

QuakerAction

Holding corporations to account



**American Friends
Service Committee**

afsc.org

New Jersey residents affected by immigration enforcement policies carry a paper chain symbolizing family togetherness. They visited Congress to lobby for an end to the immigrant detention bed quota, which lines the pockets of private corporations while separating loved ones and harming communities.

Iowa demonstrators make a statement against politicians "governing under the influence" of large corporations. Photo: AFSC/Jon Krieg



Who profits from oppression?

Friends,

Eighteenth century Quaker abolitionists Anthony Benezet and John Woolman observed that purchasing goods produced by enslaved people made slavery feasible. Among the first to advocate boycotting goods made with enslaved labor, they are an early example of Quakers using economic activism to nonviolently disrupt oppressive systems.

In 1826, Quakers in Delaware and Maryland rallied around the growing "free produce movement," opening a store in Baltimore that sold only goods made by free people (such as clothing, dry goods, shoes, soaps, ice cream, and candy). In the early 1830s, African-American men and women in Pennsylvania established their own free produce societies.

As seekers of justice, we must understand how our possessions are tied to injustice. When we trace the source of our goods, we can uncover—and affect—the root cause of the injustice. From these early examples, we learned that a public refusal to acquire unjustly produced goods is an effective way to disrupt oppression.

Boycott and divestment efforts were critical to ending apartheid in South Africa. In the 1980s, the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) led the Coca-Cola divestment campaign, part of a worldwide movement that took off in 1970, when Polaroid chemist Caroline

Hunter spotted a Polaroid photograph in a South African passbook. Black South Africans were not considered citizens and by law had to carry a passbook at all times. The passbook was not just a tool to restrict their movement, but a symbol of their oppression.

As an employee of Polaroid—considered a fairly progressive company—Caroline was concerned about the role her company was playing. "We really had some sense that no one is free until everyone is free, and we had a relationship with black people everywhere," she said. "As workers, we had a right to say what happened to our labor. So we started out by asking, 'What is Polaroid doing in South Africa?'"

Caroline asked Polaroid management for three things: to take Polaroid business out of South Africa; to announce that they were leaving because Polaroid was against apartheid; and to give their profits from South Africa to liberation movements.

Polaroid investigated, asking their workers in South Africa what they thought Polaroid should do to support them. For black South Africans, encouraging divestment was a crime punishable by death, so the workers said very little. Polaroid established fairer wages for employees but continued working in South Africa.

Caroline founded the Polaroid Workers Revolution-

ary Movement to pressure the company to divest. Polaroid finally withdrew from South Africa in 1977 and Caroline moved on to boycott and divestment campaigns aimed at other companies complicit in South African apartheid, including General Motors and Shell Oil.

In 2005, Palestinian civil society organizations issued a call to people of conscience to "launch broad boycotts, implement divestment initiatives, and to demand sanctions against Israel, until Palestinian rights are recognized in full compliance with international law." Heeding that call, in 2008, AFSC adopted an investment screen that resulted in our divestment from companies profiting from the occupation of Palestinian territory or complicit in human rights violations of Palestinians.

AFSC programs support related boycott and divestment initiatives in local communities and on college campuses, and we remain divested from U.S. companies like Hewlett Packard that supply technology used to restrict the movement of Palestinians.

Economic activism holds consumers, businesses, and organizations accountable for the effects of their actions. It makes visible those who are impacted by harmful business practices. Economic activism is an effective nonviolent approach for reaching out to the best in others and

calling them to right action.

At its best, economic activism does not demonize people, but raises their awareness of the issues and invites them to take a moral stand, to engage in practices that benefit the whole community. In the process, it creates pressure to change the larger systems and structures that allow—and even promote—oppression and injustice.

Quaker abolitionist John Woolman advised us to "Look upon our treasure, the furniture of our houses, and our garments, and try whether the seeds of war have nourishment in these our possessions." This issue of Quaker Action includes many stories about communities holding companies and the people who run them to account when they stray from the standards of justice and moral behavior required to create and sustain peace.

I invite you to join us in this work.



In peace,

Shan Cretin
General Secretary

In this issue



Profiting from violence

Militaristic approaches to U.S. domestic and international policies funnel taxpayer money out of communities and into corporate coffers. Companies pulling in these profits have an outsized voice in capitals across the country. Following the money, we see just how much lobbying is behind legislation like Arizona's SB 1070 and the 2013 Senate immigration bill.

- ▶ **Page 4:** Border communities want humane change
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- ▶ **Page 10:** Infographic: Worldwide effects of corporate lobbying
- ▶ **Page 11:** Presidential hopefuls go on the record



Doing things differently

Page 12: The social and environmental impact of rapid development in some Southeast Asian countries has led to displacement, violence, and even civil war. When foreign investors engage in dialogue with local communities, their actions can contribute to conditions for peace, instead of conflict.

Moral imagination

Page 15: Early staffers of AFSC's National Action/Research on the Military Industrial Complex (NARMIC) took inspiration from John Woolman on their quest to educate the public about U.S. complicity in the Vietnam War.



Paying for a militarized border

In 2013, the U.S. public was expecting humane and fair immigration reform—not increased border militarism and guaranteed profits for defense contractors.

Protecting families and human rights—while creating a clear path to legal status—topped the list of demands of immigrant rights activists, including the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), in early 2013, when both political parties ardently promised better immigration policies.

But S.744, the “immigration bill” passed by the Senate in June, fell far short of humane reform, with no pathway to citizenship for the majority of undocumented immigrants and with increased border security as its centerpiece.

“Security” on the ground
The realities of excessive Border Patrol force are impossible to ignore in San Diego, where the militarized U.S./Mexico border flanks the city.

An active immigrant-rights coalition keeps migrants and the border community informed of their rights and involved in changing local, regional, and national

laws. As part of that work, AFSC’s Adriana Jasso accompanies people who have experienced Border Patrol violence, including some who have lost family members. (Since 2010, 28 people have died as a result of documented excessive force by Border Patrol officers—and there are very likely others that went undetected.)

When the Senate passed S.744, Adriana said that the astounding investments in the “border militarization industrial complex” would mean “billions for defense contractors and continuing crisis for people on both sides of the border.”

The bill was packed with references to specific manufacturers’ electronic surveillance equipment and aircraft and called for pumping \$46 million more into such purchases.

Adriana expressed great concern that the Senate doubled down on border militarization, “despite hearing directly from [border] communities about the impacts of living in an area dominated by militarization.”

It was clear that Senators were responding to some voices lobbying for change—but not to the people most vulnerable to the violence.

Following the money
Looking at lobbyists’ activities as reported under the Lobbying Disclosure Act, AFSC zeroed in on the influence of cash-carrying corporations during Senate immigration debates.

“During the 91 most important dates in which S. 744 was being deliberated and during its actual passage in the Senate, three companies—Northrop Grumman, United Technologies, and EADS North America—spent a total of approximately \$74,000 per day on lobbying activities,” says Lia Lindsey, policy impact coordinator with AFSC. “And there are other activities that aren’t required to be disclosed to the public.”

Conversation shifts
During those three months of intense corporate lobbying, the national conversation shifted. The emphasis on humane reform took a back seat to controlling the border, and community activists felt pressure to take whatever small improvements they could get.

“Often there’s a cycle in Washington of responding to what the pundits say has to happen in order to move something,” says Aura Kanegis, AFSC’s director of advocacy and public policy. “The boon in the immigration reform bill for private prison companies and for military contractors was billed as something that had to happen in order to get the measure passed in the House.”

Despite the compromises to increase border security proposals and reduce provisions providing relief to immigrants, the bill died in the House, and the U.S. public is still waiting for immigration policy reform.

AFSC’s approach is not to compromise on human rights for short-term measures. Instead, we create avenues for lawmakers and policy advisers to hear from people who are directly affected by the legislation.

AFSC-organized delegations from San Diego and Newark have visited Washington in recent months to lobby federal lawmakers—telling stories of detention, deportation, family separation, and the harmful impacts of increased border security. As the presidential primary campaigns get underway in Iowa and New Hampshire, AFSC is challenging candidates to take a stance on corporate influence on border policies [read more on page 11].

The drive for profits generates time and money to influence public policy—but surely it’s not stronger than the moral imperative to protect human rights. ■

—AFSC STAFF

For more on AFSC’s work to stop the militarization of the U.S./Mexico border, go to afsc.org/border.



Jeanette Vizguerra and her daughter Luna lead chants at AFSC’s monthly vigil at the GEO detention facility in Aurora, Colorado. Photo: AFSC/Gabriela Flora

Stopping prison privatization

Current U.S. prison and immigrant detention practices violate basic human rights and dignity. Private companies that profit from incarceration are working to expand the detention and surveillance industries, but people with experience behind bars are helping AFSC expose the realities of privatizing these already inhumane systems.

It was five in the morning, or maybe four, when the guard woke up Jeanette Vizguerra and the other women—screaming at them, calling them pigs, and accusing them of lazily lying in bed as if they were in a hotel. The early wakeup was business as usual at the for-profit South Texas Detention Complex, but the

guard’s actions that morning upset Jeanette. “It made me indignant,” she says, “because I didn’t think we as human beings should be treated that way.”

Jeanette reported the incident to the lieutenant in charge, saying that the women needed respect. He listened, and suggested she



JUSTICE FOR ANASTASIO

Anastasio Hernandez Rojas died in 2010 after Border Patrol agents brutally beat and attacked him with a stun gun. His family now advocates for increased Border Patrol accountability. More at afsc.org/anastasio.



Above left: Felipe Alaniz, with wife Carla Torrones, prepares to speak to gathered family, community members, and faith leaders asking U.S. Customs and Immigration Services to reconsider his visa application. Above right: AFSC holds monthly vigils at the Aurora GEO Center. Led by AFSC's Jennifer Piper, community members commit to one another to stay connected and work in community to change a system that profits from tearing apart families. *Photos: AFSC/Gabriela Flora*

not take it personally. She filed a report, for which the repercussion was the guard threatening her with solitary confinement. The lieutenant stepped in, knowing that Jeanette had a community on the outside organizing to support her, and changed the guard's assignment. Jeanette was released a few weeks later, but the mistreatment inside hadn't changed for any of the women. It wasn't Jeanette's first time in a for-profit immigrant detention center, and until conditions change, she will keep demanding an end to the abuse.

Like Jeanette, Felipe Alaniz has spent time in the for-profit Aurora GEO Detention Center in Colorado. In his case, a false plea to a drug charge came back to haunt him. (While he was at a bar in 1992, someone discarded a cocaine stash when police walked in. The police claimed it was his, and his lawyer advised him to plead guilty, so he did.) Twenty years later, Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) considers him a criminal. The charges kept him locked up in the GEO detention center for 16 months, away from his family and unable to make a living.

Inside GEO, the food makes people sick. "Sometimes they gave us boiled eggs that they didn't boil," says Felipe. "When you crack the egg, the yolk and everything comes out." Jeanette says it took several weeks after her release for her stomach to recover from the food. She says, "I've even asked myself, 'Do they put something bad in the food that causes people to be sick?'"

When someone is sick, crying, and asking for a doctor, the guards just give out ibuprofen.

For about \$1 a day, people can choose to work—staffing the cafeteria and cleaning the showers. People use that dollar a day to call their families and legal representatives—at 10 cents per minute plus surcharges up to \$1.50 per minute—or to purchase basic personal care items to supplement the small supplies of soap and shampoo issued each week. Four days' wages will buy one tube of toothpaste for \$3.50.

"The private facility is making money off of us, and the conditions should be better," says Jeanette. She decided early on that she would not contribute to their profits—that she wouldn't buy anything from the store.

She's talked to other women about this. "I explain to them that we should not be doing voluntary work and not be buying things inside," she says. "I explain how it all works, and how these corporations work and how they're making all this money.

"Some people say, 'I have to do this because I don't have anyone putting money in my account, and I have to talk to my family and be able to buy things so I can function.'"

An industry built to incarcerate

Detaining immigrants is the most profitable form of incarceration in the United States—the world's leader in imprisonment, where \$60.3 billion is spent annually to keep 2.4 million people behind bars in prisons, jails, and detention centers.

In 2013, U.S. taxpayers paid an average of \$5.34 million each day to run 250 immigrant detention centers like Colorado's GEO Center and the South Texas Detention Complex. Business stands to increase as federal and state laws further criminalize aspects of immigration.

There are three major private players in the business of immigrant detention: GEO Group, Corrections Corporation of America (CCA), and the Management and Training Corporation (MTC). Each one reports revenues well over \$1 billion, with a significant portion coming from ICE. In 2013, ICE contracts brought in \$240 million for GEO. Other corporations profit by providing food, medical care, transportation, and telephone services inside prisons and detention centers. As Jeanette's story shows, some of their profit comes directly from the pockets of the people they are imprisoning.

Through years of lobbying in Washington, D.C., [see infographic on page 10] and millions of dollars spent on public relations campaigns, prison profiteers have built the perception that not only does the U.S. need more space to house so-called "criminals," but also that privately run facilities are safer and more cost effective than public facilities.

Creating this narrative is good business sense, as CCA stated in its 2012 annual report to shareholders: "Our growth is generally dependent upon our ability to obtain new contracts to develop and manage new correctional and detention facilities."

Immigrant detention is a growth op-

portunity for for-profit prison companies, expanding their business model from state and federal prisons.

Countering the "prisons improve communities" narrative

Matthew Lowen has been pushing back against prison expansion in Arizona for nearly a decade, joining a tradition of American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) staff dating back to 1981. Working with program director Caroline Isaacs, a national expert on the private prison industry, Matthew is practiced at dispelling the disinformation that for-profit prisons spread in communities.

"CCA or GEO Group will go into an economically depressed community where there's a high unemployment rate—in old mining towns—and say, 'What would really be great for your community is a prison!'" Promising construction and guard jobs—"they have a whole spiel about how great it is," says Matthew—and citing increasing incarceration rates, the company often convinces the community to finance the facility's construction. If no contract is secured to keep the beds filled, the town is stuck with the construction debt. If the beds are filled, the corporation keeps the profits.

"Historically, we have fought back by keeping our ear to the ground about potential inroads that companies like CCA and GEO Group are trying to make," says Matthew, describing how AFSC has mobilized resistance to proposed prison sites. "We really quickly go and talk to the people making the decisions, and see if we can change their minds. We often run around to different small towns in Arizona and speak at public hearings."

Becoming a prison town is no way to feed and pay families. While a prison can bring in some new capital, families feel the effect of a parent or sibling working in a violent, painful, suffering environment. "It's not uncommon for rates of drug abuse and domestic violence to go up when you introduce a prison economy to a town," Matthew says. "The fact that the primary economic development that Arizona has been offering rural towns for years are working in prisons or working in the Border Patrol is terrible—it's often the only work avail-

able to people who want to work hard."

In rural areas outside of the Phoenix-Flagstaff-Tucson corridor that cuts down the middle of Arizona, getting people to show up to hearings has always been a challenge. Matthew remembers one public

"The dehumanization of people caught in the immigration and criminal justice systems is at the root of the problem."

—GABRIELA FLORA

hearing where CCA filled the room with 100 of their staff, all in uniform. "Maybe five or ten of our volunteers, friends, and colleagues were there to speak out against it, and CCA had other community members lined up to speak in favor of the prison," he says. "They had a point—in that town, CCA is so embedded in the infrastructure and economy. If they were to leave, the economy would be devastated."

Disentangling state policies and prison profiteering

For-profit prison privatization is not only deeply entrenched in Arizona's economy, it has also achieved great influence on the government. The state spent 11 percent of its 2013 operating budget on prisons, making the Arizona Department of Corrections one of the biggest state agencies, ahead of higher education. Thirteen percent of the state's prison population is housed in private facilities.

Privatization continues despite dramatic evidence that it is costly in both dollars and human lives. Private prisons operating

in Arizona are not saving taxpayers money, Caroline Isaacs demonstrated in AFSC's 2012 report "Private Prisons: The Public's Problem." And in "Death Yards: Continuing Problems with Arizona's Correctional Health Care," released in 2013, she showed that privatization of medical and mental-health services is one factor contributing to an alarming increase in inmate deaths and to deteriorating healthcare in the state's prisons. Research on privatized corrections nationwide shows that medical neglect, staff mistreatment, and higher rates of assault and violence are consistent across the board.

Not all of the 12 private prisons in Arizona house state prisoners (some have contracts with federal agencies like ICE and U.S. Marshals), but once the beds are built, it's in the shareholders' best interest to secure contracts that turn into profit.

Anti-immigrant policies mean more people to put in those beds.

The many connections between the for-profit prison industry and the governor's office raised eyebrows in 2010 when Gov. Jan Brewer supported Arizona's controversial immigrant profiling and detention law SB1070. Citing public records and investigative reports on political campaign donations, AFSC has shown that both the governor's office and legislators are connected with the for-profit prison industry.

Despite the odds, grassroots advocates have had success. By forcing the issue into the spotlight, AFSC succeeded in stalling a plan to contract 5,000 new private prison beds and ultimately reduced the number to only 1,000 in 2012. This year, AFSC stopped a \$900,000 prison handout that a state representative tried to sneak into the state budget.

Through an urgent action network of people ready to call their legislators and respond to opinion pieces in the news, AFSC and our allies have been able to counter the

WANT TO HELP? EDUCATE AND ACT.

Prison privatization is outrageous, but it is only one part of larger systems of oppression. Visit afsc.org/key-issues for facts, reflections, and action guides on issues like mass incarceration, the detention and deportation pipeline, and corporate power.



Caroline Isaacs speaks at a rally urging former U.S. Senator Dennis DeConcini to step down from the CCA Board of Directors, which he did in May 2014. Photo: Chris Summitt

industry’s influence on state policy. They argue that Arizona doesn’t need more prisons, can’t afford the added costs of privatizing prisons, and can’t believe the claims of companies that run them.

These tactics from Arizona came into play in New Hampshire in 2013, when the New Hampshire Prison Watch Coalition invited Caroline to speak at locations around the state that had been floated as private-prison sites. The coalition, organized by AFSC’s Arnie Alpert and allies from several partner organizations, was eventually able to shift public opinion so dramatically that state lawmakers decided to freeze plans to privatize corrections in the state.

But stopping new prison construction is not enough. “There are also public monies to be made in the alternatives to incarceration,” explains Matthew. “Some states are moving toward increased parole, treatment facilities, halfway houses. The industry is now looking at these as a growth opportunity.” Another profitable alternative on the rise is electronic surveillance.

And immigrant detention continues to offer money-making opportunities. Unlike prisons, which in theory have a rehabilita-

tive mission, detention centers are mostly intended to hold people for short periods of time. “The high turnover means they can offer less programming and have less issues of medical care to deal with—it means there is less likelihood that they’ll have to incur those costs,” says Matthew. “It’s one more reason why these companies can make a lot of money.”

The fundamental human right to fair treatment

Money talks in politics. But when does the immorality of imprisoning people for profit reach a breaking point?

The dehumanization of people caught in the immigration and criminal justice systems is at the root of the problem, says Gabriela Flora, an organizer with AFSC in Denver who supports Jeanette and Felipe in their personal immigration cases and in their advocacy for changes to the system. The path to prison is riddled with racial and ethnic disparities, and immigrants can be detained for committing only a civil offense of entering the country without papers.

Questions of legal infractions aside, labels like “convict,” “inmate,” “prisoner,” “detainee,” and “illegal alien” enable popu-

lar discourse to forget that we are talking about fellow human beings.

Racial injustice undergirds the system, but it’s not evident from just looking at the surface.

“It’s very fear-based,” says Lia Lindsey, a policy analyst with AFSC’s Office of Public Policy and Advocacy in Washington, D.C., about common anti-immigrant narratives that blame newcomers for fueling or causing larger social issues like drug abuse and the economic downturn. “We view [the criminalization of people for crossing the border] as fundamentally racist because it’s targeting people of color who are fleeing violence in their communities and are looking for a way to make a living. They are being targeted and locked up.”

Lia draws a parallel with the “War on Drugs” in the 1980s, when the fear-mongering story was “people of color are selling crack to children and robbing old ladies in alleyways.” Racial profiling and “more insidious assumptions that people of color are constantly engaging in criminal activity” continue, and they mean that more people of color than whites are charged. (Studies consistently show racial bias in arrest patterns. A recent ACLU report on

2010 marijuana arrests nationally found that despite roughly equal usage rates across races, blacks are 3.73 times more likely than whites to be arrested for marijuana possession.) With today’s mandatory minimums and disparate sentencing laws, racial disparity in mass incarceration is on the rise.

National attention on immigration reform in the past year has brought up questions about the whole private-prison industry, thrusting prison profiteers into the spotlight and giving organizations like AFSC an opportunity to change the narrative around mass incarceration and immigrant detention.

AFSC has a long history of accompanying immigrant communities, working to end racism, and advocating for fundamental changes to the U.S. criminal justice system. Prison privatization is where those issues intersect. In Colorado and elsewhere, immigrant-rights advocates are reaching out to prison activists to connect their issues around the criminalization of people of color.

Lia Lindsey represents AFSC in several coalitions that meet with members of Congress to discuss these issues. Often, AFSC and the Friends Committee on National Legislation (FCNL) are the only faith-based groups in the room. Secular groups in their coalitions often turn to them to speak from a moral ground. “We are able to rise above the tensions and bring people to a common narrative,” she says. “We can say, ‘How are we treating our fellow human beings?’”

“Once you get past cost analysis and policy goals, it comes down to how we treat each other,” she says. “Everyone has a fundamental right to fair, humane treatment regardless of whether they’re currently incarcerated or

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The immigrant detention and deportation pipeline hurts families while generating profits for private companies. In July, immigrant children and families told Washington lawmakers how current policies affect them, asking for policy changes that would keep families together. Photo: AFSC/Carl Roose

are undocumented immigrants.”

AFSC also has credibility in those conversations because Lia can point to the advocacy and experiences of Jeanette, Felipe, and Gabriela in Colorado; Caroline and Matthew’s watchdogging in Arizona; and Arnie’s public education success in New Hampshire. “We can speak from direct experience. It gives us great credibility to say we have a footing in the affected communities,” she explains.

The challenge comes back to money. In state legislatures and community hearings, corporations vie for contracts by lobbying, but in Washington, it plays out on a massive scale. “They have hundreds of lobbyists that do this every day,” says Lia, citing research reported by Salon. “It makes sense—this is the livelihood of these companies. For them, engaging in relationship-building is a good investment. The payout is so great.”

Focusing on educating policymakers and their staff, Lia and AFSC partners Justice Strategies, Detention Watch Network, ACLU, Federal Prison Privatization Working Group, Grassroots Leadership, and The

Sentencing Project are working to counter the narrative that private prison companies have promoted for years. With only a handful of people lobbying against privatization on the federal level—and none focused on it full-time—it’s “very much a David and Goliath fight,” says Lia.

Striving for security

Working together, people committed to change are making a difference.

Felipe and his family spent the summer in limbo, waiting for a decision on his application for a U-Visa, a special visa for victims of crime. While waiting, he couldn’t work, and didn’t know what would happen if his application was denied.

“I want to work and work. I want to do countertops, marble, and granite like I did before—and open a little shop, hire three or four guys,” he says. “I came to the U.S. to work, to support my family. I don’t want to get rich. I just want to have enough for food and stuff like that.”

One night in August, Felipe called Gabriela to let her know his good news—that his application had finally been approved.

Amid the celebration, Gabriela said, “It has been a very long, hard road for him and his family, but because they kept organizing and fighting with support from AFSC and the community, they won in the end.” ■

—NEAH MONTEIRO

Go to afsc.org/profitteering to:

- Sign Jeanette’s petition
- Read AFSC’s Arizona prison reports
- Share resources with your online networks
- Donate to support AFSC work

Governing under the influence

Private companies invest millions in lobbying for policies that guarantee profits regardless of the human cost.

CCA: Corrections Corporation of America
DHS: Department of Homeland Security
DOD: Department of Defense
GEO: The GEO Group Inc.
ICE: Immigration and Customs Enforcement Agency

MONEY SPENT ON LOBBYING

INCARCERATION

GEO spent \$460,000 on lobbying in 2013.

CCA and GEO have spent over \$31 million on lobbying since 2002.

CCA spent \$1.2 million on lobbying in 2013.

MILITARISM

Lockheed Martin spent over \$14 million on lobbying in 2013 and has spent over \$188 million since 1998.

Boeing spent over \$15 million on lobbying in 2013 and over \$190 million since 1998.

Northrop Grumman spent over \$20 million on lobbying in 2013, and over \$213 million since 1998.

Raytheon spent over \$7 million in lobbying in 2013, and over \$83 million since 1998.

BORDER SECURITY

In the two months the Senate was debating the "Border Security, Economic Opportunity, and Immigration Modernization Act," defense contractor Northrop Grumman spent over \$35 million on lobbying.

During the same two-month period in 2013, United Technologies spent \$2.29 million on lobbying.

POLICY IMPACTS

Independently and through their participation in the American Legislative Exchange Council, GEO and CCA successfully engage members of Congress on issues that increase their bottom line, such as enacting mandatory minimum sentencing and three-strikes policies.

GEO and CCA operate over 130 private prisons. The number of privately operated prisons has gone up by 1660% from 1990 to 2010.

Because of the federal "immigrant bed mandate," ICE is required to detain 34,000 immigrants on any given day.

The DOD has invested \$1.5 trillion in the F-35 fighter jet. Manufactured by Lockheed Martin, it is the most expensive weapons system in history.

In 2011, Boeing and others successfully lobbied for the passage of a bill opening up U.S. airspace for unmanned drones.

The DOD received \$586.9 billion in the 2014 federal budget. Overall national security spending is on track to top \$1 trillion in 2015.

The Senate passes the 2013 bill, but only after \$46 billion for "border security" was added to the legislation. (The bill died in the house.)

The federal government spent almost \$18 billion on immigration enforcement agencies in 2012 alone.

RESEARCH: ADY SIMWERAYI AND LAYNE MULLETT
DESIGN: EMILY COHANE-MANN
SOURCES CITED AT: AFSC.ORG/INFLUENCE-INFOGRAPHIC

CORPORATE PROFITS

In 2010, CCA reported \$1.17 billion in revenue, 43% of which was generated through contracts with the federal government. Many of these contracts are for detaining people charged with immigration violations.

Together, CCA and GEO had revenue of \$3.3 billion in 2012.

For-profit prison corporations run nearly half of the beds in immigration detention centers.

In 2013 alone, DOD contracts paid out over 19 billion taxpayer dollars to Lockheed Martin, another \$19 billion to Boeing, \$13 billion to Raytheon, and \$12 billion to Northrop Grumman.

The bill specifically orders DHS to purchase six Northrop Grumman-manufactured radar systems totaling over \$55 million.

The bill specifically orders DHS to purchase Blackhawk Helicopters from United Technologies at a cost of \$250 million.

REAL-WORLD CONSEQUENCES

The federal government spends almost \$2 billion annually on detaining immigrants, many of whom are housed in facilities operated by CCA and GEO. The Federal Bureau of Prisons spends over \$6 billion annually to keep people behind bars. (This is just a small portion of the approximately \$70 billion spent annually on incarceration in the U.S. Corporate lobbying influences state policies, too—read more on page 5.)



Harsh sentencing policies and immigration laws mean the U.S. holds over 2.4 million people behind bars—more than any other country in the world.

U.S. militarism fuels seemingly endless war across the world. Over 1 million Iraqi civilians have been killed since the U.S.-led invasion in 2003.



At least 2,400 people have been killed by President Obama's drones program, including as many as 200 children in Pakistan.

Since the 1993 establishment of border control policies, at least 7,000 immigrants have lost their lives attempting to cross the U.S./Mexico border.



WE'RE CHANGING THE CONVERSATION IN 2016

Asking candidates early on in the presidential nominating process for their stance on important issues can influence the national conversation in 2016.

In the lead-up to the first caucuses in Iowa and the first primary in New Hampshire, AFSC will shine a spotlight on the excessive influence of major corporations. Our staff in Iowa and New Hampshire have already begun training local activists to "bird-dog" the candidates, asking questions at public forums about the impacts of corporate money on policy.

Nationally, we will promote and amplify facts that show how corporate influence creates dangerous policies, and that militarism, incarceration, and detention destabilize communities in the U.S. and across the globe.

Asian companies invest in peace

Foreign companies' rapid development in the least developed countries of Southeast Asia has fanned the flames of several local conflicts during the past decade. Thanks to efforts by AFSC and its partners, companies are beginning to consult local communities before they build—and as corporations prioritize peace, local communities are benefiting.

When beginning many of Myanmar's multi-million dollar hydropower projects, foreign investors have secured contracts with the government without consulting communities. Violence and even civil war has erupted around these projects, particularly those built in areas adjacent to cease-fire lines between armed groups.

Conflict is regularly exacerbated in this way by foreign investment projects in Southeast Asia's least developed countries—Myanmar, Laos, and Cambodia—where companies from China, Japan, and South Korea have all advanced major infrastructure, real estate, and natural resource projects in the last decade.

Myanmar, Laos, and Cambodia stand to benefit from the influx of overseas investment—but there is work to be done to transform cross-border investments from drivers of violent conflict into forces for peace and well-being.

AFSC, in working closely with local civil society partners, has recognized that foreign investors start projects without considering local conflict dynamics.

Businesses from China (the top foreign investor in all three countries) generally follow Chinese foreign policy protocols that

emphasize engagement with government. As a result, they have no interaction with civil society leaders and grassroots peacebuilders. Governments dissuade companies from interacting with civil society in some contexts, especially Laos.

In Cambodia, foreign businesses dealing directly with government officials knowingly or unknowingly finance projects that displace communities and privatize critical natural resources.

In reaction, many civil society organizations in Myanmar, Laos, and Cambodia have worked to advance public awareness campaigns and advocacy around development projects and displacement issues.

“We do not have any other option besides protest,” said one NGO representative. “Only by protesting can we get companies to listen to our concerns.”

AFSC found that few organizations protesting development had fair channels or

Building without considering the dynamics of local conflict increased the risk of violence for local armed groups and the businesses' employees.

“We never really thought about the relationship between our operations and conflict or that partnering with civil society might help us prevent conflict,” one senior Chinese manager based in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, told AFSC staff.

The lack of a strong legal framework and social and environmental safeguards have resulted in repeated displacement and conflict at the community level, particularly when land rights are concerned.

the necessary know-how to engage companies in open dialogue. They could not help them analyze local contexts and build approaches to prevent conflict. Predictably, the lack of open dialogue built up tensions as development progressed.

The result is that Chinese managers often see local NGOs as obstacles to investments. “We have built roads and schools,” a Chinese manager in Cambodia said, “but these organizations...block roads, kidnap-



Experts from China, Cambodia, Myanmar, and Laos visit the resettlement site of a dam project to assess impacts on the environment and communities.



Investment and community conflict are discussed at an AFSC-facilitated meeting bringing together government officials from China, Myanmar, Laos, and Cambodia with local Lao civil society.

ping workers or even attacking us.”

Building without considering the dynamics of local conflict increased the risk of violence for local armed groups and the businesses’ employees. And in one study that AFSC reviewed, researchers found that interruptions from conflict cost a \$3 billion mining project about \$20 million each week. These statistics quickly caught the attention of AFSC government partners in Northeast Asia.

Starting in 2011, AFSC began building partnerships and developing resources to open dialogue among businesses, civil society, and communities. In particular, representatives of the Chinese Academy for International Trade and Economic Cooperation and the Chinese Chamber of Commerce in Cambodia recognized the need for new and different approaches, and began working with AFSC and its local civil society partners in Southeast Asia.

Working with think tanks associated with the Chinese Ministry of Commerce, the National Development and Reform Commission, and the Ministry of Environmental Protection, AFSC has initiated cooperative research on a number of cases involving investments in conflict sensitive areas in Southeast Asia.

Representatives from these Chinese partner organizations, who have traveled to conflict hotspots, identified a key gap in company operating procedures: the lack of any tools or guidance with respect to conflict. On the basis of this finding, AFSC and partners in China and Southeast Asia have

developed resources on conflict sensitivity for Chinese investors.

In September 2013, these efforts led to the Beijing New Academy of Transnational Corporations (NATC) publishing a book that is now helping to transform these oth-

AFSC and partners in China and Southeast Asia have developed resources on conflict sensitivity for Chinese investors.

erwise unhealthy and dangerous dynamics.

The book, “Out of the Mine Fields and Blind Areas of Overseas Investment Security,” incorporates careful research on the relationship between business and conflict in Myanmar. It was developed in collaboration among AFSC staff; technical experts from the Corporate Engagement Program of CDA, a Boston-based peacebuilding organization; and a range of grassroots peace builders from Myanmar, Cambodia, and Angola.

The book’s prescription for preventing conflict: adopt a range of techniques to strengthen consultation and relationships with local communities. “During the initial stages of a project, many investors lack knowledge of the local situation, and their activities can unintentionally exacerbate conflict,” it states. “In extreme cases, a project might advance the interests of one party in a way that can transform latent social cleavages into violent conflict.”

Published in Chinese by the China Economic Publishing House, the book of-

fers Chinese companies guidance on how to engage in conflict-sensitive investment, emphasizing the importance of building strong relationships with grassroots actors.

AFSC and NATC have shared the book with business leaders in Cambodia and Myanmar. Some Chinese businesses in Cambodia have already begun to apply the principles by training staff in conflict analysis and business guidelines. One company manager based in Cambodia reported back that it had established a grievance department to accept complaints from communities, and sought AFSC’s assistance in organizing meetings with local NGOs and community members in Cambodia.

New partnerships like this are helping AFSC’s East Asia Quaker International Affairs Program to promote conflict-sensitive approaches to business across Asia and transform foreign investment into a force for peace.

At an AFSC-facilitated meeting in 2013, a Myanmar NGO participant noted, “We can help Chinese investors and the general public understand the risks of operating in Myanmar, and the need for social and environmental protections...however this will mean finding a way to do things differently.” With AFSC’s help, companies and NGOs are finding ways to do this. ■

—JASON TOWER

Jason has lived in China since the late 1990s and has extensive experience working across Asia. He has worked with AFSC since 2008. He is program representative for the East Asia Quaker International Affairs Program, which works on engagement and research with China on sustainable development in Southeast Asia; regional engagement on conflict-sensitive development practices; research on and dialogue with China on its involvement in UN peacebuilding and conflict-prevention processes; and research and advocacy around the evolving peace and security environment in the Asia-Pacific region.



Meeting in the early days of NARMIC. Pictured, from left: Diana Roose, John Lampert, Eva Gold, Gladys Taylor, and David Goodman. Photo: AFSC Archives

For two decades, a group of AFSC researchers uncovered and exposed the truth about the U.S. defense industry, from its economic power in U.S. communities to profits from wars waged abroad.

We sometimes fail to recognize injustice when it is imposed through systems that benefit us. But when facts and stories reveal those injustices and we see their consequences in human terms, the truth opens the way to action.

Warfare became less visible during the course of the Vietnam War as the U.S. developed technologies that moved battle from ground combat to air attacks. Fewer American casualties and fewer troops on the ground meant stories of war’s atrocities were muted back on U.S. soil.

But in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia, new chemical and biological weapons left millions maimed and suffering.

The U.S. had spent \$3 billion developing its automated air war systems before Congress or the public learned of it in 1969. Worried about the deepening hold of the military-industrial complex on American society, AFSC and antiwar activists across the country felt compelled to expose the role of U.S. corporations in the air war.

It was in this atmosphere that Fay “Honey” Knopp (1918–1995) and AFSC peace education secretary Stewart Meacham (1911–1985) approached AFSC’s leadership about creating a research collective that would publish materials for public education on the power of U.S. militarism.

They called it the National Action/Research on the Military In-

dustrial Complex—NARMIC. The idea of “action/research” was to uncover and publish facts for the purpose of action. Their goal was to research companies profiting from the Vietnam War and publish material that antiwar activists could use to put pressure on various aspects of U.S. society.

AFSC assembled a team of recent college graduates—a few from Quaker backgrounds, and many who were graduates of Earlham College. “They were all frenetic and worked long hours,” remembers Bob Eaton, a draft resister on the AFSC Board of Directors at the time.

From the start, the NARMIC researchers drew inspiration from Quaker abolitionist John Woolman and his relentless reminders to see and take responsibility for injustice imposed through economic systems.

“The phrase ‘moral imagination’ was used a lot,” Bob recounted in 1989. He remembered NARMIC’s reverence for Woolman’s capacity to explain “not just the moral indignation against the concept of slavery, but how it worked as an economic system which benefited some and oppressed others.”

Tracing the chain of destruction from U.S. war profiteers to mutilations and killing in Southeast Asia using pamphlets, slide shows, and action guides, NARMIC emphasized the inhumanity of profiting off of violence and empowered U.S. communities to stop it.



Reports and essays by NARMIC moved people to action from the start. Photo: AFSC Archives

Researching defense contractors, the group started its work in 1969 by identifying manufacturers of weapons being used in the war and mapping out their connections with each other.

To get this unclassified but sheltered information, AFSC purchased access to a service designed to match companies with Pentagon contracts. It was cost-prohibitive for community activists to purchase individually, but a good investment for a national organization with a wide network.

“People would call us, and say, ‘We have this plant in our town, and we’re trying to figure out what they’re producing there, and if it’s related to the war,’” recounts Diana Roose, who joined NARMIC in 1971

after graduating from Swarthmore College, where she was a draft counselor. NARMIC shared information from their files with such callers and provided research services to campaigns focused on manufacturers like Honeywell, General Electric, and ITT.

Publications like the handbook “Weapons for Counterinsurgency” and the Washington Monthly article “You Can’t Keep a Deadly Weapon Down” put NARMIC on the map as a source for information on chemical and biological weapons.

With these materials, people in New England came to know that their communities played a large part in developing and profiting from the expanded technology of warfare. The Department of Defense

met in Wellesley, Mass., air weapons were maintained in Bedford, Mass., and banks were funding new technologies throughout the region. These activities were shrouded in mystery until NARMIC exposed their connections to the war. AFSC’s Cambridge office then helped people confront war industries and raised questions about how technology can serve people best.

The Minneapolis peace group known as the Honeywell Project also drew on NARMIC materials to protest Honeywell, Inc.’s production of deadly anti-personnel fragmentation bombs that were used to kill civilians, including children and farmers.

In 1972, NARMIC produced a slideshow called “Automated Air War” that became one of the main organizing tools for many parts of the antiwar movement. Running about 30 minutes, the script and slides were a portable tool for engaging people emotionally and intellectually. Groups could purchase a copy for \$50 and project it anywhere—including bars and parks—where people gathered.

“It was very educational and somewhat provocative,” says Diana, referring to how the slideshow juxtaposed facts about weapon production with photos of weapons in use on farmers, kids, and wildlife. “It was the first time a group had put together a slideshow about this new kind of war.”

All told, long before the power of Google, NARMIC researched over 50,000 documents and identified the top 100 defense contractors in the U.S. The founding members set the stage for two decades of AFSC supplying information for activists—including support for the efforts to change U.S. policy in Central America and the anti-nuclear movement. Their work to publish the truth continues to inspire peace educators.

Stewart Meacham made a clear case for AFSC’s emphasis on action/research: He wrote that once the worst horrors and injustices have been built into a system, becoming part of the normal state of affairs, “it can be overcome only if the truth is boldly published and acted upon.” ■

—NEAH MONTEIRO

Go to afsc.org/narmic to explore NARMIC publications and photos from AFSC’s Archives.

Donor profile: Richard and Mary Ann Morse

A commitment to human rights

There’s a story that Richard and Mary Ann Morse like to tell when asked why the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) is such a central part of their philanthropy. It’s a story that demonstrates to them beyond any doubt the tremendous impact that AFSC’s work has on individual lives.

“It was a charity function we went to last fall,” Richard begins, before passing the storytelling baton to Mary Ann.

“This was a very elegant, wealthy, fancy party,” continues Mary Ann, who noticed one young couple in particular. The young man in the couple was an invited speaker. He told the story of how the lawyers in AFSC’s Newark, New Jersey, office had worked on his behalf to prevent him from being deported to Honduras, where he feared the violence and dire economic conditions that he had escaped.

“He was nervous, but he spoke from the heart, and his story moved me,” Mary Ann recalls. “To know that we were in some way helping him and others like him was very touching.”

The couple’s AFSC and Quaker connection began with Richard in the mid-1960s. As a graduate student in developmental biology at Case Western University in Cleveland, Ohio, he heard a presentation about the Vietnam War by AFSC staff member Russell Johnson. “That helped turn me into a convinced Quaker,” Richard says. “And it was the first time I became political.”

So political, in fact, that he trained through AFSC as a draft counselor. And several years later, he worked as a general assistant at AFSC’s rehabilitation center in Quang Ngai, Vietnam, for three months during the height of the war. “I did a lot of speaking when I got back and tried to convey what I’d seen and experienced, but even my own parents didn’t believe me,” he says.

After that dispiriting experience, Richard focused on his studies, teaching at several universities, and later selling high-tech radiation therapy devices and managing a \$5 million research grant program



to support improvements in radiation treatment for cancer.

Now retired, Richard, a member of the Harrisburg Friends Meeting, serves on the executive committee of AFSC’s Northeast Region and is a member of the AFSC Corporation.

The Morses have made AFSC the primary beneficiary in their will and have created a charitable gift annuity with AFSC. “I know the organization and what their priorities are,” Richard explains. “This is not a run-of-the-mill charity. They push the envelope.”

While she’s not a Quaker, Mary Ann echoes Richard’s commitment. “When I met Richard, I knew nothing about Quakers,” she says. “But I have great respect for the values of the Quakers and AFSC. And I’m glad that the money we give is going toward human rights and intervention to help people on a personal level.” ■

—WILLIE COLON REYES

MORAL IMAGINATION IN ACTION

“One must be struck by Woolman’s moral imagination, and his ability to reason out relationships and explain how institutions worked to people who really didn’t want to make the connections—and therefore understand their own accountability. ...

“He very well understood how economic arrangements and social institutions can serve to obscure responsibility and cut off sympathy for and information about ‘those who labor out of sight’; and he sought to engender fellow-feelings between people so divided.”

(Excerpt from “Why Woolman? Why Now?” a 1975 NARMIC pamphlet by Marilyn McNabb)

HELP SECURE BOTH YOUR FUTURE AND AFSC’S WITH A CHARITABLE GIFT ANNUITY



Photo: AFSC/Bryan Vana

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(Information is based on a one-life annuity. For two-lives or rates for deferred gift annuities, please contact us.)

Age	Rate
60	4.4%
70	5.1%
80	6.8%
90+	9.0%

News from around AFSC

Rebuilding community life after war

A new AFSC-produced documentary shows how to rebuild communities in the wake of protracted violent conflict.

Community rebuilding is a national concern in Burundi, following two decades of ethnic and political conflict. The government collaborates with many international organizations, including AFSC, who support grassroots organizations in developing social cohesion and economic opportunities. But AFSC also coordinates



trauma-healing sessions in many communities. This unique aspect of the program has helped individuals work through past trauma and learn to support one another.

In the new film, “Life after Conflict,” five Burundians from different communities (including Elisabeth Cimpaye, who appeared on the Summer 2014 Quaker Action cover) tell stories of their time spent in exile, returning home, and the struggle to settle into a new life, while carrying the memories and scars of the past. The stories also provide a picture of how host communities experienced an avalanche of vulnerable residents as people returned from years away as refugees and combatants. Their stories of change show how anger and jealousy fell away as they worked alongside others.

Moses Chasieh, AFSC’s country representative, produced the film so that government partners and the international community could see and understand the

impact of including trauma healing in their work. The film was well received at its launch in Bujumbura in June, with many from the United Nations and international NGO community present. Go to afsc.org/healing-documentary to watch.

Students transform violence in St. Louis

Reducing violence is a priority in St. Louis, where 18 homicides were connected to youth in the school district during the first five months of 2014. AFSC brings conflict resolution, civic engagement, and community organizing skills into the schools through its Peace Education Program.

Shortly after they returned from AFSC’s If I Had a Trillion Dollars youth film festival and leadership weekend, program director Joshua Saleem and a group of student peer-mediators shared their vision for community peace during Northwest Academy of Law’s St. Louis Peace March and Rally.

Inspired by the tactics they learned in Washington, the team organized a “transformer” activity after the march. When 350 peace marchers arrived at the end of their route, they entered a football field-turned-cemetery filled with 18 cardboard tombstones. On cue, AFSC’s team opened up the tombstones, revealing illustrations



of schools, recreation areas, art, and peace signs on the inside—everything the team identified as needed in order to build peace.

The 30-second action was symbolic of

the everyday actions happening in St. Louis schools, where young leaders are being equipped and supported to transform their schools and community.

Quakers acting in faith



AFSC partners with Quakers across the country to build powerful movements for social change, and at this summer’s Friends General Conference Gathering in Pennsylvania, those partnerships deepened.

At the gathering of nearly 1,200 unprogrammed Quakers, AFSC hosted five workshops on a variety of social issues, including mass incarceration in the U.S. and the conflict in Israel and the occupied Palestinian territory. Conference participants also came out to AFSC-led activities on topics such as solitary confinement and drone warfare, and spoke with AFSC staff about successful community organizing strategies and how to build power for change in Quaker meetings.

Madeline Schaefer, AFSC’s Friends relations associate, reports, “By the end of the week, Spirit was rising to create a national network of Quakers working to end mass incarceration, powerfully solidified by AFSC’s Laura Magnani’s keynote address on her book, ‘Beyond Prisons.’”

Connect with afsc.org/friends to learn more about the developing network and other opportunities to work for social change. ■

—AFSC STAFF



Snapshot

A look at AFSC around the world

United in striving to transform their Guatemala City neighborhoods into safe environments, nearly 100 young leaders from 12 communities came together for a summer leadership gathering in June. Photo: AFSC/Néstor Mijangos



Left to right, top to bottom:

1. Neighborhood peace leaders gathering; Guatemala
2. Border communities conference; Mexico
3. Religiously diverse group prays for Palestine; Yogyakarta, Indonesia
4. Young Quakers support Immokalee workers; Florida
5. Middle East social media conference; Jordan
6. Boycott poster exhibit; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
7. World Coalition against the Death Penalty; Concord, New Hampshire
8. Detention center vigil; Aurora, Colorado
9. New Jersey families share deportation stories; Washington, D.C.
10. Peace ambassador’s new tools; Burundi
11. Social media activism; Jordan
12. Learning lobbying tactics; Washington, D.C.

Photos: Néstor Mijangos, Uriel Gonzalez, Matius Indarto, Lucy Duncan, AFSC’s Middle East Regional Office, Tony Heriza, Arnie Alpert, Elizabeth Chey, Karen Elliott Greisdorf, Eliane Niyonkuru, AFSC’s Middle East Regional Office, Bryan Vana



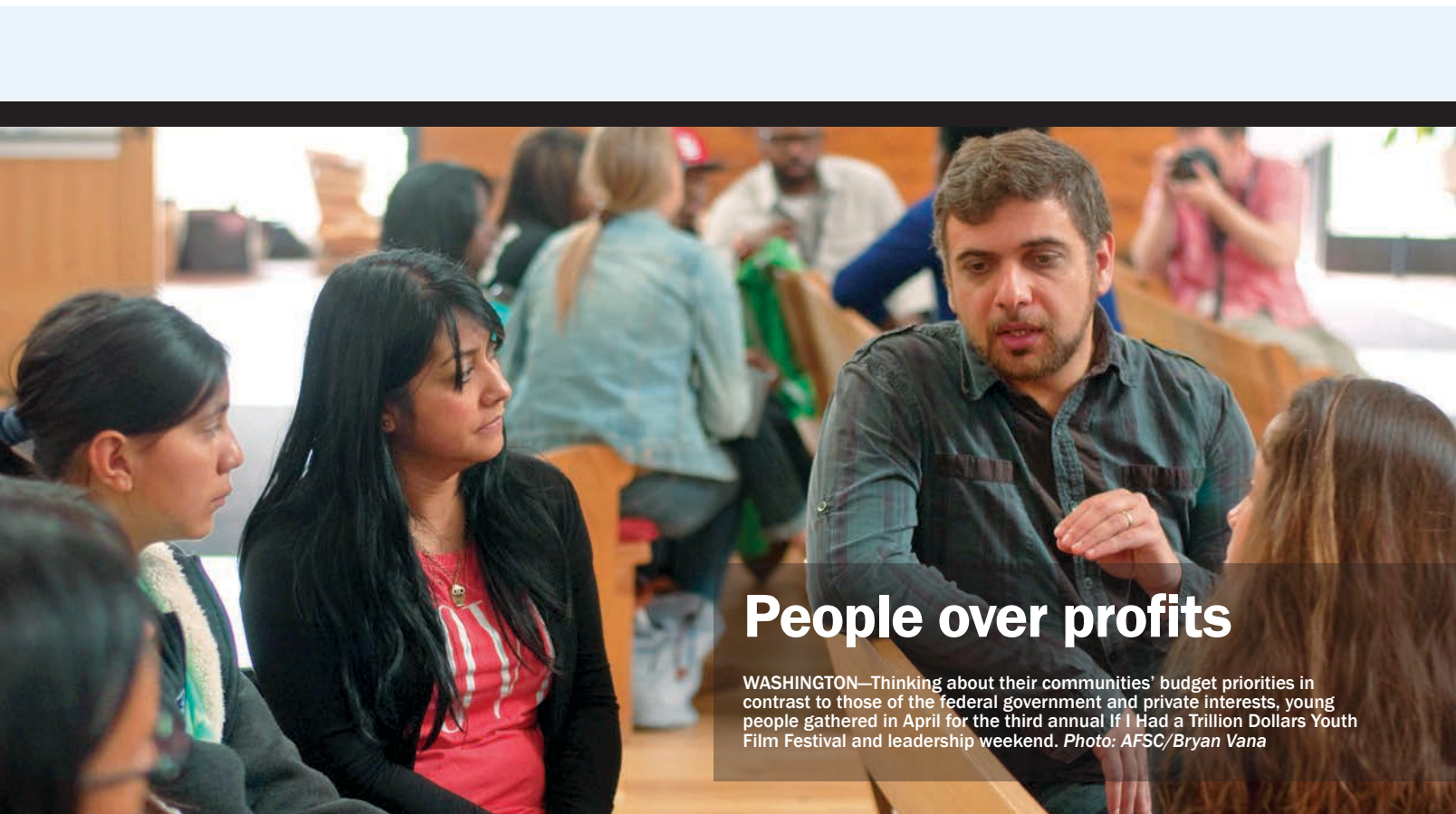
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People over profits

WASHINGTON—Thinking about their communities' budget priorities in contrast to those of the federal government and private interests, young people gathered in April for the third annual If I Had a Trillion Dollars Youth Film Festival and leadership weekend. Photo: AFSC/Bryan Vana

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Who we are

The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) is a Quaker organization that promotes lasting peace with justice, as a practical expression of faith in action. Drawing on continuing spiritual insights and working with people of many backgrounds, we nurture the seeds of change and respect for human life that transform social relations and systems.

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