

Women Against Military Madness

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Women Against Military Madness

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Based on a public talk sponsored by WAMM End War Committee, and an interview with Sami Rasouli, a citizen of Iraq and the United States who lives in Iraq. Summarized by Mary Beaudoin with supplemental end notes (pages 9 & 11).

Oil began to flow out of Iraq unmeted after the U.S. invasion in 2003. It is unknown how much has been and is being taken. Foreign companies have had control of Iraq's oil under lucrative contracts vastly favorable to them.¹ And now ISIS is also freely helping itself to Iraqi oil and making \$4 million a week by moving it from four major oil fields.

Peshmerga, the Iraqi Kurdish military, is fighting and sometimes killing ISIS, but in the bizarre environment of war, they are also major customers of the oil that ISIS takes. Some of the Peshmerga are corrupt and act as middlemen buying the oil from ISIS and

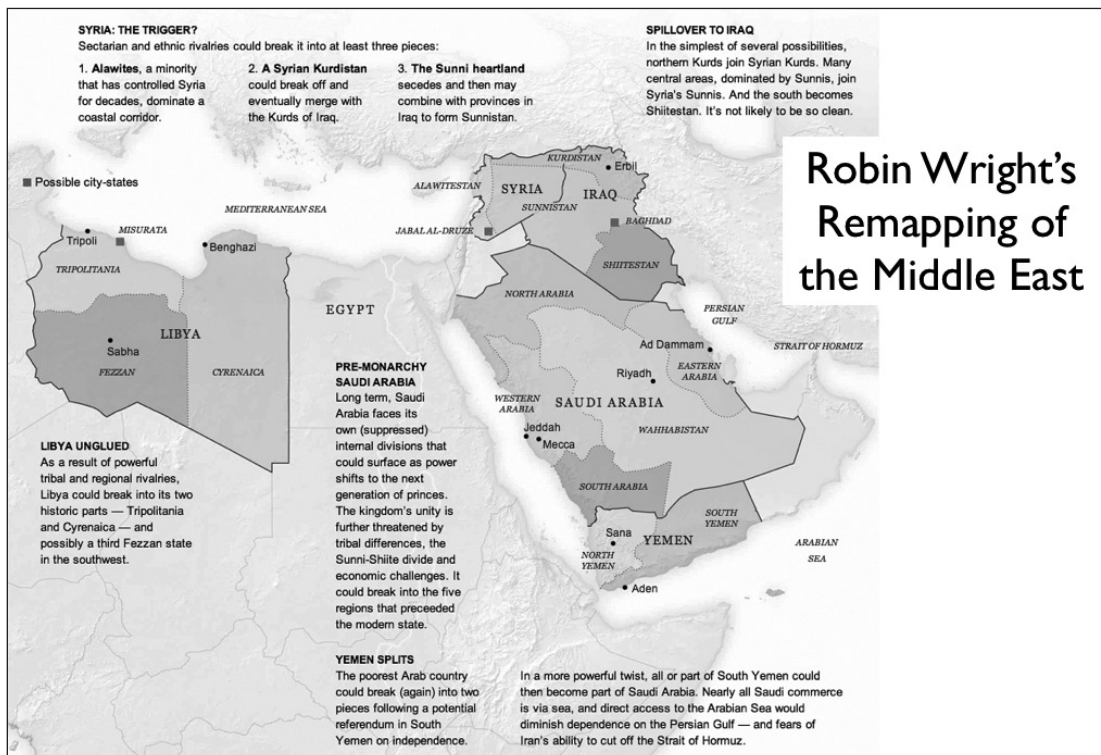
smuggling it out of Iraq in trucks. They pay \$4,200 for a truckload of 30,000 liters (7,925 gallons) and sell it to Turkey, Iran, and Jordan, making a profit of \$10,800 on each load. These facts are known through Iraqi officials on the ground observing, and an Iraqi ministry that interviews citizens internally displaced by ISIS. The situation is well known among local Iraqi journalists and international journalists, according to Sami Rasouli. As he speaks, Rasouli draws dollar signs for the "S"s in "ISIS" to illustrate the point.

Iraq is now one of the most corrupt countries in the world, ranking among the top five.²

The semi-independent, Kurdish region in the north exports oil, but the profits are the subject of dispute as they are not believed to be shared with the rest of Iraq.³

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This map, envisioned by ubiquitous journalist/U.S. Institute of Peace fellow Robin Wright, was published in The New York Times, Opinion pages on September 28, 2013. Wright divided five Middle Eastern countries into 14 religiously/ethnically-exclusive areas; parts of Syria and Iraq are broken off to become "Sunnistan." On June 17, 2015, in a House Armed Service Committee meeting, Secretary of Defense Ashton Carter suggested it's possible that "there will not be a single state of Iraq."



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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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.

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PM Betty McKenzie, a Prisoner of Conscience

by Polly Mann

Betty McKenzie is a most unlikely ex-con and, no doubt, when imprisoned in 2001, was a most unlikely prisoner—a white-haired, bright-eyed nun of some 71 years. For six months she lived at The Federal Women's Minimal Security Prison in Pekin, Illinois. The facility has no surrounding walls or barbed wire fences, but anyone who tries to escape and is caught receives an automatic felony conviction with five years added to the original sentence and a transfer to a more secure prison.

Betty grew up in Rochester, Minnesota. Her father was a chemist for the Mayo Clinic, and her mother was a teacher. As a young woman, Betty entered the order of the Sisters of St. Joseph Carondelet (CSJ) and became a teacher, herself, until she retired and devoted her life to justice and peace issues. Today, Betty volunteers once a week at Peace House, a Minneapolis center where unemployed or homeless people can spend the day.

What brought Betty to prison years ago? She spoke with me about her prison experience. It was a deliberate choice. She had been a member of an annual protest demonstration at the School of the Americas (SOA)—now called the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (WHINSEC)—located at Fort Benning, Georgia. This is where the United States military trained Latin American military personnel. The training included techniques of torture, assassination, infiltration, and mass murder of those who got in the way of powerful business and political interests. The graduates of the SOA, with U.S. backing, have been responsible for the deaths and disappearances of thousands of Latin American people—civilians and church people. The purpose of the demonstrations, which continue each year, is to stand in solidarity with the people of Latin America and the Caribbean, to close the SOA/WHINSEC and to change oppressive U.S. foreign policy that it represents. SOA Watch now also resists immigrant detention and militarization of the U.S.

At the demonstration each year thousands of college students, peace activists and visionaries peacefully walk onto the base where military personnel eventually ask them to leave. Those who refuse risk arrest. On this particular November day, in the year 2001, two hundred second-offenders were arrested, and among them twenty-six were chosen to appear in a trial before a civil magistrate near the base. All of the trespassers were found guilty and almost all were sentenced to the maximum six months

for trespassing. Four of the fourteen women were nuns and among them was Betty.

Betty's Pekin home housed about three hundred inmates, all non-violent offenders—a few were bank robbers, one had been an embezzler, but most had been convicted of drug-related charges. Some were there because they could not afford first-rate legal aid. The majority were African American and Latina and young.

Betty slept on a cot in a nine by eleven-foot cubical which she shared with another inmate. It had no ceiling, no door and only a five-foot wall around it.

Life in prison was severely restricted. Rules demanded that all be up from bed from 6:00 to 7:30 a.m. during which time inmates needed to get ready for the day, showering and dressing in a bathroom without locks and doors (there were both male and female guards in the facility), and be in the dining room to line up and eat breakfast. The food was not good. Betty's daily assignment was to clean the dining room after lunch and supper for which she was paid 12 cents an hour. Throughout the day Count was held for all prisoners. If a prisoner was missing for the Count, it could result in her transfer to a more secure facility.

The prison system and administration, though not all of the prison employees, seemed heartless. When one of the other prisoners of conscience, a nun, had a severe heart attack and was hospitalized. Betty and other inmates asked, "Have you notified her family?" "No," was the response of prison officials, who added: "Of course, if she died we would." (However, a community of Franciscan nuns lived in Dubuque, Iowa, 175 miles away, and word of the woman's hospitalization was relayed to them from incarcerated nuns. The Franciscans protested. The woman's family received notification of her condition.)

Betty, herself, became ill at one time with an infection so severe that she could barely walk. When she appeared in the dining room in comfortable sweatpants and a T-shirt, she was forbidden her meal because she was not wearing her regulation prison uniform. Her sleeping accommodations exacerbated the pain she was in. Prison mattresses were only one or two inches thick and rested on metal. But any change within prison had to go through a "counselor" who was not actually a counselor

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Betty McKenzie,

continued from page 2

in the usual sense of the word, but rather a prison employee in charge of regulations. Fortunately, an inmate who Betty was friendly with, kindly advocated for her with the counselor and she was allowed an extra mattress and a couple of more blankets. “Let’s face it—we’re all the family we have here,” the inmate who helped her said.

A physician had to sign off on medication that a helpful nurse practitioner recommended, but he prescribed a cheaper medication that wasn’t effective. As in all departments that served the prison, he would be awarded a bonus for coming in under budget for the fiscal year. Fortunately, Betty was finally able to obtain another, more expensive medication.

Bonuses at the expense of inmates’ health wasn’t the only part of a bad system that Betty encountered. She also learned that inmates provided cheap labor in the prison-industrial-military system. Five days a week from 7:30 a.m. to 3:30 p.m., her cubicle mate worked for \$1.50 an hour in the prison making chain-link fencing for a private manufacturing company. (According to the U.S. Department of Labor, at the time in 2001 and 2002, the minimum wage in Illinois was \$5.15 an hour.)¹ The woman had been sentenced to twenty years in prison for selling crack cocaine on the street. She said she knew she had done wrong but she had already served twelve years and felt that she had paid her debt to society.

The various education and skill programs offered didn’t help all of the inmates. One woman thought that when she was released she may as well go back to selling illegal drugs because she wasn’t learning any skills in prison and at least she knew how to make a living that way.

There were some people in the prison with mental illness and anger issues who should not even have been in prison as no help was provided for them there. Since spaces were so open within the prison, people could hear each other’s conflicts and it exacerbated the whole environment. In one incident a mentally-ill person taunted another woman who, in a moment of anger, hit her with an empty plastic juice bottle. Even though inmates advocated for the woman who had retaliated in such a minor way, both the taunter and the retaliator were transferred out to a maximum security prison.

The system was “such a waste and all so stupid,” Betty said.

But life in prison was not entirely unpleasant. There was time for conversation, exercise,

taking photographs, playing games. Betty had a fair amount of down time which, depending on the officer in charge, could mean reading and writing, or hours of enforced “doing nothing.” There were even some heart-warming, delightful times, and parties and original plays devised by the inmates with costumes made from available materials.

Support for the prisoners of conscience was tremendous beyond the prison walls. The press came for interviews and they received mail from people all over the world, including those hurt by SOA graduates. Archbishop of Minneapolis-St. Paul, Harry Flynn, wrote to her several times, and she received a letter from Senator Paul Wellstone. The community to which Betty belongs, the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet, were whole-heartedly supportive.²

But Betty was aware that such support was rare for prisoners. Some of the inmates’ children and families lived far away and it was heartbreaking that they could not see them very often. Betty dismisses any personal discomfort and hardship she experienced in prison. She said she had food, clothing, shelter, even medical care. She compares it to what victims suffered at the hands of SOA graduates.

Unfortunately, her stand of conscience has not yet translated into a closure of the SOA/WHINSEC, but Betty and others like her believe that the struggle to do so is an obligation and must continue on behalf of the victims in Latin America and on behalf of prisoners in the U.S.

Polly Mann is a co-founder of WAMM, writes a regular column and regular contributor to the WAMM Newsletter.

1 www.dol.gov/whd/state/stateMinWageHis.htm

2 The women’s prison closed in 2011 and the Pekin facility now houses a drug-rehabilitation program for male prisoners.

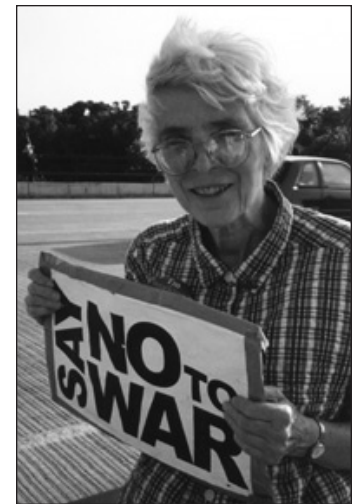


Photo: Michael Bayly, “Faces of Resistance: Images & Stories of Progressive Activism” (from online gallery at cpinternet.com/~mbayly/facesofresistance.htm)

Betty McKenzie in 2002, the year she was released from prison, protesting against the impending war on Iraq on the Lake Street/Marshall Avenue Bridge, spanning the Mississippi between Minneapolis and St. Paul.



WAMM THANKS

Honorarium for Pepperwolf and Tom Bottolene:

Margaret Gerhard

WORD UP!

While Strategists Redraw the Map of the Middle East:

Millions of Iraqi Lives in Jeopardy

The surge in violence between armed groups and government forces has resulted in more than 3 million internally displaced persons (IDPs) across Iraq and left more than 8.2 million in need of humanitarian assistance.

—“*Time is Running Out for Iraq*,” 2015 Humanitarian Response Plan, United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, #SaveIraq

Homeless in Their Homeland

Continuing violence and insecurity are greatly impacting on the humanitarian community's ability to access people in need trapped in many parts of northern and central Iraq... IDPs [Internally Displaced Persons] are forced to wait at checkpoints and/or return to unsafe, underserved locations with limited or no access to water and basic shelter, with high temperatures experienced in these districts . . .

Iraq is facing not only the consequences of its internal conflict, but also those created by the ongoing conflict in neighbouring Syria. Today Iraq hosts almost 250,000 registered Syrian refugees.

— *Factsheet: Iraq, European Commission Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection, June 2015*

In Iraq, it is said that there is a spider in the web waiting to catch victims.

Iraq and ISIS, *continued from page 1*

The current prime minister of Iraq, Haidi al-Abadi, is liked better than his predecessor Al Malaki was, but he does not have control. Contrary to popular belief, Americans are still on the ground in Iraq. There is an American advisor in the office of every Iraqi government official.⁴

“**In Iraq, we say today will be better than tomorrow.**” This is the dire pessimism with which the people of Iraq now view their circumstances, Sami Rasouli said in June when he was in Minneapolis, the city in which he had lived for so many years before returning to found the Muslim Peacemaker Teams,⁵ a nonprofit organization based in Najaf that works on peace building and responding to human needs. He reported that the situation for Iraqis only continues to decline in livability and increase in danger and disaster.

The city of Najaf where he grew up, where his family lives, and to which he returned in the aftermath of 2003 U.S. war on Iraq, is located 100 miles south of Baghdad, and is safer so far than in the area where ISIS operates. That is why a thousand refugees from other parts of Iraq have come to Najaf. They are staying in mosques and schools, but there is no money to feed them.

One hundred to one hundred-fifty body bags are delivered to Najaf every day from families whose sons have gone to fight against ISIS. Every day five to ten people approach the Muslim Peacemaker Teams asking how they can leave Iraq. Life has become unbearable.



There is no light at the end of the tunnel. “Iraq is, itself, a tunnel,” says Rasouli.

In Najaf there has been an improvement in electricity, but when the weather is mild, it is hard to know just how much of that is due to reduced use. Iraq still lacks supplies of clean water, 24 years after two U.S. wars and brutal sanctions destroyed Iraq's infrastructure. One small bright spot is that the Muslim Peacemaker Teams are able to maintain the water filtration systems they installed in 100 schools so that at least children at these schools have safe water to drink while in school.

However, **life is not easy for children in Iraq.** Rasouli says his own children have come to feel imprisoned in their own home. The street outside is dangerous. His children became endangered when a doctor evicted his next door neighbor, opened a medical clinic in the house, and now disposes of bloody lab results and other medical waste in one of the attractive trash receptacles that Rasouli and other community-minded citizens had installed on Najaf streets in an effort to restore cleanliness to the city.

As in other Iraqi cities, Najaf's streets are dangerous for many reasons. If a crime is committed, common criminals are never found and held to account in the chaos of today's Iraq. Law and order are a thing of the past. As a result drivers are unlicensed and some drive recklessly and at high speed. Rasouli, himself, was badly injured a few years ago when a teenage driver crashed into the taxi he was riding in; he sustained permanent damage to one leg.

There is no real professional army in Iraq despite various U.S. attempts to reconstitute a new national army after it originally disbanded it in 2003. There are only groups of fighters banded together in militias. The government of Iraq created its own militia to protect its political interests and people—most of the militia are Shiia.⁶ Iraqi militia, backed by Iran, asked the U.S. not to bomb. Iraqi officials believe that the U.S. is hitting Iraqi forces. The U.S. apologizes and says it's accidental. Then there is this: Sometimes food and other supplies are dropped in areas where ISIS exists. It is not known who is dropping it.

Who is ISIS (the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria)?⁷ As it appears to expand, it is the question which everyone wants the answer to. [Note: It has been credibly reported that the U.S. has been working with Gulf Arab allies and Turkey to arm and support groups to destabilize and destroy the Syrian government.⁸ In addition, a recently declassified U.S. Defense

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Who is Behind the Mask?

by Mary Beaudoin

Concrete information about Abu Bakr Al Baghdadi, reputed to be the most evil of all evil ones, is extremely scarce, but Western media reports that he was once a relatively obscure Islamic scholar and then suddenly burst on the scene as the leader of the ISIS-Daesh caliphate in possession of a fierce array of talents.

He is credited with being a military strategist with abilities worthy of a five-star general and yet at the same time possessing the business acumen of an oil tycoon, in addition to being “a prolific fundraiser and a ruthless killer.”¹ He also has considerable skills in the public relations area as he is able to issue proclamations for ISIS-Daesh at opportune times and act as an ideological motivator and recruiting agent in a call to arms to Muslims worldwide via social media,² while adept at eluding capture. The Rewards for Justice program, administered by the U.S. Department of State’s Bureau of Diplomatic Security, is offering a bounty of up to \$10 million for him³ but it hasn’t proved to be incentive enough for anyone to turn him in—quite interesting in light of the fact that there were people motivated to turn in hundreds of innocent men in Pakistan and Afghanistan (to be sent to black sites or Guantanamo in the “War on Terror”) for \$5,000 tops each.⁴

Rumors about him abound: Like other high-profile terrorists before him, he has been reported critically wounded, dead, and resurrected again by major media. He is said to only appear to his followers wearing a mask. Photographic evidence of his existence is confined to a few hazy images. One is from 2004 in which he wears a prison uniform at Camp Bucca, Iraq, where he either collaborated with fellow inmates for violent jihadist extremism, or was trained as an agent provocateur by the CIA, or was never there at all. Dates of his reported incarceration conflict with each other. Many Iraqis suspect that Al-Baghdadi is an agent of the Israeli intelligence agency, the Mossad. Officials in the Iraqi government say that a video of him delivering a sermon on July 4, 2014, in Mosul, is “a fake.”⁵ Tyler Durden of the blog, *Zero Hedge*, dug up a 2007 *New York Times* report that says U.S. military and intelligence believed that he was a fictional character and that his audio recordings are those of an actor, in order to “mask the dominant role that foreigners play in that insurgent organization.”⁶

Whatever the reality, this masked marvel serves somebody’s purpose in generating genuine zealots, recruiting bloodthirsty mercenaries, inciting fear, and carving up Iraq and Syria.

Iraq and ISIS,

continued from page 4

Intelligence Agency 2012 document reveals that the U.S. welcomed the idea of jihadists who had the objective of overthrowing Syrian President Assad and anticipated the rise of ISIS/ISIL as a “Salafist principality” in Syria and Iraq.^{9]}

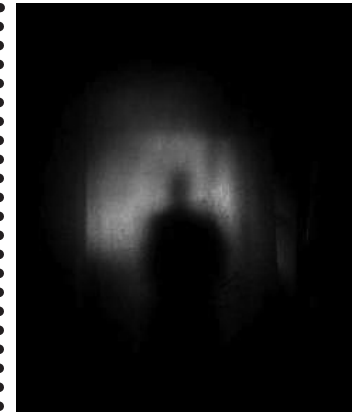
Some of the Sunni generals who were removed when the Iraqi Army was disbanded have been working with ISIS, though they have different motives. Young fighters come from outside Iraq: Central Asia, India, the Middle East, parts of Europe, Africa and Oceania. And inside Iraq: from among Sunni youth.

That recruitment for ISIS exists within Iraq, once a secular state, can be traced to the disastrous U.S. occupation that began when American L. Paul Bremer III, as the chief administrator, flew into Baghdad and announced, “I now have sovereignty over Iraq.” On behalf of Washington, he issued 100 orders from May 16, 2003, to the time he left in June of 2004. The first Order Bremer issued was the firing of 120,000 employees in civil positions who were responsible for

maintaining the infrastructure of Iraq and belonged to the Ba’ath Party; membership was a requirement for working in the government so many professionals and skilled laborers were members. Order No. 2, which disbanded the Iraqi Army, caused half a million men to lose their employment.¹⁰

A new system of government, that is still in place, was formed on the Lebanese model, along religious/ethnic lines (divided among Sunni, Shiia, Kurd); the intent was to segment the population, weaken the central government, and guarantee permanent fealty to the U.S.

The situation was further exacerbated by Article 4 of the Anti-Terrorism Law passed in 2005; it is similar to the U.S.A. Patriot Act in its use of secret evidence against the accused. Those found guilty are sentenced to life in prison or death.¹¹ During 2012 and 2013, nonviolent demonstrators in cities throughout Iraq including Fallujah, Ramadi, Takrit, Mosul, and Hawijah demanded that Article 4 be abolished and that prisoners held for years without charges be released. Among their



Endnotes for “Who is Behind the Mask?”

- 1 Example: “How ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi became the world’s most powerful jihadist leader.” McCoy, Terrence. June 11, 2014, *Washington Post*. washingtonpost.com; “Who is Isis leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi?” *The Guardian*. November 13, 2014. guardian.com. Also shown on *Today*, November 17, 2014, as “Guardian Explainers.”
- 2 His proclamations have been through audio with the exception of a video claiming that it is he delivering a July 4, 2014, speech that can be found on *You Tube*. Other videos by various *You Tube* posters say Al Baghdadi has another identity, including as an agent of the Israeli Mossad.
- 3 Abu Du’a, also known as Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi, described as “the senior leader of the terrorist organization, Iraq and Levant,” is listed among the “Most Wanted” terrorists. rewardsforjustice.net
- 4 “Bounties paid for terror suspects.” Samari, Mona. *Amnesty International Australia magazine, Human Rights Defender*, January 16, 2007: “More than 85 percent of detainees at Guantanamo Bay were arrested, not on the Afghanistan battlefield by US forces, but by the Northern Alliance fighting the Taliban in Afghanistan, and in Pakistan at a time when rewards of up to US \$5,000 were paid for every ‘terrorist’ turned over to the United States.”
- 5 “URGENT: ISIL video of al-Baghdadi is fake says Ministry of Interior.” *Iraqnews.com*, July 5, 2014
- 6 “The ploy was to invent Baghdadi, a figure whose very name establishes his Iraqi pedigree, install him as the head of a front organization called the Islamic State of Iraq and then arrange for Masri [head of Al Qaeda in Mesopotamia] to swear allegiance to him.” From: “Leader of Al Qaeda group in Iraq was fictional, U.S. military says.” Gordon, Michael R., July 18, 2007. *New York Times*. nytimes.com/2007/07/18/world/africa/18iht-iraq.4.6718200.html

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RESOURCE

WAMM Middle East Committee

News, reports, articles, commentaries, resources, events, educational talks, actions you can take. And more.
mec.worldwidewamm.org

ACTION

Vigil to End the Occupation of Palestine

Every Friday, Summit and Snelling Avenues, St. Paul
4:30 to 5:30 p.m.

WORD UP!

Compensation: Hellfire and Bunker Busters

The U.S. has approved a \$1.9 billion arms sale to Israel that analysts say is likely intended to offset its objections to the emerging nuclear agreement with Iran. The Pentagon's Defense Security Cooperation Agency said Wednesday on its website that the deal had received State Department authorization and will now be sent to Congress for review, where it is certain to be approved. The package includes 3,000 Hellfire missiles, 250 AIM-120C Advanced Medium Range Air-to-Air Missiles, and 50 BLU-113 "bunker-buster" [mini-nuclear] bombs.

—Calev Ben-David, Bloomberg Business News, May 21, 2015; "News Release," Department of Defense Security Cooperation Agency, May 19, 2015

WAMM THANKS

Memorial for Jim Knutson:

Mary Percich

Vanessa Lawrow

Israeli Historian Ilan Pappé on Changing Perceptions: Israel/Palestine

summarized by Liza Burr

Ilan Pappé is a major Israeli New Historian who published the results of his groundbreaking research on the 1948 Israeli war of independence in his book, The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine (Oneworld Publications, 2006). While teaching at Haifa University, Dr. Pappé received numerous death threats in response to his dissenting views, including his interpretation of the 1948 war. He moved to the UK in 2007 in order to join the faculty of the University of Exeter. A prolific author, Pappé is also an activist committed to a non-Zionist "one-state solution" for Israel/Palestine.

Liza Burr synthesized a talk, sponsored by the Middle East Committee of Women Against Military Madness, which Pappé gave via Skype in February of this year.

Calling the topic of his talk "a new orientation," or "new directions in our thinking about Israel/Palestine," Pappé divided it into three parts. **First, he explained why the rhetoric of the "peace process" is so irrelevant to the realities on the ground for the Palestinians, including Palestinian refugees.** He emphasized his view that the conflict needs to be correctly framed as one not between two national movements with equal claims to the land, but rather as one between a settler colonial movement that came to Palestine in the late 19th century—with the settlers reinventing themselves as a new people in a new homeland—and the indigenous people of the land. The goal of the Zionist colonial movement has been to acquire as much of the land of historic Palestine as possible with as few Palestinians living on it as possible. With respect to the Palestinians, Zionism has been an ideology of exclusion and racism. The war of 1948 (for Palestinians the Nakba—or the Catastrophe) was a war of ethnic cleansing designed to create a safe demographic haven for Jews (see Pappé's *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine*, 2006). However, when it conquered the West Bank and Gaza in 1967, Israel decided not to expel more Palestinians but instead to maintain control over them by offers of fake autonomy and other devices. The key to a solution to the ongoing conflict, he concluded, is decolonization; it is still possible for colonizers and colonized, or guests and hosts, to live together as equals.

Second, Pappé noted that what is needed is to teach people a new perspective with a new dictionary containing new terminology to describe the actual reality in Palestine. He

and renowned linguist/political commentator Noam Chomsky have since published a book together entitled *On Palestine* (Haymarket Books, 2015) to meet this need. Pappé provided as an example the misnomer "occupation" for the status quo in the West Bank, East Jerusalem, and Gaza. The term "occupation" normally refers to temporary, post-war military rule pending a political resolution. The Israeli occupation, of nearly 48 years duration, is instead a type of colonization or incarceration; he described Gaza as a maximum security military prison.

Third, the "wrong logic" of the Oslo "peace process," which went nowhere, is that Israel was allowed to pursue policies in defiance of the agreement. In the negotiations, it had been deemed mandatory to convince the weaker party (Palestinians) to do what the stronger party (Israel) wanted, with the result that Israel could act unilaterally in ways that made life in the Occupied Territories impossible; for instance, the settler population doubled in the 1990s. Moreover, the Palestinian citizens of Israel and the millions of Palestinian refugees have not been part of the official "peace process" conversation. Israel's treatment of Israeli Palestinians, who are citizens of Israel (that is, Palestinians who remained within the borders of the 1948 state of Israel), increasingly resembles its treatment of the Palestinians in the occupied West Bank and Gaza. Indeed Israel sees the peace process as "war by other means"; thus talks may continue inconclusively, but all the while "facts on the ground" are proceeding apace. The complacency and silence of the Western world allowed the establishment of Israel as a Zionist state. The message of non-accountability for this fait accompli, at the expense of the Palestinians, was integrated into world culture. Israel will not change until the world exerts strong pressure to make it change through such grassroots mechanisms as BDS (boycott, divestment, sanctions). Israel/Palestine is already, in fact, one state—not two; it is vital that this state be secular and democratic, and that a way be found for the two peoples of this land to coexist on the basis of equal human and civil rights. Meanwhile, the victims of the ongoing conflict are mostly Palestinians, and the majority of Palestinian victims are women and children.

Key Points Made by Pappé in Response to Audience Questions Following His Talk:

identified by Liza Burr

WORD UP!

- (1) **U.S. support for Israel is based not only on AIPAC but also on the considerable clout of Christian Zionists, in addition to the military-industrial complex.** The main obstacle to changing U.S. policy is on Capitol Hill: the fear felt by senators and congressional representatives of the political consequences if they deviate from the line dictated by the Israel lobby. But what is most important for activists is to focus on a “clear way forward,” especially by means of a more effective pro-Palestinian lobby providing an alternative agenda.
- (2) **The British Members of Parliament are timid too, but British public opinion is far more enlightened than U.S. public opinion.** If British politicians were more democratic and paid closer attention to their constituents, they would reflect the influence of their electorate far more than they do. British academics are more willing to speak out than are their French, German, and Italian counterparts, who are “terrified.” In general, a larger worldwide cadre of courageous academics is needed. The price to pay for taking a stand in favor of justice for Palestinians is small compared to the price being paid by Palestinians.
- (3) **Israel’s policy toward Gaza is “incremental genocide,” although there is no master plan to kill the entire population.** For Palestinians in Gaza there is no escape and no way to know where the bombs will fall. But two obstacles are faced by those “raising the alarm” over Gaza: critical world attention only focuses on Gaza when there is a major massacre (as for example last summer); and the situations in Iraq and Syria are so terrible that attention is deflected to those countries from Gaza. Yet Israeli inhumanity and barbarism in Gaza and the West Bank are linked to inhumanity and barbarism elsewhere in the Middle East.
- (4) **Yes, Palestinian membership in the ICC (International Criminal Court) is meaningful and beneficial for the Palestinians;** it sends a message to Israel that “you are not ok,” contrary to the opposite message sent by the so-called peace process. The ICC offers a means of educating public opinion inside and outside of Israel signifying that Israel’s behavior is not only unacceptable; it is criminal. Some of Israel’s policies in the

West Bank and Gaza Strip are in fact war crimes.

- (5) **When a questioner suggested that Pappé’s *The Ethnic Cleansing of Palestine* (2006), concerning the 1948 war, contains “fiction,” the author replied that the basic thesis on which the book is based is irrefutable:** the Zionist leadership planned the systematic, intentional ethnic cleansing of the Palestinians from Palestine long before 1948, the year in which they oversaw the destruction of half the total number of Palestinian villages along with massacres of thousands of Palestinians. Palestinian survivors know what was done to Palestinians by the Zionists, just as Jewish Holocaust survivors know what was done to Jews by the Nazis. Israel must come to terms with what it did in the past if it wants to live in peace in the future.
- (6) **On the connection between Islamophobia and the Palestinian issue, Pappé explained that before 9/11 there was public international consensus that the Israeli occupation could not be justified, and Israel realized that it could not defend such actions against the Palestinians as systematically incarcerating and torturing them without justification.** Therefore the Israeli government decided to take advantage of the rise of extreme Islamic militancy by associating that with the Palestinians’ just struggle for liberation from Israeli oppression. The result is a clouding of the real core issues. Islam is not the issue. The issue is Israel’s human and civil rights record, on which Israel should be measured with the same yardstick by which other countries are measured.
- (7) **The U.S. population is ignorant about Israel/Palestine but willing to learn.** The Israeli

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UN Releases Report on Gaza
 The 2014 hostilities saw a huge increase in firepower used in Gaza, with more than 6,000 airstrikes by Israel and approximately 50,000 tank and artillery shells fired. In the 51 day operation, 1,462 Palestinian civilians were killed, a third of them children. Palestinian armed groups fired 4,881 rockets and 1,753 mortars towards Israel in July and August 2014, killing 6 civilians and injuring at least 1,600. Hundreds of Palestinian civilians were killed in their own homes, especially women and children.

—“UN report cites possible war crimes by both Israel and Palestinian groups in 2014 Gaza conflict,” *United Nations Independent Commission of Inquiry*, June 22, 2015

Breaking the Silence: Operation Protective Edge

The testifiers, who served in various units – from ground, to naval, to air forces, in both headquarters and command centers – expose the nature of IDF operations in various combat zones. The testimonies in this collection close the yawning gaps between what the IDF and government spokespersons told the public about the combat scenarios, and the reality described by the soldiers that took part in the operation.

—a truth-telling project of anonymous Israeli Defense Force soldiers who participated in the 2014 attack on Gaza, breakingthesilence.org

Street artist Banksy found a way to let people know about Israel’s destruction of Gaza in *Operation Cast Lead*, 2008/2009. Why this image? “On the internet people only look at pictures of kittens.” 5,000 Palestinians had been wounded. 1,400 were killed, more than 500 of those were children.

Bon Voyage to Gaza

The freedom flotilla to Gaza will leave Athens shortly. I will be on it along with many other participants including members of parliament and public figures from around the world. This civil flotilla is a peaceful one whose aim is to end the siege by way of turning international attention to the situation of 1.8 million Palestinians, living in disgraceful, prison-like conditions as a result of Israel's military siege of both sea and land — not to mention that it poses collective punishment and brutal violation of the international humanitarian law.

— *Open letter from Member of Knesset Dr. Basel Ghattas to Israeli Prime Minister Netanyahu, June 21, 2015*

Update on Freedom Flotilla III

At 02:06AM today (Gaza time) the “Marianne” contacted Freedom Flotilla Coalition (FFC) and informed us that three boats of the Israeli navy had surrounded her in international waters, while sailing approximately 100NM from Gaza coast...at 05:11 AM (Gaza time) the IDF [Israeli Defense Force] announced that they had “visited and searched” Marianne. They had captured the boat and detained all on board “in international waters . . .

— *“Israel once again commits an act of state piracy in the Mediterranean,” Freedom Flotilla Coalition statement, June 29, 2015*

Photo: Freedom Flotilla Coalition, freedomflotilla.org

Wishing bon voyage to the Marianna as she embarks under a Swedish flag to carry international solidarity activists attempting to break the draconian eight-year siege of Gaza.

Key Points,

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population has been indoctrinated, which means that you have to reach Israelis on a deeper level through a long, slow educational process. The international grassroots movement called BDS (boycott-divestment-sanctions) is a quick means of applying pressure to Israel in order to save the Palestinians, but the more lasting solution is to de-program Zionist Jews, who dehumanize Palestinians. It is easier for Palestinians to humanize Israelis than for Israelis to humanize Palestinians. Pappé seeks a “new reality,” as exemplified by a new center in the Galilee where joint Palestinian-Jewish kindergartens are being established.

- (8) **The Bedouins, indigenous people living in the Negev desert region of southern Israel, are among those omitted by the “peace process.”** The Jewish National Fund (JNF) is enabling Israel to Judaize and de-Arabize southern Israel by planting imported European pine trees in the desert in order to limit living space for the indigenous people there. These Disneyland forests displace the native Bedouins and destroy their communities, committing irreversible crimes that are both political (against people) and ecological (against nature).
- (9) **Israel may be singled out at the United Nations in words (through UN resolutions, which the U.S. invariably vetoes), but Israel is never singled out in action.** Neither UN resolutions nor terrorist attacks have caused Israel to change its strategy or behavior. You can complain about Israel, but you cannot do anything; the exception is BDS, which is doing something on a grassroots level. Criticizing Israel for its treatment of the Palestinians and condemning its criminal acts is not anti-Semitic. Israel is unwilling to accept the humanity of the Palestinians; its racism parallels white American racism against African

Americans and white South African racism against black South Africans. The charge of anti-Semitism leveled at critics of Israel who are backed by a well-documented record of human rights abuses is a disingenuous silencing tactic.

- (10) **Regarding Israel’s sizable nuclear arsenal and the Iran negotiations, Pappé commented that in the Middle East you can commit genocide without nuclear weapons.** He also remarked that in such a small area the use of nuclear weapons would be instantly suicidal. Yes, there is a double standard: Israel with its arsenal of at least 250 nuclear warheads, in contrast to Iran with its arsenal of zero nuclear warheads, is granted exceptional status by the West. This is an extension of the exceptionality granted to Israel regarding its human rights abuses and violations of international law.
- (11) **The Israeli elections in March will have no impact on the Palestinian situation, and neither the Palestinian Authority (PA) nor Hamas can truly address Palestinian suffering.** Alternatives to both the PA and Hamas are being constructed, but old structures should not be thrown out until new ones are ready to replace them. The U.S. role in the Middle East, which has been quite negative, is in decline; since the U.S. economy is based on debt, the U.S. will have to downsize, which is good news for those who seek justice in the Middle East. Nevertheless, new powers that are moving in, such as China, are motivated by narrow economic interests. Israel is already building a pro-Israel lobby in China. Ultimately, the struggle for social justice in the West and the struggle for justice in Palestine are connected. Those engaged in either or both can draw strength from each other.

Liza Burr is a member of the WAMM Middle East Committee. She earned a Ph.D. in the Study of Religion from Harvard University, and has taught at several universities in the Twin Cities, in addition to other activities. Her most recent course is “Justice, War, and Peace in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam,” offered at Metropolitan State University. She has visited Israel/Palestine periodically since 1970.



Iraq and ISIS,
continued from page 5

demands was also employment—they wanted to be able to work. Many of those who were suffering from oppression and had participated in demonstrations were Sunni and young men.

But, instead of listening to them, Al Malaki, then president of Iraq, designated peaceful demonstrators “terrorists” and “trouble makers” and, in 2012 and 2013, ordered Iraqi forces to kill the unarmed civilian protesters in cold blood. He did not take into account the fact that Shiia like him were in the minority and that Sunni worldwide make up 1.7 billion, the majority, of the Muslims around the world,¹² and would be empathetic to young Iraqi Sunnis and aroused to come to their rescue.

Youth in the nearby U.S./Western allied Gulf kingdoms of Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Jordan, Kuwait, UAE, and also in Turkey are among the Sunnis who were angered by what was happening to Iraqi Sunni.

And this where the Spider comes in—to catch them in his web of war, as they come from near and far to Iraq and Syria where they will act as foot soldiers in the bloody chaos and assist in weakening and dividing the Middle East for plunder, though that may not be their intent. The Spider is the jihadist, who goes by the nom de guerre, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi. He is said to have made a meteoric rise to command the ISIS caliphate and acts as a behind-the-scenes recruiter. Mystery and suspicion surround his identity.

Rasouli eschews the U.S. taboo about discussing Israel’s role in the region. He says it is impossible to discuss the Middle East truthfully without talking about the role of Israel. The neo-cons (in both major U.S. political parties) who are very powerful in Washington and in the Israeli and U.S. governments, are acting on one another’s behalf following a plan of expanding Israel at the expense of native populations, and further securing the U.S. foothold in the Middle East. This has led to the violence and bloodshed, referred to by U.S. Secretary of State Condoleeza Rice in Tel Aviv in 2006, as “the birth pangs of the New Middle East.”

Rice was articulating what an Israeli strategist, Oded Yinon, had put into writing in 1982:

Every kind of inter-Arab confrontation will assist us in the short run and will shorten the way to the more important aim of breaking up Iraq into denominations as in Syria and in Lebanon. In Iraq, a division into

provinces along ethnic/religious lines as in Syria during Ottoman times is possible.¹³

Rasouli has always worked for peace, nonviolence, and ecumenicalism in regard to Sunni Muslim, Shiia Muslim, Christian, Jew, and all religions, and he emphasizes that it is important to distinguish between what he calls the beauty of the Jewish religion, which he greatly respects, and the Israeli government’s expansion in the Middle East. The city of Najaf, where he lives, is considered a holy Shiite city, but he emphasizes that Sunnis are an important part of Iraqi society and says that the people attracted to ISIS, claiming to be Sunni, are tragically misguided extremists.

Rasouli believes that there may be no way to prove exactly who is doing exactly what in Iraq now. The questions he says to ask are: **Who benefits and what will they gain?** When people are forced to leave their land either through death or desperation, it will be easier for interested parties to gain control of it and the resources that lie within—throughout the Middle East, the most coveted resources are gas and oil. Routes to move it out are all important.¹⁴ The West is also motivated to keep market competitors Russia and China out of the region. And the weapons business, as always, profits from militarized conflict¹⁵ while the people, whether they are youth manipulated to kill and destroy or innocent civilians caught in the crossfire, are the ones who inevitably suffer.

Endnotes

- 1 OpenOil Online Curriculum: Companies and Markets: Geopolitics: Energy Security in Iraq wiki.openoil.net/index.php?title=Oil_theft; “An audit of Iraq’s oil revenue management and accounting system found the plan to fully install and calibrate a full crude oil and products metering system by 2012 is only 39% complete, according to newly released documents.” platts.com. May 10, 2011; “Why the war in Iraq was Fought for Big Oil,” Juhasz, Antonia, April 15, 2013. *Special to CNN*, cnn.com; “Iraq is suffocating under an oil slick of corruption.” Al-Adhami, Mundher, *Alaraby News*. alaraby.co.uk. April 24, 2015
- 2 Iraq ranks 170 out of 175 countries. 2014 Corruption Perceptions Index. Transparency International. transparency.org/cpi2014
- 3 Iraqi Finance Minister Hoshyar Zebari, who is a Kurd, is working on negotiations between Iraq’s federal government in Baghdad and the Kurdish Regional Government in order to resolve the dispute over control of oil export and revenue. platts.com. June 5, 2015; Iraq Oil Report. iraqoilreport.com. June 8, 2015
- 4 There are currently about 3,050 U.S. forces in Iraq. 2,250 support Iraqi security forces, 450 train Iraqi troops, 200 more act in advising and assisting roles.” Bradner, Eric and Starr, Barbara and Accosta, Jim. “White House Authorizes Up to 450 Additional Troops in Iraq.” *CNN Politics*. cnn.com. June 10, 2015
- 5 Muslim Peacemaker Teams: <http://reconciliationproject.org/2012/muslim-peacemaker-teams>
- 6 “How is it that Shiite militias must be called upon to

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RESOURCE

- **Muslim Peacemaker Teams**
- An Iraq-registered nonprofit organization working to bring Iraqis together in peace and nonviolence to work for the good of the country, and to encourage Iraqi people to be self-sufficient in the face of the violence across the country. reconciliationproject.org/2012/muslim-peacemaker-teams

WAMM THANKS

- In Memory of Sharon Rice Vaughan:
- Debby Rice
- Nancy Miller
- Richard Pemberton, Jr. and Rebecca McLane
- John and Marie Braun
- Lucia Wilkes-Smith
- Sally Kundert
- Lavon and Charlie Fisher
- Bethanne Nelson Stolp
- Nancy and Tom Leiser
- Judith Gavin
- Polly Mann
- Renate Sharp
- Diane Haugesag
- Carol Walker
- Colleen and Douglas McGilp
- Sue and James Welna
- Larry Olds
- Pepperwolf and Tom Bottolene
- Janice Scofield
- Vanessa Lawrow

WAMM 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 War

Every Wednesday. Time from now through Nov.: 5:00 to 6:00 p.m. Lake Street/Marshall Avenue Bridge, signs available at St. Paul side. Also brief circle up for announcements after the vigil on St. Paul side. FFI: Call WAMM at 612-827-5364.

Vigil to End the Occupation

of Palestine 4:30 to 5:30 p.m. every Friday, corner of Summit Avenue and Snelling Avenue, St. Paul. FFI: Call WAMM 612-827-5364.

Peace Vigil Every Tuesday, 5:00 to 6:00 p.m. on the Eastside of the Franklin Avenue Bridge, Minneapolis. Sponsored by: Prospect Hill Neighbors for Peace. FFI: 612-379-7398

Grandmothers for Peace Vigils 50th Street and Halifax (1 block w. of France) Wednesdays, 4:45 p.m. to 5:45 p.m. FFI: Marian Wright, 612-927-7607

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

Ongoing WAMM Committee Meetings

Board Meeting Third Tuesday of each month, 6:00 p.m. at WAMM, 4200 Cedar Avenue South, Minneapolis. FFI: Call WAMM, 612-827-5364.

The WAMM Book Club

10:00 to 11:30 a.m. Afro Deli, 1939 South 5th Street, Minneapolis. Third Saturday of the month. FFI: Call 612-827-5364.

End War Committee Acting Against War and the Threats of War. First Monday of each month, 5:30 p.m. at WAMM, 4200 Cedar Avenue South, Minneapolis. FFI: Call Marie 612-827-5364

Ground All Drones Committee First Thursdays of every month, Now begins 15 min. later: 4:45 to 6:00 p.m., 4200 Cedar Avenue South, Minneapolis. FFI: 612-827-5364

Middle East Committee Second Monday of each month, 10:00 a.m. at WAMM, 4200 Cedar Avenue South, Suite 3, Minneapolis. FFI: Call WAMM 612-827-5364

St. Joan of Arc/WAMM Peacemakers 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 Wednesday of each month, 10:00 a.m. at 4200 Cedar Avenue South, Minneapolis.

Ongoing Events

Committee to Stop FBI Repression 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.

People of Faith Peacemakers Breakfast Second and fourth Wednesdays, 8:00 to 9:30 a.m. at African Development Center, Riverside and 20th Avenues South. A resource and support group for those concerned about peace with justice from a faith perspective. FFI: www.justviewpoint.org or call 612-333-4772.

Grandmothers for Peace First Wednesday 12:45 p.m. at Edina Public Library, 5280 Grandview Square, Edina. Programs around justice issues that help us to understand our role in changing unjust systems. FFI: 952-929-1566

Pax Salons Tuesdays, 6:30 p.m. to 8:30 p.m. 943 West Seventh Street (St. Paul Gallery), St. Paul. Please come. Topics vary. Call for details. Small donations accepted. FFI: 227-3228

WAMM Second Monday at the Movies Second Monday of every month, 7:00 p.m. 4200 Cedar Ave. South, Minneapolis. Projected on big screen. Free admission, popcorn. All welcome. Discussion follows film. FFI: 612-827-5364 and wamm@mtn.org

Third Thursday Global Issues Forum 7:00 to 9:00 p.m. FFI: globalsolutionsmn.org

Middle East Peace Now Usually second or third Saturday. Refreshments 9:30 a.m., Program 10:00 a.m. Location may vary. FFI: mepn.org

Dignity, Not Detention Vigil Every first Sunday, 2:30 to 3:00 p.m. at 425 Grove Street (Ramsey County Law Enforcement Center). Vigil for civil immigrant detainees in jail. Sponsored by: Interfaith Coalition for Immigration, Advocates for Human Rights. FFI: Email interfaithonimmigration@gmail.com or call Michele 612-341-3302 (x117)

Special Events

Veterans for Peace 30th Annual Convention: "Peace & Reconciliation in the Pacific" Wednesday, August 5 to Sunday, August 9, Town & Country Resort, San Diego, CA. Keynote speaker: Seymour Hersh. Poetry reading, workshops, music, friends. FFI & registration: vfpnationalconvention.org

SAVE THE DATE!
WAMM Annual Silent Auction Sunday, September 27. See announcement back page.

Friends of Sabeel North America (FOSNA) conference: Friday, November 13 to Saturday, November 14 at Luther Seminary, St. Paul

SOA Watch Vigil: "Resist Empire, Militarization, and Detention" Vigil at the gates of Fort Benning, Georgia. March to Stewart Detention Center. Friday, November 20 to Sunday, November 22. Workshops, strategy sessions, grassroots movement building, concerts, puppetista pageant. FFI: soaw.org or call 202-234-3440

WAMM Summer Social: Suds, Snacks and Dr. Strangelove! Thursday, August 6, Meet & Eat at 8:00 p.m., Movie at Dusk. 7308 Sheridan Ave. S., Richfield, MN. Outdoor screening of the 1964 satiric noir classic about an insane general and nuclear war. Donations appreciated. FFI: 612-827-5364

Hiroshima Nagasaki Commemoration Events:

Commemorative tea ceremony. Wednesday, August 5, 5:00 p.m. Lyndale Park Peace Garden, 4124 Roseway Road, Minneapolis

Sadako story, music, VFP bell ringing, keynote by Leslie Chavez, 2014 Kawase fellow. Thursday, August 6, 7:30 a.m., 4124 Roseway Road, Lyndale Park Peace Garden, Minneapolis

Junshin Peace Singers from Nagasaki, Kairos Alive dance, keynote by Chue Lee, 2014 Kawase fellow. Saturday, August 8, 7:00 p.m., Global Harmony Labyrinth, Como Park, St. Paul).

Art Show and New Players Association of Nagasaki Prefecture Ensemble Sunday, August 9, at 7:00 p.m., Opening: Paul Martin Butkovich art show. St. John's Episcopal Church, 4201 Sheridan Avenue South, Minneapolis.

Additional events listed at WomenAgainstMilitaryMadness.org or call the WAMM office: 612-827-5364.

For Minnesota Alliance of Peacemaker events, see: mapm.org

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- Book Club
- End War Committee: Acting Against War and the Threats of War Middle East
- Monday Movie Committee
- St. Joan of Arc/WAMM Peacemakers
- Ground All Drones Committee
- Tackling Torture at the Top

Administrative and Other Committees:

- Coordinating
- Finance
- Fundraising
- New Member
- Newsletter
- Personnel
- Program/New Issues
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Iraq and ISIS,

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liberate Ramadi? If the Iraqi Army has evaporated or perhaps more accurately deteriorated into a collection of local militias and palace guards, then the U.S. ‘retraining’ mission in Iraq is vastly more difficult than we have been led to believe.” Posen, Barry. “Iraq’s Army No Longer Exists.” *Defense One*. June 7, 2015

7 This article refers to ISIS as it is the more recognizable name in the U.S. at present. Apparently to legitimize itself as an actual nation-state, in addition to ISIS, it calls itself ISIL for the Islamic State of Syria and the Levant—or Al Sham, or IS for Islamic State. <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/islamic-state-group-name-raises-objection>

8 On May 1, 2015, FP (*Foreign Policy Magazine* online) reported that “5th Special Forces Group is ramping up efforts in the Middle East aimed at training more than 5,000 Syrian rebels a year in Turkey, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and, perhaps, Jordan.” Naylor, Sean D. foreignpolicy.com; On April 30, 2013, *the Washington Post* had reported: “President Obama is preparing to send lethal weaponry to the Syrian opposition and has taken steps to assert more aggressive U.S. leadership among allies and partners seeking the ouster of President Bashar al-Assad, according to senior administration officials.” DeYoung, Karen, “Obama Moving Toward Sending Lethal Arms to Syrian Rebels.” washingtonpost.com. April 30, 2013; In the prior month, *The New York Times* reported: “With help from the C.I.A., Arab governments and Turkey have sharply increased their military aid to Syria’s opposition fighters in recent months, expanding a secret airlift of arms and equipment for the uprising against President

Bashar al-Assad, according to air traffic data, interviews with officials in several countries and the accounts of rebel commanders.” Chivers, C. J. and Schmitt, Eric. “Arms Airlift to Syria Expands, with Aid from CIA.”

9 In May 2015, the right-wing Judicial Watch organization obtained a declassified DIA document revealing that “the West, Gulf countries and Turkey support the opposition [to the government of Syria].” For brief highlights with analysis, see: “Newly Declassified U.S. Government Documents: The West Supported the Creation of ISIS,” *WashingtonsBlog*, washingtonsblog.com. Full document, see: judicialwatch.org.

10 Coalition Provisional Authority Order Number 1: De-Ba’athification of Iraqi Society May 16, 2003; Coalition Provisional Authority Order No. 2 Dissolution of Entities. May 23, 2003. National Security Archives, George Washington University. nsarchive.gwu.edu. The orders reflect a plan devised by a private contractor for the Bush Administration prior to the March 2003 U.S. war on Iraq: “Bremer’s Blueprint by Bearing Point, Inc.,” pp. 193-196. For a longer discussion, see also: “The Bremer Orders.” pp. 200-201, 214. *The Bush Agenda, Invading the World One Economy at a Time*. Juhasz, Antonia. ReganBooks. 2006.

11 Regarding Article 4 of Anti-Terrorism Law 13: “Pillay [The UN High Commissioner for Human Rights] condemns rampant use of death penalty in Iraq.” April 19, 2013. United Nations: Iraq. uniraq.org

12 According to Pew Research Center Sunnis are 87-90% of the world’s Muslims, Shiia are 10-13%. pewforum.org

13 See also: “Divide et Impera: Iraq and ISIS.” Beaudoin, Mary. *Women Against Military*

Madness Newsletter. Fall 2014; “Plans for Redrawing the Middle East: the Project for a New Middle East.” Nazemroaya, Mahdi Darius. Global Research. globalresearch.ca. re-published May 19, 2015 (first published 2006)

14 See: “Syria: the Mediterranean Piece.” Beaudoin, Mary. *Women Against Military Madness Newsletter*. July 2013. womenagainstmilitarymadness.org/newsletter/archive/2013/0713/syria.html

15 On April 18, 2015, *The New York Times* reported: “To wage war in Yemen, Saudi Arabia is using F-15 fighter jets bought from Boeing. Pilots from the United Arab Emirates are flying Lockheed Martin’s F-16 to bomb both Yemen and Syria. Soon, the Emirates are expected to complete a deal with General Atomics for a fleet of Predator drones to run spying missions in their neighborhood. As the Middle East descends into proxy wars, sectarian conflicts and battles against terrorist networks, countries in the region that have stockpiled American military hardware are now actually using it and wanting more. The result is a boom for American defense contractors . . .” Mazzetti, Mark and Cooper, Helen. “Sale of U.S. Arms Fuels the Wars of Arab States”; According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, the United States has taken a firm lead as the major global arms exporter, and Saudi Arabia is a major importer. March 16, 2015, sipri.org



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