

## Military Resistance 1114



**“There Is A Fear Of  
Disobedience”**

**Egyptian Military Dictatorship  
Frightened Of Rebellion By  
Their Soldiers:**

**“The Generals Are Worried About  
Insubordination In The Ranks”**

**“Amr Khaled, A Televangelist,  
Specifically Addressed The Question**

# **Of Insubordination In A Military Video”**

## **“You Don’t Obey Your Commander While Performing A Great Task?”**

**The first fragmentary account of the clerics’ statements appeared on Wednesday in a harsh report on a Web site aligned with the Muslim Brotherhood.**

**That suggested that at least some of the soldiers and police officers who heard the speeches sympathized with the Brotherhood enough to leak the information.**

**Political scientists say that worries about insubordination are understandable, because the ranks of both the army and the riot police are made up mainly of hundreds of thousands of conscripts drafted into mandatory military service.**

**More than 1,100 civilians have been killed in the crackdown since Aug. 14, and many of the conscripts are likely to have lost a cousin or relative, or heard stories of the carnage.**

August 25, 2013 By DAVID D. KIRKPATRICK and MAYY EL SHEIKH, New York Times [Excerpts]

CAIRO — The Egyptian military has enlisted Muslim scholars in a propaganda campaign to persuade soldiers and policemen that they have a religious duty to obey orders to use deadly force against supporters of the ousted president, Mohamed Morsi.

The effort is a signal that the generals are worried about insubordination in the ranks, after security forces have killed hundreds of their fellow Egyptians who were protesting against the military’s removal of the elected president — violence by the armed forces against civilians that is without precedent in the country’s modern history.

Indeed, after ousting Mr. Morsi in the name of tolerance, inclusiveness and an end to religious rule, the military is now sending religious messages to its troops that sound surprisingly similar to the arguments of radical militants who call for violence against political opponents whom they deem to be nonbelievers.

“When somebody comes who tries to divide you, then kill them, whoever they are,” Ali Gomaa, the former mufti appointed under President Hosni Mubarak, is seen telling soldiers in a video made by the military’s Department of Moral Affairs.

Mr. Gomaa later said the military had shown the video to troops and riot police officers across Egypt.

In a video against the same backdrop, Salem Abdel Galil, a former senior scholar in the ministry that oversaw mosques under Mr. Mubarak, appeared to say such opponents

were “aggressors who have to repent to God.” They are “not honorable Egyptians,” he said.

Amr Khaled, a televangelist who is popular with young Muslims, specifically addressed the question of insubordination in a military video. “You don’t obey your commander while performing a great task?” he asked, adding, “You, you conscript in the Egyptian military, you are performing a task for God Almighty!”

It was unclear when the military filmed the speeches or distributed them to the troops.

**Political scientists say that worries about insubordination are understandable, because the ranks of both the army and the riot police are made up mainly of hundreds of thousands of conscripts drafted into mandatory military service.**

**More than 1,100 civilians have been killed in the crackdown since Aug. 14, and many of the conscripts are likely to have lost a cousin or relative, or heard stories of the carnage.**

**As grieving Islamists searched for the bodies of the missing after the authorities broke up the pro-Morsi sit-ins, many were eager to talk, and speculate, about family members who were serving in the police and the military.**

**“There is a fear of disobedience” in the clerics’ videotaped speeches, said Emad Shahin, a political scientist at the American University in Cairo.**

The first fragmentary account of the clerics’ statements appeared on Wednesday in a harsh report on a Web site aligned with the Muslim Brotherhood.

**That suggested that at least some of the soldiers and police officers who heard the speeches sympathized with the Brotherhood enough to leak the information.**

Dr. Khaled is seen advising the soldiers and the police not to “let anybody make you question your faith.”

He added: “The day you wore that uniform and these boots, and you made that salute, and you stood up in your line — you’re not doing a job for a commander, you’re working for God.”

Dr. Gomaa, the former mufti, said in a television interview that he had spoken for 30 minutes before a video camera at the military’s Moral Affairs department, and the resulting video had been shown to soldiers and police officers across the country “to keep up their spirits.”

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**Comment by John Spritzler, [www.NewDemocracyWorld.org](http://www.NewDemocracyWorld.org), who posted this article 8.26.13:**

This article discusses the great fear that the Generals of the Egyptian military have concerning the possibility that the rank-and-file soldiers will refuse to obey orders to kill Egyptians they are ordered to kill.

The fact that this issue is couched in religious terms in Egypt should not obscure the most important significance of this article.

Military forces in any nation consist of working class soldiers who have thoughts and beliefs and values quite independent of those held by their generals.

When a mass revolutionary movement develops in any nation, including the United States, it will have support among the soldiers who comprise "the military." If those soldiers not only support the revolutionary movement's goals but also see that the movement has the determination to prevail, then a critical mass of soldiers will refuse to obey orders to attack it and will use their weapons to defend it against those who do attack it.

This is why revolution is possible, even in the United States. But it is very dangerous for an individual soldier to go against the generals because if the revolution is defeated he or she will likely be executed for treason. This is why it is so important for the revolutionary movement to demonstrate its strength and determination to prevail.

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



CHANGE WE CAN BEREAVE IN

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 injustices, 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.

## **AFGHANISTAN WAR REPORTS**

# **Over 100 Foreign Military & Supply Vehicles Torched: Taliban Attack US Transportation Base In Northern Afghanistan: “The Attack In Nangahar Province Meant The Key Road Between The Provincial Capital Jalalabad City And Torkham Province Was Cut”**



Burning military supply trucks after a Taliban attack at Torkham district in Jalalabad province September 2, 2013. Taliban fighters attacked part of a U.S. military outpost in the eastern Afghan province of Nangarhar. REUTERS/ Stringer

09/02/13 euronews & By RAHIM FAIEZ, The Associated Press & 9.3.13 Ariana News

MOHMANDARA DISTRICT, Afghanistan —

Militants attacked a U.S. base in Afghanistan near the border with Pakistan on Monday, setting off bombs, torching vehicles and shutting down a key road used by foreign supply trucks, officials said.

Over a hundred trucks carrying foreign military equipment were torched.

**Equipped with light and heavy weapons, the Taliban insurgents stormed the base, blew the supply trucks up with already planted mines and entered into clashes with the security personnel.**

Afghan officials say a parking lot at the outpost was a stopping point for many types of vehicles used by U.S. and other foreign forces.

**The fire erupted after a group of armed assailants early Monday morning struck their explosive-laden vehicle to the convoy of trucks of coalition forces.**

**Sources added the insurgents were wearing uniforms of border forces.**

The Taliban claimed responsibility for the strike in the Torkham area, the latest in a surge of attacks in Afghanistan. Militants frequently target foreign military supply lines in both Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The second Taliban attack in a week on a foreign base in Afghanistan has added to the alliance's supply problems.

The attack in Nangahar province meant the key road between the provincial capital Jalalabad city and Torkham province on the Pakistani border was cut.

"The attack was in two different locations, the vehicles there were set on fire, three attackers were resisting near the base, all three of them were killed," said the governor of Mohmandara district Dr. Essa Zwak.

The encounter began around 6:30 a.m. and lasted three and a half hours, said Masoum Khan Hashimi, deputy provincial police chief in Nangarhar province.

Afghan security forces trying to clear the area were still in the process of defusing a bomb in a car.

At least one car bomb also was successfully detonated in the attack, Hashimi said.

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## **AFGHANISTAN THEATER:**

# **“US Foreign Fighters Suffered 63 Combat Casualties In The Week Ending Aug 28 As The Total Rose To 39,926”**

Aug 29, 2013 [www.michaelmunk.com](http://www.michaelmunk.com) [Excerpts]

AFGHANISTAN THEATER: US foreign fighters suffered 63 combat casualties in the week ending Aug 28 as the total rose to 39,926.

The total includes 20,979 dead and wounded from what the Pentagon classifies as “hostile” causes and 18,947 dead or medically evacuated (as of Dec. 3, 2012) from what it calls “non-hostile” causes.

US media divert attention from the actual cost in American life and limb by reporting regularly only the total killed (6,752: 4,489 in Iraq, 2,263 in Afghanistan) but rarely mentioning those wounded in action (51,430: 32,230 in Iraq; 19,200 in Afghanistan).

They ignore the 59,908 (44,607 in Iraq, 18,463 in AfPak (as of Dec 3, 2012) military casualties injured and ill seriously enough to be medevac'd out of theater, even though the 6,752 total dead include 1,445 (961 in Iraq, 484 in Afghanistan) who died from those same “non hostile” causes, of whom almost 25% (332) were suicides (as of Jan 9, 2013) and at least 18 in Iraq from faulty KBR electrical work.

NOTE: It's unclear whether the AfPak number for WIAs at some point started to include medical evacuations for non hostile injuries and disease.

WIAs are usually updated on Wednesday at [www.defenselink.mil/news/casualty.pdf](http://www.defenselink.mil/news/casualty.pdf)

**POLITICIANS REFUSE TO HALT THE  
BLOODSHED**

**THE TROOPS HAVE THE POWER TO STOP THE  
WAR**

## **Resistance Action**

1 September 2013 Associated Press

KABUL: An official says the badly beaten, bullet-riddled bodies of seven Afghan soldiers have been found dumped in an eastern province.

Mohammad Ali Ahmadi, deputy governor in Ghazni province, says the victims had been captured at various times, including while visiting their families.

Local residents found the corpses next to each other Sunday in Andar district, their hands still chained behind their backs.

Ahmadi says insurgents at times stop vehicles in search of people to “prosecute” for working for the government or security forces.

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Sept. 3 Xinhua

FAIZABAD, Afghanistan - The governor of the northern Afghan province of Badakhshan on Tuesday escaped a bomb attack which killed four of his bodyguards, said a provincial government spokesman.

“The bombing took place in Khairabad area of the Baharak district at midday when Governor Mohammad Nazir’s two-vehicle motorcade was passing by the area. Nazir himself was unhurt but the powerful explosion killed his four bodyguards,” Abdul Maruf Raseikh told Xinhua.

He said the killed were shifted to a hospital in provincial capital Faizabad, 315 km northeast of national capital Kabul.

Witnesses said the mayor was slightly wounded in the incident.

**The relatively peaceful mountainous province is seeing Taliban- led warfare recently. The Taliban insurgent group killed 16 Afghan soldiers earlier this year there in one attack.**

**An army division was dispatched to the province lately to help strength security forces to ensure the security there.**

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Sept. 3 Xinhua

A provincial judge was killed Tuesday in a drive-by shooting in western Afghanistan’s Herat province, police said.

“Sayed Ahmad Khaliqi was killed near his residence by two gunmen riding a motorcycle. The incident happened in Baba Hajji neighborhood of the provincial capital Herat city, 640 km west of national capital Kabul, at around midday,” head of provincial criminal investigation department Lieutenant Colonel Israheel Khan told Xinhua.

Khaliqi was serving in the provincial special Corruption Court, he said, adding a manhunt was underway to locate and capture the fled attackers.

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# SOMALIA WAR REPORTS

## **Somali Presidential Convoy Ambushed By Resistance Militants**

2013-09-03 AFP & GAROWE ONLINE

Mogadishu - Somali President Hassan Sheikh Mohamud escaped unhurt Tuesday from an ambush on his heavily armoured convoy claimed by Islamists.

Al-Shabaab gunmen claimed to have ambushed the convoy as it travelled to the port of Merka south of the capital and boasted of destroying vehicles with rocket-propelled grenades.

But officials said that the attack had failed and all in the presidential entourage were safe.

The president was travelling in an armoured convoy from the 17 700-strong African Union force (Amisom) [translation: U.S. government-backed foreign occupation troops] that fights alongside the Somali army against Al-Shabaab.

"We ambushed a convoy that was escorting the self-appointed Somali president," Al-Shabaab spokesperson Abdulaziz Abu Musab told AFP.

The attack took place near the small settlement of Buffow, close to Merka, a former Al-Shabaab stronghold captured one year ago around 100km south of the capital.

"The presidential convoy was attacked but they have continued after about 15 minutes of heavy gunfire," said Ibrahim Adan, a resident of Buffow.

The government was the first to be given global recognition since the collapse of Somalia's hardline regime in 1991.

**But the authorities have been dealt a number of setbacks in recent months, including a string of Al-Shabaab attacks, accusations of rape against the army and African Union soldiers and a pull-out by aid workers because of a wave of kidnappings and killings.**

Last month Doctors Without Borders - an aid agency that has earned a reputation for working in the toughest of conditions -- closed all its operations in the war-torn country, warning of growing insecurity.

**Independent sources confirmed to Garowe Online that Hassan is seeking confidence from some clans in Lower Shabelle region in a move to defuse anger against his government.**

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# Intelligence Officer Assassinated in Mogadishu

30 August 2013 Sabahi

Assailants shot dead Khalif Mohamud Ali, the head of intelligence for Mogadishu's Kahda district, near his home Wednesday night (August 28th), Somalia's Garowe Online reported.

"Unidentified militiamen ambushed late Ali but his security guards responded with gunfire. One of his body guards sustained injuries and security forces are carrying out investigations to find the perpetrators of this crime," said Kahda district commissioner Abdiweli Yusuf Omar.

Ali was the second official assassinated in Mogadishu in the past week.

Chairman of the Dharkenley district Olympic Committee Amin Ali Mumin was shot near his home last Friday (August 23rd).

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## MILITARY NEWS

### **White House Pissed Off At Military Leaks Undermining Proposed Attack On Syria: "The Criticism Isn't Coming From Secretary Chuck Hagel And His Cadre Of Top Aides But Lower-Ranking Brass"**

8/30/13 By GLENN THRUSH, POLITICO LLC [Excerpts]

Many of the leaks about U.S. strike plans for Syria, a copious flow of surprisingly specific information on ship dispositions and possible targets, have been authorized as a way for President Obama to signal the limited scope of operations to friends and foes.

But a number of leaks have been decidedly unauthorized -- and, according to Obama administration sources, likely emanating from a Pentagon bureaucracy less enthusiastic about the prospect of an attack than, say, the State Department, National Security Council or Obama himself.

“Deeply unhelpful,” was how one West Winger described the drip-drip of doubt.

“They need to shut the fuck up,” said a former administration official. “It's embarrassing. Who ever heard this much talk before an attack? It's bizarre.”

An obvious example was a report in Thursday's Washington Post in which current and former officers listed their worries about Syria:

“I can't believe the president is even considering it,” said (one) officer, who like most officers interviewed for this story agreed to speak only on the condition of anonymity because military personnel are reluctant to criticize policymakers while military campaigns are being planned. “We have been fighting the last 10 years a counterinsurgency war. Syria has modern weaponry. We would have to retrain for a conventional war.”

Far more damaging have been a series of disclosures that more subtly undermine Obama's claim that the Syria action will be quick and clean, punitive and tailored.

Earlier this week the New York Times reported on doubts that the main weapon likely employed against Syrian President Bashar Assad, the Tomahawk cruise missile, would have a meaningful impact on the regime's chemical weapons facilities which are widely scattered and likely to be well hidden. This graf, I'm told, chafed in particular:

**“The weapons are not often effective against mobile targets, like missile launchers, and cannot be used to attack underground bunkers. Naval officers and attack planners concede that the elevation of the missile cannot entirely be controlled and that there is a risk of civilian casualties when they fly slightly high.”**

The back-and-forth is hardly unprecedented; For decades, military officials -- the people who actually have to implement war plans -- have been a source of dissent. Think Pentagon Papers. And Obama officials say the criticism isn't coming from Secretary Chuck Hagel and his cadre of top aides but lower-ranking brass.

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## **Syrian Revolutionaries Attack Gas Pipeline: “Daily Production Of Gas Had Slumped From 24 Million Cubic Meters A Day Before The Start Of The Conflict In March 2011 To 16.7m Cubic Meters”**

3 September 2013 AFP

Rebels sabotaged a gas pipeline in northeast Syria on Tuesday, state news agency SANA said, forcing the closure of a gas plant and affecting around 10 percent of daily output.

Authorities were forced to close the nearby plant which produces 1.5 million cubic meters (53m cubic feet) of gas a day after the attack in Safira, 25 kilometers (15 miles) north of Deir Ezzor city, SANA said.

In February, Administration Minister Omar Ghalawanji said acts of sabotage had caused damage worth some \$11 billion.

SANA said the transport of gas would be halted, affecting supply to power stations, but gave no further details.

It also reported another attack further north near Hassaka on an oil well by “another group of armed terrorists who wanted to steal crude oil.”

SANA said technicians were repairing that well.

**Last month, authorities in the violence-ridden country said daily production of gas had slumped from 24 million cubic meters a day before the start of the conflict in March 2011 to 16.7m cubic meters.**

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## **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**

**There is no democracy without socialism and no socialism without democracy.  
-- Rosa Luxemburg**

**FYI: Military Resistance Website Visits:  
Top Ten Locations Of Visitors Ranked 1-10  
[August 2013]**

- 1 United States**
- 2 China**
- 3 Netherlands**
- 4 Canada**
- 5 France**
- 6 Great Britain**
- 7 Germany**
- 8 Italy**
- 9 Hong Kong**
- 10 Romania**

**Readers from an additional 87 have also accessed.**

**Source: AWStats**

**“Living In The U.S., I Had Long  
Stopped Using The Term  
‘Revolution’ To Describe The  
Situation In Syria”**

**“Yet In My Time In Syria, Not A Single Person I Met Used Any Other Term To Describe It”**  
**“Not A Single Person I Met Used The Term ‘Civil War’. I Was Told Time And Again That A Civil War Requires Two Sides”**  
**“In Syria, There Was Only One Side -- The Government -- That Unilaterally Waged War Against Its People”**

Indeed many Syrians suspected that there was a partnership of sorts between the “Islamiyeen” and the Regime.

“While the Regime constantly targets FSA military posts,” explained a Syrian man from Kafranbel, “it never targets the Jubhat or Dawlat’s military posts.”

08/26/2013 by Reem Salahi, The Huffington Post

*“We won't kneel and we won't kneel. Bring your airplanes and your guns. But we won't kneel oh Bashar. This Revolution is a revolution of glory.”*

I hadn't been to Syria since August 2010, seven months before the start of the Revolution.

In the ensuing two and a half years, I watched from afar, torn between the idealistic rhetoric of a glorious revolution and warnings of Western imperialism and intervention.

Even before arriving in Syria, it was clear the Syria of 2010 was long gone.

On my flight to Southern Turkey, I sat next to a Free Syrian Army fighter. While I was going into Syria as a witness, he was going to fight, leaving his home, comfortable life and prosperous businesses behind. As we deboarded, I wished him safety.

“I'm content,” he responded, “I either die as a martyr or I live to see Syria free. Once Bashar is ousted, I'll let the politicians take it from there.” In 2010, I could have never imagined speaking to another Syrian -- a fighter much less -- about martyrdom, freedom and the ouster of Assad. But this was the Syria of 2013.

I entered Syria through Atmeh Camp, the largest camp for internally displaced Syrians. Housing approximately 20,000 Syrians, Atmeh is primarily funded by private donors and organizations.

Unlike Za'atari in Jordan and Killis in Turkey, no government runs this or the other camps in Syria as evidenced by the pure dysfunction and abject poverty of the camps.

While many, if not most, in the camps are there to escape death and destruction, I was surprised to learn that others were there because they could no longer afford the daily costs of living. I was told that at least in the camps there was food (even if some of it was spoiled) and some basic humanitarian assistance.

Since the start of the Revolution, the Syrian currency has plummeted in value. Where in 2010, one U.S. dollar was valued at 45 liras, at present it's valued at approximately 215 liras. Prior to going into Syria, the Turkish currency exchanger joked: "next time you should bring a suitcase to carry your Syrian liras."

**The devaluation of the Syrian lira coupled with international sanctions and the government's destruction of its own industries has resulted in unprecedented unemployment rates.**

In the areas I visited in northwestern Syria, most of the businesses were closed or destroyed. The lucky few with functioning businesses supported dozens of family members.

And the unlucky many who lost their businesses lived off life savings or even moved to one of numerous camps in Turkey or Northern Syria.

Life in the IDP camps is brutal. The heat, dust, insects and filth coupled with the destitution of the refugees create a fester-pool of anger and hopelessness. In true Darwinian style, survival in the camps is for the fittest or at least, the most cunning -- those first in line for distribution, those with connections to the camp management or those with businesses that charge upward of three times as much on goods as prices in Syrian cities.

Four and five year olds speak with the same frustration as adults, condemning both Assad, who destroyed their towns and brutalized their families, and the Revolution, which failed to deliver its promises of freedom and democracy.

None of the glories of Revolution are apparent in the camps and no person pontificated on the dangers of Western intervention. Rather, the refugees shooed flies, cursed Assad, cursed the Revolution and then cursed the world that had turned a blind eye to their misery.

Traveling into "liberated" (i.e. rebel-controlled) Syria, I was initially struck by the appearance of normality.

Olive groves bloomed, kids played on the street and food and drink stands peppered the roadways. Absent were the pictures and statutes of Bashar and his father Hafez al-Assad that I had come to expect from my many trips to Syria. Also missing were the regime flags and any other sign of Baathist rule.

The deeper we went into Syria, though, the more abnormal things became.

Tinted and unlicensed SUVs with the insignia of a Free Syrian Army (FSA) or Islamist brigade were readily prevalent. Men with guns strapped to their backs wearing military fatigues and long beards rode on motorcycles. Demolished factories and bombed stores were more frequent sights than open and functioning stores.

And FSA checkpoints secured the entry and exit points of most towns. As we drove deeper into Idlib Province, I found myself thinking of Dorothy's line in the Wizard of Oz: "Toto, I've a feeling we're not in Kansas anymore."

Entering Kafranbel -- a small yet internationally-known town due to its witty posters and weekly protests -- I was awestruck by the painted walls with messages of "rEVOLution".



The media center was abuzz with foreign journalists and local activists as they prepared their posters for the Friday protest. The English and Arabic posters as well as the drawings depicting Barack Obama and Vladimir Putin were calculated to speak to local and global audiences.

The activists spent hours strategizing how best to express their dissatisfaction with the U.S.'s failure to provide anti-aircraft missiles and heavy weaponry that could strike down government planes that terrorized the "liberated" areas.

Yet in the subsequent days, I experienced the more honest banality of life.

Despite not having a physical presence in the "liberated" areas, the government still controlled the utilities and cut the electricity for 20 or more hours a day as both a carrot (a reminder that it remained in power) and a stick.

There was no phone service and Internet was rare; jobs were even rarer.

At times, it seemed that the only activity was in the sky from helicopters transporting soldiers or dumping loads of explosives on "liberated" towns or in the hospitals that assumed the consequent casualties.





### **“They All Spoke Of The ‘Thawra’ (Revolution). Indeed They Spoke Of Little Else”**

As we lazily sat around during the long hot summer days drinking one cup of sweetened tea after another and doing little else, I was surprised to hear Syrians state they had “no time.”

I soon understood that it was not the physical demand for time but the lack of mental clarity for solutions to the intractable conflict that had left Syrian towns with no formal governance and little resources; their residents, without exception, were left psychologically scarred and emotionally taxed.

As one young man expressed to me: “everyone wants to train me in transitional justice and documenting human rights abuses but no one has offered to train me on how to overthrow the Regime.

“It’s been over two years and I still don’t know how to do the very thing that got me involved in this Revolution in the first place.”

Unfortunately there is no manual on Ousting Dictators for Dummies and I too was at a loss for a solution.

Other activists expressed regret that there had not been a revolution of thought -- a period of enlightenment and education -- before this Revolution of action. When faced with the overwhelming feat of creating a civil society from scratch, addressing the growing physical and psychological needs of the people and avoiding death by government missile or bullet, it was true; there was very little time.

Living in the U.S., I had long stopped using the term “Revolution” to describe the situation in Syria. Yet in my time in Syria, not a single person I met used any other term to describe it.

It didn’t matter whether I was talking to a mother or an FSA fighter or an activist. It also didn’t matter if I was talking to someone who supported the Revolution or was critical of it.

They all spoke of the “thawra” (Revolution). Indeed they spoke of little else.

Similarly, not a single person I met used the term “civil war” to describe the situation in Syria. I was told time and again that a civil war requires two sides. In Syria, there was only one side -- the government -- that unilaterally waged war against its people.

**“While I Had Previously Visited Other War Zones, I Had Never Experienced The Terror Of Having One's Own Government Wage A Full-Scale War Against Its People”**

It is hard, if not nearly impossible, to describe what it's like to be indiscriminately targeted for death or mutilation.

While I had previously visited other war zones, I had never experienced the terror of having one's own government wage a full-scale war against its people.

Early one Thursday morning while in Kafranbel, I awoke to heavy shelling.

My Syrian host, who was now accustomed to the shelling, urgently told me to hide in the bathroom underneath the attic.

“The government is warning us not to go out to the demonstration tomorrow,” she explained. “They are definitely going to shell us tomorrow.” While she had worn her pajamas to sleep that night, she often slept in her clothes in case she had to flee.

In Saraqeb, I was told that it was not the shelling that scared its residents; it was the military planes and explosive barrels that frightened them.

“The first shell is the most dangerous,” told me a Saraqeb resident. “You don't know where it will land. After the first shell, you run indoors for protection and it's much safer.

“There's nothing to protect you from explosive barrels though. They can wipe out an entire building and even a street. If you go indoors, the whole house will fall on you. So now, every time we hear a helicopter or military plane overhead, we go outdoors and watch it. We have a higher chance of survival if we are outdoors.”

As this man spoke, I remembered a picture on Facebook of a group of Syrian men and young boys pointing at the sky with mixed looks of anger and horror.

Residents had only recently returned to Saraqeb when I visited, after months of fleeing to neighboring towns or hiding in the surrounding mountains to escape the government's incessant shelling.

The broken streets, destroyed alleyways and decimated buildings were a testament to the government's onslaught. Saraqeb's main street was lined with bags piled seven feet tall full of sand to protect the storefronts from shrapnel. Like the other cities and towns I visited in “liberated” Syria, there were no government soldiers, no pictures of Bashar or government flags.

The only reminder of Baathist rule came in form of Russian shells, scud missiles and explosive barrels dropped from the skies above.

**“It Was Clear That The Syrians Did Not Welcome These Foreign Islamists And Viewed Them As An Evil”**

**Saraqeb is a city of two revolutions -- one against the Syrian government and the other against the “Islamiyeen,” the jihadists and al-Qaeda linked fighters.**

**Because of Saraqeb's size and strategic location at the junction of two major highways going to Aleppo, both Dawlat al-Islamiyya fil Iraq wal Sham (Islamic State of Iraq and Sham (ISIS)) and Jubhat al-Nusra converged to control it.**

**Yet where these fighters had succeeded in controlling smaller towns like Binish, they were met with resistance in Saraqeb.**

On one of my trips to Saraqeb, I stopped at a bakery and was met with the stares of approximately twenty male foreign fighters eating ice cream no less.

While I placed my order, a young foreign fighter wearing a turban, black eyeliner, military fatigues and an array of weapons interrupted me and told the Syrian storeowner in classical Arabic, “You are exploiting us with your ice cream prices.” The unarmed owner, far outnumbered by his foreign clientele, responded without fear, “Don't tell me that I am exploiting you. I need gas to operate the generator so you can buy ice cream. When you lower the price of gas, I will lower the price of my ice cream.” The foreign fighter muttered something about the coming of the Islamic era and walked out.

Through that interaction and others that I witnessed, it was clear that the Syrians did not welcome these foreign Islamists and viewed them as an evil, only second to the Syrian Regime and its allies.

**Indeed many Syrians suspected that there was a partnership of sorts between the “Islamiyeen” and the Regime.**

**“While the Regime constantly targets FSA military posts,” explained a Syrian man from Kafranbel, “it never targets the Jubhat or Dawlat's military posts.”**

**None of the Syrians I spoke with knew the exact nature of the relationship between the Regime and the “Islamiyeen” but they strongly believed the Regime wanted them in Syria.**

**“They substantiate the government's story that it is fighting terrorists,” explained one man.**

**“But rather than targeting them, the government shells us, its own people.”**

**The “Islamiyeen” also became the international community's scapegoat for declining to intervene in Syria or provide weapons to the moderate FSA.**

**“What, the Islamiyeen are only about 9,000 fighters while the FSA are about 100,000 fighters!” told me the same man.**

“Yet America only talks about the Islamiyeen as if everyone else in Syria doesn't count.”

And of course, the “Islamiyeen” have little loyalties to the Syrians in the “liberated” areas and justify their extremist views and harsh dealings on archaic notions of religion and religious statehood.

The Dawlat (ISIS) kidnapped a young Syrian videographer and activist I had met a day earlier because he wore a Metallica shirt and expressed irreligious sentiments in his private videos. To this day, his whereabouts remain unknown.

As I left the bakery, I jokingly asked my Syrian hosts if we had accidentally driven to Afghanistan rather than Saraqeb.

“Don't worry,” one of them responded, “they are not welcome here and we won't let them stay in Syria once the Regime falls.”

Had I been told in 2010 that the next time I visited Syria, it would be in the midst of a two and a half year Revolution, I would have surely scoffed.

Or in the face of that uprising, the Regime would kill over 100,000 (and counting) of its own citizens using chemical and other lethal weapons, and injure, maim, imprison and displace millions more.

That the seemingly apolitical and often physically unfit Syrian men of 2010 would come together in the ensuing two and a half years to form poorly-trained and poorly-equipped FSA brigades.

And indeed these men would fight government soldiers and tanks to “liberate” the towns and cities I visited in Northwestern Syria as well as other areas throughout Syria.

Or that the young women sitting in the cafes and students attending universities were soon-to-be hardened activists who would risk life and limb to stay in Syria, rather than travel abroad, and develop psychosocial programs for internally displaced families or free weekly magazines promoting democracy and civil society or schools for children who had not attended in over two years.

Nor could I have imagined the international community's reaction would be calculated inaction in the face of Russia, Iran and Hezbollah's unabashed financial and military support of the Syrian Regime.

**And had I known in 2010 that in seven months Syrians would rise up to demand freedom, chanting revolutionary slogans: “We won't kneel and we won't kneel. Bring your airplanes and your guns. But we won't kneel oh Bashar. This Revolution is a revolution of glory”, I would have paused -- even for a moment -- to bid farewell to a country that would be forever transformed and to those who would rise up only to find ultimate freedom in death.**

**But as the saying goes, hindsight is 20/20, and now in 2013 I finally know.**

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## **ANNIVERSARIES**

# **Liberation Anniversary: September 3, 1838 Frederick Douglass Made His Escape From Slavery: “It Is Not Light That Is Needed, But Fire”**



Frederick Douglass

Carl Bunin Peace History September 3-9

Frederick Douglass made his escape from slavery in Baltimore and went on in life to become an Abolitionist, journalist, author, and human rights advocate.

[During the Civil War, he pressed relentlessly for the enlistments of former slaves into the U.S. army, and when this was permitted, they served with honor and played an important role in defeating the slave-owning traitors who formed the Confederacy. T]

**Frederick Douglass:**

**“Find out just what people will submit to, and you have found out the exact amount of injustice and wrong which will be imposed upon them; and these will continue until they are resisted with either words or blows, or both. The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppress.”**

**“Power concedes nothing without demand. It never has and never will.”**

**“If there is no struggle, there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom, and deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground, they want rain without thunder and lightning.”**

**“The thing worse than rebellion is the thing that causes rebellion.”**

**“I have found that, to make a contented slave, it is necessary to make a thoughtless one.”**

**“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.”**

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## **September 4, 1970: Happy Anniversary: Operation Raw**



September 03, 2006 By Carl Bunin, Peace History Sept 4-10

**September 4, 1970**

**Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) began Operation RAW (Rapid American Withdrawal).**

**Over the following three days more than 200 veterans, assisted by the Philadelphia Guerilla Theater, staged a march from Morristown, New Jersey, to Valley Forge, Pennsylvania, reenacting the invasion of small rural hamlets along the way.**

**MORE:**

# ***Operation Raw***

## **From The Days When U.S. Soldiers Rebelled And Stopped A War**

[From GI Special 3D22: 11.22.05]

**By Joe Urgo, GI antiwar activist in Vietnam 1968**  
Letters To The Editor  
Revolutionary Worker, April 9, 1985

**It was Labor Day weekend 1970 — the end of summer when tradition in America is for friends and family to gather in back yards, beaches, and parks.**

**It was 10:30 a.m. in Doylestown, Pennsylvania and a company of infantry swept into town, seized and occupied the center of the city, setting up roadblocks and taking civilian prisoners.**

**Anyone fleeing was killed, the rest were tortured and then killed just for being there. The younger women were particularly manhandled and abused before being killed. At 10:45 a.m., once again on alert, the company marched south of the town, leaving a trail of bloody bodies and survivors standing in their yards and streets, mute with shock, unbelieving eyes fastened on the departing soldiers. Leaflets lay in the streets which said:**

**“A U.S. INFANTRY COMPANY JUST CAME THROUGH HERE.”**

**“If you had been Vietnamese:**

**—We might have burned your house.**

**—We might have shot your dog.**

**—We might have shot you.**

**—We might have raped the women.**

**—We might have turned you over to your government for torture.**

**—We might have taken souvenirs from your property.**

**—We might have shot things up a bit.**

**—We might have done all these things to you and your whole town.**

**“If it doesn’t bother you that American soldiers do these things every day to the Vietnamese simply because they are ‘gooks,’ then picture yourself as one of the silent victims. Help us to end the war before they turn your son into a butcher. . . or a corpse. Signed Vietnam Veterans Against the War.”**

With No Business As Usual Day fast approaching (and coming by coincidence right before the tenth anniversary of the U.S. defeat in Vietnam), I thought it was just the right time to recount this political action carried out by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

**This was Operation RAW (Rapid American Withdrawal), a four-day simulated, 90-mile search-and-destroy mission through eleven rural towns and villages from Morristown, New Jersey to Valley Forge, Pennsylvania.**

**By the end of four days 125 veterans and a few active-duty GIs had formed four platoons and two recon squads to reenact thirteen “incidents” like described above.**

It was “theater,” but these reenactments brought home a powerful political statement that shook up the stultifying atmosphere in the middle-America towns which had largely escaped the mass upsurges of the time.

Formed in 1968 to lobby, this was VVAW’s first breakout action to bring the war home. As Scott Moore, a member of its executive committee, said at a press conference: “The time for talk has come to an end for VVAW. We have been talking for three years to no avail. We are now proceeding on a course of action.” The discussion of planning leading up to it had asked the questions of how to break through the normal business as usual protests that had been going on, to shake things up and expose the truth.

**“Montgomeryville, PA., September 6, 1500 hours: We liberated a shopping center. The platoon surrounded it front and back and we took seven prisoners from the crowd. We interrogated them, then beat the shit out of them. After they’d been executed, we carried one girl who looked like she was fourteen over to the side of the road and mauled her with the butts of our rifles. Blood streamed down her head and soaked her torso. Maybe 150 cars passed by. Everyone looked, then turned aside. They didn’t look again. No one stopped. They couldn’t stand to look at the bloody little kid” (excerpt from the Camden, NJ Courier Post reporting on the demonstration).**

A local guerrilla theater company agreed to play the townspeople in the prearranged skits; towns and roads were mapped in advance so that as the company surrounded a home or a village — with walkie-talkies screaming and vets running all over the place, blood capsules bursting on library steps in front of meat stores — there was a sense of realism in the air as America’s safe hamlets were invaded. There could be no business as usual today.

**Though their rifles were toy props, most of the vets were not acting.**

**In a few cases they had been doing this for real only a short time before, and in several “incidents” they went right to the edge of reality in carrying out their mission.**



In town after town, and once by a county fair, homes were mock-burned, free fire zones formed, hostages taken for interrogation, and onlookers were given a taste of what the Vietnamese people were forced to live with.

None of the audience liked being called “round-eyed gooks,” offended by the sharp language of the leaflets being handed out. Reactions ranged from disbelief and shock to embarrassed laughter to damning U.S. involvement to some who thought the uniform was being disgraced.

Local communes and peace groups met the vets at different points with banners, signs, cars honking, fists out of windows. On September 5 this march met up with and camped with 60 members of the offshoot of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference called MAN, Making a Nation, who were themselves marching to the UN to protest American failure to sign the antigenocide bill.

The tempo picked up as the march neared the end and word spread of this “forced raid into America.” The vets themselves got strong in their determination to see it through. At night the campsites were not drunken beerfests but preparation of another type — political discussion over what was the next step, what should our objectives be, how to reach out to the millions of vets and GIs out there trying to figure this out also.

**This was sharp as there was a wide range of opinion — some were just basically opposed to Americans dying, with much discussion about the nature of imperialism, while others were revolutionaries working for the defeat of America. (All this with rotating night patrols on the perimeter -- — the campsite owners had been threatened by a local citizens committee, a car had tried to run someone down and a shotgun had been pointed out the window of a home along the route of march.)**

**The two sharpest points agreed to were (1) a series of objectives that drew the links between the racism and sexism to what America did around the world and that VVAW work toward getting all American soldiers and CIA out of every country in the world, and (2) a specific call to prepare for a series of war crimes investigations — the famous “Winter Soldier” hearings — to “place the blame where it properly belongs, on administration and military officials and all those who dictate policy and remain silent or profit from war.”**

As one vet summed up his feelings about the weekend: “the spirit that we would never again fight *for* America — America was the enemy that had to be stopped, that we were fighting as part of and for a different world — this became real on the march for me and became a guide for many vets later on.”

**By the last day, spirits were high as the vets encountered a last bit of opposition — a pitiful display of what America has to offer — the Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW), American Legion, and John Birch Society denouncing the vets for not being vets and calling people to god and country.**

**The vets laughed at this as they reached Valley Forge, Pennsylvania where they formed up on a hilt, single file along the top, “rifles” up for a final assault. They**

moved down the hill as if back in Vietnam sweeping through a rice paddy — angrily chanting for American withdrawal.

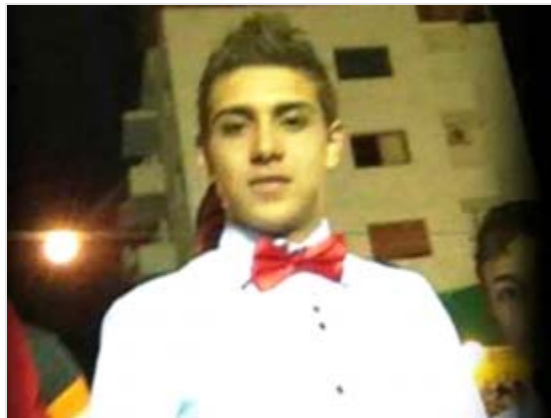
For the crowd of 1,500-2,000 at the rally site below — now standing up and cheering — the scene had a chilling' scary effect — a final sense of what it must have been like to be Vietnamese in Vietnam in 1970.

“Joe Urgo, GI antiwar activist in Vietnam 1968; former national officer of Vietnam Veterans Against the War; organizer for Winter Soldier Investigation and Dewey Canyon 3, 1971.”

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## **OCCUPATION PALESTINE**

**Another Palestinian Kid Killed By  
Zionist Occupiers, As Usual:  
“Karim Was On The Roof Of A House  
With Two Other Youths When Israeli  
Forces On The Street Below Fired Live  
Ammunition Toward”**



31 Aug 2013 Defence for Children International-Palestine Section

Ramallah

A Palestinian teen shot by Israeli forces with live ammunition during a night raid on Jenin refugee camp in the West Bank last week died of his wounds, Defence for Children International Palestine sources confirmed today.

Karim Abu Sabeeh, 17, became the third Palestinian teenager killed this year by Israeli forces in the West Bank.

The bullet struck Karim on his right side in the waist, causing damage to his right kidney, right lung, pancreas and intestines. Doctors had performed emergency surgery to remove his kidney and lung, and shrapnel from his chest, according to hospital sources.

**Early Monday morning, Karim was on the roof of a house with two other youths when Israeli forces on the street below fired live ammunition toward them from a distance of 50-60 meters (165-195 feet), according to an eyewitness. The two other youths also sustained injuries, with one transferred to Al Maqasid hospital in Jerusalem.**

**A Palestinian man, identified as Majd Lahlouh, 22, was killed during the incursion.**

Israeli officials said the shooting occurred as Israeli forces encountered and responded to violent protesters after they entered Jenin refugee camp to arrest a suspected member of Islamic Jihad, according to news reports. The Israeli military said further investigation into the incident was underway.

**At least 30 children have been shot and injured, including three killed, by live ammunition, rubber-coated metal bullets or tear-gas canisters since January 2013, based on DCI-Palestine research.**

This week, Israeli forces shot and killed three Palestinian men and injured more than a dozen others, among them four boys ages 16 and 17, during a night raid on Qalandia refugee camp, outside Ramallah, similar to what took place in Jenin.

In May 2013, the average number of civilians injured by live ammunition or rubber-coated bullets more than tripled compared to this time last year, according to the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA).

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**Three More Killed By Zionist  
Occupiers:  
“It Was Quiet Before They Shot  
Him”  
“He Looked Slaughtered, The Way  
An Animal Was Slaughtered”**

## “I Could Put My Hand In The Bullet Holes When I Was Holding Him”



Intersection in Qalandia refugee camp where Robin Zayed was killed on Monday morning by Israeli fire. (Photo: Allison Deger)

August 29, 2013 by Allison Deger, Mondoweiss.net

When Robin Zayed, 34, woke up Monday morning to the distinct crack of gunfire outside his Qalandia refugee camp bedroom window, it seemed like almost a lifetime ago that he was struggling to provide for his family.

Zayed has a wife and five kids, one daughter and four boys, and after five years in a contract position with the United Nations Refugee Works Agency (UNRWA), in 2011 he became a full-time employee and was able to buy a house.

Becoming a homeowner was no small achievement. He was still paying it off, but things had become routine and there was a comfort in that routine.

So finally when the shooting stopped, Zayed readied to get to work.

Yet within minutes he would be hit in the chest.

His death, and that of two others, Jihad Aslan, 21, and Younes Joujah, 22, then catalyzed a Palestinian Authority (PA) boycott of peace negotiations, a row between the UN and Israel, and a face-off between Ramallah protesters and Palestinian security forces outside of the government's compound.

"People, when they leave their houses in the morning it's to go out and live their lives, it's not to go out and die," said Zayed's uncle, Murad Jilal Zayed, 32. "When we open our doors we don't expect to see soldiers in our faces."

Yet even while walking the straight and narrow Zayed couldn't change the uneasy circumstances around him.

At 4:00 am that morning the first soldiers arrived in the camp. A 1,500 person rock-throwing confrontation against the soldiers ensued.

Israeli forces dressed in both uniforms and white undershirts with black cargo pants sprayed the camp with live-bullets.

One unit, witnesses said, entered the camp in an unmarked green-plated Palestinian car.

When it seemed like the militarized Jeeps were finally driving out of the camp after firing at people, building facades and cars, Zayed walked out of his house.

**Two were already dead and around 20 injured.**

**At 7:30am, Zayed peered around a corner that only five minutes before was in heat. He saw an Israeli Jeep driving away from him towards the exit of the camp.**

**Then, according to witnesses, neighbors of Zayed, a soldier shot him in the chest. He died instantly.**

**"It was quiet before they shot him," said Mohammed Leila Mizher, a neighbor who carried Zayed's lifeless body off the street.**

**"He looked slaughtered, the way an animal was slaughtered. I could put my hand in the bullet holes when I was holding him," he continued.**

Two days after Zayed's death his uncle Murad walked me through Qalandia.

It was the conclusion of the grieving period. A tent with plastic chairs and fold out tables were set up by the camp's entrance for male family members and friends. Officials from the PA gave speeches, and the head of the Palestinian Women's Martyrs Union spoke about the three killed as symbol of their burgeoning country.

Flags for Mahmoud Abbas's party Fatah rafted over the rows of mourners. Murad said lame duck Palestinian Prime Minister Rami Hamdallah had showed up the day before to pay his respects.

Mansaf was also served, a traditional rice and lamb dish for funerals and weddings. If one can afford an entire lamb for marriages the animal is served with its mouth open. But at wakes, it's closed; a singular heavy dish for both blessing and catastrophe.

Qalandia refugee camp is a short walk from the checkpoint of the same name, the main artery in and out of the northern West Bank for Palestinians. Because of its location, it is also host to all of the through-traffic to Ramallah, the seat of the PA.

Every day it's a jam and sometimes, once a week Israeli forces enter in cover of night and arrest one of the refugees.

That's how things started on Monday.

**Israel border police first entered the camp to arrest Yousef al-Khitab on suspicion of "terrorist activity," according to a representative from the Israeli military. Al-Khitab was former prisoner who was released just weeks ago in an Israeli goodwill gesture on the eve of the return to peace talks.**

According to al-Khitab's neighbor, the youth knew he was a wanted man.

"We are administered as part of Area C, so they (the IDF) can come in whenever they want," said Murad.

"When somebody is wanted," he continued, "they usually flee to Area A." But al-Khitab stayed in the camp. He didn't want to part from his wife and children to hideout in Ramallah.

Detaining al-Khitab should have been a routine operation, but it went astray.

Witnesses in the camp said the first unit of border police created a ruckus. A man who spoke with Mondoweiss on the condition of anonymity said he woke at 4:30 am for morning prayers, then drank coffee and read the Quran. What is usually the quietest part of the day was shattered by the screams of al-Khitab's younger brother Omar.

**Around 5:30 am the neighbor stuck his head out of his second floor bedroom window and spotted five Israeli forces with M16s on the street and stair entrance to the al-Khitab house.**

**Then soldiers dragged Omar from the house to the street where they beat him, said the neighbor.**

The noise roused sleeping Palestinians and some began pelting the police with stones.

By 6:30 am an IDF unit was dispatched.

**They entered the camp from two points, shooting live fire—no tear gas or rubber bullets, the standard crowd control dispersant.**

Palestinians threw stones, firebombs and chairs at them. The entire clash spread out in three directions at a T-intersection near the camp's exit flooding the streets with debris.

When Jihad Aslan heard the commotion he wanted to participate. His house is a few meters from al-Khitab's. "Anytime he heard clashes he was the first to come out," said the female members of his family. His mother, still in shock, had not spoken much of the past three days.

**Together the relatives said Aslan was shot in his left hand while throwing rocks.**

**"They blew his whole hand off," said his mother and aunts. "Then he reached out with his other hand and that is when they shot him dead."**

Aslan was the youngest of three brothers, all raised by a single mom. His dad parted for Panama before he was born and the two had never met.

"God have mercy on him, he was lovely to everyone," continued his relatives. They said he loved the martyrs and the Palestinian cause. Part of his national, or liberatory, ethic included helping others and he was said to have been kind to those in need because it fulfilled a duty for those ushering in a better future for the occupied Palestinian people.

Aslan had also spent three stints in an Israeli prison. Once for one year, once for eight months, and once for four months. He was 17 the first time he was arrested, but even before then he had run-ins with Israeli forces.

When he was 14 he was shot several times in the leg, rendering him partially disabled.

The father and brother of Younes Joujah who was also killed in the clash were not in Qalandia at the time of his death. His family was not available for comment and witnesses who spoke to Mondoweiss about the other killings did not see Joujah's death.

Hours after the three Palestinians were killed clashes erupted all over the West Bank and in Jerusalem. But it wasn't just the populace that responded.

The Palestinian leadership canceled a meeting in Jericho with Israeli officials that was part of the nine months of direct negotiations. Officially the meeting has not been rescheduled and it's unknown if the Kerry backed peace process can survive.

The UN for its part lambasted the attack. "UNRWA condemns the killing of its staff member and calls on all sides, at this delicate time, to exercise maximum restraint and to act in accordance with obligations under international law," said UNRWA's Chris Gunness.

**Israeli officials responded denouncing UNRWA for not speaking with the foreign ministry.**

"Quite aside from the fact that UNRWA did not even bother to approach any official Israeli sources for comment, its statement was rushed to the press while the violent riots were still raging in Qalandia," said the Israeli foreign ministry to Ynet News.

**However, before releasing its statement UNRWA maintains it did speak with Israeli officials from both the military and the ministry of foreign affairs.**

“The right hand of the Foreign Ministry needs to know what its left hand is doing,” said Guinness.

As well the UN dispatched a team from the UN Commission on Human Rights to investigate the deaths in Qalandia.

[To check out what life is like under a murderous military occupation commanded by foreign terrorists, go to: [www.rafahtoday.org](http://www.rafahtoday.org) The occupied nation is Palestine. The foreign terrorists call themselves “Israeli.”]

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## CLASS WAR REPORTS



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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.

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# DANGER: POLITICIANS AT WORK



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