now have about 1,000 US military bases on other countries' homeland. We fund this enormous empire with our tax money while our own home disintegrates. It's time we re-visualize the sanctity of our home and in the process the sanctity of others' homes as well.

—Denis Apel lives in Santa Maria, Ca. and works at the Guadalupe Catholic Worker



The Folly of Mindless Science

By Alice Slater

In 2000, I traveled to India, invited to speak at the organizing meeting of the Indian Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace. About 600 organizations, including some 80 from Pakistan gathered in New Delhi to strategize for nuclear disarmament. India had quietly acquired the bomb and performed one nuclear test at Pokhran in 1974 but it was in 1998 that all hell broke out, with India exploding five underground tests, swiftly followed by six in Pakistan.

The trigger for this outbreak of nuclear testing in Asia was the refusal of the Clinton Administration, under the pressure of the US nuclear weapons scientists, to negotiate a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty that precluded laboratory testing and “sub-critical” tests, where plutonium could be blown up underground with chemicals without causing a chain reaction—hence defined as a non-nuclear test by the US and the nuclear club. India warned the nuclear powers at the Commission on Disarmament (CD) where the CTBT was being negotiated, that it opposed the CTBT because it contained discriminatory “loopholes ... exploited by some countries to continue their testing activity, using more sophisticated and advanced techniques”, and it would never agree to consensus on the treaty unless the ability to continue high-tech laboratory testing and computer-driven nuclear experiments was foreclosed.

In an unprecedented move of colonial hubris, Australia, led by Ambassador Richard Butler, brought the treaty to the UN for approval over India’s objections, the first time in the history of that body that the UN General Assembly was asked to endorse a treaty that had not received consensus to go forward in the negotiating body at the CD. I spoke to Ambassador Butler at a UN reception where the wine was flowing a bit liberally. I asked him what he was going to do about India’s objection. He informed me that he had been visiting with Clinton’s National Security Advisor in Washington, Sandy Berger, and Berger said, “We’re going to screw India! We’re going to screw India!” repeated twice by Butler, for emphasis. Unsurprisingly, India and Pakistan soon tested overtly, not wanting to be left behind in the technology race for new improved nuclear weapons which was characterized blasphemously by the US in biblical terms, as its “stockpile stewardship” program to protect the “safety and reliability” of the arsenal.

As for the “safety and reliability” of the nuclear arsenal, in the late 1980s, during

the heady days of perestroika and glasnost, when there was talk of a nuclear testing moratorium, initially instituted in the Soviet Union after coal miners and other activists marched and protested the enormous health threats from Russian testing in Kazakhstan, a debate in Congress resulted in an annotated Congressional record indicating that since 1950 there were 32 airplane crashes carrying nuclear weapons and not one of them ever went off! Two spewed some plutonium around Palomares, Spain and Thule, Greenland that had to be “cleaned up”, but there was no catastrophic nuclear explosion. There are still some bombs unaccounted for including an airplane still missing, which crashed off the coast of Georgia. How much more “safer and reliable” would the weapons have to be? Fortunately, General Lee Butler, taking command of the nuclear arsenal stopped the insanity in 1992 and ruled that the planes carrying nuclear weapons would be grounded instead of being in the air 24/7 keeping us “safe” and “detering” the Soviet Union. What could they have been thinking? Sadly, there has been no corresponding move to ratchet down the lunacy that endangers our planet at every moment from some 1,500 deployed nuclear weapons mounted on missiles poised to fire against Russian missiles, similarly cocked, in minutes.

Even before “stockpile stewardship”, I remember attending a meeting with the mad scientists at Los Alamos National Laboratory, home of Dr. Strangelove, and sitting in a circle to discuss the aftermath of nuclear policy in the shadow of the crumbled wall in Berlin. The scientists were earnestly discussing the need for AGEX (Above Ground Experiments), to keep their nuclear mind-muscles alive and limber, which eventually morphed into the diabolically named “stockpile stewardship” program. Today, that misbegotten program is funded to the tune of \$84 billion over the next ten years, with another \$100 billion budgeted for new “delivery” systems—missiles, submarine, airplanes—as if the Cold War had never ended!

At the Delhi conference, Dr. Amulya Reddy, a nuclear physicist gave an electrifying talk on the responsibility of science and its moral failures, explaining how shocked he was to find documents describing how the German scientists carefully calculated, with extraordinary accuracy and scientific precision, the amount of poison gas required per person to kill the Jews who were routinely marched to the Nazi “showers” in the concentration camps. And at a workshop on the role of science, there was an extraordinary con-



versation with Indian and Pakistani scientists, who pondered whether scientists have lost their moral compass because the system of higher education produced the growth of the scientific institute, isolating scientists from the arts and humanities. They examined whether these separated tracks of learning, denying scientists the opportunity to intermingle with colleagues engaged in those issues, while narrowly concentrating on their scientific disciplines, had stunted their intellectual and moral growth and led them to forget their humanity.

Now scientists are pushing whatever boundaries might have existed to open a whole new avenue of terror and danger for the world. In a profound disregard for the consequences of their actions, US scientists are enabling a new arms race with Russia and China as the Military-industrial-academic-Congressional complex plants Pentagon missiles in Eastern Europe and beefs up military bases in the Pacific. This despite efforts by Russia and China to forestall this new arms race by calling for a treaty to ban weapons in space, supported by every nation in the world except the US [and Israel] which blocks any forward progress for negotiations.

The US has recently admitted to cyber warfare, targeting uranium enrichment equipment in Iran with a killer virus to set back the Iranian program to build their own bomb in the basement, while at home, we are talking of massive subsidies to the uranium enrichment factory in Paducah, Kentucky. It is hard to believe how screwy this new venture into cyber warfare is in terms of providing security to the “homeland”. After all, cyber terror is not nuclear warfare. Any country, or even scores of various groups of individuals, can master the technology undetected, and wreak catastrophic havoc on the myriads of civilian computer-dependent systems, local, national, and

global. Similarly, the recent expansion of drone warfare, assassinating innocent civilians together with suspected “terrorists” in eight countries, at last count, with the President of the US acting as judge, jury and executioner, is the application of misbegotten science in a recipe for endless illegal war. Just as the US was the first to use the atomic bomb, opening the door to the disturbing and uncontrollable nuclear proliferation we witness today, it is again opening the door, taking the lead in a new global arms race in cyber warfare and drone technology.

Despite Russia’s suggestion that there be a treaty against cyber war, the US is resisting negotiations, indicating their continued arrogance and disregard of what must be manifestly apparent to any rational thinking person. There can be no reasonable expectation that scientists can keep the dark fruits of their lethal discoveries from proliferating around the world. It is just so 20th century, hierarchical and left-brained to imagine that there will not be others to follow their evil example, or that they can somehow control an outbreak of the same destructive technology to others who may not wish them well.

Can there be any doubt that scientists driving US policy are out of touch with reality? Officials talk about “risk assessment” as though the dreadful disastrous events at Chernobyl and Fukushima are capable of being weighed on a scale of risks and benefits. Scientists are constantly refining their nuclear weapons and designing new threats to the fate of the Earth. After the horrendous devastation in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, surely everyone with half a brain knows these catastrophic bombs are completely unusable and yet we’re pouring all these billions of dollars into perpetuating the weapons labs, as hunger and home-

(See *Mindless Science* P 12.)

Global Network 20th Annual Conference on Jeju Island



Dave Webb (England) and Atsushi Fujioka (Japan) stand in front of the April 3 museum where the GN conference was held.



People had to be carried on kayaks to sacred Gureombi rock where 16 were later arrested.

On February 24-26, 2012 the Global Network (GN) held its 20th annual space organizing conference in Gangjeong village on Jeju Island, South Korea. Events began with a visit to the April 3, 1948 museum that memorializes the more than 30,000 Jeju civilians killed in a US directed massacre by its post-WW II right-wing Korean puppet government. Our conference proceedings were held inside the museum auditorium.

In the days that followed we participated in several protests at Navy base construction gates and on February 26 ten international activists and six Korean activists were arrested after crawling under the razor wire on the village's sacred rocky coastline. Eight Global Network members were among those arrested: Mary Beth Sullivan, Dave Webb, Natasha Mayers, Angie Zelter, Agneta Norberg, Gun-Brit Makitalo, Dennis Apel, and Bruce Gagnon.

On February 27 many of us joined with villagers at a news conference in Jeju City where, after some difficulty, GN Chairperson Dave Webb was able to present a letter on our behalf to representatives of Jeju Island Governor Woo. The letter outlined our determined opposition to the Navy base construction and our strong support for Gangjeong villagers.

We thank village leaders for inviting us to hold our conference on Jeju Island and particularly are grateful to GN's South Korean board members Sung-Hee Choi and Wooksik Cheong for their good work in pulling it all together.



Dave Webb talks with South Korean Catholic Bishop Kang prior to start of GN conference on February 24.



Dave Webb (left) speaks during news conference on Feb 27 and Bruce Gagnon holds a letter from GN leaders that was later delivered to the Jeju Island governor.



GN board member Sung-Hee Choi (South Korea) moved to Gangjeong village two years ago to help organize international support to oppose Navy base construction. She was talking just prior to sixteen people being arrested after they crawled under the razor wire.



GN members joined villagers for 100 bows at the construction gate in Gangjeong village.



On our last day in Gangjeong village police surrounded villager's kayaks at their port and wouldn't allow them to put them in the water. This standoff continued for about 14 hours.



Conference participants pose for photo at end of day.



GN members vigil at Navy base construction gate with banners brought from around the world.

Odds & Ends

Jeju Video Available

While on Jeju Island for the GN's annual conference in February Bruce Gagnon recorded lots of video. Upon his return filmmaker Eric Herter took the footage and put together a 44-minute video about the trip and the Navy base fight which Bruce narrates. You can order the video for \$15 by sending a check to the GN at the address on the back of this newsletter.

Military Production Job Scare

In anticipation of possible meager cuts in military spending due to Congressional rules mandating such, the weapons industry is threatening to lay off "hundreds of thousands" of workers just days before the November election. Former Gen. James Jones, Obama's first National Security Advisor but now retired, said, "If that [cuts] happens current programs like Joint Strike Fighter go into a tail spin" — with consequences not only budgetary but strategic—"It'll create vacuums for us around the world and vacuums will be filled by others."

New Pivot Technologies

While recently touring the Asia-Pacific Secretary of Endless War Leon Panetta said, "The purpose of this trip is to define the new defense strategy for the region, particularly the emphasis on the rebalancing to the Asia-Pacific region. We have a strong presence now in the Pacific, but we'll continue to strengthen presence over the next five to 10 years.... More than ever, Hawaii remains that key center for operations throughout the Asia-Pacific region." The Pentagon now has about 330,000 troops in the Pacific.

Obama's New Stealth Destroyer

The Associated Press reported in June that "A super-stealthy destroyer that could underpin the US Navy's China strategy will be able to sneak up on coastlines virtually undetected and

pound targets with electromagnetic 'rail guns' right out of a sci-fi movie. (Using electric pulses, not chemical explosives, the 'rail gun' can shoot a 40-pound metal slug from New York to Philadelphia at up to 5,600 mph—more than seven times the speed of sound—with 32 times the force of a car traveling at 100 miles per hour.)" The new stealthy DDG-1000 being built by General Dynamics in Bath, Maine will cost between \$4-7 billion each. The Navy did not actually want the destroyer because it would eat up too much of their shipbuilding budget. But Obama, who was strongly supported in his run for president in 2008 by the Chicago-based Crown family (which are majority stockholders in General Dynamics), has insisted the ships be built. Previous versions of Navy destroyers, outfitted with 'missile defense' systems cost about \$1.5 billion each.

Drone Contractors

As drones proliferate so does the need for more people to fly them as well as to analyze video feeds sent back via military space satellites. More than a dozen military contractors now supply civilian personnel to help the Air Force do these jobs. "Our No. 1 manning problem in the Air Force is manning our unmanned platforms," said Gen. Philip Breedlove, A.F. vice chief of staff. According to an article by McClatchy news, "About 168 people are needed to keep a single Predator aloft for 24 hours...the larger Global Hawk surveillance drone requires 300 people. With a fleet of about 230 Predators, Reapers and Global Hawks, the Air Force flies more than 50 drones around the clock over Afghanistan and other target areas."

French Polling on Military Spending

At the time of the election of new French President Francois Hollande

in May a public opinion poll commissioned by Le Mouvement De La Paix found that citizens in their country want to reduce military spending (73%), support an international convention to eliminate nuclear weapons (81%), and favored cuts in the military budget at higher rates than in any other program across their nation. Those who continue to promote austerity budgets while military spending continues to rise around the world are ignoring the wishes of the people.

US-Canada-Japan Share Space Eyes

Space News reported in May that the US and Canada have "concluded a five-year agreement for sharing orbital surveillance data." Canada's planned Sapphire satellite system "will be a space-based electro-optical sensor system functioning as a contributing sensor to the US Space Surveillance Network (SSN). Sapphire will provide highly accurate tracking of objects in deep space allowing for more timely, complete and accurate space situational awareness." The U.S.-Canadian deal follows a spring White House announcement that the Pentagon and Japan will jointly develop a similar framework. Because of the enormous cost of these military space surveillance systems the US in getting their allies to help pay for them.

U.S.-Israel Military Sharing

Republican (Sen. Isakson) and Democrat (Sen. Boxer) legislators have co-sponsored a bill to extend US government-backed loan guarantees to Israel through 2015 so the Pentagon can "share satellite intelligence, aerial refueling tankers, specialized munitions and surplus draw down gear from Iraq." Congressional leaders say we must maintain Washington's commitment to Israel's "qualitative military edge in light of new and escalating threats." The "enhancements" come in addition to more than \$3 billion in annual US military aid to Israel.

Aegis Ashore: From Kauai to Russia's Neighborhood

The Aegis Ballistic Missile Defense System, named after the legendary shield of Zeus, is deployed on 81 naval ships around the globe with more than 25 additional Aegis-equipped destroyers planned or under contract. There are plans to install the BMDS on land in Romania in 2015 and in Poland in 2018, and those systems will be tested at the Pacific Missile Range Facility on Kauai, Hawaii. Russia believes that the deployment of the US "missile shield" system in Europe is an attempt to tip the balance of power in the region. "Ever since the end of the Cold War, the US has been moving its strategic weapons closer to Russian borders," Russian Deputy Defense Minister

Anatoly Antonov told the Moscow News in February. Russian leaders maintain that the US could soon reach the point of no return, which will render all arms talks completely useless. Ramstein Air Base in Germany, which already houses the European headquarters of the US Air Force, will host Obama's new "missile defense center".

East Coast MD Base?

Republicans in Congress are pushing for deployment of Ground-based Mid-course missile defense interceptors (like those now deployed in California and Alaska) on the east coast of the US So far no decisions have been taken although Boeing was awarded another \$3.5 billion for continued research and development on the program in late 2011.

Boeing Builds & Destroys Drones

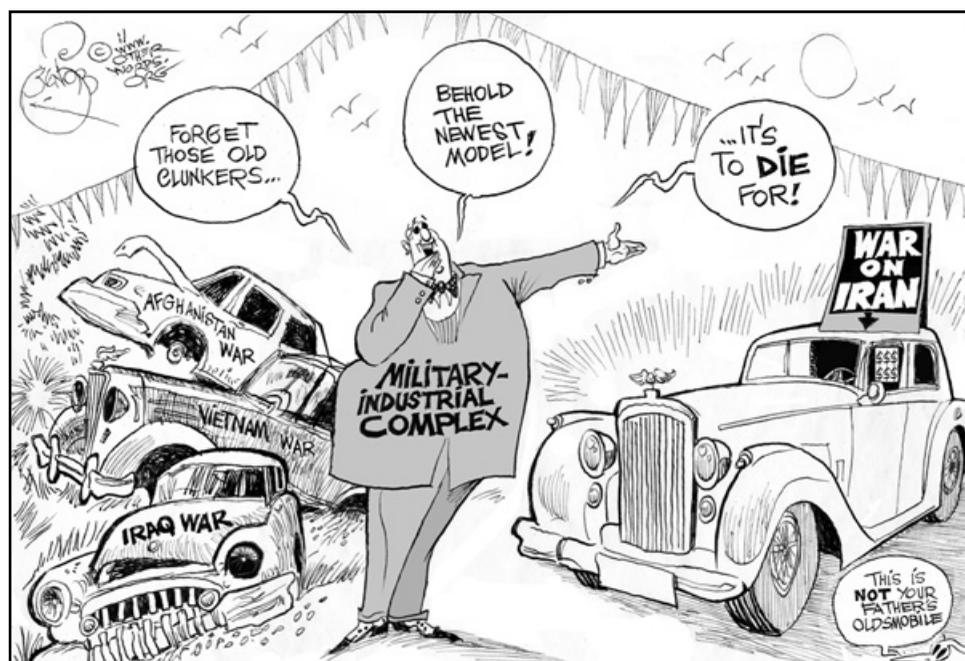
Boeing is now one of the largest makers of drones for the Pentagon. They are also working on new weapons to destroy drones. Mike Rinn, V-P of Directed Energy Systems at Boeing told an aerospace conference last spring "The Tactical Laser System we are developing has the potential to do a number of things. Some day at higher power levels, it will be used in cruise missile defense, counter-ing sensors and eventually for hard-kills on unmanned airborne vehicles." Boeing is a \$32 billion aerospace corporation with 62,000 employees.

Canada's Big Warship Budget

GN board member Tamara Lorincz reports from Halifax, Nova Scotia that Canada "plans to spend \$35 billion of our tax dollars over the next 30 years to manufacture over 100 vessels. The shipbuilding procurement is comprised of \$25 billion for building combat vessels, \$8 billion to build non-combat vessels, and \$2 billion for small craft and repair work. Why do we need combat vessels? What is the security threat? Who are our naval enemies?" Could the answer be that due to climate change and melting ice in the Arctic regions the US and its NATO allies like Canada and Norway are being brought into the military push-and-shove that will ensue over control of this region for oil and natural gas drilling? About \$5 billion of the Canadian funds would be spent in Nova Scotia, where the Halifax shipyard will undergo a substantial upgrade. The rest of the money will be spent in Ontario, Quebec and the U.S., where contractors will be hired to build the ships' combat systems, electronics and propulsion units. Lockheed Martin is expected to join with Irving Shipbuilding on the project.

UN Investigates US Human Rights Violations

The US policy of using drone strikes to carry out targeted killings presents a



Odds & Ends

major challenge to the system of international law that has endured since the Second World War, a UN investigator told the media in June. Christof Heyns, U.N. special rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, urged Washington to clarify the basis under international law of the policy, in a report issued to the United Nations Human Rights Council. "The (U.S.) government should clarify the procedures in place to ensure that any targeted killing complies with international humanitarian law and human rights and indicate the measures or strategies applied to prevent casualties, as well as the measures in place to provide prompt, thorough, effective and independent public investigation of alleged violations," the 28-page report said.

Military Space Plane

The US Air Force's robotic X-37B space plane finally returned to Earth on June 16 wrapping up a mission that lasted more than year in orbit. The unmanned spacecraft, also known as Orbital Test Vehicle-2, glided back to Earth on autopilot, touching down at Vandenberg Air Force Base, a mission that lasted more than 15 months with objectives that remain shrouded in secrecy. This secrecy has led to much speculation that the X-37B could carry out offensive military missions—perhaps a sophisticated satellite-killer. Many also suspect that the vehicle may be an orbital spy platform. Vandenberg officials said the next X-37B mission would launch sometime later this year, most likely in the fall.

Domestic Policing Role for the Army

As the Department of Homeland Security and local law enforcement fuse into a single militarized policing apparatus through the use of massive surveillance installations, eye-in-the-sky drones and hybrid task forces, the US military will continue to expand its role in domestic affairs, including in the event of "natural disasters" and terror related crises. So says Army Chief of Staff Raymond Odierno, who recently penned an article in Foreign Affairs, a propaganda mouthpiece published by the Council of Foreign Relations, an organization well known for having its hand in the economic, financial, social, military and political policies of every developed nation on Earth. Odierno wrote: "Where appropriate we will also dedicate active-duty forces, especially those with niche skills and equipment, to provide civilian officials with a robust set of reliable and rapid response options."

They're Back

The recent announcement that US troops and warships can once again use their former naval and air fa-

cilities in Subic and Clark is another clear admission that as the Pentagon seeks to assert dominance in the Asia-Pacific, the Philippines is also back as a launching pad for the US in the region. A statement issued by progressive groups in the Philippines states, "Thus, the announcement [was] aimed to prepare the people psychologically. It tells us to brace for increased military presence and activity in these facilities and possibly, for another direct armed engagement of the US in Asia."

Laser Projects Want More \$\$\$

GN board member Bob Anderson reports, "In Albuquerque, N.M. Kirtland Air Force Base (KAFB) puts out a print newspaper called *The Nucleus* which carries a lot of information that does not appear in the local press. In May they had an article called 'AFRL Showcases Directed Energy at the Nation's Capital'. This article points out that Rep. Martin Heinrich (Democrat) has taken the initiative to create a special group called the 'Congressional Directed Energy Caucus' which focuses on space laser weapons projects for the war machine. The article outlines several projects Heinrich is promoting. One is a system to attack satellites of other nations in space (with the powerful Starfire ground-based laser weapon at KAFB). Another project Heinrich is pushing is called the Tactical Relay Mirror System. This is basically a system of space mirrors, which would look down, and fire laser energy beams into the canyons of the planet. His article talks how the Air Force Research Lab at KAFB has made great advances with these weapons, so much so that they are about ready to put them into field use. That was the point of Heinrich's meeting in Washington, to help get more money for the war profiteers to build these weapons which means less money for social security and our schools."

Russian Space Nukes

Russian space contractor RSC Energia has confirmed plans for the design of advanced space modules that will be powered by nuclear-based propulsion systems. According to Ria Novosti, initial launches of the first-gen modules could kick off by 2020. As one would expect, the ambitious project carries a hefty price tag of over \$580 million. Nevertheless, Federal Space Agency Roscosmos director Anatoly Perminov believes the development of Megawatt-class nuclear space power systems for manned spacecraft is "crucial" if Russia wants to maintain a competitive edge in the space race. It should be noted that RSC Energia has also announced its intention to develop a space-based nuclear power station (for placement on the moon or Mars), along with a nuclear-powered space tug—which could theoretically

halve current satellite launching and orbiting costs.

PAC-3 MD on Okinawa

The US and Japanese governments created enough fear in March before North Korea tried to launch a satellite into space that they got several communities in Okinawa to request, or at least accept, new deployments of the PAC-3 (third generation Patriot) missile defense system. The US and Japan whipped up fears by claiming that North Korea "might" instead launch an unprovoked attack on Japan thus paving the way for the new ground-based PAC-3 deployments. In fact these systems will actually be pointed toward China and not North Korea. The North Korean satellite launch did not reach its required orbit and was a bust. It did not land in Okinawa or anywhere in Japan.

US Space Plutonium Production

Over the next two years, Oak Ridge National Laboratory (Tennessee) will carry out a \$20 million pilot project to demonstrate the lab's ability to produce and process plutonium-238 for use in the space program. The program will support the Department of Energy's plan to eventually produce 1½ to 2 kilograms of Pu-238 per year, using existing infrastructure within the DoE complex. For years, the US has relied on purchases from Russia to supplement the inventory of the radioisotope for the space power program. Pu-238 is a sister isotope to the plutonium-239 that's used in nuclear weapons. It's considered by NASA and DoE as the "optimum material" for power sources—known as radioisotope thermoelectric generators or

RTGs—on deep space missions. These are the same plutonium devices that GN members protested against when NASA launched the 1997 Cassini mission that carried 72 pounds of Pu-238 into space.

California Events Planned

There will be an anti-drone conference and protest actions in and around Santa Barbara, California the weekend of Oct 19-20. The events will be organized by ARROWS (Alliance to Resist Robotic Warfare and Society). For more information contact Peter Lumsdaine at tierralinda@live.com. Vandenberg Space Command launches the polar orbit satellites that are responsible for directing war from space. Without these satellites the use of drones controlled from the other side of the planet would not be possible.

Hancock Arrests

Fifteen New Yorkers were arrested on June 28 when they blocked the main gate of Hancock Air Base, Syracuse, NY unfurling Anti-Reaper drone banners. The banners declared, "Federal Crime Scene, Don't Cross!" with vivid illustrations of young victims of drone strikes. One banner pictured MLK stating "I have a dream!", and next to him was Obama stating "I have a drone". What has happened to MLK's dream? Hancock Air Base is Central New York's hub for the piloting of the MQ-9 Reaper, an unmanned high-tech airborne killer robot, over Afghanistan. These drone incursions violate our US Constitution, Article 6, and International Law. US drones clandestinely kill civilians and noncombatants in various countries including Afghanistan, Iraq, Yemen, Somalia, Pakistan, and the Philippines.

Menwith Hill

(Cont. from p. 13)

cal taxpayer and is estimated at around £500,000 a year. Overall, the claimed financial benefit to the local community is probably over-estimated by 50% and closing the base could actually end up creating many more economic and environmental benefits than keeping it going. Using the examples of the closure of other bases in Germany and Scotland the report illustrates how investment in renewable energy systems is far more rewarding. Eleven detailed recommendations for a way forward are presented, including the re-establishment of a Citizens' Forum to discuss and debate issues concerning the base.

Only the US could even think about building the huge and highly complex global system of which Menwith Hill is a part. Just to launch a satellite costs in

excess of \$3 billion. The US spends over \$700 billion a year on military spending while 50 million US citizens live on or below the poverty line and there is a desperate need to rebuild the country's infrastructure. A fundamental rethink and deep cuts in arms spending to fund civil investments like renewable energy programmes would be a boost to the economy, provide skilled work for ordinary people and contribute to real security in an uncertain world of climate change and resource depletion.

A free download of the report can be obtained from <http://www.yorkshirecnd.org.uk/campaigns/menwith-hill/> or hardcopy versions can be purchased from Yorkshire CND for £4 a copy.

—Dave Webb chairs the UK's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Global Network. He lives in Leeds, England.

Missile Testing is Moral & Economic Bankruptcy

By MacGregor Eddy

Fifteen-peace protesters face trial Oct 17 in Santa Barbara, California for non-violent protest of a hydrogen bomb delivery system test launch that took place on Feb. 25 at 1 am. At 2 am Vandenberg Air Force Base launched a Minuteman III long distance missile that landed in the once lovely Kwajalein atoll in the Marshall Islands.

The 15 co-defendants include Daniel Ellsberg who had made a powerful speech at the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation on Feb 23 entitled "Nuclear Weapons and Humanity's Future". The large turnout of 70 people for the late night protest at launch was largely due to the inspiring presentation by the Pentagon Papers hero. His speech is available on line at www.waging-peace.org.

The protesters were welcomed at the protest, built on Chumash land, by Judy Talaugon who is a descendant of the Chumash peoples. Cindy Sheehan of Gold Star Families for Peace, whose son Casey died in Iraq on 4/4/2004 was there to speak about the appalling waste of life from war.

Three activists from CodePink were arrested: Cynthia Papermaster, Leslie Angeline and Toby Blome.

Fr. Louie Vitale of Pace e Bene was arrested with Santa Barbara residents David and Carole Kaulani Krieger. Lynn Hamilton of Salinas, Bradley Capshaw

of Lompoc and Mark Kelso of Las Vegas will be three of the defendants at the Oct 17 trial.

John Amidon, president of the Veterans for Peace chapter in Albany, New York stated his reason for arrest. "What needs to be understood is the Minuteman III missile launches make all of us less safe. If these missiles are launched all that they can do is insure retaliation. A preemptive first-strike without retaliation is impossible. What was true years ago is still true now—if you can risk nuclear war, you can risk nuclear disarmament."

Paul O'Toko with young people from the Federated States of Micronesia was present to show solidarity with a Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific. The target of the test launch was the Marshall Islands, which have already suffered devastating damage due to the atomic and hydrogen bomb tests held from 1945 to 1962. Those bombings were the equivalent of 1 1/2 Hiroshima bombs per year for 12 years.

"We call upon the international community to extend their hands to assist the people of the Marshall Islands to extricate themselves from the legacy of the nuclear age and the burden of providing testing grounds for weapons of mass destruction," said Tony de Brum, M.P. and former Foreign Minister of the Republic of the Marshall Islands.

On Sunday, October 21 the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation will present its 2012 Distinguished Peace Leader award to Tony de Brum.

Webb Mealy and Nicola Torbett of Oakland's Seminary of the Street are also defendants. Webb says, "Why do I do acts of civil resistance in relation to nuclear weapons? Because we are a society in which nuclear weapons are either complacently justified or, failing that, complacently tolerated. We are a society that has, by some devilish miracle, achieved harmony with the idea of murder on a civilization-wide scale. How does one stand up to combat such a pervasive and planet-threatening dullness? Perhaps only the drama of transgression can begin to bring into the public consciousness that immense and horrible transgression which ought—if anyone were awake—to be regarded as beyond intolerable."

In the US there are 450 armed land based Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles located in hardened silos throughout the Midwest. These ICBM's are Minuteman III solid fuel high-speed missiles. Each is armed with hydrogen bombs that are designed to destroy large civilian populations. Such weapons are illegal under both international law and humanitarian principles, since they cannot distinguish between civilian and combatant and risk vast environmental destruction.

The only US test site for the delivery system (the missile that carries the warhead) is located at Vandenberg Air Force Base in California.

A warhead is not a weapon without a delivery system. The largest numbers of US hydrogen bombs are loaded onto

Trident submarines that menace the world from beneath the sea. The 2/25 protest drew attention to the testing and modernization of the land-based ICBM test launches. When North Korea (DPRK) launched four medium range missiles that traveled just 500 miles the United Nations, led by the major nuclear powers, demanded sanctions against North Korea.

The major powers disregard their commitment to good faith disarmament under Article VI of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty while using North Korea as a pretext for encircling China, either directly or through close allies such as South Korea.

The land based ICBM's are the smallest part of the US nuclear arsenal. The largest number is deployed on the Trident submarines out of Kitsap-Bangor in Washington State.

This trial will be held in the bankruptcy court. This seems a fitting place for such a trial in the deepening economic crisis.

Andy Lichterman of the Western States Legal Foundation and an expert on nuclear weapons states, "The kinds of questions posed by historians and critics of where our economic development path has led are notably absent from the everyday discourses of arms control and disarmament. Equally striking is...the pervasive lack of urgency...and the rapidly accelerating pace of events in the world. For the first time in the nuclear age we are seeing a world in deepening economic crisis with no end in sight...Yet in the halls of the international disarmament fora and professionalized single issue NGO's that focus on disarmament affairs, few seem to consider any of this particularly relevant to their discussions.... Two decades after the end of the Cold War, nuclear arsenals of civilization-destroying capacity still exist... Movements sufficient to create the political will to eliminate the danger of nuclear weapon use, and finally the weapons themselves will not arise from within the...worlds of arms control and disarmament.... It is a time for all of us who work not just for disarmament but for peace and justice to be looking outward: for allies, for hope and for understanding of what must be done."

—MacGregor Eddy is a member of Women's International League for Peace & Freedom and lives in Salinas, California.

Mindless Science (Cont. from p. 7)

lessness increase in the US and our infrastructure is crumbling. The high priests of Science are not including the Earth in their calculations and the enormous havoc they are wreaking on our air, water, soil—our biosphere. They're thinking with the wrong half of their brains—without integrating the intuitive part of thinking that would curb their aggressive tendencies that engender such deadly, irreversible possibilities. They are engaged in creating the worst possible inventions with a Pandora's box of lethal consequences that may plague the earth for eternity. Still, they continue on. Scientists are holding our planet hostage while they tinker in their laboratories without regard to the risks they are creating for the very future of life on Earth."

—Alice Slater is the New York Director of the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation and serves on the Advisory Board of the Global Network. She lives in New York City.



Menwith Hill: NSA Spy Base in the era of Intelligence-led Warfare

By Dave Webb

The tentacles of the US military envelop the world, creeping relentlessly into unsuspecting places. Claiming to offer security, it lays heavy on the earth, crushing the fragile environment and destroying the livelihood, traditions and culture of the communities it invades. Not all of the tentacles are visible, but they become evident when they appear as military bases, occupying forces, missile sites, nuclear aircraft carriers, Aegis destroyers, space satellites, etc., etc. These manifestations are the nodes of the global organism that are linked through computer networks, communications and control systems, forming the network centric warfare operations of the US. The sole purpose of all of this is to facilitate and implement the strategy of “full spectrum dominance”—US dominance over land, sea, air, space and information operations.

The visible components of this organism take on a variety of forms and many may not be recognised immediately as having a military or empire building function—but they undoubtedly will have exactly that. For example, a number of bases run by the US National Security Agency (NSA) in the USA, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Japan and the UK are responsible for eavesdropping (spying) on electronic communications and gathering intelligence, information that aids with determining and tracking targets. Eventually this information can lead to military action of one kind or another—including drone attacks. One of these bases—Menwith Hill—lies in the otherwise beautiful countryside of North Yorkshire, England.

In March Yorkshire CND (a GN affiliate) launched a new research report, written by Dr. Steve Schofield, highlighting the rapid growth of the US spy base at Menwith Hill and its widening role in intelligence-led warfare. The launch was followed a few weeks later by an “Occupy Menwith Hill” peace camp outside the base from 15-18th April—over the four days spanning “The Global Day of Action Against Military Spending”. Talks and events were held at the camp focussing on the Surveillance Culture, Drone Wars and the Military Industrial Complex. A major part of the discussion was on Menwith Hill’s role as a key regional electronic spy base for the NSA. Satellite information received at the base is used in support of US military operations as far afield as North Africa and the Middle East including in the operation of covert operations and controversial

drone strikes, often resulting in high civilian casualties. Its strategic role is as part of the US plan for global power projection and as a critical weapon in a new form of covert 21st Century intelligence-led warfare.

In the report, Steve Schofield emphasises how the NSA has effectively become an unassailable form of institutional power at the apex of a Military-Industrial-Intelligence-Complex (MIIC) with the capacity to intercept all forms of electronic communication, while operating in total secrecy. Established in secrecy in 1952, the NSA is responsible for cryptological operations, employing computer scientists, linguists, etc, to translate, analyse and decrypt intercepted communications and, since 2010, has also assumed responsibility for cyber warfare. It controls a fleet of satellites that intercept terrestrial microwave transmissions and has a global network of satellite-to-earth ground stations to downlink, process and relay the intelligence information they collect. It also intercepts commercial satellite communications and fibre-optic cable communications. In 2010 it received a budget of \$15 billion (more than the total UK military budget) and employed some 60,000 people. In reality it will also have access to funds from the “black budget”, estimated to be around \$56 billion.

Menwith Hill has always played a crucial role for the NSA, employing satellite and fibre-optic interception capabilities to provide intelligence material to the NSA’s headquarters at Fort Meade, Maryland. It has contributed to conventional military operations, winning awards for its role in the Gulf Wars and is now also a key ground-based relay station for US Missile ‘Offence’, acting as a downlink station for the infra-red satellites that detect missile launches and track trajectories. Its role as a surveillance base has been the subject of a number of revelations over the last 20 years. Operating without any democratic accountability it intercepts and analyses global communications including private and commercial emails and phone calls, before sending some on to NSA headquarters in Fort Meade for further investigation. In 2001 a European Parliament report revealed that this communications surveillance by US intelligence agencies breached the European Convention of Human Rights—even when, allegedly, for law enforcement purposes. There was evidence of intelligence also being illegally used to give the US commercial advan-



tage over European interests. They also determined that the UK and German governments (at that time Germany hosted a NSA base at Bad Aibling) could be in breach of community law if they failed to prevent the improper use of surveillance stations sited on their territory to intercept private and commercial communications.

The NSA has also been implicated in attempts to monitor the activities of UN Security Council members in the run-up to the invasion of Iraq in 2003. In spite of this, and the recent scrutiny of phone hacking by media organisations in the UK by the Leveson inquiry, activities at Menwith Hill continue unchecked and have yet to be formerly investigated, or even questioned to any great extent, by the UK Parliament. Indeed, successive British governments have enthusiastically endorsed the U.S.-UK military and intelligence partnership because it helps bolster the UK’s image as a world power. The UK is totally dependent on the US for satellite and ballistic missile technologies (including its Trident nuclear weapons system)—and as the report says, “over the years, this has led to the greatest voluntary ceding of sovereignty and territory by any one state to another.”

The report goes on to uncover how Parliament is routinely being misled about the local economic impact of the base. A common justification for foreign bases is that they bring economic benefits to the local community. Even if we ignore the fact that there maybe more important things than “economic benefit”, the claims made of the financial income provided by Menwith Hill (£160 million in 2010) are never fully justified or ex-

plained. They are certainly exaggerated and fail to account for hidden costs to the UK taxpayer. Steve Schofield’s report contains the results of collecting and analysing information gathered by, among other things, spying on the spy base! Noting the activity on the base and the traffic in and out and analysing the claims made against the data collected from a range of sources has been the methodology of the Women’s Campaign and Anne Lee who has been monitoring the base for a long time. Monitoring planning applications, US spending announcements etc., adds to the calculations and events such as the weekly demonstrations and regular challenges (often in the courts) by Global Network board member Lindis Percy and the Campaign for the Accountability of American Bases (CAAB) also contribute valuable information about the role and strategic use of the base. All of this takes time but, when added together, builds up an informed and valuable picture.

In fact, Menwith Hill operates as a tax-free “US economic enclave” and does not pay local taxes. US military and civilian personnel enjoy tax exemptions and the British taxpayer is effectively subsidising the occupying forces with free health care and education. A secret cost sharing agreement for all US bases in the UK means that the full cost of the base to the taxpayer remains hidden. However, a Freedom of Information request has revealed that over £7 million has been spent over the last six years just to provide services such as cabling and water pipes to the base. The cost of local police patrols around the surrounding area by armed officers is also covered by the lo-

(See *Menwith Hill* P 11.)

Killer Drones (Cont. from p. 1)

Deterrence and preemption are exactly what Obama is trying to accomplish by sending robots to kill “suspected militants” or those who happen to be present in an area where suspicious activity has taken place.

Moreover, in the National Defense Authorization Act of 2012, Congress specifically declared, “Nothing in this section is intended to . . . expand the authority of the President or the scope of the Authorization for the Use of Military Force [of September 2001].”

Drone attacks also violate well-established principles of international law. A targeted killing is defined as the “intentional, premeditated, and deliberate use of lethal force . . . against a specific individual who is not in the physical custody of the perpetrator,” according to Philip Alston, former UN Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary, or Arbitrary Executions. Targeted or political assassinations—sometimes known as extra-judicial executions—run afoul of the Geneva Conventions, which include willful killing as a grave breach. Grave breaches of Geneva are punishable as war crimes under the US War Crimes Act.

Christof Heyns, the current UN Special Rapporteur on Extrajudicial, Summary, or Arbitrary Executions, expressed grave concern about the targeted killings, saying they may constitute war crimes. He called on the Obama administration to explain how its drone strikes comport with international law, specify the bases for decisions to kill rather than capture particular individuals, and whether the State in which the killing takes place has given consent. Heyns further asked for specification of the procedural safeguards in place, if any, to ensure in advance of drone killings that they comply with international law. He also wanted to know what measures the US government takes after any such killing to ensure that its legal and factual analysis was accurate and, if not, the remedial measures it would take, including justice and reparations for victims and their families. Although Heyns’

predecessor made similar requests, Heyns said the United States has not provided a satisfactory response.

Heyns also called on the US government to make public the number of civilians collaterally killed as a result of drone attacks, and the measures in place to prevent such casualties. Once again, Heyns said the United States has not satisfactorily responded to a prior query for such information.

Likewise, UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Navi Pillay recently declared that US drone attacks in Pakistan violate the international law principles of proportionality and distinction. Proportionality means that an attack cannot be excessive in relation to the anticipated military advantage sought. Distinction requires that the attack be directed only at a legitimate military target.

The United States has ratified the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The ICCPR states: “Every human being has the inherent right to life. This right shall be protected by law. No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his life.” The Covenant also guarantees those accused of a crime the right to be presumed innocent and to a fair trial by an impartial tribunal. Targeted killings abrogate these rights.

Self defense under Article 51 of the United Nations Charter is a narrow exception to the Charter’s prohibition of the use of force or the threat of force to settle international disputes. Countries may engage in individual or collective self-defense only in the face of an armed attack. To the extent the United States claims the right to kill suspected terrorists or their allies before they act, there must exist “a necessity of self-defence, instant, overwhelming, leaving no choice of means, and no moment for deliberation,” under the well-established Caroline Case. Obama’s drone attacks do not meet this standard.

Although he does not use the phrase “War on Terror,” Obama has continued and even extended this

policy.

The United States’ resort to ever increasing targeted killings is a direct result of the “War on Terror” the Bush administration declared after 9/11. Bush declared a perpetual war on a tactic and claimed all Al-Qaeda and Taliban are terrorists who may be preemptively killed as a form of self defense, rather than being arrested and tried for criminal acts. Although he does not use the phrase “War on Terror,” Obama has continued and even extended this policy. It is the product of a powerful military industrial complex in the United States which sees the use of force as the first step to resolving disputes rather than a last resort, notwithstanding the strictures of the UN Charter.

This practice sets a dangerous precedent. Heyns opined that “any Government could, under the cover of counter-terrorism imperatives, decide to target and kill an individual on the territory of any State if it considers that said individual constitutes a threat.” Heyns also cited information that indicates “the attacks increasingly fuel protests among the population.” Heyns said the “lack of transparency” and “dangerous precedent” that drone attacks represent “remain of grave concern.”

Drone strikes are also counterproductive. They breed increased resentment against the United States and lead to the recruitment of more terrorists. “Drones have replaced Guantanamo as the recruiting tool of choice for militants,” Becker and Shane wrote in the Times article. They quoted Faisal Shahzad, who, while pleading guilty to trying to detonate a bomb in Times Square, told the judge, “When the drones hit, they don’t see children.” Pakistani ambassador Zamir Akram told the Geneva Forum last week that the drone attacks are illegal and violate the sovereignty of Pakistan, “not to mention being counter-productive.” He added, “thousands of innocent people, including women and children, have been murdered in these indiscriminate attacks.”

Becker and Shane noted, “[Obama’s] focus on strikes has made it impossible to forge, for now, the new relationship with the Muslim world that he had envisioned. Both Pakistan and Yemen are arguably less stable and more hostile to the United States than when Mr. Obama became president. Justly or not, drones have become a provocative symbol of American power, running roughshod over national sovereignty and killing innocents.”

Ibrahim Mothana, who wrote an op-ed in the *Times* titled “How Drones Help Al Qaeda,” agrees. “Drone strikes are causing more and more Yemenis to hate America and join radical militants; they are not driven by ideology but rather by a sense of revenge and despair,” Mothana observed.

It is time to halt this dangerous and illegal practice.

—Marjorie Cohn, a professor at Thomas Jefferson School of Law and past President of the National Lawyers Guild, is the deputy secretary general for external communications of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, and the US representative to the executive committee of the American Association of Jurists.

—Jeanne Mirer, who practices labor and employment law in New York, is president of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers.

Veterans Turned Back from Jeju

Upon return from our February conference on Jeju Island the GN sent an email to our list asking for donations to send two members of Veterans for Peace (VFP) to Gangjeong village. More money than expected came in so we sent Elliott Adams, Tarak Kauff and Mike Hastie. When they arrived in South Korea they were told, “You are not welcome in Korea” and immediately returned home. Not to be deterred the GN then sent VFP member Mike Jacobsen from Bellingham, Washington (pictured at right) and successfully got him to Jeju Island where he stayed for three weeks. We thank those who donated to this effort. The GN continues to encourage groups around the world to send representatives to Jeju Island in solidarity with struggling villagers.



Epicurus would approve

By Koohan Paik

The philosopher and food critic, Epicurus, once said that the city of Siracusa, in Sicily, had the best food in all the world. But Epicurus had not visited Gangjeong Village, on Jeju Island, Korea.

Surprisingly, Gangjeong and Siracusa have much in common. They share the latitude of 37 degrees, a Mediterranean climate, and rich volcanic soil. As a result, the fruits and vegetables that grow in these places burst with flavors unknown in more northerly climes. Both Jeju and Sicily are surrounded by waters abundant with a diversity of marine flora and fauna. And both have been home to dedicated farmers perfecting cultivar propagation and livestock breeding techniques since prehistory.

Interesting side fact: Many stocky dark ponies grazing on the rolling hills are actually descendents of horses brought by Genghis Khan. Jeju was where the Mongolians trained their steeds. *I mean, how ancient can you get?*

In Gangjeong gardens, you find a hodge-podge of fruit trees crammed into veritable food “jungles”: peach trees, pomegranate bushes, fig trees, grapefruit trees, with grape vines tangled throughout. It is still early in the season, so nothing is ripe yet. The Concord grapes are still hard green marbles and the peaches look like green pussy willows. Give them three months, and it’ll all be going off. As for vegetables, it seems that every home has dedicated some patch of earth to growing a variety of greens, peppers, sesame, corn, and, of course, garlic, an essential kimchi ingredient that is also central to shamanist Korea’s millennia-old creation myth.

Much of the charm of Gangjeong lies in its human scale and utter lack of straight lines. The sides of houses cant slightly in random directions, always topped by a gaily painted, curved Asian roof, often of corrugated tin. Paths and roads follow the sway of the terrain. Rock walls enclose fields just large enough for a small family to farm without getting overwhelmed. A walk through the village connects you with the poetry of daily life here: a year’s supply of garlic spread out on the front porch to dry; a wife and husband busily scooping out the soft, flavorful innards from a gunny sack load of sea urchins; the sweet-jam smells wafting from a multitude of strawberry hothouses; the startled flutter of a striking Chinese ring-necked pheasant who, with his dull-colored wife, make their home in a fallow, grassy field that I pass everyday on my way to the activist shiktang, or dining area.

Yesterday I ate my first hallabong. *Oh My Frickin God, that thing was delicious.*

It’s a jumbo tangerine with a flavor that is positively incandescent, there are no seeds, the fruit is super juicy, yet the peels and sections separate cleanly. There’s a little nodule on top like a tangelo, which is why they call it hallabong. The nodule is supposed to represent Mt. Halla, the sacred dormant volcano that gave birth to this island. Anyway, I later learned they sell for \$8-10 apiece.

The hallabong was given to me as a gift, after having been interviewed for a live-stream internet program. It was conducted by a film director whose name I know only as Mr. Yul. He was keen to hear my thoughts on a recent, much talked-about quote by Park Geun-hye, a current presidential candidate and daughter of former dictator and assassination victim, Park Chung-Hee. Ms. Park has extolled the controversial Navy base that will be built here in Gangjeong, because it will turn Jeju into another Hawaii, she says. Now, some people in Jeju are thrilled. Former skeptics have become new supporters of the Aegis missile base. After all, who doesn’t want to be Hawaii, right? Paradise!

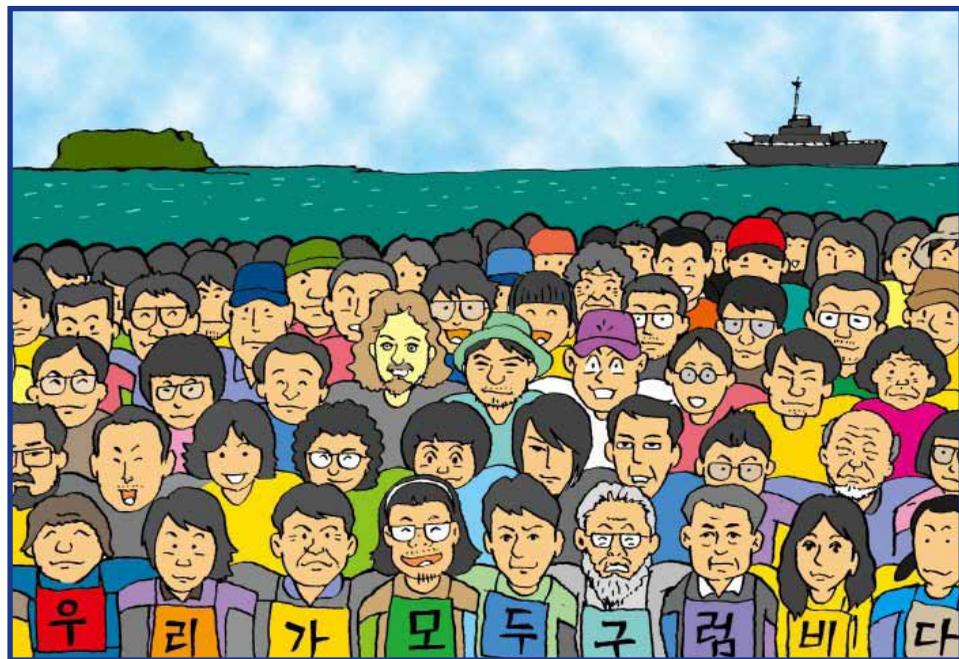
The internet interview was conducted on the top floor of the mayor’s office, which has more the feel of a clubhouse or community center than a bureaucrat’s office. Another floor is used to house young people who have traveled to Gangjeong to support the resistance movement. Currently there are three teenaged boys from an alternative school called “Gandhi School” bunking up here with an American college student studying in Seoul and making a documentary about the struggle.

Recently, Kyle Kajihiro of Honolulu wrote an incisive response to Ms. Park’s ignorant statement, setting her straight. Because I have lived in Hawaii for some two decades, the activists here asked me to elaborate on what Kyle said for their internet program.

With the windows letting in the perfect breezes of early summer, we began the interview. Yak-geul, a young musician and cetacean devotee, translated.

I addressed the video camera. Most people know very little about the real story of Hawaii, such as the illegal military occupation, or how the continual release of carcinogens and radioactive waste into the water and land has made much of the islands uninhabitable, or that Pearl Harbor can support no life. Or that much of Kauai was sprayed with Agent Orange. Or that the Big Island is riddled with depleted uranium.

I explained that the islands were once sustainable, just as Gangjeong is. I ex-



plained how native farmers were kicked off their land in Hawaii to make way for a new way of life, a new way of making money, just like what is now happening in Gangjeong. I explained that the bases in Hawaii have irreversibly contaminated resources, and that the contamination continues to flow, as long as the base functions. I explained that Hawaii isn’t Paradise, and they should not want to follow in its footsteps.

I explained that if there were some sort of fuel crisis so that the Matson boat stopped coming to Hawaii, there would be no food after only three days. Hawaii has become supermarket-dependent. I contrasted that to Jeju Island: what if the supply boat stopped coming to Jeju?

Of course, people in Jeju would survive on the island’s vast resources if food were to stop arriving at the port tomorrow. Especially in Gangjeong, which is known as having the most fertile soil on Jeju, if not in all of Korea. In fact, Gangjeong village is a model of sustainability for the world. Ironically, everyday-life in Gangjeong is the sort of unattainable ideal that government officials in Hawaii set as a goal by 2050 (a year suitably distant in the future so as not to interfere with any political aspirations).

I explain that it is Hawaii that should be like Gangjeong, not the other way around.

Afterward, many people told me they were shocked to hear that Hawaii was contaminated. And they were worried, too. The Navy has already blasted the coastline and contaminated both the fresh-water springs and marine ecosystems with silt. After hearing the real story of Hawaii, they are starting to see that this is only the beginning. Once the base starts operating, the trichloroethylene, the PCBs, the radioactive waste, and all the other chemicals and solvents will flow into their once pristine sea and groundwater. They also just learned that more village and farmland is being seized to build housing for 600 military personnel and their families, who will

outnumber the Gangjeong villagers. They are starting to extrapolate that night clubs, video parlors and shopping malls will go up to service these newcomers. Big box stores will replace the quirky village lanes. Parking lots will replace farms. Prostitution will replace Jeju’s storied women free divers. The Chinese ring-necked pheasants in the grassy field will perish.

But the villagers and activists are ready for the long haul. They say they expect to fight this base for at least five years, maybe ten, maybe more. They are already organizing a petition against construction of the military housing. A team of young people has just about completed their training in SCUBA, a course they have been taking in order to mobilize aquatically to block four-story caissons from being dropped on the reef. Gradually, more and more activists from the outside world are joining them to help preserve not only one of the planet’s most precious spots of sustainability, but also a trigger point for large-scale war.

After the interview, I was hanging out at the Peace Center with some young activists, most of whom come from Seoul. A sun-creased farmer pulled his lorry up to the activists’ Peace Center and trotted in proudly with a crate brimming with bulbous, brightly colored tomatoes. He bowed graciously as we “ooh-ed” and “ah-ed” at his generous gift. This is a community that truly supports one another. The once-suspicious villagers now appreciate the solidarity they’ve found in the Seoul city slickers who’ve committed themselves to the resistance movement.

By the way, I had one of those tomatoes for breakfast. Spectacular. Epicurus would approve.

—Koohan Paik is a writer and activist from Kauai, Hawaii and spent 3 ½ weeks in Gangjeong village on Jeju Island, South Korea last June.

Priest Harassed by South Korean Authorities

By Fr. Patrick Cunningham

I thought I'd let you know about my recent visa extension application [to stay in South Korea], which under normal circumstances is pretty straightforward and a mere formality, but this time turned out to be rather more exciting if that's the right word!

They normally give you two years and give it to you on the spot! Given my involvement in the campaign against the Navy base on Jeju Island it came as no real surprise when they told me that my application was 'under review' without going into the details! They kept me waiting for eight days with a 'don't contact us we'll call you' message and when I did hear back was told that the director of the immigration bureau wanted to see me at a time of my convenience to 'discuss matters'!

The Columban Vice Director of the Region Fr. Vincent Lee kindly agreed to accompany me to the Immigration office and when we got there (June 25) he sat me down in a very friendly and cordial manner and proceeded to show me a file containing numerous images and photographic material (some maybe from Facebook) of me participating in various protests rallies, flash mobs, masses, etc., both in Gangjeong, Jeju and here at events in Seoul. All the while he left me under no illusion that if I continued to engage in the campaign against the base I would be subjected to deportation!

I felt angry at the manner in which he was threatening me reminding me of my near 20 year long stay in Korea doing 'good' work as a missionary and what a pity it would be if it all resulted in 'naught' through a deporta-

tion order! I kept reminding him of why I was involved in the campaign and how on this day June 25 (Beginning of the Korean war) we were commemorating those countless numbers of people, approx 3 million, who lost their lives in a brutal war and how I was involved in a campaign which hoped to prevent another occurrence of war in this region and in particular on the 'Island of Peace' - Jeju! I wasn't surprised so much at the friendly dressing down or being reprimanded for my activities but shocked to see my file containing so many photos of me in my yellow 'Don't kill Gureombi' [rocky coast] T-shirts with my facial image red circled and singled out! While alarmed it also confirmed for me how successful the campaign must be and obviously a cause for concern for the government if they feel they've to resort to putting me in my place!

He then asked me to write up a memorandum promising not to engage in any activities related to the campaign against the base! I wrote something up in English and kept it as vague as possible but he kept demanding that I write a more concrete statement promising not to participate in activities related to Gangjeong! I was furious inside but did my best to keep my composure all the time conscious that my foreseeable future in Korea rested on me writing this promise on a piece of paper. He then proceeded to give me my alien registration card with only a one-year extension and not the usual two years, no surprises there!

I thought I'd let you know as there are other international activists even more involved in this campaign than I ever was and who must be under much greater surveillance and scrutiny than I ever was or will be! This little episode reminded me that although I felt threatened by the manner of the dressing down I was given how much more threatened do the villagers and activists feel who are subjected to daily harassment, threats and violence at the hands of the state all in the name of 'national security'! I believe the international solidarity aspect of the campaign is working and indeed successful and that you all and Columban JPIC are playing an important role in this campaign! For the time being I feel the need to devise a more creative and possibly more discreet (maybe it's not the time for discretion either) strategy with regard to my engagement in the campaign! One thing for sure is that I will continue my involvement, as I know the villagers and fellow activists and religious activists would want me too!

—Fr. Patrick Cunningham is a Catholic priest from Ireland now living in Seoul, South Korea



Fr. Patrick Cunningham (left) helps hold banner made by Maine artist Natasha Mayers (center) during GN conference on Jeju Island last February

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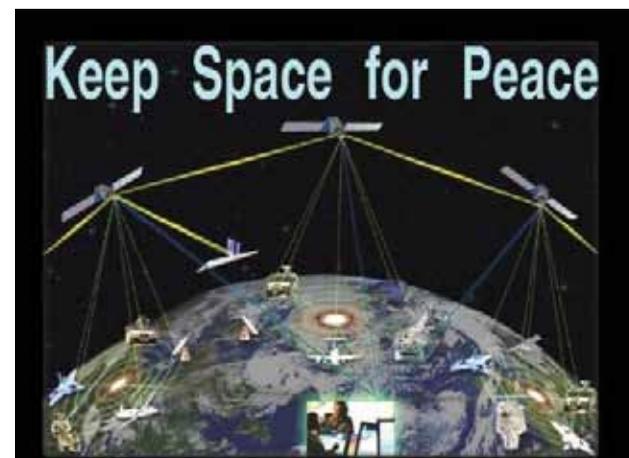
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The graphic above is featured in this year's Keep Space for Peace Week Oct 6-13 poster. Purchase posters with the coupon to the left.