

September 1, 1970

NARMIC

NATIONAL ACTION/RESEARCH ON THE MILITARY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX
(Founded by the American Friends Service Committee)

160 North 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102

I. THE PLACE OF RESEARCH IN WAR-MAKING AND IN PEACEMAKING

The Military-Industrial Complex (MIC) is a term popularized by President Eisenhower's Farewell Address to the American people. He warned of "the total influence—economic, political, even spiritual" of "this conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry that is new in the American experience." This complex is a reality. It pervades nearly every aspect of our lives.

One major and essential part of the MIC is its research component. Research assumes a crucial role in modern war-making, for research is the dynamic ingredient of development and growth in the electronic/technological/nuclear sphere. Ninety percent of this research is not "pure" research, but war-mission oriented.

To a far lesser degree (the available funds are nowhere nearly comparable) peace research has emerged as a necessary resource in peacemaking. But "peace research" largely is "pure" research and broad social research, and only very rarely has it been action-oriented—closely related to ongoing programs and projects of the peace and anti-war movement. This has left a wide gap between the peace researchers and the peace actionists.

NARMIC has been launched to fill that gap by providing action-oriented research and by training people of the peace movement in such research.

On the face of it it seems absurd to think that a tiny group of action/researchers can do very much to counter the MIC giant. NARMIC is hopelessly outclassed when its resources are measured against those of the MIC in terms of money, manpower and access to mechanisms of control. Nevertheless there are strong and objective reasons to believe that NARMIC's services are providing significant and useful resources to the growing peace and anti-war movement.

The power of the MIC is at last being challenged by the anti-war movement. Religious leaders are speaking out. Members of Congress are beginning to realize that they have a "peace constituency." Strong community groups are being organized. Large demonstrations occur on short notice. Government employees are beginning to organize in their work places to oppose U.S. military interventions. In several areas, employees of military contractors have joined with local community groups in struggles against weapons production or strikes against the effects of war-caused inflation. Welfare mothers are demanding a decent life for their families. Blacks, organizing against the police repression in their communities, see the connection with military intervention in Vietnam. Students and faculty members are beginning to use the educational institutions as a base to bring an end to repression, to the war in Southeast Asia, and to the complicity of the universities in militarism. Thoughtful military men from ex-General David M. Shoup to thousands of GIs are seeking ways to halt the war machine.

In a society as complex as our own, no one group or single strategy will build a movement which can challenge successfully the existing institutions of war. It will require many groups working in different ways. But they all need reliable information, carefully researched and clearly communicated. Therefore, NARMIC is servicing many of these groups by providing facts, information about strategies, and focus not available elsewhere. NARMIC is in a unique position to facilitate the communication of successful tactics and other vital information among local groups. While not seeking to impose unity, because there is a genuine local diversity, it is NARMIC's experience that such exchange encourages the growth of all groups involved and builds toward mutual support among them. Only through such support will close interrelationships develop among isolated projects and individuals and draw them into a cohesive force.

II. WHAT NARMIC DOES

A. NARMIC Maintains a Data Bank

NARMIC provides a factual base for analysis of those institutions of government, private industry, education and research (and also of individuals) that comprise the complex of defense industries developed in the United States since World War II. NARMIC maintains files not only on the top 100 war contractors, but also on many other companies, universities and institutions engaged in weapons research, production of weapons for counterinsurgency warfare in Vietnam and elsewhere, and production of strategic weapons systems. NARMIC maintains files on military strategy and overseas involvement, domestic counterinsurgency, weapons systems (including chemical and biological) and U.S. Government agencies involved in the MIC. This data bank consists of clippings, articles, research notes, official reports, interviews and independent research findings. NARMIC subscribes to the publications and directories of the military organs and aerospace corporations not generally circulated outside the MIC itself. Through subscription to a nationwide computerized service for the aerospace industries, NARMIC is able to get up-to-date information on military contractors, new weapons systems and defense marketing directions.

B. NARMIC Answers Requests for Information

NARMIC answers requests for information and advice from researchers, organizers and concerned citizens and groups. Students investigating Pentagon research on campuses, housewives boycotting consumer goods manufactured by war industries, "Doves for Congress" campaign workers, peace organizations of all varieties, professional groups and trade unionists have come to NARMIC for facts and to consult on how best to carry out projects. While requests are answered as thoroughly as staff manpower permits, we give priority to local groups whose dedication to change in our society is demonstrated by their own creativity, their ability to work with different kinds of people, and their understanding of the long-range nature of the task ahead.

C. NARMIC Trains Local Organizers to Do Their Own Research

NARMIC's library, data bank and staff are available to local groups and organizers who are able to come to Philadelphia to do their own research on projects which they are planning or which are already underway. Wherever possible NARMIC publications offer not only exact and specific compilations of facts but also information about research techniques and models for direct action.

NARMIC staff is available to "do-it-yourself" researchers to help them learn how to use the data bank and library material and how to compile and record information relevant to their projects.

D. NARMIC Assigns Its Own Researches to Major Campaigns and Projects Focused on Particular Aspects of the MIC Structure

1) Weapons Contractors. With the growing emphasis within many communities, religious organizations and other citizen groups on developing community responsibility for resisting the production of weapons by local and national industrial facilities, NARMIC has been asked by scores of groups to do research and to provide counsel and advice for corporate projects, including representation by concerned shareholders at annual stockholders meetings. Such research and advice has been provided groups concerned particularly with the following war contractors:

AT&T	DuPont	Hercules
AVCO	GCA	Honeywell
Boeing	General Electric	IBM
City Investing	General Motors	Sperry Rand
Dow Chemical	Gulf Oil	United Aircraft

NARMIC's first major publication, Weapons for Counterinsurgency, used the Honeywell Project as a case study in community organization for countering weapons manufacture. (See below)

NARMIC also has acted as an information clearinghouse for various community and national groups emphasizing consumer selective buying campaigns with respect to weapons contractors.

2) University and Campus Groups. One of the most threatening aspects of the military/ industrial complex to many people of the academic community as well as to the wider public has been the inroads of military research into the life of the universities. Leading universities have become involved in weapons research projects running into many millions of dollars and constituting a major source of income both for the universities and for leading professors and scientists. The implications of this are obvious so far as they affect freedom of thought and affirmation of life needs.

The result has been a growing movement of protest and resistance to all forms of military and repressive encroachments on the life of the universities, the faculties, and the students. This reached a high point in the Spring of 1970 with student strikes in more than 265 colleges and universities.

NARMIC has responded to hundreds of requests for information and research assistance from campus groups. This kind of inquiry doubtless will increase during the coming year.

3) Investment Information Requests from Church-Related and University-Related Groups. Many church-related and university-related groups are beginning to re-examine their financial holdings in terms of how investments and decisions about them are made. NARMIC has had requests for assistance from such groups at John Carroll University, Bryn Mawr College, Hamilton College, Harvard University, Lincoln University and Princeton Theological Seminary, and also from Unitarian and Presbyterian churches, the United Church of Christ and Quaker groups. NARMIC has helped these groups to use its research library and has put them in touch with others similarly concerned. The staff urges such groups to look for creative ways of challenging the weapons manufacturers through their investments. (Representation at corporate annual meetings is one example of possible ways for institutions to confront corporations on particular war-related policies.)

NARMIC's "Guide to Researching Institutional Portfolios" outlines how to investigate military connections of corporations.

E. NARMIC Prepares Occasional Reports to Meet Particular Needs

"Little or No Change Indicated in U.S. CBW Activities"—A report on President Nixon's announced ban on the production, stockpiling and use of bacteriological weapons. Research by NARMIC revealed: (1) that the only tactically useful bacteriological weapon in the nation's arsenal (toxins) had been "reclassified" as chemical; (2) that research and development on new biological weapons would be allowed to continue; and (3) that certain chemical weapons useful in suppressing insurgency at home and abroad exempted for the "first use" ban were being employed in Vietnam. The revelations about toxins attracted wide congressional and media attention and generated intra-governmental debate on the subject which culminated in a White House announcement that stockpiling and production, as well as offensive research and development on toxins, would cease. By revealing that the anti-CBW campaign was not yet won, this report helped spark and strengthen local CBW action projects. NARMIC is keeping tabs on continuing CBW involvement, and in August 1970 released a new report on the subject.

"Health Needs: The People vs. the Pentagon"—A survey of Department of Defense contracts with public hospitals and medical schools. Printed in the July/August '70 issue of The Body Politic, a publication of the Medical Committee for Human Rights.

"Who Will Get the Contract for Biodegradable Napalm?"—An article on a meeting of the Chemical and Biological Division of the American Ordnance Association. Printed in the July 1970 issue of Washington Monthly under the title, "Pollution Porkbarrel--Down to Earth on Earth Day." The meeting, held at Edgewood Arsenal, the U.S. military's chemical warfare center, concerned itself with ways defense contractors and other major polluters could develop contracting opportunities in the environmental pollution field.

"Movement Guide to Stockholders Meetings"—With the growing emphasis on corporation responsibility in the peace movement, NARMIC has been called upon by dozens of groups to do research and help develop effective representation for corporate projects. NARMIC prepared a methodology designed for organizers preparing for annual stockholders meetings. About a thousand copies of this guide have been distributed to local groups.

"Guide to Researching Institutional Portfolios"—See Section D.3 above. More than a thousand copies have been distributed to local groups.

"Police Training: Counterinsurgency Here and Abroad"—In preparation. This collection of articles will deal with U.S. equipping and training of South Vietnamese and South American police, U.S. corporations' involvement in police weapons production and university complicity in the growing police-industry-academic complex.

F. NARMIC Prepares and Publishes Reports on Matters of Wide Interest to the Peace Movement.

1. Weapons for Counterinsurgency. This handbook focuses on the strategy of counterinsurgency warfare. It includes:

- a. A section on the shift of U.S. military policy focus from nuclear deterrence to counterinsurgency.
- b. Sections on the principal types of counterinsurgency weapons:

- (1) Chemical-biological weapons (CBW):
—A description of CBW weapons

- The universities and colleges engaged in CBW research
- The corporations engaged in CBW research
- The CBW delivery systems
- U. S. war gases
- Suspected U. S. biological (germ) weapons
- The producers of chemical weapons
- The uses of CBW weapons

(2) Anti-personnel weapons:

- The history of such weapons
- The rationale
- Their description
- Their producers (93 corporations, their locations and products)

(3) Incendiary weapons:

- Types: Napalm
Magnesium
Thermite and thermate
White phosphorus
- Their producers (51 corporations, their locations and products)

c. A section presenting, as a case study in anti-MIC action, the Honeywell Project of Minneapolis.

d. A section summarizing information sources for research on military contracting.

This handbook, with little "promotion," has gone into its third printing, and the sales total approximately 10,000. It is inexpensively produced but strikingly designed with good layout and styling. A second edition is being prepared.

2. A Handbook on Strategic Weapons. (In production) Sections of this handbook are being written by young scientists at MIT. It will provide a comprehensive picture of the U.S. strategic (nuclear) arsenal, list the producers of the strategic weapons systems, and suggest guidelines for local action with respect to strategic weapons research centers, and producers of strategic weapons systems. It will focus particularly on the Administration's plans for development of the ABM/MIRV complex.

3. A Handbook on Naval Weapons. (In the planning stage) This handbook is a long-range project which will take the form of a series of articles. It will briefly trace the history of naval power as a factor in the country's economy, show how a strong navy is necessary to the maintenance of colonies, and describe the present U.S. naval forces and their projected growth in the '70s. Emphasis will be placed on plans by the U.S. military to build a new navy and on the interservice rivalry with the Air Force for funds. A directory of naval weapons producers will be included to provide local action groups with essential information.

III. WHO DOES NARMIC?

NARMIC is "done" by a staff of young researchers who work at bare subsistence wages strongly motivated by two considerations:

- a. To provide concerned citizens (and especially the people of the peace movement) with

reliable information and analysis which will better equip them to work in their own communities on specific projects aimed at countering effectively the growing intrusion of militarism and war in American community life.

- b. To develop the NARMIC project to the point where it can become an independent national organization of the peace and anti-war movement with its own governing committee, its own financial base, and its own corporate identity.

In less than a year NARMIC has accomplished all that is summarized here with a staff that has included:

- 4 researchers, each receiving \$50 per week take-home pay
- 1 volunteer coordinator receiving only expenses
- 1 full-time secretarial associate
- Several volunteers receiving neither expenses nor wages.

IV. NARMIC'S NEEDS

In the fiscal year beginning October 1, 1970, NARMIC plans to add three researchers to the staff, to increase take-home pay slightly (to \$60 per week), to develop its own fund-raising capability, and to devolve as an AFSC project and launch out on its own.

AFSC has committed general and special funds to it to meet approximately half of the NARMIC budget for the coming year. The total budget of \$54,880 breaks down as follows:

Salaries (7 researchers, 1 secretarial associate and volunteer expenses. Includes fringe benefits.)	\$37,580
Travel	4,000
Program supplies (including research materials)	5,500
Office expenses (rent, telephone, duplicating, etc.)	7,800
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Total	\$54,880