# wooddwidewamm

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A publication of Women Against Military Madness

by Sarah Smith

There are organizations and individuals in the U.S. who have publicly admitted to supporting foreign terrorist organizations by sending money and weapons. However, based on the prosecutor's argument, it is the advocacy of human rights that is now being investigated and criminalized, NOT actual support of terrorism.

# What Does "Material Support for Terrorism" Look Like?

Last summer I went on a two-week trip to Israel and Palestine. Little did I know then that four months later I would be subpoenaed to appear before a federal grand jury in Chicago about an investigation into material support of foreign terrorism.

As a Jewish woman, I wanted to see what life is like for Israelis and Palestinians. I could have traveled with Birthright, which offers any young Jewish person a free trip to Israel, but Birthright delegations only tour Israel and see what the Israeli government wants them to. I wanted more than one point of view, so I chose an educational trip that allowed me to meet with nonprofit organizations, teachers, and peace activists in both Israel and Palestine.

Two of the young women I traveled with are Palestinian Americans, and unlike my family, theirs actually has roots in the country. Their grandparents on both sides were born and raised in Ramla, a Palestinian city near Jerusalem that has been repopulated by Jewish immigrants. The women's family was expelled in 1948, and our two-week trip gave them their first glimpse of the land their family originated in. I find it baffling

that because I am Jewish I have a birthright to travel free to Israel and even to emigrate there to live, but my Palestinian American friends do not, even though their families are from that land.

On our arrival at the Tel Aviv airport, my two friends were detained for 10-1/2 hours simply because of their Palestinian ancestry. They endured multiple interrogations and were finally allowed entry after the Israeli officials went through their personal e-mail accounts. As I entered and exited Israel, the only questions I was asked were about being Jewish. I was encouraged to learn Hebrew, attend synagogue regularly, and return to Israel. It was the first time I traveled internationally without the immigration authorities asking me about my trip.

A few months after returning to Chicago, the three of us began to face a different type of intimidation and harassment. This time it was from our own government and the FBI.

On 24 September 2010, more than 70 FBI agents raided seven homes of antiwar and international solidarity organizers in Chicago, Minneapolis,

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From the left: Barack Obama in anti-apartheid days, Chiquita Banana, former President Jimmy Carter.

310 East 38th Street, Minneapolis, MN 55409 • 612-827-5364 • wamm@mtn.org • www.worldwidewamm.org



**Women Against Military Madness** is a nonviolent, feminist organization that works in solidarity with others to create a system of social equality, self-determination and justice through education, action and the empowerment of women. WAMM's purpose is to dismantle systems of militarism, economic exploitation and global oppression.

# worldwidewamm



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The statements and opinions reflected in this newsletter are the views of the author and not necessarily official positions of WAMM. We encourage a diversity of opinion to represent the range of perspectives that coexist under the banner of WAMM's mission statement.

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## **WAMM Office Hours**

Mon-Fri: 10:00 am-5:00 pm

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# "Material Support," from front cover

and Michigan, along with an antiwar office in Minneapolis. Many of the organizers' personal possessions were confiscated. Fourteen people were subpoenaed to a federal grand jury in Chicago. All refused to testify before the grand jury. They considered this investigation an attempt to criminalize their legal, peaceful, antiwar work. In December, nine additional people, supporters of Palestinian rights, received subpoenas.

I was the first of the nine to be contacted by the FBI on December 3rd. An FBI agent called and asked if I could meet him for coffee. I was curious as to why, and he finally said he wanted to ask me about the trip I took last summer, emphasizing, "I think you know which one I'm talking about." Later that day, my two friends, the Palestinian American women I had traveled with, were subpoenaed.

Our grand jury date was January 25, and all nine of us, like the other 14, refused to participate in this investigation.

Before being subpoenaed, I knew nothing about grand juries, material support laws, or foreign terrorist organizations. Here is what I learned: A grand jury is essentially a secret court. When you are summoned to a grand jury, you cannot have a lawyer present. There are no witnesses and there is no transcript, no recording of the proceeding, no judge. The prosecutor handpicks the jury. Only the prosecutor presents evidence, and the prosecutor can submit or omit whatever materials s/he wants. There is no rebuttal: You are not allowed to offer your own evidence or explanations. You are simply expected to answer the questions put to you by the prosecutor. On the basis of this, the grand jury then decides whether to indict you for a crime.



Palestinian woman by her home, destroyed on orders from the Israeli government.



diers stand guard over Palestinians. I refused to testify, along with the other 23 activists, because I am not willing to participate in a McCarthy-like investigation in which we are asked to name everyone we know who has traveled to Latin America or the Middle East, every-

liberties in jeopardy.

one involved in the antiwar, Palestine solidarity, and Columbia solidarity movements both here and abroad. Our First Amendment rights guarantee us freedom of association and membership in any organization without government interference. By testifying before a grand jury, we are putting ourselves, those around us, and our civil

The government says these recent raids and subpoenas are part of an investigation into "material support" for foreign terrorist organizations. The material support laws took shape under President Clinton with the Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, were expanded with the Patriot Act under President George W. Bush, and were expanded further under President Obama after the Supreme Court decided in June 2010, under pressure by Attorney General Eric Holder, that political speech can be considered material support for "foreign terrorist organizations" (FTOs) if done in a "coordinated way."

The list of FTOs is drawn up by the State Department in a secret process. Any foreign organization can be placed on the FTO list without a public discussion and without presentation of evidence of terrorism, and the list is not open to challenge.

The Supreme Court decision, Holder vs. Humanitarian Law Project, stated that politically supporting an FTO, speaking with its members, or publicizing their views provides the FTO with a service, and that is now a criminal offense. Thus, former President Jimmy Carter could be indicted for speaking at a joint press conference with the minister of Hamas and also for meeting with Hezbollah during the 2009 elections in Lebanon.

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# "Material Support," from page 2

President Obama could have been indicted in the 1980s for supporting Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress during the struggle to end South African apartheid. Both Mandela and the ANC were on the FTO list until July 2008.

The "material support" laws allow our government to issue search warrants and grand jury



Graffiti on the wall confining Palestinians, pleads for recognition of a common humanity.

subpoenas for activity previously protected by the First Amendment. It is now considered criminal for us to organize or even participate in educational trips to Palestine and Colombia, and to oppose U.S. wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.

In our case, the prosecutor is attempting to argue that some of us funneled token donations through the Union of Palestinian Women's Committees (UPWC) in Palestine to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). The UPWC is a registered and legal organization under the Palestinian Authority and in Israel, and is not on the U.S. FTO list. The UPWC promotes equality for Palestinian women, provides day care and educational programs emphasizing nonviolent resistance, and advocates for the protection of Palestinian human rights. It funds kindergartens, educational scholarships, and women's advocacy programs. It does not funnel money to the PFLP.

However, based on the prosecutor's argument, it is the advocacy of human rights that is now being investigated and criminalized, not actual support of terrorism.

Yet there are organizations and individuals in the U.S. who have publicly admitted to supporting foreign terrorist organizations by sending money and weapons.

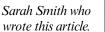
Chiquita Banana pled guilty in 2007 to sending \$1.7 million and 3,000 guns to United Self-Defense Forces of Colombia (AUC) death squads in Colombia. The AUC has been on the FTO list, yet Chiquita continued to send money and weapons to death squads, resulting in the murder of 4,000 people. Chiquita's general counsel worked out a deal with the U.S. government so that no one in Chiquita was prosecuted for this

blatant material support for terrorism. Chiquita was simply fined \$25 million to be paid over five years. Chiquita's general counsel at the time was none other than Eric Holder, now the Attorney General prosecuting us! And as Attorney General, he is refusing to extradite the Chiquita officials to Colombia to be tried for their role in killing 4,000 people.

Instead of investigating and prosecuting his former clients who pled guilty of actual material support of foreign terrorist organizations, Eric Holder is backing Federal Prosecutor Patrick Fitzgerald's and the FBI's investigation into antiwar and international solidarity activists.

Last year I went to the School of Americas protest at Fort Benning, Georgia, for the first time, and bought a T-shirt with a quote on it from Utah Phillips, the labor activist and folk singer. Since then the quote has become more and more meaningful to me. It reads: "The extent to which you resist is the extent to which you are free." \*\*W\*

For a young woman in her twenties, Sarah has a substantial history of interest in the world and its people, traveling, speaking and working against injustices. At the age of 15, she spent her summer studying Spanish at the University of Havana in Cuba. In high school, Sarah was the President of the National Honor Society, the Student Representative to the Local School Council, and a volunteer at a low-income elementary school. In 2004, she was chosen as one of the six most influential female students in Chicago by Crains Business. In 2005, Sarah traveled to Venezuela for the 16th World Youth Festival. At Grinnell College, Sarah became the co-librarian for an on campus, student-operated library that offered donated college textbooks to students who could not afford them. A senior year semester she created and put into practice an afterschool program in a low-income elementary school in Washington, D.C. Throughout her time at Grinnell, Sarah attended many presentations about Israel and Palestine and was active with an interfaith Palestinian solidarity group. She graduated from Grinnell in 2008 with a BA in Sociology. In the summer of 2010, Sarah went on a delegation to Israel and the occupied West Bank with two Palestinian-American friends. In December, all were subpoenaed to appear before a federal grand jury about their delegation.





# **Resources**

## **Occupied Palestine**

See the web site of the WAMM Middle East Committee for answers to questions about the area and issues around it. Facts, history, resources, maps, links, articles from WAMM members and other sources, and local current actions and events about Occupied Palestine. On this easy to navigate, visually appealing site, you'll find quick reads and also material for longer study. http://mec.worldwidewamm.org/

home.html

#### The Secret Court

A Grand Jury is a secret court in which the prosecutor hand picks the jury, the evidence is onesided, defendants have no right to have a lawyer present or present evidence on their own behalf. People called before a grand jury can be imprisoned for refusing to testify. Historically, Grand Juries have been used to intimidate people for holding certain political beliefs, and for speaking out against war and oppression.

# What You Can Do

See stopfbi.net and mnStopFBI.wordpress.com, or call (612) 379-3585

# Committee to Stop FBI Repression

Meet every other Thursday, 7:00 p.m., Walker Church, 304 16th Ave. South, Minneapolis. Stand with the people subpoenaed in a witch hunt, defend civil liberties. Learn what you can do. All who stand up and act for justice and solidarity are welcome.

## Grand Jury Indictment Emergency

Action: If the Federal Grand Jury indicts Sarah Martin, Ahn Pham or Tracy Molm, or if other activists are re-subponeaed, there will be an emergency action held at 4:30 p.m. at the U.S. Federal Building, 4th St & 4th Ave, Downtown Minneapolis. Watch for action alerts. FFI: See stopfbi.net and mnStopFBI.wordpress.com, or call (612) 379-3585.



While Cuba is the second most popular overnight destination for Canadian tourists (Statistics Canada, 8/26/10), U.S. law denies most Americans the right to travel to Cuba.

# **R**ESOURCES

### Come to Cuba!

If you would be interested in a trip to Cuba, coordinated with the Federation of Cuban Women, please contact the WAMM office at 612-827-5364.

## **Minnesota Cuba Committee**

The Minnesota Cuba Committee is committed to the sovereignty of the Republic of Cuba and the self-determination of its people in the face of historic and ongoing U.S. intervention. They support the immediate end to the U.S. embargo and travel ban, promote the normalization of relations between the U.S. and Cuba, educate the community and themselves about the ongoing realities of Cuba and the achievements of its people. http://www.minnesota cubacommittee.org/

## Women in Cuba:

Reports, fact sheets, information about the Federation of Cuban Women (Federacion de Mujeres Cubanas).

www.cuba-solidarity.org.uk

# Women of the Cuban Revolution Today: Katia deLlano

WAMM hosted Cuban leader Katia deLlano twice in June to discuss women's status in Cuba. At fifteen, Katia was a leader in the underground 26th of July Movement to overthrow the Batista dictatorship. After the revolution, she helped found the Federation of Cuban Women, studied economics at the University of Havana, and went on to become a professor and the economics advisor to the president of the Cuban Assembly.

The U.S. government's 50 years of propaganda and covert wars against Cuba have been successful in turning many Americans against the Cuban revolution. While Cuba is the second most popular overnight destination for Canadian tourists (Statistics Canada, 8/26/10), U.S. law denies most Americans the right to travel to Cuba. 62% of Americans have an "unfavorable" opinion of Cuba (Gallup, 6/20/11). Even left stalwarts like *In These Times* publish articles critical of Cuba without seeming to understand the context of the 50 years of economic warfare, sabotage and propaganda by the U.S. government against the Cuban government. (*In These Times*, 12/01/09)

Is it any wonder then that voices like that of Katia deLlano are seldom heard? On a recent visit to the U.S., she accompanied her partner when he came to the University of St. Thomas in Minnesota to teach a class for a semester. Katia spoke at events about the remarkable advancements for Cuban women in the last 50 years. While a 1953 census showed that women were only 3% of the professional workforce, they now comprise over 60% of all technical workers and almost 40% of people in leadership positions. In the first years after Batista was overthrown and the new government of the revolution was established, many former domestic servants received training as bank clerks, taxi drivers and dressmakers. In addition, 100,000 women who had been engaged in prostitution were given training in specific trades.

Cuba's remarkable achievements in education are almost unknown in the U.S. As a result of intensive work by the revolutionary government, literacy went from 76% in 1959 to 96% in 1961. Today it is effectively 100%. Acceptance to the university is based on grades and test scores, not ability to pay (education is free). With educational opportunities open to them, so many women have excelled that they have become a disproportionately high percentage of university graduates (over 70%). As a result, Cuba recently implemented affirmative action to allow men with lower test scores acceptance in the university.

Katia commented that one of the most difficult aspects of the revolution was implementing the Family Code which establishes the absolute equal-

www.worldwidewamm.org

ity of the rights of each spouse. This law eliminates of all vestiges of subordination of the wife in respect to the husband. When a woman works or studies, her husband is required, by law, to assume an equal share of the chores and family responsibilities.

Putting men and women on equal footing in carrying out domestic duties required much education and went up against decades of patriarchal and machismo culture. While men today do take on more child rearing and household responsibilities, women still do disproportionately more work in the home. The Women's Federation continues to work for changes in this area.

Katia spoke of the tremendous hardship that women have suffered under the economic conditions, as well. The tightening of the U.S. economic embargo in the 1990's made it even more difficult for Cuba to trade with other countries. Women often bear the brunt of the many scarcities because of their domestic responsibilities, because they have less time after waiting for the bus, and after waiting in lines for scarce items.

When Katia also spoke at a forum at the University of Minnesota, she described the many economic changes the Cuban government is implementing now—from distributing state-owned land that lie uncultivated to private farmers for long-term use to the openings for private business. She spoke wistfully of the revolution she and many contemporaries had dreamed of in the early years and the "revolution they were allowed" due to severe limitations caused by the U.S. economic blockade and sabotage. Going forward, Katia said that she hoped Cuba would retain the ideals of the revolution with the concept of a state that serves everyone.

As it stands, the survival of the revolution in Cuba and its many programs in education, healthcare, housing, and equal rights is an astounding achievement in the face of fifty years of covert war by the most powerful country in the world. For more events and information on Cuba, check out www.minnesotacubacommittee.org. If you would be interested in a legal trip to Cuba that is coordinated with the Federation of Cuban Women, please contact the WAMIM office at 612-827-5364. W

Terry Burke was active for many years in opposing the U.S.-funded contra war on Nicaragua, serving as director of the Nicaragua Solidarity Committee, and traveling to Nicaragua. She went to Cuba in 2010 as part of the 40th Venceremos Brigade.

# **Seeing Mushroom Clouds Again**

by Polly Mann

The six-page article appearing in the June 6 edition of *The New Yorker*, "Iran and the Bomb," by eminent journalist Seymour Hersh, has created a tsunami of discussion. Since there are many more people who don't read *The New Yorker* than do and since I'm convinced of the importance of the piece, the following is my best effort at honing it down.

In the first paragraph Hersh compares the questions about the possibility of Iran possessing nuclear weapons, or the technology to make them, to the same kinds of questions that were generated about Iraq prior to the U.S. invasion. These statements by influential leaders that "yes, indeed, Saddam Hussein has nuclear weapons," were instrumental in leading the American public to accept the necessity for the Iraq War.

Hersh follows this up in the second paragraph by saying, "Despite years of covert operations inside Iran, extensive satellite imagery, and the recruitment of many Iranian intelligence assets, the U.S. and its allies, including Israel, have been unable to find irrefutable evidence of an ongoing hidden nuclear-weapons program in Iran, according to intelligence and diplomatic officials here and abroad."

What Iran does possess is a nuclear power plant in the city of Busheh, with a second in the planning, and a number of centrifuges. The International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA] is monitoring the Iranian enrichment program, and all Iran's major declared nuclear installations are under extensive video surveillance. While IAEA inspectors have expressed frustration with Iran's level of cooperation, they haven't found any evidence that enriched uranium has been diverted to an illicit weapons program.

However, in early March, Robert Einhorn, an advisor to Secretary of State Clinton, in a talk to the Arms Control Association said that Iran was "clearly acquiring all the necessary elements of a nuclear-weapons capability." In a speech given May 12, Thomas E. Donilon, a national-security advisor to President Obama, indicated that America's sanctions policy is increasingly aimed at changing Iran's political behavior, and the specter of nuclear-weapons development has become a tool for accomplishing that goal.

As might be expected, a leading Administration advisor on Israel, Dennis Ross, said at a meeting of the leading American Zionist organization, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, that Iran had "significantly expanded its nuclear program" and accused it of pursuing the program "in violation of its international obligations." Nevertheless, most Israeli military experts believe that Iran does not now have a nuclear weapon and fear

regional proliferation more than they do attack. In early May, Ehud Barak, the Israeli defense minister, in an interview in the Israeli daily *Haaretz*, said that he did not believe Iran would drop a nuclear bomb on Israel or any other country in the region.

In a recent round of negotiations with the West, Iran insisted on two preconditions to negotiation: lifting of the sanctions and acknowledgment of Iran's right to enrich uranium.

American diplomat Thomas Pickering is convinced that the solution to the nuclear impasse is to turn Iran's power-enrichment programs into an international effort. Iran insists that for progress to be made "Washington had to give a sign that it was no longer interested in regime change."

In an interview with Hersh, Mohamed ElBaradei, who for 12 years was director-general of the International Atomic Energy Agency, said: "During my time at the agency we haven't seen a shred of evidence that Iran has been weaponizing, in terms of building nuclear-weapons facilities and using enriched material. I don't believe Iran is a clear and present danger. All I see is the hype about the threat posed by Iran."

He concluded, "The core issue is mutual lack of trust. I believe there will be no solution until the day that the United States and Iran sit down together to discuss the issues and put pressure on each other to find a solution." W

Polly Mann is a co-founder of Women Against Military Madness and writes regularly for this newsletter.



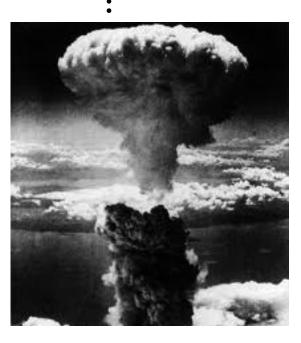
Washington and a compliant media appear to be having visions again, seeing things that others in the world cannot.

# When Will They Ever Learn?

War is assuredly the darkest abyss into which humanity can descend. Iraq is no exception. Our daunting task, as peace activists, is to continue our passionate call to stop the madness, to demand that foreign troops withdraw, to support a genuine Iraq-driven peacemaking process and to seek justice and reparations for all the Iraqi victims. Another profound and urgent reason to end this war now is to save us from destroying ourselves as a nation, to save us from becoming so utterly desensitized to violence and mass killing of the "other" that we fall ever deeper into the abyss. This war will destroy the warriors well before it destroys our alleged foes.

-Kristina Gronquist on Iraq

Déjà vu: George W. Bush and National Security Advisor Condoleeza Rice, preparing to wage war in 2003, announced that Iraq could be acquiring weapons of mass destruction. They told the American public that they didn't want the smoking gun of proof to come in the form of a mushroom cloud.



# July/August 2011WAMM Calendar

Please note that WAMM's provision of information on other group's events is not meant to convey or endorse any action contrary to public policy that would be inconsistent with exempt purposes under Internal Revenue Code Section 501(c)(3) i.e., charitable purposes.

# Ongoing WAMM Vigils for Peace

Vigil to End the War on Iraq: Every Wednesday, 5:00 to 6:00 p.m. on the Lake Street/Marshall Avenue Bridge spanning the Mississippi River between Minneapolis and St. Paul. FFI: Call WAMM, 612-827-5364.

Vigil Outside of Weapons Merchant Alliant Techsystems: Every Wednesday, 7:00 to 8:00 a.m. at 7480 Flying Cloud Drive, Eden Prairie. "Who Profit\$? Who Dies?" Sponsored by: Alliant ACTION. FFI and directions: call 612-701-6963 or visit www.alliantaction.org.

Vigil to End the Occupation of Palestine: Every Friday, 4:15 to 5:30 p.m. at Summit and Snelling Avenues, St. Paul. FFI: Call WAMM, 612-827-5364.

For information on additional peace vigils in Minnesota and Wisconsin, call the WAMM office at 612-827-5364 or visit www.worldwidewamm.org.

# Ongoing WAMM Committee Meetings

**Board Meeting:** Third Tuesday of each month, 6:00 p.m. at the Sabathani Community Center, 310 East 38th Street, Minneapolis. FFI: Call WAMM, 612-827-5364.

**Book Club:** Second Saturday of each month, 10:00 a.m. FFI and Location: Contact Suzy, 651-451-8627 or suzykoch@comcast.net.

**Iraq Committee:** First Monday of each month, 5:30 p.m. FFI: Call Marie, 612-522-1861.

Middle East Committee: Second Monday of each month, 9:30 a.m. at the Sabathani Community Center, 310 East 38th Street, Minneapolis. FFI: Call WAMM, 612-827-5364.

Media Committee: FFI: Email the committee, wammmedia@gmail.com.

St. Joan of Arc/WAMM Peace-makers: Fourth Tuesday of each month, 7:00 to 8:00 p.m. at St. Joan of Arc Church, Parish Center, 4537 Third Avenue South, Minneapolis. FFI: Barbara, 612-722-4444

Tackling Torture at the Top (T3): Second and fourth Wednesdays of each month, 10:00 a.m. at Afro Deli and Coffee, 1939 5th Street South (Riverside and 20th Avenue), Minneapolis.

# **Ongoing Events**

Committee to Stop FBI Repression. Every other Thursday, 7:00 p.m., Walker Church, 304 16th Ave. South, Minneapolis. Stand with the people subpoenaed in a witch hunt, defend civil liberties. Learn what you can do. All who stand up and act for justice and solidarity are welcome. FFI: See stopfbi.net and mnStopFBI.wordpress.com, or call (612) 379-3585.

People of Faith Peacemakers Breakfast: Second and fourth Wednesdays, 8:00 to 9:30 a.m., new location: African Development Center, Riverside and 20th Avenues. A resource and support group for those concerned about peace with justice from a faith perspective. FFI: www.justviewpoint.org or call 763-784-5177

# **Grandmothers for Peace:**

First Wednesday 12:45 p.m., Edina Public Library, 5280 Grandview Square, Edina. Program around justice issue that helps us to understand our role in changing unjust systems. FFI: 952-929-1566

**Tea Time Conversational Salons:** Most Tuesdays, 6:30 to 8:30 p.m. Mad Hatter's Teahouse, 943 West Seventh St., St. Paul. Salons are open to all. Suggested donations \$3-\$5 include tea, treats. FFI: 651-227-2511 or 651-227-3228.

Third Thursday Global Issues
Forum: 7:00 to 9:00 p.m., Hennepin Ave. United Methodist Church,
Groveland at Lyndale Ave.,
Minneapolis.
FFI: globalsolutionsmn.orgs

# Middle East Peace Now:

Usually 2nd or 3rd Saturdays, 9:30 a.m. Refreshments, 10:00 a.m. Program. Location may vary. FFI: Call 651-696-1642 or see www.mepn.org

MN 9/11 Truth: Second Tuesday of each month, 6:30 to 8:30 p.m., Rondo Community Outreach Library, 461 North Dale Street, St. Paul. MN 9/11 Truth meets to educate and discuss the events of 9/11/2001. FFI: Visit www.mn911truth.org.

Active Nonviolence Training: Train in the principles and practice of active nonviolence. An interactive session (non-lecture and non-reading) in social change analysis, community-building and project planning to strengthen our group for action. Certificates for participants. Trainers from Creating a Culture of Peace (CCP). Sponsored by: CCP. FFI and to register: Visit www.creatingacultureofpeace.org.

# **Special Events**

Grand Jury Indictment Emergency Action: 4:30 p.m. at the U.S. Federal Building, 4th St & 4th Ave, Downtown Minneapolis. If the Federal Grand Jury indicts Sarah Martin, Ahn Pham or Tracy Molm, or if other activists are resubponeaed, there will be an emergency action held. Watch for action alerts. FFI: See stopfbi.net and mnStopFBI.wordpress.com, or call (612) 379-3585.

"I am a Link:" Dorothy Sauber Social Activist Pictorial Rug Exhibition. July 29 through September 3. Textile Center, Joan Mondale Gallery, 3000 University Ave. SE. Suite 100, Minneapolis. Visit a rare exhibition of pictorial rugs by Dorothy Sauber who drew from the traditions of hooked rugs to express her social activism, as well as her everyday life in south Minneapolis. Each of these vivid and compelling works depicts a story, event, or celebration that resonates today. Sponsored by: Textile Center Minnesota FFI: www.textilecentermn.org or call 612-436-0464

Hold the Date: WAMM's 27th Annual Silent Auction Sunday, September 25, 5:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. St. Joan of Arc Church, 4537 Third Avenue South, Minneapolis. Details to come. FFI: Call WAMM, 612-827-5364.

Stop the Machine! Create a New World! Peaceful Uprising Call to Action! Thursday, October 6, Freedom Plaza, Washington, D.C. This is the big one to support the global movement to take back our countries and have government work for the people and not the corporations and special interests. On the 10th anniversary of the invasion of Afghanistan and start of the 2012 federal austerity budget, it's time to light the spark that sets off a true democratic, nonviolent transition to a world in which people are freed to create just and sustainable solutions. FFI: october2011.org. Also, see

# Annual Vigil to Shut Down the School of Assassins (SOA Watch):

Converge at the doors of Ft. Benning, Georgia. Friday, November 18-Sunday, November 20. The annual struggle to close the School of the Americas (School of Assassins) and end the US militarization of our hemisphere continues. SOAW.org or call 202-234-3440.

Additional upcoming events are listed at www.worldwidewamm.org, or you may call the WAMM office for more information: 612-827-5364. Other peace and justice events can be found on Minnesota Alliance for Peacemakers at www.mapm.org.

# PM On Libya: What Washington Wants, Washington Gets

Several years ago I met Diana Johnstone at a Women Against Military Madness (WAMM) conference where she was the keynote speaker. She is a graduate and former professor of the University of Minnesota, former European editor of the weekly publication In These Times, and the author of several books on political issues. Her take on much of the world political scene insightful and trustworthy—is arrived at after careful analysis and study. She is often most critical of U.S. policy and in this, I think, she reflects the views of many of us in WAMM. Regardless of whether the occupant of the White House is a Democrat or Republican, the mainstream media too often unquestioningly endorses the incumbent president's actions.

In Diana's book *Fools' Crusade: Yugoslavia, NATO and Western Delusions,* she dissects the destruction of Yugoslavia to reach conclusions much different from those of the mainstream media. Lately her e-mails have been mostly about Libya and, once again, critical of NATO bombing.

One of the difficulties of decrying the use of force against a country that is a dictatorship, such as Libya, is that most often the dictator is guilty of many crimes—severe human rights abuses, the illegal assumption of power, theft of state funds, corruption, etc. —not the kind of individual that peace proponents want to defend. And they don't. But, at the same time, they don't believe that the United States has a God-given prerogative to use force to implement justice in a country thousands of miles away where it has no jurisdiction.

However, the U.S. supports countries whose leaders are guilty of the kind of crimes listed above. Often the reason the U.S. supports a particular country's government is not revealed—as it is in support of the government of Bahrain, where the U.S. Fifth Fleet is stationed. After all, the U.S. maintains 737 military bases worldwide with 2,500,000 personnel, and in each country where a military base exists there is a government that has to be considered, if not paid off, in some kind of way.

In a series of comments and reports, independent analyst David Rothscum ("David Rothscum Reports," davidrothscumblogspot.com) provides his take on Libya. The following is a sample:

Before the current rebellion, Libya had the lowest infant mortality rate in all of Africa and the highest life expectancy in all of Africa. Less than 5 percent of the population was undernourished and in response to the rising food prices worldwide, the government of Libya abolished ALL taxes on food.

People in Libya were rich. Libya had the



highest gross domestic product (GDP) at purchasing power parity (PPP) per capita of all of Africa and the wealth was distributed equally. Libya had the highest Human Development Index of any country on the continent. A lower percentage of people lived below the poverty line than in the Netherlands. Its wealth is due to oil, the production of which is nationalized. . . . The same groups that the U.S. has been funding for decades are now trying to gain control over the nation. A group recently arrested in Libya consisted of dozens of foreign nationals that were involved in numerous acts of looting and sabotage. The Libyan government could not rule out links to Israel.

On 7 June 2011, in the UK newspaper The Independent, regular contributor Jody McIntyre stated that the media have concluded that the reason behind the demand that Gaddafi has to go is concern for the lives of civilians. Contradicting this view, he writes: "As if Western governments, with their proud histories of human rights abuses across the world, have any moral right to make judgments on the government of Libya . . . This has nothing to do with protecting civilians, and everything to do with re-establishing a waning military and economic domination in the region. When you consider a list of the few countries in the world that do not have U.S. military bases on their soil—i.e., Libya—it becomes a lot clearer why our 'enemies' are who we are taught they are."

In a 10 June 2011 report from the International Action Center, Sara Flounders says: "Without presenting a shred of military evidence, NATO and International Criminal Court conspirators are charging the Libyan [Gaddafi] with conspiracy to rape—not only rape as the 'collateral damage' of war, but rape as a political weapon." She reminds us that fabricated lies are spread to justify wars. "In 1991 the first war against Iraq was justi-

continued on page 8

The shell of a once beautiful civilian government administration building after it was bombed by NATO in Tripoli.



Letter from Gaddafi to Obama (excerpt: March 19, 2011)

To our son, the honorable Barack Obama,

As I have said before, even if, God forbid, there were a war between Libya and America, you would remain my son and I would still love you. I do not want to change the image I have of you. All of the Libyan people are with me, ready to die, even the women and children. We are fighting nothing other than al-Qaida in what they call the Islamic Maghreb. It's an armed group that is fighting from Libya to Mauritania and through Algeria and Mali. If you had found them taking over American cities by the force of arms, tell me what you would do?

—Associated Press. Published in the St. Paul Pioneer Press, March 20, 2011

# IN MEMORIUM

One of WAMM's earliest members—a major donor, a faithful vigilist and a peace activist par excellence, passed away June 30th: Kathleen McCarthy. She will be missed.

# WORD UP!

Eye Witness Report
While in Libya, I witnessed
NATO's targeting of civilians.
NATO bombs and missiles
landed in residential neighborhoods, hit schools, exploded
near hospitals, destroyed parts
of the public broadcasting infrastructure, and narrowly missed
killing students at AI Fateh University. When civilians are targeted in war, or 'low kinetic'
activities, crimes are committed.
—former U.S. Congresswoman
and current peace activist

Cynthia McKinney

June 29, 2011

**Showing Them Who's Boss** In June, 2011, journalist Diane Johnstone based in Paris, wrote that civilian targets in Libya are intended to "demonstrate to the inhabitants of Tripoli that they are defenseless and that there is no authority that can protect them. The objective is not to kill civilians in general, but rather to terrorize them, demoralize them. drive them to surrender to an obviously superior force. Of course, civilians will be killed and maimed 'by accident.' This bombing is to be intensified over the next three months, unless surrender occurs sooner."

**On Libya:,** continued from page 7

fied by outrageous charges that the Iraqi army had grabbed Kuwaiti babies from incubators and smashed the babies to the floor." (Months later this was confirmed as a total fabrication.)

Jean Bricmont, professor of theoretical physics at the University of Louvain, Belgium, whose work has appeared in many political as well as scientific publications, says: "The purpose of these bombings appears at this stage to be to decapitate the Libyan government in Tripoli in order to facilitate installation of the Western-recognized rebel leaders in Benghazi as the new government of Libya. They are clearly not military targets. They are mostly targets to demonstrate to the inhabitants of Tripoli that they are defenseless and that there is no authority that can protect them. The objective is not to kill civilians in general, but rather to terrorize them, demoralize them, drive them to surrender to an obviously superior force."

We have only to look at Iraq to see the results of a U.S. policy that some might still define as our wish to bring freedom and democracy to that country: Today, its water supply, public utilities, schools, museums, hospitals, and housing have been decimated. As for the war in Afghanistan: Polls show that the majority of Americans want our military to leave and leave now. However, our projected stay there has even been extended.

In Libya, the outlook for any kind of negotiated settlement looks dim. On June 10, Gaddafi sent a message to the Congress asking it to investigate the military actions of NATO and its allies in actions he said had killed over 700 Libyan civilians. "Such unauthorized intervention is inappro-

priate and illegal interference in what is essentially a Libyan civil war." Gaddafi said his government, which has been plagued by defections under the escalating NATO assault, was ready to sit down with opposition figures in peace talks led by the U.S. in order to "stop the destruction."

Reaction of both Democratic and Republican Congress members has been negative. It seems that Washington wants war with Libya. A recent poll indicated that 55 percent of Americans believe Congress and not the President should make the decision about the military mission in Libya. And, according to a recent CBS News poll, six out of 10 American Democrats, Republicans, and independents think the U.S. should not be involved in a war on Libya; the poll found that while 60 percent of the people opposed the Libyan war, only 30 percent of Americans feel their country is heading in the right direction with its military involvement in the North African country. But what the people of this country want is not under consideration. So what difference does it make whether the President or the Congress sends us to war?\* It's to war we go. I am reminded of the old song, "Whatever Lola wants, Lola gets." Whatever Washington wants, Washington gets. Case closed. W

Polly Mann is a co-founder of WAMM and continues to be active with the organization. Her column appears regularly in this newsletter.

Editor's Update: Twin Cities congressional representatives have given the green light to the U.S./NATO war on Libya. Since this was written, Congress voted 238-180 against cutting off funding (HR 2278), thereby giving the president's war legitimacy, which the War Powers Act had not given him. All of Minnesota's delegation voted against cutting off funding, except for Cravaack, and Kline who (uncharacteristically) voted in favor of cutting funding.

In addition, the Libya War Authorization (HJ Res 68), a nonbinding resolution which included loopholes and was couched in terms of protecting Libyan civilians, would have provided approval for military action on Libya for one year. Representatives McCollum, Ellison and Walz voted in favor of the resolution: the remainder of the Minnesota delegation voted against it. Its defeat in the House 295-123 was said to be a rebuke to the executive branch for going to war without Congressional approval. However, the fact that funding the war was approved in HR 2278 undermines any overall rebuke. The Senate is yet to take up a vote as of this update, but its Foreign Relations Committee, chaired by John Kerry, voted 14 to 5 in favor of authorizing the president to continue operations over Libya by U.S. warplanes and unmanned drones, though not ground troops.



Claiming to be bombing Libya to protect civilians, U.S. and NATO air straikes are killing civilians. As proof people hold up items, including an infant's garment, after a bombing.

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# A message from the October 2011 movement:

**Stop the Machine! Create a New World!** Take the Pledge. Come to Washington, D.C. October 6, 2011

October 2011 is the 10th anniversary of the invasion of Afghanistan and the beginning of the 2012 federal austerity budget. It is time to light the spark that sets off a true democratic, nonviolent transition to a world in which people are freed to create just and sustainable solutions. We call on people of conscience and courage—all who seek peace, economic justice, human rights and a healthy environment—to join together in Washington, D.C., beginning on Oct. 6, 2011, in nonviolent resistance similar to the Arab Spring and the Midwest awakening.

We face ongoing wars and massive socio-economic and environmental destruction perpetrated by a corporate empire that is oppressing, occupying and exploiting the world.

"Stop the Machine! • Create a New World!" is a clarion call for all who are deeply concerned with injustice, militarism and environmental destruction to join in ending concentrated corporate power and taking direct control of a real participatory democracy. We will encourage a culture of resistance using music, art, theater and direct nonviolent action—to take control of our country and our lives. It is about courageously resisting and stopping the corporate state from destroying not only our

inherent rights and freedoms, but also our children's chance to live, breathe clean air, drink pure water, grow edible natural food and live in peace.

We are the ones who can create a new and just world. Our issues are connected. We are connected. Join us in Washington, D.C., on Oct. 6, 2011, to Stop the Machine.

Take the pledge and sign up to attend. Let America know you are coming to make history and a new world!

I pledge that if any U.S. troops, contractors, or mercenaries remain in Afghanistan on Thursday, October 6, 2011, as that criminal occupation goes into its 11th year, I will commit to being in Freedom Plaza in Washington, D.C., with others on that day with the intention of making it our Tahrir Square, Cairo, our Madison, Wisconsin, where we will nonviolently resist the corporate machine until our resources are invested in human needs and environmental protection instead of war and exploitation. We do this together. We will be the beginning . . .

We are endorsed by organizations that work for peace, justice, civil rights, jobs, green energy, a clean environment, a secure retirement, healthcare, infrastructure, education, joy, and other human needs. The organizers of this event are

## **WAMM Committees**

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STOP ENDLESS WARS! HANDS OFF PEACE AND JUSTICE ACTIVISTS!

A new lexicon for these times:

# **Nine Orwellian Propaganda Terms That Define Our War State**

Victory: Like defeat, it's a loaded word and rather than define it, Americans should simply avoid it.

**Enemy:** Any super-evil pipsqueak on whose back you can raise at least \$1.2 trillion a year for the National Security Complex.

**Covert War:** It used to mean secret war, a war "in the shadows" and so beyond the public's gaze. Now it means a conflict in the full glare of publicity that everybody knows about, but no one can do anything about. Think: in the news, but off the books.

**Permanent Bases:** In the American way of war, military bases built on foreign soil are the equivalent of heroin. The Pentagon can't help building them and can't live without them, but "permanent bases" don't exist, not for Americans. Never.

Withdrawal: We're going, we're going—Just not quite yet and stop pushing!

**Drone War** (see also Covert War): A permanent air compaign using missile-armed pilotless planes banishing both withdrawal and victory to the slagheap of history.

**Corruption:** Something inherent in the nature of war-torn Iraqis and Afghans from which only Americans, in and out of uniform, can save them.

**National Sovereignty:** 1. Something Americans cherish and wouldn't let any other country violate. 2. Something foreigners irrationally cling to, a sign of unreliability or mental instability.

**War:** A totally malleable concept that is purely in the eye of the beholder.

—Tom Engelhardt, from longer article in Tomdispatch.com 2011

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