

## **Military Resistance 11A1**



### **ACTION REPORTS**

## **The Breakroom** **[Outreach to New York National Guard]**

From: Alan S  
To: Military Resistance Newsletter  
Subject: 12.28.12 Outreach to New York National Guard  
Date: Dec 31, 2012

12/28/OUTREACH

On Friday evening one of the commuter terminals I've had the least success in outreaching to over the years provided a difference this time.

Meeting four National Guard troops I was able to pass out the same number of our contact cards [see below], newsletters and DVDs of "Sir! No Sir!" [see below].

One of the soldiers after listening to me make mention of the fact that Afghanistan has long since left the headlines accompanied by an almost non-existent anti-war movement nodded in agreement. He clearly was aware of such absences and didn't appear to enjoy it at all.

Then, upon giving him and his patrol mate each a DVD he asked his partner "this is the DVD in the breakroom isn't it?" ! The other soldier confirmed it was.

I don't know how long "Sir! No Sir!" has been there and don't know how many troops have seen it or what their reaction was but it sure felt good knowing that it was there.

## Military Resistance

Traveling Soldier  
Newsletter



www.traveling-  
soldier.org

(888) 711-2550

contact@militaryproject.org

Box 126, 2576 Broadway New York, NY 10025

**SUPPORTING GI RESISTANCE**

[Cards designed by Richie M, Military Resistance Organization]

### MORE:

## **ACTION REPORTS WANTED: FROM YOU!**

An effective way to encourage others to support members of the armed forces organizing to resist the Imperial war is to report what you do.

If you've carried out organized contact with troops on active duty, at base gates, airports, or anywhere else, send a report in to Military Resistance for the Action Reports section.

Same for contact with National Guard and/or Reserve components.

They don't have to be long. Just clear, and direct action reports about what work was done and how.

If there were favorable responses, say so.

If there were unfavorable responses or problems, don't leave them out. Reporting what went wrong and/or got screwed up is especially important, so that others may learn from you what to expect, and how to avoid similar problems if possible.

If you are not planning or engaging in outreach to the troops, you have nothing to report.

**NOTE WELL:**

Do not make public any information that could compromise the work.

Identifying information – locations, personnel – will be omitted from the reports.

Whether you are serving in the armed forces or not, do not identify members of the armed forces organizing to stop the wars.

If accidentally included, that information will not be published.

The sole exception: occasions when a member of the armed services explicitly directs identifying information be published in reporting on the action.

**MORE:**

# **The Military Resistance Organization: MILITARY RESISTANCE TEN POINTS**

## **Military Resistance Mission Statement:**

1. The mission of Military Resistance is to bring together in one organization members of the armed forces and civilians in order to give aid and comfort to members of the armed forces who are organizing to end the war of empire in Afghanistan. The long term objective is to assist in eliminating all wars of empire by eliminating all empires.

2. Military Resistance does not advocate individual disobedience to orders or desertion from the armed forces. The most effective resistance is organized by members of the armed forces working together.

However, Military Resistance respects and will assist in the defense of troops who see individual desertion or refusal of orders as the only course of action open to them for reasons of conscience.

3. Military Resistance stands for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. and other occupation troops from Afghanistan.

Occupied nations have the right to independence and the right to resist Imperial invasion and occupation by force of arms.

**4. Efforts to increase democratic rights in every society, organization, movement, and within the armed forces itself will receive encouragement and support.**

**Members of the armed forces, whether those of the United States or any other nation, have the right and duty to act against dictatorships commanding their services, and to assist civilian movements against dictatorship.**

**This applies whether a political dictatorship is imposed by force of arms or a political dictatorship is imposed by those in command of the resources of society using their wealth to purchase the political leadership.**

**5. Military Resistance uses organizational democracy.**

**This means control of the organization by the membership, through elected delegates to any coordinating bodies that may be formed, whether at local, regional, or national levels.**

**Any member may run for any job in the organization. All persons elected are subject to immediate recall, by majority vote of the membership.**

**Coordinating bodies report their actions, decisions and votes to the membership who elected them, and may be overruled by a majority of the membership.**

**6. It is not necessary for Military Resistance to be in political agreement with other organizations in order to work together towards specific common objectives.**

**It is productive for organizations working together on common projects to discuss differences about the best way forward for the movement.**

**Debate is necessary to arrive at the best course of action.**

## **Membership Requirements:**

**7. It is a condition of membership that each member prioritize and participate in organized action to reach out to active duty armed forces, Reserve and/or National Guard units.**

**8. Military Resistance or individual members may choose to support candidates for elective office who are for immediate withdrawal from Afghanistan, but do not support a candidate opposed to immediate, unconditional withdrawal.**

9. Members may not be active duty or drilling reserve commissioned officers, or employed in any capacity by any police or intelligence agency, local, state, or national.

10. I understand and am in agreement with the above statement. I pledge to defend my brothers and sisters, and the democratic rights of the citizens of the United States, against all enemies, foreign and domestic.

----- (Signed)

(Date)

----- (Application taken by)

Military Resistance: [Contact@militaryproject.org](mailto:Contact@militaryproject.org)  
Box 126, 2576 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10025-5657  
888-711-2550

MORE

# You Can Take Action That Makes A Difference: Join The Military Resistance Organization: MILITARY RESISTANCE MEMBERSHIP APPLICATION

Name (please print): \_\_\_\_\_

Armed Forces? (Branch) \_\_\_\_\_

Veteran? Years: \_\_\_\_\_

Union: \_\_\_\_\_

Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_

Mailing address: \_\_\_\_\_

E-Mail: \_\_\_\_\_

Phone (Landline): \_\_\_\_\_

Phone (Cell): \_\_\_\_\_

\$ dues paid \_\_\_\_\_  
(See next: Calendar year basis.)

Armed Forces Members	@	Dues waived
Civilians	@	\$25
Students/Unemployed	@	\$10
Civilian/Military Prisoners	@	Dues Waived

Comments:

NOTE: Civilian applicants will be interviewed, in person if possible, or by phone.

**Military Resistance: [Contact@militaryproject.org](mailto:Contact@militaryproject.org)  
Box 126, 2576 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10025-5657  
888-711-2550**

**MORE**

# **“People Need Not Be Helpless Before The Power Of Illegitimate Authority”**

**MILITARY RESISTANCE:  
Box 126, 2576 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10025-5657  
[Contact@militaryproject.org](mailto:Contact@militaryproject.org)**

*[Based on a statement by David Cortright, Vietnam Veteran and armed forces resistance organizer.]*

**In the final analysis the stationing of American forces abroad serves not the national interest but the class interest of the corporate and political elite.**

**The maintenance of a massive, interventionist-oriented military establishment is based on the need to protect multinational investment and preserve regimes friendly to American capital.**

**Imperialism is at the heart of the national-security system and is the force fundamentally responsible for the counterrevolutionary, repressive aims of U.S. policy.**

**Only if we confront this reality and challenge it throughout society and within the ranks can we restore democratic control of the military.**

Of course nothing can be accomplished without citizen involvement and active political struggle.

During the Vietnam era enlisted servicemen created massive pressures for change, despite severe repression, and significantly altered the course of the war and subsequent military policy.

To sustain and strengthen this challenge we must continue to build political opposition to interventionism and support those within the armed services, including national guard and reserves, who defy the goals and program of Empire.

The central lesson of the GI movement is that people need not be helpless before the power of illegitimate authority, that by getting together and acting upon their convictions people can change society and, in effect, make their own history.

The Military Project

Military Resistance: [Contact@militaryproject.org](mailto:Contact@militaryproject.org)  
Box 126, 2576 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10025-5657  
888-711-2550

MORE

# A Film All About How An Armed Forces Rebellion Stopped An Imperial War: [Hint Hint]

## Sir! No Sir!:

Dear Sir! No Sir! supporters,

Displaced Films, Iraq Veterans Against the War (IVAW), and a growing number of organizations have been working to distribute free DVDs of Sir No Sir to soldiers.

Hundreds have been distributed and we want to see that number grow into the thousands.

The response has been tremendous.

David Zeiger and Jade Fox  
Displaced Films  
[jadefox@sirnosir.com](mailto:jadefox@sirnosir.com)

\*\*\*\*\*



To Whom it May Concern:

I just wanted to say thank you for this film, for raising my awareness, I never even knew some of these things happened.

I think this probably is one of the most important documentaries made about war resistance.

Thank you again,  
SGT Spencer Batchelder

**BUY SIR! NO SIR! FOR ACTIVE DUTY  
SOLDIERS NOW**

**HELP GET SIR! NO SIR!  
INTO THE HANDS THAT NEED IT  
MOST**



**The Sir! No Sir! DVD is on sale now, exclusively at**  
[http://www.sirnosir.com/home\\_dvd\\_storefront.html](http://www.sirnosir.com/home_dvd_storefront.html)

Also available is a Soundtrack CD (which includes the entire song from the FTA Show, "Soldier We Love You"), theatrical posters, tee shirts, and the DVD of "A Night of Ferocious Joy," a film about the first hip-hop antiwar concert against the "War on Terror."

## **DO YOU HAVE A FRIEND OR RELATIVE IN THE MILITARY?**



U.S. soldier in Bejjia village Iraq, Feb. 4, 2008. (AP Photo/Maya Alleruzzo)

**Forward Military Resistance along, or send us the email address if you wish and we'll send it regularly with your best wishes. Whether in Afghanistan or at a base in the USA, this is extra important for your service friend, too often cut off from access to encouraging news of growing resistance to the war, inside the armed services and at home. Send email requests to address up top or write to: Military Resistance, Box 126, 2576 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10025-5657.**

**"The single largest failure of the anti-war movement at this point is the lack of outreach to the troops."**

**Tim Goodrich, Iraq Veterans Against The War**

## FORWARD OBSERVATIONS



**“At a time like this, scorching irony, not convincing argument, is needed. Oh had I the ability, and could reach the nation’s ear, I would, pour out a fiery stream of biting ridicule, blasting reproach, withering sarcasm, and stern rebuke.**

**“For it is not light that is needed, but fire; it is not the gentle shower, but thunder.**

**“We need the storm, the whirlwind, and the earthquake.”**

**“The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppose.”**

**Frederick Douglass, 1852**

**Nothing has more revolutionary effect, and nothing undermines more the foundations of all state power, than the continuation of that wretched and brainless régime, which has the strength merely to cling to its positions but no longer the slightest power to rule or to steer the state ship on a definite course.  
-- Karl Kautsky; ‘The Consequences of the Japanese Victory and Social Democracy’**

## **The Fiscal Crotch?**

**“The Interest Payment On State Debts Is Always A Heavy Burden On The Tax-Paying Population But It Can Be A Means Of Enriching The Capitalist Class”**

**“Anyone Who Wishes To Inspire The Masses To The Political Struggle Must Show Them How Closely Linked It Is To Their Economic Interests”**

**“These Must Never Be Allowed To Fade Into The Background If The Struggle For Political Liberty Is Not To Be Blocked”**

*Excerpt from Preface To The Russian Translation Of Kautsky's 'The Driving Forces Of The Russian Revolution And Its Prospects' by V.I. Lenin; 1906*

**There is no country in the world, not even the richest, where the yield from taxation is enough to cover the large expenditure that militarism from time to time requires and that is colossal in time of war but still considerable in periods of armament, rearmament and the like.**

In such instances state debts have for a long time been the tried and tested way of immediately producing the resources for these large expenditures.

The interest payment on state debts is always a heavy burden on the tax-paying population but it can be a means of enriching the capitalist class of a country when it is the state's creditor.

The state then expropriates the working classes, in order to enrich the capitalist class, multiplies its wealth and simultaneously increases the number of proletarians at its disposal.

But every political struggle is basically a class struggle and thus also an economic struggle.

Political interests are a result of economic interests; it is to protect these, and not to realize abstract political ideas, that the masses are in revolt.

**Anyone who wishes to inspire the masses to the political struggle must show them how closely linked it is to their economic interests.**

**These must never be allowed to fade into the background if the struggle for political liberty is not to be blocked.**

**The alliance between the proletariat and other classes in the revolutionary struggle must rest above all else on a *common economic interest*, if it is to be both lasting and victorious.**

**MORE:**

**“Increasingly Neoliberalism  
Smells, Not Of ‘Freedom’, But  
Of The Corruption Of Public  
Offices By The Lure Of Wealth”**

**“The Idea Of Freedom Was No  
Longer Attached To The Concept  
Of The Market”**

**“A New Generation Now Identified  
The Market As A Principal Cause Of  
Injustice And Exploitation”**

**“The Idea That The Whole Of Society  
Can Indeed Be Remade On New  
Foundations Takes On A Suddenly  
Realistic Hue”**

*Twenty-five years ago Bookmarks published a collection of essays under the title Revolutionary Rehearsals.*

*The book has since been republished by Haymarket Press of Chicago. In its pages Ian Birchall wrote about France in May 1968, Mike Gonzalez about the struggle in Chile in the last year before Pinochet's bloody coup, Peter Robinson about popular power during the Portuguese Revolution of 1974-5, and Maryam Poya about the Iranian Revolution, while I produced a chapter about the Solidarity experience in Poland during 1980-1, along with a general chapter attempting to draw some lessons from these brilliant and also tragic experiences. Last year the Chaekgalpi Press in Seoul published a Korean translation of the whole book, kindly inviting me to produce a new preface. What follows is an English version of that text.*

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It is almost a quarter of a century since Revolutionary Rehearsals was first published in 1987.

The book focused on a number of important cases over the previous 20 years, in which a very particular possibility seemed to open up: namely that mass workers' movements might challenge for state power. The exploration of that possibility guided the selection of chapters.

The period since 1987 has been, in one sense, extraordinary in the sheer number of revolutions that have occurred.

If one thing seems certain, it is that revolution is alive and well across the globe, and is indeed a very "normal" part of the political process in the modern capitalist world.

There has been a whole series of vitally important and dramatic transformations in political regimes.

A wave of "democratisation" has swept away a variety of political dictatorships. If the wave perhaps began in Greece, Portugal and Spain in the 1970s, in the 1980s it brought down dictatorships across Latin America, and in the Philippines and South Korea, followed by the "communist" (actually state capitalist) regimes of Eastern Europe.

The 1990s witnessed the end of the apartheid regime of South Africa and the fall of Suharto's dictatorship in Indonesia, along with moves towards democracy in numbers of countries in sub-Saharan Africa, a trend that continued into the new millennium.

At the time of writing, in the spring of 2011, a new wave of revolutionary struggles is challenging many autocratic regimes across North Africa and the Middle East.

**There is a paradox, however.**

**On the one hand, "liberal democracy" has extended its sway across the world, and its expansion has been aided by extensive popular protests, including strike waves and mass demonstrations, on a previously unimagined scale.**

**Yet, at the same time, social inequality has been growing in rich and poor countries alike, as “neoliberalism” has strengthened its grip on national and international economic policy-making.**

Neoliberalism is a policy whose intentions and effects are to shift the balance of power and wealth away from working people and towards the capitalist class.

Indeed, the past few decades have seen the rich massively increasing their share of income and wealth, and not only in good times.

**When the capitalist banking system ran into crisis, the major capitalist states raised trillions of dollars to save the banks — and went on to insist that the bill for the subsequent deficits must be paid by working people, and that public services should continue to be privatised, ie converted into new sources of profit for the capitalist class.**

All of this is now widely understood across large parts of the working classes of the world.

But it has taken time and bitter experience for that to be learned, and the learning has shaped the form of revolutions.

After the Polish military smashed the workers’ movement Solidarity in December 1981, the continuing underground opposition to the regime shifted its ideological ground. In the autumn of 1981 Solidarity’s first congress had called for a “self-governing republic” that would extend democracy into the workplace and the economy.

But now, after its defeat, the movement’s leaders and advisers began to look to “the market” as the solution to the ills of their economy and society.

Illusions in Western capitalism spread.

Instead of looking to the organised power of working people to remake society, they came to identify freedom with the free market. But they were not the only ones to be so convinced: the increasing paralysis of the state capitalist economy also persuaded wide layers among the Polish ruling class that there was no alternative to the market and private property.

The fruits of this parallel development were harvested in the spring of 1989, when Solidarity’s leaders sat down at a “Round Table” with representatives of the regime and came to an agreement for a “negotiated transition” in Poland: to parliamentary democracy and the reinstallation of private capitalism. [1]

As in neighbouring Hungary, the transition from one regime to another was accomplished with little by way of strikes and demonstrations. Elsewhere in Eastern Europe—notably in East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Romania—it took popular uprisings and mass demonstrations to dislodge the old regimes. Large numbers of workers participated, but there was little sign of the development of new popular institutions from below, and only sporadic challenges to managerial power in workplaces.

After 1989 the privatisation of profitable resources proceeded apace, and unemployment and inequality grew.

In South Africa mass strikes and township protests finally compelled the apartheid regime to come to the negotiating table. The outcome was the profoundly popular election of an African National Congress (ANC) government in 1994. However, within two years the ANC leadership followed advice from the IMF and the World Bank, abandoning its previous economic policies in favour of a neoliberal strategy. Working people lost out in a big way.

South Africa remains near the top of the list of the world's most unequal societies, with the African share of national income actually falling. Although the level of everyday popular protest in post-apartheid South Africa is also among the world's highest, successive ANC governments have worked to contain and deflect popular resistance.

Thus the years following the first appearance of our book did not prove favourable to the perspectives we discussed.

Rather, revolutionary challenges were contained and deflected by what some political commentators called “negotiated transitions”—or what Czechoslovak wits called “velvet revolutions”—a form perhaps first seen in Spain in 1976, but then followed in Latin America, Eastern Europe and South Africa.

### **“Increasingly Neoliberalism Smells, Not Of ‘Freedom’, But Of The Corruption Of Public Offices By The Lure Of Wealth”**

These kinds of political transformation seem to have some preconditions.

On the ruling class side, sections of the “old regime” must see the writing on the wall, and be prepared to abandon their previous power monopoly.

More important, on the side of the opposition, “moderate” leaders must be found who will work to contain the activity of their own supporters within “safe limits” and to guarantee the safety, and often the continued wealth and security, of at least most of the old regime's cadres.

In this way, the “risks” of popular revolution may be reduced, and openings can be created for at least the more far-seeing of the old regime to achieve satisfactory “safe landings” when regime change occurs. The machinery by which “negotiated transitions” are achieved may include “Pacts”, “Round Tables”, “Amnesties”, “Truth and Reconciliation Commissions” and the like. The crimes of former murderers, torturers and thieves may be forgiven. A “negotiated transition” requires both a “reforming” wing within the ruling class and a dominant “reformist wing” within the opposition.

The reformist opposition leaders must work to contain popular demands and organisations, by a mixture of co-optation and demagoguery, and by excluding dissenting voices.

There is also a more general condition: politics and economics must be treated as separate and distinct spheres, so that contradictions between political equality at the

ballot box and rapidly widening economic inequalities are not too obvious. Such an ideological separation underlay the East European “dream of the market”, that everyone would be free — and equal.

The ongoing march of neoliberalism, however, has reduced its ideological appeals.

Its social and economic effects have become more prominently apparent, as political and economic power have become more concentrated and more closely interwoven.

Across continents there has been a widespread growth of popular suspicion and hostility towards the privatisation of public services, towards the granting of private property rights to wealthy corporations at the expense of the poor, towards the increasing dependence of the poor on food and fuel whose prices are governed by commodity speculators.

Increasingly neoliberalism smells, not of “freedom”, but of the corruption of public offices by the lure of wealth.

Major environmental, economic and social crises have offered speculators and those with privileged access to decision-makers new opportunities — to profit at the direct expense of their shattered neighbours’ lives.

Many of neoliberalism’s advances rested on major working class defeats.

Too often commentators have read these defeats as meaning the end of the working class as a focus of resistance.

What they missed was that defeats were, as in past history, often the occasion for new beginnings, and for the remaking of workers’ movements.

Older industries and occupations might crumble, but new sectors were being driven into the proletariat, and bringing impulses to revived insurgency. “White collar” workers have come to play a far more central role in popular resistance, from Mexican teachers in Oaxaca to militant Egyptian tax workers in Cairo. The gap has continued to narrow between workers and students, who played an unexpectedly prominent role in the May 1968 movement in France, now that “higher education” has become a mass industry run on bureaucratic and capitalist lines.

Millions of former peasants have been driven into the hugely expanded cities of the “Third World”, where they have developed new capacities for organisation and struggle.

Some movement transformations have been dramatic and rapid: the core of Bolivia’s labour movement, the organised miners, suffered appalling defeats in the mid-1980s, yet a decade and a half later a recomposed popular movement proved able to achieve an astonishing victory against water privatisation in Cochabamba, initiating a five-year period of revolutionary upheaval.

**“A New Generation Now Identified The Market As A Principal Cause Of Injustice And Exploitation”**



Thus, if it took a while for the realities of neoliberalism to din themselves into the brains of those subjected to its processes, by the end of the old millennium the evidence of that popular recognition was widespread.

The period when popular revolution could be smoothly substituted by “negotiated transitions” as a mechanism of political change was ending.

Issues of “economic justice”, interweaving economic and political struggles were again becoming more prominent in insurgent agendas. The poetic cries of the rebellion of Chiapas in 1994, which coincided with the official beginning of the North American Free Trade Agreement (a key development in neoliberalism’s programme), would be picked up and amplified by a host of different voices and movements over the subsequent period. In the very last month of the 20th century an international demonstration at the World Trade Organisation meeting in Seattle provided slogans that resonated with movements over the next decade and more: “Our world is not for sale” and “Another world is possible”.

**The idea of freedom was no longer attached to the concept of the market.**

**On the contrary, a new generation now identified the market as a principal cause of injustice and exploitation.**

The crises and injustices associated with the real workings of capitalist world economy provoked major waves of popular insurgency as the 21st century began. Uprisings in Ecuador in 2000 and in Argentina in 2001, both of them associated with economic crisis, brought down their governments.

In Cochabamba the new century began with a successful mass movement against the privatisation of water. In 2002 in Venezuela a right wing coup backed by big business was defeated by a huge popular movement that restored Hugo Chávez to the presidency to which he had been elected four years earlier. In 2003-5, again in Bolivia, popular uprisings drove out successive presidents who failed to respond to their demands. In 2006 a mass movement overthrew the government of Nepal.

These struggles were increasingly interwoven with mass strike movements and popular insurgencies that focused directly on economic and social demands.

So, too, it has been with the revolutions in Tunisia and Egypt in 2011.

The past 24 years have thus provided many more materials on “revolutionary rehearsals”. And the coming years will surely provide many more.

The world is still reeling from the largest global crisis since the Second World War, whose aftershocks are being felt both in the heartlands and the peripheries of world imperialism.

**Everywhere national and transnational governmental institutions are demanding that working people must pay for the banking crisis with cuts in real wages, welfare services and pensions — while those responsible for the crisis are walking away with larger salaries and bonuses.**

**Transnational bodies like the IMF, the World Bank and the WTO, which lock national governments into their neoliberal policy embrace, do not even pretend to be responsive to popular movements and demands.**

There is thus every reason to suppose that mass popular movements will again — and in much less than the next quarter century! — pose directly the possibility of a socialist transformation of society. Possibility is not, however, inevitability. Reflection on previous experience suggests some of the conditions of success.

**“What Marks The Beginnings Of A Revolutionary Era Is The Entry Of Large Masses Of The Oppressed And Exploited Into Active Engagement With Political Life”**

What marks the beginnings of a revolutionary era is the entry of large masses of the oppressed and exploited into active engagement with political life.

The opening of mass struggles “from below” signals the breakdown of political “normality”, a condition nicely described by US historian Lawrence Goodwyn as one where “a relatively small number of citizens possessing high sanction move about in an authoritative manner and a much larger number of people without such sanction move about more softly”. [2] Normality is commonly preserved by a mixture of fear and disbelief in the possibility of significant change. Its breakdown is marked by a release of popular energy and imagination.

The question is then, what form does this take? How are popular aspirations formulated and expressed? Is the old distinction between “political” and “economic” demands maintained, or do they begin to dissolve—as famously analysed in Rosa Luxemburg’s account of mass strikes? [3]

Capitalism’s supporters always hope to maintain this separation: recently the Financial Times, the leading British capitalist newspaper, summarised its concerns about the ongoing revolutionary situation in Egypt by saying, “The economy itself must be depoliticised”. [4]

That “depoliticisation” of economic life was what the capitalist class loved about the 1989 revolutions in Eastern Europe.

Socialists take the opposing view, asking whether popular practical hopes are invested only in a change of government, or also encompass demands to do with, for example, wages and prices, working conditions, democracy in trade unions, and managerial power in workplaces. Is economic as well as political corruption challenged from below? Are there processes of “saneamento” (the Portuguese term from 1974), of “cleaning out” those whose power depended on their connections with the old regime?

**The expansion of struggles focused on “economic” questions is a vital part of every popular upsurge with the potential to change the very bases of social life.**

What's involved is not just a matter of weakening and undermining old patterns, but of beginning to create and spread new kinds of relationships and institutions in all areas of social life.

What kind of new regime is possible? If no new regime is more democratic than the movement that creates it, we need to ask whether those engaged in revolutionary upsurge are building new kinds of democratic organisations, not just in the obviously "political" sphere but in neighbourhoods and workplaces, in the organisation of "public order" and justice, and in the institutions of the popular movement themselves, in unions and parties, in people's assemblies and workers' and peasants' councils.

### **"The Idea That The Whole Of Society Can Indeed Be Remade On New Foundations Takes On A Suddenly Realistic Hue"**

Is the general demand for democracy and mass participation in every sphere of social life emerging, and being theorised and broadcast across the insurgent movement?

A mass movement from below can generate the conditions for this to occur, as nothing else can.

For in such a movement, popular learning and development speed up enormously, once the old barriers of fatalism and fear begin to dissolve and those who "moved about more softly" start to feel their accumulating strength — and to mock and pull down the formerly powerful.

The idea that the whole of society can indeed be remade on new foundations takes on a suddenly realistic hue. Issues that once were the debating topics of tiny minorities can become practical questions for millions: what kind of economy do we actually want.

Are working people capable of running society themselves?

It is in relation to just such matters that we can measure the deepening of popular revolutions.

A merely "political" revolution that overthrows an old government can be accomplished by a determined minority. One estimate is that around 20 percent of the population of Egypt was actively involved in the overthrow of Mubarak — a brilliant popular achievement, but still a minority.

A socialist revolutionary process, however, will necessarily involve a far larger proportion, for it must reach far deeper into all the forms and aspects of everyday life. To the degree that working people do begin to manage their own productive and organised life activities under their own steam, developing democratic means of decision making, to that degree also their confidence in their own cooperative powers can develop.

Their own individual and social transformative growth becomes both a means and an end. The importance of such "cultural" and "psychological" development can hardly be overestimated.

Revolutionary movements make it possible to set aside old assumptions and prejudices, whether about religious, ethnic and national antagonisms, or gender superiority and difference. However, there is nothing automatic about such advances: they have to be fought for openly, and the proponents of old divisive ways pushed back in favour of new, enlarged ideas of solidarity.

Popular movements do not only contest power with the old rulers; they involve deep and contentious debate about their own forms, their own procedures, their own meaning and purpose.

They develop, for good or for ill, through processes of mass learning, by debating, testing and absorbing the lessons of different engagements with the old forces and forms of authority, through defeats and advances, dramatic turning points and reversals.

Leon Trotsky described this experimental method of discovery and learning as one involving “successive approximations” by mass movements, a method involving great leaps of understanding and imagination as well as collapses of mutual trust and fierce internal arguments.

To the extent that, in their development of new forms of organisation and their challenges to old forms of authority, movements burrow away at the institutional and cultural supports of capitalist power, a revolutionary period is marked by a peculiar form of contested government, sometimes termed “dual power” or “multiple sovereignty”.

The former ruling classes, and their very principles of power, are severely weakened, but they have not yet been decisively replaced. The rising power of the movement of working people has not yet gained full power and confidence in itself. It is a situation of huge instability, but also one, in Trotsky’s phrase, of great political “flabbiness”.

**The question of the moment becomes ever more stark: will the popular mass movement march forward to take power for itself, through its own new democratic institutions, or will sections of the old ruling class exploit its uncertainties, divert its energies, and find ways to demobilise the movement and recover their old power in some new form?**

In this volume’s chapters on Chile and Poland, that ruling class recovery took form as military dictatorship, a particularly brutal form of capitalist rule. Barely less brutal was the Islamist dictatorship in Iran, erected on the defeat of left and secularist forces in the 1979 Revolution.

But the chapter on Portugal shows that ruling classes have other possibilities, not least a recourse to the politics of social democracy.

In place of the direct contest of mass movements with capital and the state, let’s have an election! In just this way, the five years of revolutionary contestation in Bolivia from the great victory of the Cochabamba “water wars” of 2000 ended with the election of the left government of Evo Morales in 2005. Popular energies were displaced onto the electoral path. In one sense, the Morales election registered a huge victory for the people of Bolivia — but also a failure to resolve the crisis of Bolivian society. The capitalist class’s property and power remained intact, and poverty for the mass of Bolivians continued. [5]

In conditions of “dual power”, the role of revolutionary Marxist parties takes on its maximum significance. Such conditions produce opportunities, not only for socialist advance, but also for reformist politicians to seek to ride to office on the wave of popular discontent and mobilisation.

For their project to succeed, it is vital that the popular movement demobilise its forces and lower its aspirations, to focus instead on the parliamentary arena.

In such circumstances, revolutionary socialists’ active involvement in the movement becomes vital, for they can develop an alternative pole of argument and agitation, stressing the need to maintain and further develop the movement’s independent activity and organisations—for it is in these, and not in parliament, that the possibility of a real social transformation resides.

In a world locked in crisis, where the flames of revolt are once more rising, these matters will again be posed as practical questions. The republication of this volume seems timely.

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## Notes

1: There were tragic paradoxes. The first minister of labour in the new government was Jacek Kuron, co-author with Karol Modzelewski of the 1964 “Open Letter to the Party”. In 1964 Kuron had called openly for a workers’ revolution; in 1990 he was giving fireside chats on television to explain the necessity of rising unemployment...

2: Goodwyn, 1991, pxxxii.

3: Luxemburg, 1986.

4: Financial Times, 2011

5: Jeffery Webber has chronicled the Bolivian experience in two recent books: Webber 2011a and 2011b

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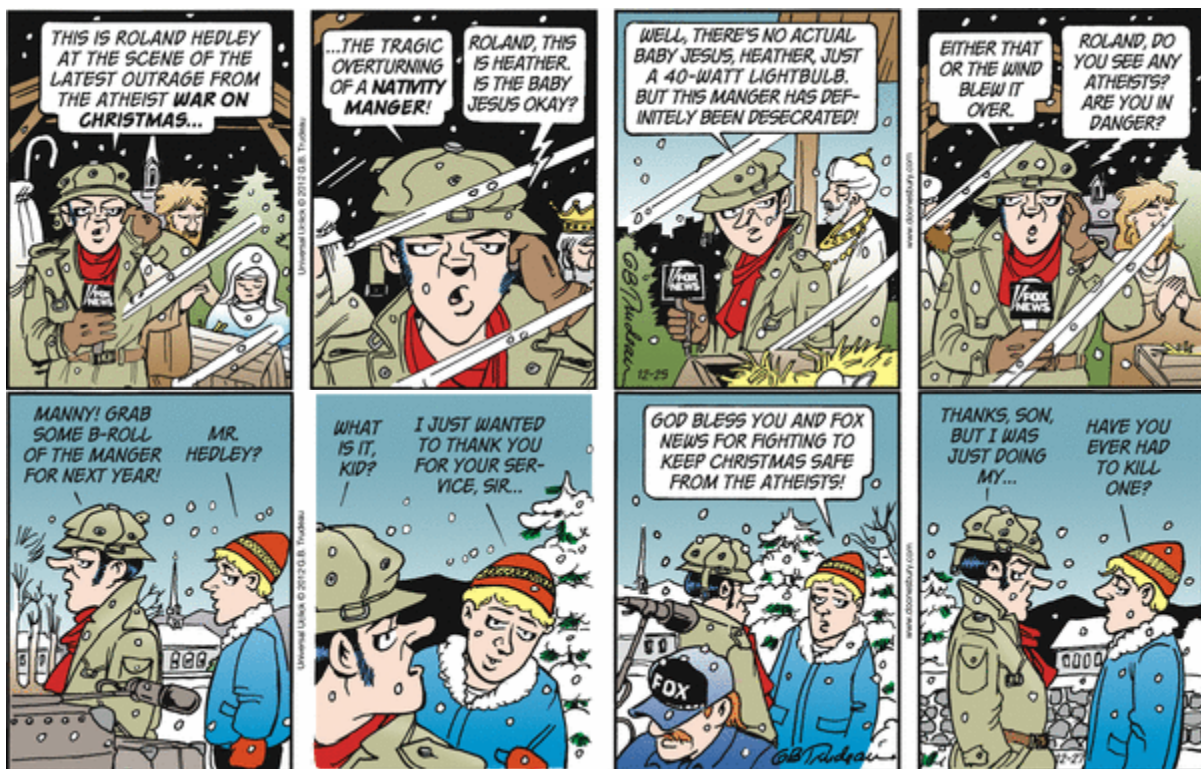
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### Troops Invited:

Comments, arguments, articles, and letters from service men and women, and veterans, are especially welcome. Write to Box 126, 2576 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10025-5657 or email [contact@militaryproject.org](mailto:contact@militaryproject.org): Name, I.D., withheld unless you request publication. Same address to unsubscribe.

## DANGER: POLITICIANS AT WORK



**Widely Used Computer Encryption Method Has A Problem That Could Allow "Everything Stored On U.S.**

# **Government Classified Computers To Be ‘Fairly Easily’ Stolen Or Destroyed”**

**“The Warning Comes From The  
Inventor Of The Encryption  
Method”**

**“A Computer Programmer Could  
Create A Virus That Would Spread  
Throughout Servers To Steal, Distort  
Or Destroy Confidential Data”**

**“‘It Would Take Days, Perhaps Only  
Hours,’ To Write Such A Virus, He Said”**

December 25, 2012 By Shaun Waterman, The Washington Times [Excerpts]

A widely used method of computer encryption has a little-noticed problem that could allow confidential data stored by almost all Fortune 500 companies and everything stored on U.S. government classified computers to be “fairly easily” stolen or destroyed. The warning comes from the inventor of the encryption method, known as Secure Shell or SSH.

“In the worst-case scenario, most of the data on the servers of every company in the developed world gets wiped out,” Tatu Ylonen, chief executive officer of SSH Communications Security Corp., told The Washington Times.

Mr. Ylonen said a computer programmer could create a virus that would exploit SSH’s weaknesses and spread throughout servers to steal, distort or destroy confidential data.

“It would take days, perhaps only hours,” to write such a virus, he said.

**What’s more, the same security vulnerabilities plague the U.S. government’s  
classified networks, say the contractors who build them.**

"I would venture to say that there is a very similar situation (in classified networks) to the one in the commercial space," said Don Fergus, a senior vice president at Patriot Technologies Inc., an information technology and security firm in Frederick, Md.

Mr. Ylonen said encryption methods' vulnerabilities prevent companies from honestly passing an audit for compliance with U.S. cybersecurity standards for government or the private sector.

About "90 percent of U.S. companies are out of compliance with regulations governing financial institutions because of this issue," Mr. Ylonen said.

Since Mr. Ylonen invented SSH in 1995, it has become the gold standard for encryption and secure computing systems.

SSH is used "deep inside the back-end systems" Mr. Ylonen said, referring to programs that run in the background on large computer systems, unnoticed by the average user.

**Without careful monitoring and management, SSH users go on creating keys, often storing them in easily identifiable directories where hackers can find and use them to access secure computers.**

For example, one major bank that Mr. Ylonen's company audited had used SSH in more than 5,000 applications on as many as 100,000 servers.

**He said the auditors found in "a fraction of the bank's environment" more than 1 million unaccounted-for keys — 10 percent of which granted root access, or control of the server at the most basic level.**

**"The deeper we dig, the more we find," Mr. Ylonen said of the audits that the company is undertaking of major users of SSH.**

It is not just in the private sector where hackers could use the keys for illicit purposes.

**SSH is "the de rigueur method" for encryption in classified computer systems used by the U.S. government, Mr. Fergus said.**

"One of the biggest challenges the federal agencies face (in encryption) is key management," he said.

**Mr. Fergus noted that federal rules for classified computer networks cover the "issuance and assignment and storage of keys" but do not dictate what should be done with used keys.**

"There's nothing in the standards or the protocols," he said.

As a teenager in the 1990s, Sean M. Bodmer hacked government computers and was arrested by the FBI. Today, he is a top researcher at the computer security firm CounterTack, based in Waltham, Mass.

**"It's quite horrific what access you can get with an SSH key," Mr. Bodmer told The Times.**



Mr. Bodmer described how a hacker could use abandoned keys to move through a supposedly secure computer network by hopping from server to server.

“It’s a domino effect” security breach, he said.

**Mr. Ylonen said that neither the government nor the private sector has come to realize the danger of having unaccounted-for keys fall into the wrong hands.**

The theft by hackers, or even disgruntled insiders, of SSH keys can create a crisis of trust for a company, Mr. Ylonen said.

“No company that we know of systematically changes or deletes these keys,” he said. Unless companies employ “a rigorous policy to manage the production and storage of keys, how can they know who has access to their secure systems, as required by federal audit standards?”

A company unable to be certain about who can access its secure systems would be in violation of federal regulations governing finances, information security and privacy, Mr. Ylonen said.

He said the problem does not lie in the SSH encryption method itself.

“It’s a problem with the implementation,” he said, adding that unaccounted-for keys are results of “sloppy” information technology management.

Nonetheless, he acknowledged that he feels “a moral responsibility,” which is why he came out of retirement to offer a solution to the problem that poor management of his invention has created.

Mr. Ylonen retired in 2005, and for seven years was not an employee of the company he founded, although he remained a director.

“I decided I had to come back to do this,” he said.

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## **CLASS WAR REPORTS**

# **“Bahrain’s Rulers Have Powerful Allies, Including The United States”**

**“Going Out On The Streets,  
Carrying Nothing But A Flag And  
Calling For Democracy Could Cost  
You Your Life Here”**

**“Giving A Speech About Human  
Rights And Democracy Can Lead To  
Life Imprisonment”**

**“If You Are An Ally Of America, Then  
You Can Get Away With Abusing Human  
Rights”**

**For Bahrainis, there doesn't seem to be much of a difference between the Saudis and the Americans. Both are supporting the Khalifa regime to preserve their own interests, even if the cost is the lives and rights of the people of Bahrain.**

December 25, 2012 By ZAINAB al-KHAWAJA, The New York Times Company

**Zainab al-Khawaja, an activist, was arrested and jailed earlier this month and charged with inciting hatred against the Bahraini government.**

\*\*\*\*\*

EARLIER this month, Aqeel Abdul Mohsen, 19, was shot in the face for protesting against Bahrain's government.

He was covered in blood, with the lower side of his face blown open, his jaw shattered, and a broken hand hanging awkwardly from his wrist. It's one of those images that you wish you had never seen, and can never forget.

After more than 10 hours of surgery, and before Mr. Abdul Mohsen regained consciousness, his hospital room was already under guard by the police. Had he been able to speak, he might even have been interrogated before going into surgery.

Others have lain bleeding without medical attention while government security agents asked questions like: "Were you participating in a protest? Who else was with you?"

Bahrain, a small island nation off the coast of Saudi Arabia, has been ruled by the Khalifa family for more than 200 years.

It is also home to the headquarters of the United States Navy's Fifth Fleet, which patrols regional shipping lanes, assists with missions in Iraq and Afghanistan and monitors Iran as tensions in the region mount.

The oppressed people of Bahrain joined the Arab Spring soon after the fall of President Hosni Mubarak in Egypt.

With newfound hope, Bahrainis took to the streets on Feb. 14, 2011.

Rich and poor, Shiite and Sunni, liberal and religious, they felt what it was like to speak freely for the first time in the capital, Manama, at a traffic circle with a pearl monument at its center. The Pearl Roundabout came to symbolize the Bahraini revolution.

But this newfound freedom didn't last long.

**The government's security forces attacked the peaceful protesters, then tore down the Pearl monument. And in March 2011, troops from neighboring Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates intervened to suppress our pro-democracy protests.**

**Going out on the streets, carrying nothing but a flag and calling for democracy could cost you your life here.**

**Chanting "down with the dictator" could lead to your being subjected to electric shocks.**

**Giving a speech about human rights and democracy can lead to life imprisonment.**

**Infants have died after suffocating from toxic gases used by riot police. And teenage protesters have been shot and killed.**

It's not unusual in Bahrain to find families with four or five members in prison at the same time.

My father, Abdulhadi al-Khawaja, was beaten unconscious in my apartment in front of my family, as a report last year by the Bahrain Independent Commission of Inquiry documented.

He was then taken away with my husband and brother-in-law; they were all tortured.

My husband was released in January, and my brother-in-law was released after a six-month sentence in late 2011; my father was sentenced to life in prison. He staged four hunger strikes; the longest lasted 110 days and almost cost him his life. (He was force-fed at a military hospital.)

But despite all these sacrifices, the struggle for freedom and democracy in Bahrain seems hopeless because Bahrain's rulers have powerful allies, including Saudi Arabia and the United States.

**For Bahrainis, there doesn't seem to be much of a difference between the Saudis and the Americans. Both are supporting the Khalifa regime to preserve their own interests, even if the cost is the lives and rights of the people of Bahrain.**

The United States speaks about supporting human rights and democracy, but while the Saudis send troops to aid the Khalifa government, America is sending arms.

The United States is doing itself a huge disservice by displaying such an obvious double standard toward human rights violations in the Middle East.

**Washington condemns the violence of the Syrian government but turns a blind eye to blatant human rights abuses committed by its ally Bahrain.**

**This double standard is costing America its credibility across the region; and the message being understood is that if you are an ally of America, then you can get away with abusing human rights.**

If the United States is serious about protecting human rights in the Arab world, it should halt all arms sales to Bahrain, bring Bahrain's abuses to the attention of the United Nations Security Council, support a special session on Bahrain at the United Nations Human Rights Council, and begin a conversation about potential diplomatic and economic sanctions. The Obama administration should also demand that high-level Bahraini officials be held accountable for human rights abuses, and that nongovernmental organizations, United Nations human rights investigators and journalists be allowed to enter the country and investigate abuses.

**At present, the Bahraini government believes it has international immunity.**

**It commits widespread human rights violations, and business continues as usual: the government continues to buy arms and negotiate lucrative deals, without having to face any real consequences.**

This is why the most prominent Bahraini human-rights defenders are languishing in prison. Until the United States starts to put real pressure on its ally, Bahrain's government has no incentive to change.

No matter the price, Bahrainis will keep demanding the very values — human rights and democracy — that the United States claims to stand for.

**It is an outrage that America continues to back a regime that tramples them.**

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**RECEIVED:**

**“Peace To All In The Coming Year”**

From: Mark R

Sent: Dec 30, 2012  
To: Military Resistance Newsletter  
Subject: Re: Military Resistance 10L21: Be Advised

I thank you so much for getting the information out to the military members and families, with the truth of what is happening around the world in military resistance.

I just finished sending money to help you in connecting the dots of the Corporate Military Empire we have become.

Peace to all in the coming year.

Non-violent, non-cooperation is the answer.



### **Military Resistance Looks Even Better Printed Out**

**Military Resistance/GI Special are archived at website**

**<http://www.militaryproject.org> . The following have chosen to post issues; there may be others: <http://williambowles.info/military-resistance-archives/>; [news@uruknet.info](mailto:news@uruknet.info); <http://www.scribd.com/>**

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