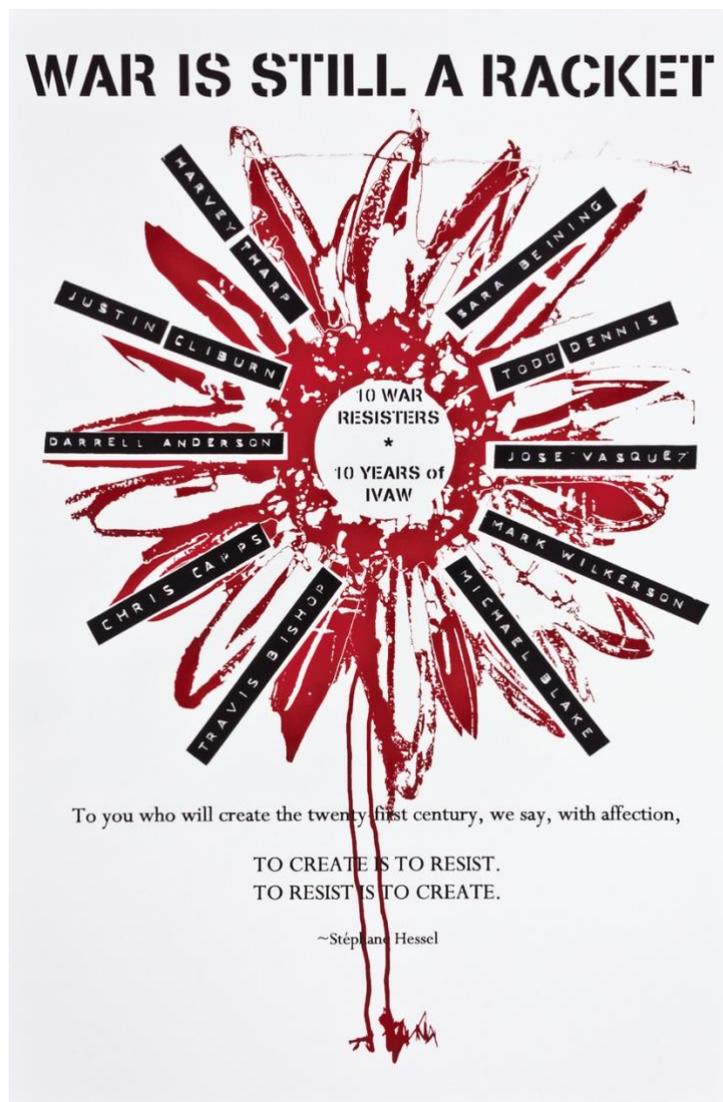


RADICAL TEACHER

A SOCIALIST, FEMINIST, AND ANTI-RACIST JOURNAL ON THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF TEACHING

Militarism and Education in America

by William J. Astore



"WAR IS STILL A RACKET" BY G SCOTT RATTFIELD. THIS IMAGE BY G SCOTT RATTFIELD IS FROM CELEBRATE PEOPLE'S HISTORY/IRAQ VETERANS AGAINST THE WAR: TEN YEARS OF FIGHTING FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE. A PORTFOLIO THAT CELEBRATED IVAW'S FIRST TEN YEARS AND WAS PRODUCED BY

As a young military professor at the USAF Academy, I co-taught a course in 1992 on the making and use of the atomic bomb that included a trip to Los Alamos National Laboratory and the Trinity test site in Alamogordo, New Mexico.¹ It was at that site that J. Robert Oppenheimer famously mused about whether he'd become death, the destroyer of worlds, as the first atomic device exploded on top of a tower in the desert in July of 1945.² Walking around what little remained of that tower with my students was a sobering experience. More than that, it was eerie. However faintly, the echoes of that world-changing explosion seemed to echo still in the surrounding hills and mountains.

The previous year, the Cold War had seemingly come to an end in a clear victory for the United States. With the collapse of the Soviet Union, I heard talk of a "peace dividend," a reprioritization of federal spending away from weapons and wars and toward health, welfare, and other domestic priorities. Nuclear arsenals would be downsized; the world would become a safer place. I was cheered, for I had spent time in the 1980s under two thousand feet of granite at the Cheyenne Mountain Complex in Colorado, America's warfighting center for a nuclear cataclysm.³ Deep inside that mountain, I had had to think about the unthinkable – nuclear war – and how it would devastate humanity if we couldn't prevent it.

That was then, this is now, yet despite self-declared "victory" in the Cold War, America still confronts the threat of nuclear Armageddon aggravated by its own policy of total military dominance. My present reflections on teaching and education in general are driven by the dismay I felt in the early 1990s as America's Cold War triumph only served to inflame and empower neo-conservative imperialists and their plans for global dominance in the (false) name of democracy.⁴ As I taught history at military institutions (the U.S. Air Force Academy; the Naval Postgraduate School) as well as civilian ones (the Pennsylvania College of Technology), I came to realize education itself was increasingly being sold as a commodity in the service of business and industry, and justified in terms of U.S. economic competitiveness.⁵ Along with becoming commodified and driven by money and class interests, education, I realized, was increasingly influenced by and infused with militarism, especially in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, the resultant "global war on terror," and the Patriot Act that enabled illegal mass surveillance of Americans. Seeking to alert students to this creeping militarism, I developed a course on the "human dimensions of warfare" that used Chris Hedges's book, *War Is A Force that Gives Us Meaning*, as a seminal text. After attending a seminar taught by Henry Friedlander at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, I also created and taught courses on the Holocaust. Here, history reminds us that the Nazis used the idea of a "wartime emergency" to justify their "euthanasia" program as well as the annihilation of the Jewish people (along with gypsies and others).⁶ A constant diet of militarism and war, in short, creates conditions under which the most monstrous lies – and crimes – prosper.

So, as I type these words in 2020, I am astonished that the U.S. government plans to spend as much as \$1.7 trillion over thirty years to modernize a nuclear arsenal that is in need, not of any modernization or expansion, but of total

elimination.⁷ I am astonished as well that, despite America's triumph in the Cold War, not excepting the shock of the 9/11 attacks, there's been no concerted effort to find a "peace dividend" in America. That, instead, the dividends have gone to endless war and massive weapons deals, that in fact the U.S. has become the foremost merchant of death, the world's leading arms dealer, even as the "doomsday" clock measuring the risk of nuclear Armageddon ticks ever closer to midnight.⁸

The U.S. today is so busy spending its bounty on wars and weapons that it makes the future survival of our country and indeed the world less and less likely. Here Martin Luther King Jr. was prescient when he said in 1967 during the Vietnam War that U.S. leaders were in fact the world's greatest purveyors of violence rather than principled agents of peace.⁹ Six years earlier, a military officer and president I deeply respect, Dwight D. Eisenhower, famously highlighted a major threat to liberty in the emergence of a military-industrial complex, in which he implicated Congress as well, warning Americans of the potential for a "disastrous rise of misplaced power."¹⁰

That potential has become reality, as recently highlighted by Edward Snowden. In 2013 Snowden, who worked for the CIA (Central Intelligence Agency) and NSA (National Security Agency) before becoming a whistleblower, revealed massive and illegal surveillance of American citizens by the U.S. government. In his recent book, *Permanent Record* (2019), Snowden wrote that:

The two decades since 9/11 have been a litany of American destruction by way of American self-destruction, with the promulgation of secret policies, secret laws, secret courts, and secret wars, whose traumatizing impact—whose very existence—the US government has repeatedly classified, denied, disclaimed, and distorted ... I still struggle to accept the sheer magnitude and speed of the change, from an America that sought to define itself by a calculated and performative respect for dissent to a security state whose militarized police demand obedience, drawing their guns and issuing the order for total submission now heard in every city: "Stop resisting."¹¹

Combine the warning of Eisenhower with the revelations of Snowden and you arrive at a harsh reality in America today, one defined and dominated by a militaristic Complex that exercises immense power while being shrouded in secrecy and therefore largely unaccountable to the people. In fact, keeping the American people in the dark – denying them agency and oversight – is the very goal of this Complex, as shown in a report, "The Pentagon's War on Transparency," issued by the non-partisan Project on Government Oversight (POGO).¹²

Given this reality, the radical teacher must first confront the extent of militarism and its pervasiveness within American society. As teachers we know that education is situated within, and draws from, wider societal and cultural trends. The United States today is marked by a culture that is both militarized and commoditized, in which education has become both an enabler to a state of permanent war and a facilitator of business and industry imperatives.

Consider the following facts about education in America. Retired generals and admirals get hired to run colleges and universities at the state level, though they have no experience in education. Two examples: Retired Admiral William McRaven, who led U.S. Special Operations Command, now leads the University of Texas system as its chancellor; retired General Richard Myers, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff under the George W. Bush administration, now serves as president of Kansas State University. Some college campuses are being militarized with police forces that have military-surplus armored personnel carriers (MRAPs), originally developed for the Iraq and Afghan wars, as well as assault rifles like AR-15s, military-style weaponry that is justified in the name of safety due to mass shootings.

On a more subtle level, when students graduate, those who choose a military career are often singled out and applauded. Where I taught in Pennsylvania, students in uniform were always asked to stand at graduation and earned the loudest and most sustained applause. Consider as well military flyovers and related ceremonies at football games and similar athletic events. Pension and retirement funds for professors and teachers often invest heavily in massive defense contractors like Lockheed Martin, General Dynamics, Raytheon, and Boeing. Once you begin to look, you realize the military-industrial complex is (nearly) everywhere in schools and across college and university campuses.

Helpfully, Vice News did an investigation in 2015 that identified the 100 most militarized universities in America.¹³ Many of them are centered on the Washington Beltway and serve as feeders to the military-industrial complex and the wider intelligence community. These include universities associated with leftist or liberal values, such as Harvard (#32), Cornell (#53), and Stanford (#60). As Professor Joan Roelofs has noted, "A university doesn't have to be special to be part of the MIC (military-industrial complex). Most are awash with contracts, ROTC programs, and/or military officers and contractors on their boards of trustees."¹⁴

High School students are being targeted as well. Professor Roelofs notes that, "More than 3,000 U.S. high schools (and some junior high schools) have Junior ROTC programs. DoD (Department of Defense) funding can make a significant difference in these districts and permit clean and sharp facilities that contrast with poorly funded local schools. Chicago has 6 public high schools that are military academies; all students must be in JROTC."¹⁵ Linked to Junior ROTC contingents are military recruiting efforts, notes Andrea Mazzarino, co-founder of Brown University's Costs of War Project, with the Army setting aside \$700 million in 2019 while focusing much more on lower-income students than those at more affluent schools. Citing the American Public Health Association, Mazzarino reminds us that "most new U.S. military recruits are in late adolescence and less able to handle high levels of stress, more likely to take uncalculated risks, and more likely to suffer long-term injury and mental health problems as a result of their military service."¹⁶

Defenders of the system claim the U.S. military is offering "opportunity" to high school graduates. And certainly Air Force ROTC helped me to gain my BS degree in the early 1980s. But like most young people, I gave little thought to whether I'd be killed or maimed while serving in uniform, or whether I'd have to kill or maim others. Here Mazzarino asks a good question: "wouldn't it make sense to devote a larger slice of our country's budgetary pie to training more numerous, better-qualified teachers and college counselors, while creating better constructed and supplied schools, so that kids of all stripes have a shot at opportunities that are less likely to kill or maim them?"¹⁷

The increasing militarism of America's schools, colleges, and universities demands a response. Active and informed dissent is what's required, for nothing is more truly American or patriotic than well-informed dissent that seeks to protect vital liberties. But here's the rub. In America today, education rarely takes the form of encouraging dissent. Far too often, education has been reduced to a commodity – a means to an end, the end being a decent salary and a comfortable life, often in the service of business, industry, and the Complex. Education, moreover, is often little more than a form of social control, a way to limit horizons, a means of "manufacturing consent," to borrow from Noam Chomsky and his critique of the media.¹⁸

What I mean is this: Too often, education works to limit dissent by setting the boundaries of what is reasonable and respectable versus what is judged as disreputable or even treasonable. For example, Americans today openly boast of having the world's most powerful military, while educationally American students languish near last place in various skills compared to their peers in other developed countries. It makes little sense in a democracy to boast of great military strength while in the aggregate performing poorly in subjects like math and science.¹⁹ Yet America's leaders seem to prefer it this way, seeing the under-educated as tractable precisely because they are ignorant or misinformed. As Donald Trump put it as a presidential candidate in 2016, "I love the poorly educated."²⁰

As education has been commoditized, educators are being pressured to focus on the practical, with an even tighter focus on workforce development through course work that is vocational and in service of business and industry. Promoting courses in STEM (science, technology, engineering, and math) is seen as crucial here, if only because such courses are framed as uncontentious (leaving aside the science behind climate change) and less tainted by politics. Contrariwise, an education in the arts and humanities is often dismissed as impractical, ideologically suspect, and unproductive.

Such divisions are nonsensical, as illustrated by my own educational and professional background. I grew up in a hardscrabble working-class city, majored in mechanical engineering in college supported by an Air Force ROTC scholarship, after which I served on active duty in the Air Force for twenty years. My life has been focused on the practical, on problem-solving, on achieving the mission. But I've lived another life as well. I taught history for six years at the USAF Academy, and when I retired from the military in 2005, I taught history for another nine years at the

Pennsylvania College of Technology, reaching the rank of professor. My students have been military cadets or students primarily pursuing vocational degrees and certificates in fields like nursing, plumbing, welding, and home construction. As the Associate Provost and Dean of Students (2002-05) at the Defense Language Institute Foreign Language Center in Monterey, California, I also got a taste of academic administration, again by focusing on the practical: producing qualified linguists, mostly wearing military uniforms, to serve in America's wars overseas in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks.

My experience has focused on the so-called real world as opposed to dreamy ivory towers, but separating the two has always struck me as untenable. When I pursued my master's degree at the Johns Hopkins University and my doctorate at Oxford, the scholarly work I did, mainly in the history of science, technology, and religion, always seemed "real" to me. These research universities gave me a broader vision of what education is about, one connected to the idea of self-transformation through original research and service to a broader scholarly community. At these universities, I wasn't being trained; I wasn't being told I could be only one thing. I was being empowered to think critically and creatively about the world, while being reminded that historians must first and foremost be loyal to facts and one's sources, treating them with rigor and respect.

Ideally, education should be a calling, not a calling card; it should be about personal and public wellness, not merely resume-fodder. But this view is under attack on all fronts. Under a system that fetishizes capitalism and celebrates the privatization of everything, education is increasingly sold as a commodity for private gain rather than a process of learning for the public good.²¹ The unofficial motto of my alma mater in the early 1980s, learn to learn, has been replaced by another motto across academe, learn to earn. In this system, teachers and professors are increasingly treated as interchangeable providers who must keep their customers, otherwise known as students, happy. As one high-level academic administrator once advised me, best to meet students at their "point of need" (forget about trying to inspire them to meet my standards!), with a special focus on retaining even marginal performers in college so they could keep paying their tuition (and thus, indirectly, my salary).

Yet, what America really needs to retain is our republic, which thrives best on active citizen participation. Simply put, misinformed, largely uneducated citizens cannot participate and contribute as richly and critically as they should. When the greed of capitalism goes unchallenged, when profit and power take precedence over knowledge and wisdom, barbarization results.

Confronted by the relentless commoditization of education and the increasing militarism of this American moment, the radical teacher needs to push back. Educate! Be bold and outspoken! Because here is the reality: Students eighteen and younger in the USA today have never known a time when America was at peace. Their America has always been at war with someone or something, such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, "terror," the list goes on. For them, permanent war is normal. They may be isolated from

war's direct effects, they may not live in daily fear of drones and bombs as their student counterparts in Afghanistan or Somalia might, but they are affected nonetheless.

There are several ways to push back against militarism. Since I'm no longer a classroom teacher, I won't presume to recommend a specific course description. But here are three vital passages I'd recommend using to alert students to the dangers of militarization. First, consider the words of James Madison as he warned about the dangers of "forever war" moments:

Of all the enemies of true liberty, war is, perhaps, the most to be dreaded, because it comprises and develops the germ of every other. War is the parent of armies; from these proceed debt and taxes; and armies, and debts, and taxes are the known instruments for bringing the many under the domination of the few. In war, too, the discretionary power of the Executive is extended; its influence in dealing out offices, honors and emoluments is multiplied; and all the means of seducing the minds, are added to those of subduing the force, of the people. The same malignant aspect in republicanism may be traced in the inequality of fortunes, and the opportunities of fraud, growing out of a state of war, and in the degeneracy of manner and of morals, engendered in both. No nation can preserve its freedom in the midst of continual warfare ...²²

Along with Madison's words, I'd introduce students to the works of General Smedley Butler, who was twice awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor, and who explained in the 1930s that "war is a racket" that favors the richest Americans at the expense of the poorest and most vulnerable.²³ Butler knew how to limit war. "We must take the profit out of war," he wrote. "We must permit the youth of the land who would bear arms to decide whether or not there should be war." Finally, he recommended that "We must limit our military forces to home defense purposes."²⁴ Yet, rather than listening to Butler, the U.S. government has done the opposite, creating a globe-spanning network of 800 bases to enforce a vision of "global reach, global power" that has little to do with home defense and everything to do with profit and power.

The third passage I'd recommend is President Eisenhower famous "cross of iron" speech in 1953, where he denounced the negative effects of wanton military spending:

*Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed. This world in arms is not spending money alone. It is spending the sweat of its laborers, the genius of its scientists, the hopes of its children... This is not a way of life at all, in any true sense. Under the cloud of threatening war, it is humanity hanging from a cross of iron.*²⁵

This critique of militarism, coming from Madison as a "founding father" as well as from two highly decorated U.S. generals, can hardly be dismissed by critics as naïve or un-American. In an increasingly militarized moment, in which Americans are constantly told we're at war with the rest of the world, whether it's a shooting war in Afghanistan, a

forever war against terrorists, a political war with Russia, or an economic war with China or even allies like Canada and France, we must act to keep education from becoming a servant of neoconservative or neoliberal agendas in these various “wars.”

Another teaching resource I’d recommend is “Addicted to War: Why the U.S. Can’t Kick Militarism,” by Joel Andreas. Its format (a 74-page comic/graphic book) makes it accessible to high school students at nearly all levels, while its content is well-documented and thought-provoking.²⁶ Consider it a polemical primer on a grim subject treated in a darkly humorous way, which to my mind makes it compelling to teenagers who appreciate a no-BS approach to history. A more traditional primer is “The Military-Industrial Complex” by Alex Roland, published by the Society for the History of Technology and the American Historical Association. Its 64-pages offer an insightful introduction to the Complex, though it was published in 2001, prior to the events of 9/11 and the surge in wars and militarism that followed in the wake of those terrorist attacks on U.S. soil.²⁷

With respect to potential student projects on militarism, a useful exercise is to “follow the money” gained and consumed by the military-industrial complex as well as its linkages to Congress and local economies. Defense contractors like Lockheed Martin, which builds the F-35 stealth fighter, make this relatively easy. Students can go to www.f35.com/about/economic-impact-map and enter their state, let’s say Pennsylvania. They’ll learn that 38 suppliers are involved in building the F-35 in Pennsylvania, entailing 3370 direct and indirect jobs and nearly \$400 million in economic impact, according to the Lockheed Martin web site (accessed on February 3, 2020). Another potential project is to have students write to their representative or senator to question America’s commitment to unending wars and weapons sales. As a veteran, I wrote to one of my senators, Elizabeth Warren, to question America’s nearly \$50 billion yearly commitment to the Afghan War and its persistence despite any signs of lasting progress. The response I received was a generic letter signed by Warren that expressed strong support for the military and its war on terror. Even for a “liberal” senator from “blue” Massachusetts, the default position was supporting the Pentagon and its generational wars in the name of security.²⁸

Another approach to charting militarism in the United States is to identify where senior military officers end up after they retire. A “revolving door” exists between the military and major defense contractors, and increasingly generals and admirals cash-in after retirement by joining the boards of major defense contractors. Prominent recent examples include General James Mattis, who served as Secretary of Defense before rejoining the board of General Dynamics in 2019, and General Joseph Dunford Jr., who served as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff before joining the board of Lockheed Martin in 2020.²⁹ Some of these same officers serve as pundits on major television and cable networks, interpreting military matters and wars for the American people without revealing their ties to major defense contractors. Here you might refer your students to the investigative journalism of David Barstow, who won the

Pulitzer Prize in 2009 for exposing how the Pentagon recruited more than seventy-five retired military officers to sell and defend the Iraq War.³⁰ Inevitable conflicts of interest are created from such linkages, and you may wish to ask your students why anti-war voices or serious critiques of the military are so rarely heard in mainstream political and media discourse.³¹

Perhaps of more immediate concern to many students is professional sports, which are increasingly permeated by militaristic displays and celebrations. You might ask your students to track the influence of militarism in today’s sporting world. A few examples include military color guards at games, flyovers by combat jets, and similar high-profile ceremonies; military defense contractors as major sponsors; special military appreciation days and “surprise” family reunions involving veterans during games, a form of “cheap grace,” notes Andrew Bacevich, a retired Army colonel;³² military-related commercials during the game, whether on television or on Jumbotron; and various military-related merchandise for sale, such as camouflage caps and jerseys featuring official team logos. Such military-themed merchandise is often worn by players, coaches, even cheerleaders, ostensibly as a form of “appreciation” and thanks to the troops. But one may question whether such “thanks,” when tied to commercialism and promoted as “support,” has any real meaning. After all, with the exception of Pat Tillman, the courageous NFL player who enlisted in the Army after 9/11 and who was killed by friendly fire in Afghanistan, professional athletes have voted with their feet by not joining the military, unlike their counterparts from World War II.³³

Finally, you may wish to query students about their personal connections to the military. Do they have older brothers and sisters, or other relatives, who are serving or have served in the military? Perhaps they might interview a relative who’s a veteran, or a neighbor, teacher, and so on. You may wish to stress to students that being supportive of veterans and sympathetic to them is in no way equivalent to militarism. Militarism takes the form of exalting war and the military; it entails the injection of military models and methods into civil society and political culture in ways that are corrosive to democracy. Being supportive of the troops, however, most of whom are drawn from the working classes (as I was), is perfectly compatible with opposition to the permeation of militarized violence and values in American society. Indeed, being anti-war is a principled way to “support our troops” while being firmly against militarism. Protest, in short, may indeed be a strong form of support; the troops, after all, serve in the cause of supporting and defending the U.S. Constitution, which enshrines freedom of speech and the right to assemble peacefully and protest, among other vital rights.

Together with these resources and projects, you may wish to reach out to veterans groups that are against war, such as Veterans for Peace (VFP) and Iraq Veterans Against the War (IVAW).³⁴ Consider inviting an anti-war veteran to address your students about his or her experiences in America’s recent wars. Anti-war voices are rarely heard in the mainstream media today, making it even more important that they get a fair hearing in your classroom or school.

But a word of caution. Writing, teaching, and speaking against militarism is not without risk. In my last position as a professor, I was told to “watch my back” by a very senior administrator for writing articles that were critical of the military-industrial complex and its unending wars.

As teachers, we know the importance of speaking truth to power, but the reality is that power already knows the truth, and the powerful prefer to keep their monopoly on it. So, inviting an anti-war veteran to speak is a great idea, until parents complain, and the principal takes their side against you. You have to be prepared for the predictable accusation, “Why do you hate America,” that I myself received when I had the temerity to write critical articles (and this despite the fact I’d served in the U.S. military for 20 years). As a teacher, you may wish to consider whether your administrators will have your back, or whether they’ll be warning you to watch it – or worse.

By mentioning this dynamic, I don’t mean to discourage. As radical teachers, we have to be willing to face criticism as we return to the roots of education – the formation of courageous, well-informed, citizens who are capable of critical and creative thinking and committed to serving and protecting democracy and our freedoms. And that means an education that’s not influenced by militarism or marked by permanent war, an education that sees beyond commodities and materialism.³⁵ An education that is, in a word, humane.

“You may not be interested in war, but war is interested in you” is a saying often attributed to Leon Trotsky. Perhaps he didn’t say it, but the sentiment is true, nonetheless. War is keenly interested in America’s youth, and it is high time our youth were armored with the facts about war and America’s pervasive militarism before they make decisions with profound implications for their futures. As educators, we owe it to them to teach them those facts, however grim or controversial they may be.

My clarion call is this: Radical teachers of the world, unite! Unite to free our students (and ourselves) from the chains forged by pervasive militarism, incessant materialism, and a culture suffused by violence and war.

Notes

1. Frank A. Settle Jr., et al. “The Origins, Production, and Use of the Atomic Bomb: An Interdisciplinary Undergraduate Seminar,” *Journal of Chemical Education*, 70 (May 1993), 360-63.
2. See, for example, Lansing Lamont, *Day of Trinity*, New York: Atheneum, 1985.
3. W.J. Astore, “Leaving Cheyenne Mountain: Or, How I Learned to Start Worrying and Loathe the Bomb,” *The Nation*, 286: 17 (May 5, 2008), 22-24.
4. See Andrew Bacevich, *The Age of Illusions: How America Squandered Its Cold War Victory*, New York: Metropolitan Books, 2020.
5. See, for example, David Sessions, “Bad Education: The Rise of the STEM-Obsessed, Business-Dominated University,” *The New Republic*, March 2020, 62-65.
6. Henry Friedlander, *The Origins of Nazi Genocide: From Euthanasia to the Final Solution*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.
7. Abolishing nuclear weapons is not a fringe view. In 2007, former Secretaries of State Henry Kissinger and George Schultz, together with former Secretary of Defense William Perry and Senator Sam Nunn, advocated for the abolition of nuclear weapons. See the Nuclear Threat Initiative web site at <https://www.nti.org/about/projects/nuclear-security-project/>. At Reykjavik, Iceland in 1986, Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev “came within a hair’s breadth of agreeing to” total nuclear disarmament, notes Jonathan Schell in his review of Richard Rhodes’s book, *Arsenals of Folly: The Making of the Nuclear Arms Race*. See Schell, “A Colder War,” *The Nation*, December 10, 2007, 34-38.
8. James Carroll, “How Many Minutes to Midnight?” *TomDispatch.com*, February 12, 2019, at <https://www.tomdispatch.com/post/176526>. As of February 2020, the clock stands at 100 seconds to midnight, as judged by the *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*. It hasn’t been this close to midnight since 1953.
9. On April 4, 1967, Martin Luther King Jr. gave a powerful speech (“Beyond Vietnam – A Time to Break Silence”) that condemned America’s war in Vietnam. In that speech, he described the United States as “the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today.” See W.J. Astore, “Martin Luther King, Jr. on America’s Spiritual Death,” *Bracing Views*, January 19, 2015, at <https://bracingviews.com/2015/01/19/martin-luther-king-jr-on-americas-spiritual-death/>.
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11. Edward Snowden, *Permanent Record*, New York: Metropolitan Press, 2019, 78.

12. Jason Paladino, "The Pentagon's War on Transparency," POGO, December 5, 2019, at <https://www.pogo.org/analysis/2019/12/the-pentagon-war-on-transparency>.
13. William Arkin and Alexa O'Brien, "The Most Militarized Universities in America," Vice News, November 6, 2015, at https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/j59g5b/the-most-militarized-universities-in-america-a-vice-news-investigation.
14. Joan Roelofs, "The Political Economy of the Weapons Industry," CounterPunch, 25 (2018), 2-9.
15. Joan Roelofs, "Military Keynesianism Marches On," CounterPunch, October 3, 2019, at <https://www.counterpunch.org/2019/10/03/military-keynesianism-marches-on/>.
16. Andrea Mazzarino, "How War Targets the Young," TomDispatch.com, December 19, 2019, at http://www.tomdispatch.com/post/176643/tomgram%3A_andrea_mazzarino%2C_how_war_targets_the_young.
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18. Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*, New York: Pantheon, 2002. Also see W.J. Astore, "Yes, Education is about Social Control," July 14, 2013, at <https://bracingviews.com/2013/07/14/yes-education-is-about-social-control/>.
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20. Donald Trump, "I love the poorly educated," Nevada Republican caucuses, February 25, 2016, at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DxUJv3eoL5Q>.
21. Astore, "Selling Education, Manufacturing Technocrats, Torturing Souls: The Tyranny of Being Practical," TomDispatch.com, May 28, 2009, at <http://www.tomdispatch.com/post/175076>. Featured as the lead in "The Teacher's Voice," Vol. 3, #1, 2009, available at <http://www.the-teachers-voice.org/WilliamAstore/html>.
22. James Madison, "Political Observations," April 20, 1795 in *Letters and Other Writings of James Madison*, Volume IV, p. 491. Accessed at http://reclaimdemocracy.org/madison_perpetual_war/
23. "War Is A Racket," Bracing Views, <https://bracingviews.com/2018/09/17/war-is-a-racket-2/>.
24. Smedley D. Butler, *War Is A Racket*, originally published in 1935. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/War_Is_a_Racket
25. Robert Schlesinger, "The Origins of that Eisenhower 'Every Gun that Is Made' Quote," U.S. News, September 30, 2011, at <https://www.usnews.com/opinion/blogs/robert-schlesinger/2011/09/30/the-origins-of-that-eisenhower-every-gun-that-is-made-quote>.
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