

# Women Against Military Madness

## Newsletter

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*Street art by DALest.  
Photo: Allison Brown*



## Has the U.S. Constitution Been Lost to Military Rule?

by Todd Pierce

On October 23, 2001, the Office of Legal Counsel issued a legal opinion that would shock most Americans if they realized its full implications. By all appearances, it is still in effect, judging by military surveillance operations taking place in the U.S. by the Department of Defense and the military command within it, the National Security Agency (NSA). The opinion was entitled: “Authority for Use of Military Force to Combat Terrorist Activities **within the United States**” (emphasis in original).<sup>1</sup>

What is the Office of Legal Counsel—or “OLC” for short—that made such a bold move? It is a secretive office in the Department of Justice. The purpose of the OLC is straightforward. It sits as a de facto court within the White House that decides the legal questions that set the boundaries for how the federal government runs day-to-day. Be they the highest presidential appointee or lowliest bureaucrat, a government official who complies with the OLC’s opinion is generally immune from later prosecution or liability.

They are immune, that is, unless the OLC attorney was giving “good faith legal advice” when, in fact, the lawyers were just following orders to “legalize” an otherwise criminal act.

That “good faith legal advice” would not then serve to protect their clients. Lawyers can’t help with committing crimes, and when they do—even OLC lawyers—they can be prosecuted when they knowingly help plan or commit a crime. In fact, a lawyer was prosecuted at Nuremberg for his role in committing war crimes.

The lawyers who wrote the OLC opinion about the use of military force within the United States were Robert Delahunty, now teaching “law” at St. Thomas University Law School, Minneapolis, and John Yoo, who is back teaching the same sort of law at Boalt Law School, University of California, Berkeley. By “the same sort of law” is meant their idiosyncratic belief that the President, acting as “Commander in Chief,” has dictatorial-like powers.

This is the “unitary executive theory”—a radically un-American, unconstitutional and extra-legal ideology that former Vice President and torture enthusiast Dick Cheney has been pushing since the Iran-Contra Affair. In other countries, but particularly Germany from 1933 to 1945, in which citizens lived under a dictatorship, this was called “prerogative” government, as described by German Jewish lawyers. Both Delahunty and Yoo continue working to shoehorn this radical legal theory into respectability with prolific writing of law review articles promoting it.

The argument was that because of these prerogative powers, the President was subject to no law—neither constitutional law nor international law. The October 23, 2001 opinion is particularly dangerous, as it essentially granted the President martial law authority, meaning the authority to act outside the Constitution. To reiterate, the conclusion the OLC drew was that the President has constitutional authority to use the armed forces in military operations against those deemed to be terrorists *within the United States*. Consequently, “these operations generally would not be subject to the constraints of the Fourth Amendment, so long as the armed

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# WAMM Newsletter

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 On the Nuclear Watch

by Polly Mann

The publication *Nukewatch Quarterly*, out of Luck, Wisconsin, provides comprehensive reports, articles of vital importance, and recent news on nuclear issues: weapons, power, waste, and nonviolent resistance. To give you just a taste, the following are articles from the fall 2014 issue: “Childhood Leukemia Cases Up 37 Percent near Nuclear Reactors” (worldwide, over 60 epidemiological studies have found 70 percent leukemia increases in children living near nuclear reactors), “Regulators Okay Indefinite Onsite Storage of Highly Radioactive Waste Fuel,” “Global Physicians Issue Scathing Critique of UN Report on Fukushima,” and “Air Force Targeting China to Spend \$81 Billion on a New Nuclear Bomb.”

A broadsheet-size page of Nuclear Shorts, gathering from a variety of sources, alerts us to these alarming facts:

The Savannah River Site (SRS), located on an earthquake fault and a large aquifer [in South Carolina], is fast becoming the world's largest nuclear dumping ground, receiving nuclear waste from Italy, Sweden, Belgium, Canada, and perhaps Japan. Director Tom Clements of the SRS Watch group says, “The SRS already has more nuclear waste than it knows how to deal with.”

On May 29, 2014 the Illinois House of Representatives passed a bill to provide massive subsidies to the state's nuclear power reactors and curb the growth of truly “clean” renewable energy sources. The bill was part of a larger effort on the national level by the Koch Brothers' infamous American Legislative Exchange Council, ALEC.

The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency's proposal for cutting greenhouse gas emissions treats nuclear reactors as “zero carbon” power sources and includes them in the baseline “clean energy” production. It does not consider the toxic legacy of radioactive waste, security breaches, high levels of water use and dirty process of uranium mining, or routine radiation releases that come with nuclear power.

On August 1, Southern California Edison announced its plan for a 2016 dismantling of the two reactors at its San Onofre nuclear power facility, which is projected to take 20 years and cost \$4.4 billion, making it the most expensive decommissioning in the industry's 70-year history.

Unseasonably high temperatures, which have increased in frequency in recent years due to global warming, have threatened to force

showdowns of nuclear power reactors in Florida and Sweden in a growing trend that could soon put reactors in direct competition with local citizens for their right to fresh water.

A 2014 study done by the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, (IPPNW) found that atmospheric soot, global cooling, decreased precipitation rates, sea ice expansion, ozone loss, increase in UV radiation, and resulting impacts on agriculture would result from the use of just .006 percent of the current global nuclear arsenal. This kind of “small” regional nuclear conflict has the potential to produce a global nuclear famine. IPPNW was critical of a 2014 report about the Fukushima radiation disaster done by the UN Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation (UNSCEAR), saying it was “over-optimistic.”

So, is nuclear power an answer to the world's need for safe energy? Can there be a ban on the production of nuclear weapons at the same time? Mark Z. Jacobson, professor of civil and environmental engineering at Stanford University and director of its Atmosphere and Energy Program, has this to say about it: “Every dollar spent on nuclear is one less dollar spent on clean renewable energy and one more dollar spent on making the world a comparatively dirtier and a more dangerous place, because nuclear power and nuclear weapons go hand in hand.”

And Tim Judson, director of Nuclear Information and Resource Service, says:

“No amount of spending on nuclear has reduced the technology's costs nor overcome lengthy construction times and delays—whereas spending on renewables and efficiency has lowered their costs and increased their rate of deployment.”

A 24-page collection of reports on Japan's Fukushima radiation disaster is available from Nukewatch. Read past issues of *NukeWatch Quarterly* at the website: nukewatchinfo.org, or receive *NukeWatch Quarterly* in your mailbox with any size donation, via PayPal, or with a check to Nukewatch, 740A Round Lake Rd, Luck, WI 54853.

*Polly Mann is a co-founder of Women Against Military Madness and a regular contributor and columnist for the WAMM newsletter.*

**Constitution,**  
*continued from page 1*

forces are undertaking a military function.” This is a frightening prospect since the Fourth Amendment is what protects us against unreasonable searches and seizures, which can lead to arbitrary arrests.<sup>2</sup>

Furthermore, according to Delahunty and Yoo, terrorists operate within the continental United States and “conceal themselves within the domestic society and economy,” which makes it difficult to identify them. By this logic, everyone is now “suspect.” Furthermore, they wrote, 9/11 created a situation “in which the battlefield has occurred, and may occur, at dispersed locations and intervals within the American homeland itself. As a result, efforts to fight terrorism may require not only the usual wartime regulations of domestic affairs, but also military actions that have normally occurred abroad.”

This opinion by Delahunty and Yoo formed a legal basis for a state of martial law which the Bush administration took to mean that they could fight a “war” against terrorism outside the U.S. Constitution but inside the U.S. geographic area as a “military state,” operating just the way paragons of legality Mubarak’s Egypt and Pinochet’s Chile did. Bush officials argued this was due to necessity, but in fact that was fallacious, as the U.S. military is not, and should not be, considered an antiterrorist force. Militaries exist to defend against foreign armies attacking, not to conduct the police work required for counterterrorism. But as we’ve seen, when a military takes control of a country, occupying it as in Iraq and Afghanistan, or the Israeli occupation of Palestine, it enforces martial law on the civilians living there—in other words, the military operates as a dictatorship, or as our Supreme Court called it, “martial rule.”

So in writing an opinion authorizing martial law, Delahunty/Yoo asserted that the Fourth Amendment’s protections do not apply to domestic military operations in the United States, regardless of citizenship. They wrote that Federal Armed Forces must be free to use force when they deemed it necessary without being constrained by the Fourth Amendment, “even though force would be intentionally directed against persons known to be citizens.”

Additionally, as a final blow against the Constitution, Delahunty and Yoo stated: “First Amendment speech and press rights may also be subordinated to the overriding need to wage war successfully. ‘When a nation is at war many things that might be said in time of peace



are such a hindrance to its effort that their utterance will not be endured so long as men fight and that no Court could regard them as protected by any constitutional right.”

This OLC opinion laid the foundation for all the extra-constitutional actions by the Bush administration that would follow. They are still carried on by the Obama administration today with their assertions that the President can kill American citizens with a drone without any due process (whether inside or outside the U.S.).<sup>3</sup> It would also explain the military operation currently being conducted against American citizens by the National Security Agency (NSA), a component of the U.S. Department of Defense, in violation of the Fourth Amendment.

The fruits of that opinion can be seen with an out of control CIA that has been on display with the release of the Torture Report summary released by Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Chair Diane Feinstein in 2014. The acts of torture described in this summary are war crimes because they were committed in the context of, and associated with, wars beginning in 2001. But the war criminals, which could include some lawyers, may believe that there is no accountability for the perpetrators of these war crimes because they are part of, and have the protection of what Professor

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*Martial law is not obvious to most people most of the time in the U.S., but military presence was evident on the streets, rooftops, and river-front in St. Paul during the 2008 RNC political convention. Military was also used for crowd control at the DNC convention in Denver that year.*  
*Photo: Army News Service*

**WORD UP!**

**The Enemy Within Mindset**  
But the “enemy within” myth continued to dominate much of U.S. military’s thinking about the Vietnam War, including Petraeus’s updated counterinsurgency manuals and subsequent ones. “In a counterinsurgency, the insurgent often targets the U.S. population with themes and messages concerning the insurgency,” FM 3-24 asserts. In other words, American anti-war activists, who question the U.S. government’s own propaganda themes or who give credence to the arguments from the other side, are still being viewed as “enemies within” who must be neutralized.

—Todd Pierce, “Stifling Dissent on the Upper East Side,” Consortium News, December 8, 2014

**Which Will You Choose?**  
From an article I published over ten years ago titled “their dog eat dog world”: At a deeper psychological level, the choice we have is between believing and acting based on the worst elements of human history (i.e. a Straussian model) or knowledge of the history of the accomplishments of the best of humanity; even daring to imagine and plan for a better future—in other words, humanism. What is at stake here is nothing less than a choice between a power politics that sacrifices morality and justice and a path based on human rights for all which also happens to be the only path by which this planet will survive.

—Mazin Qumsiyeh, December 2014  
[popular-resistance.blogspot.com](http://popular-resistance.blogspot.com)

## WORD UP!

### Executive Order No. 12333

President Obama should stand up for the privacy rights of people all over the world and amend Executive Order 12333 to prohibit mass surveillance. Most people have never heard of it, but Executive Order 12333 is “the primary authority under which the country’s intelligence agencies conduct the majority of their operations.” Let’s change that in 2015.

— ‘EFF 2015 Holiday Wish List,’  
*Electronic Frontier  
Foundation: defending your  
rights in a digital world.*

### JLENS

The project is called JLENS – or “Joint Land Attack Cruise Missile Defense Elevated Netted Sensor System.” And you couldn’t come up with a better metaphor for wildly inflated defense contracts, a ponderous Pentagon bureaucracy, and the U.S. surveillance leviathan all in one.

— “Billion Dollar  
*Surveillance Blimp to  
Launch Over Maryland,*”  
*The Intercept, December 17, 2014*

*A giant JLENS blimp will  
float in skies over the U.S. like  
one already does in Kabul.*

*Photo: Raytheon.*



### Constitution,

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Michael Glennon describes as a “double government” in his book *National Security and Double Government*, and in an article by the same name.<sup>4</sup>

Glennon’s book puts into print, in the open and in the so-called mainstream, what some have known for years. The CIA and other national security agencies constitute a “deep state,” operating outside public view and, as we know now, without constitutional constraints or oversight.

But beyond setting the U.S. on a course of perpetual war and destroying democracy, the economy, and the Constitution, the opportunity was there for those within the deep state to protect their power even more by placing the country under “martial law.” Though we don’t normally see troops on the streets controlling and keeping an eye on us, and most have not felt the effects of a state of martial law, it is in effect with the constant NSA surveillance now permitted by law and the potential of military detention under Section 1021 of the 2012 National Defense Authorization Act (NDAA). Even though these statutes seem to ratify the underlying military authority put into place, that doesn’t change its character as “martial law.” Martial law exists whenever the military assumes authority over civilian officials. When General DeWitt ordered the removal of the Japanese Americans from the West Coast in 1942, a martial law act, that character did not change because Congress, to its later shame, ratified it by providing penalties for violating DeWitt’s order.

In the 21st century, martial law was effectively imposed when the military (NSA) was given the military mission of surveillance of the population (us), the same mission they were given when Iraq was invaded by the U.S. and the NSA mission was to spy on Iraqi civilians. In the U.S., they were tasked to monitor all of our thoughts as expressed in our communications as if they were conducting a counter-insurgency operation. The Minneapolis antiwar activists being investigated by a grand jury is an example of what occurs when a country is under martial law, as is the persecution of Palestinian-American Rasmia Odeh for her nonviolent political activities which are critical of foreign policy in the Mideast. (It is not required under martial law that only the military enforces it—civilian law enforcement authority is used to enforce it as well.)<sup>5</sup>

While seeming to withdraw portions of the October 23, 2001 opinion, a 2008 OLC memo corroborates the meaning of the October 23, 2001 opinion fundamentally, but offered that “appropriate caution should be exercised” before relying on the opinion.<sup>6</sup> Because they are wrapped in secrecy, we have no way of knowing current interpretations, except that we know the NSA/military is still spying on us through all of our communications and Section 1021 of the 2012 NDAA is still on the books as public law, providing for military detention “pending disposition under the law of war.”

For anyone skeptical that this constitutes martial law, a vigorous advocate of martial law for World War II, Charles Fairman of Harvard University, considered a martial law expert, writing in 1942, justified it to include the removal of the Japanese Americans from the West Coast that was conducted under the military authority of General DeWitt. Fairman cited this routine aspect of martial law from World War II Hawaii: “No action should be maintained against a member of the armed forces for any act under color of duty, or against any person employed in an activity essential to the national defense for any act within the scope of such employment; nor should such a person suffer judgment by default, or be subpoenaed as a witness.”

We have seen this principle applied since 2001 in those numerous cases against various national security officials which are routinely dismissed on the grounds of “state secrets,” which can be presumed to be what the torturers are relying upon.

This is not the first instance of a “dual state”

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## Constitution,

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in what was once considered an enlightened, democratic country. In a book of the same name, a German-Jewish lawyer, Ernst Fraenkel, wrote as the opening line in 1939: “Martial law provides the constitution of the Third Reich.” Fraenkel broke German government into the “prerogative state” and the “normative state.” The prerogative state constituted that part of the German state under martial law and run by the security apparatuses. Prerogative power, which Delahunty and Yoo still advocate for, is martial law, or “martial rule” as our Supreme Court once described it.

But we don’t need to permit our country to fall into the abyss as Germany did, or even to be a less severe version. We do not need to give up our constitutional rights any more in exchange for “safety,” knowing as we do that to suppress speech and intimidate the citizenry is really only to protect the incompetents of the deep state, who are driving the U.S. into an abyss—though different than the German example, an abyss nevertheless.

All we have to do is to demand accountability, starting with the torturers and their legal enablers, whoever they may be shown to be. Demand accountability of our government for these war crimes committed by our government, or call on international organizations and foreign nations that may be willing to assert universal jurisdiction over war crimes. That is what it took to bring war criminal Augusto Pinochet to justice. There is no statute of limitations for war crimes, so we must not give up until torturers and enablers are held accountable for what the Torture Report has shown to be war crimes. We can do no less unless we want future generations to demand of us: why didn’t we do something?

*Todd E. Pierce, Major, U.S. Army (Ret.), served as Defense Counsel in the Office of Chief Defense Counsel, Office of Military Commissions, from June 2008 to November 2012. He was on defense teams representing three clients held at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. He was co-counsel in the case of U.S. v. Ibrahim al Qosi, who was returned to his native country in July 2011 after serving two years of his sentence. He continues to serve as co-counsel on the appeal of the 2008 Military Commission’s conviction of Ali al Bahlul, for whom two of three convictions have been vacated by D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals on constitutional grounds, with one remaining under deliberation.*

## Action

### What to Do About Torture Now:

In addition to calling for more truthfulness about the responsibility of those at the top who gave the orders and concocted spurious ‘legalization’ of torture defenses, our T3 Committee points to the analysis and recommendations recently set forth at *Just Security*, entitled ‘Disappearing People and Disappearing the Evidence: The Deeper Significance of the SSCI Report’ written by Katherine Hawkins, the main investigator for the Constitution Project’s Task Force on Detainee Treatment. On August 12, twenty public interest organizations sent a letter to President Obama asking him to take three concrete steps:

1. Replace John Brennan as CIA Director
2. Declassify the CIA Inspector General’s report on the CIA’s searches of Senate computers
3. Remove the excessive redactions of the Executive Summary of the Senate torture report, and declassify the full report.

— *Tackling Torture at the Top (T3) Committee of Women Against Military Madness (Hawkin’s piece: <http://justsecurity.org/14054/guest-post-disappearing-people-disappearing-evidence-deeper-significance-ssci-report/>)*

## Endnotes

- 1 <http://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/opa/legacy/2009/03/09/memomilitaryforcecombatus10232001.pdf>
- 2 Amendment IV: The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.
- 3 Amendment V provides that no citizen should be deprived life, liberty, or property without due process of law. However, in September of 2011, American-born and educated Anwar Al-Awlaki was targeted and killed in a U.S. drone strike in Yemen. Also killed in the strike was Samir Khan. Al-Awlaki’s 16-year-old son, Denver-born Abdulrahman al-Awlaki, was killed by American drones while attending a barbeque with cousins in Yemen the next month. For more information about the killings, see investigative journalist Jeremy Scahill’s account in “Inside America’s Dirty Wars: how three U.S. citizens were killed by their own government in the space of one month in 2011.” (*The Nation*, April 24, 2013) <http://www.thenation.com/article/173980/inside-americas-dirty-wars>
- 4 <http://fletcher.tufts.edu/~media/Fletcher/Directory/media/National%20Security%20and%20Double%20Government%20by%20Glennon.pdf>
- 5 For more information, see [stopfbi.net](http://stopfbi.net) and [uspnc.org](http://uspnc.org)
- 6 <http://www.justice.gov/sites/default/files/opa/legacy/2009/03/09/memoolcopiniondomesticusemilitaryforce10062008.pdf>

## WORD UP!

### The Blame Game

This Report alone, since it deals mostly with relatively low-level (usually called ‘rogue’) instances of torture by CIA contractors, will not effectively ferret out the orders and ‘legal’ architecture coming from ‘the Top’—from the politicians who granted the ‘green light’ to those on the lower levels of the CIA and military hierarchies who then actually committed the war crimes. Already the news is full of Bush Administration officials strategizing as to whether to ‘circle the wagons’ or to ‘throw CIA operatives under the bus’ in an attempt to avoid blame.

— *Tackling Torture at the Top (T3) Committee of Women Against Military Madness, on the Senate Torture Report*

### Of Course They Knew

It’s been a bizarre two weeks to watch people react to the torture report because there’s this premise among all this establishment media and even the political posse say, ‘Oh my God, you mean we tortured. I never knew that and had I known this I would have been disgusted and outraged.’ And the reality is that for over a decade the entire political and media class knew that the CIA was torturing, not just by waterboarding three people but by implementing a systematic regime of torture all over the world. . . . The CIA is what it is because that is what the political and media class want it to be. They don’t want to have their noses rubbed in it, but they want it to be doing what it’s doing and the only thing that changed this week was that we did have our noses rubbed in it and there’s a lot of feigned shock and horror over what it is that they’ve done and I think it’s important to remember how consistent with American values it is and not a violation of it. That to me has been the big take-away from the report.

— *Glenn Greenwald speaking at the IFC Center, New York, December 2014*



**Brazil deserves the truth—** says Dilma Rousseff, the current president of Brazil (since 2011) who survived torture while imprisoned in 1970 opposing a military dictatorship.

**And So Does the U.S.**

For years, the U.S. Army trained Latin American soldiers in torture techniques and how to circumvent laws on due process, arrest and detention in standard lesson plans employed at the infamous School of the Americas, renamed the Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (WHINSEC) in 2001. . . . The consequences of these trainings for the proliferation and institutionalization of torture practices in the hemisphere have become clear in the publication of Brazil's National Truth Commission report, released just one day after the CIA torture report [The Senate Investigative Report on Torture]. It specifically mentions the School of the Americas, which trained over 300 members of the Brazilian military, and how U.S. military officials spent years teaching torture techniques to Brazil's military.

— *A Long History: Lack of Prosecution of U.S. Officials Paved the Way for New Abuses, School of Americas Watch, soaw.org, December 16, 2014*

## ¡Presente! at the Gates of the SOA and Stewart Detention Center

by Pepperwolf

2014 marked the 25th anniversary of the murders of the six Jesuit priests, their housekeeper and her daughter at the University of Central America in San Salvador, El Salvador. Human rights activists traveled to Columbus, Georgia, to commemorate the lives of the eight but also the lives of all of the thousands of other victims who have died at the hands of soldiers who have attended the School of the Americas that is located there inside Fort Benning. Since 1989, a tradition continues of chanting the names and ages of those killed—something that many feel is very profound and moving. Hearing the litany of names sung is a haunting, reflective, and somber experience. Commenting on this year's vigil, Tom Bottolene, a peace activist from Minnesota who has come to Georgia many times for the vigil, said: "I was truly moved by the sight of thousands of people raising their crosses, each one commemorating a victim, and reciting "¡Presente!" in the pouring rain."

Not just this school, but also many other U.S. military schools all over the world are training soldiers from other countries in counterinsurgency techniques, sniper training, commando and psychological warfare, military intelligence, and interrogation tactics. The Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation (WHINSEC) replaced the school, once named the School of the Americas (SOA) in 2001, supposedly by adding classes (eight hours) on human rights to satisfy the members of Congress who voted to close the school in 2000. "New name, same shame" was the response of the activists.

Nineteen of the 26 soldiers indicted for the massacre on November 16, 1989, were students of the SOA. Activists working with SOAWatch have kept tabs as well as they can, considering

the obfuscation of the U.S. military, releasing the names of soldiers implicated in the deaths, torture, and disappearances of citizens in Central and South America who have graduated from the notorious school. Vigilers fixed the crosses and Stars of David that they carried, bearing victims' names, to a fence that was erected by Ft. Benning specifically to keep protesters off the base while the procession takes place as a music collective sings the victims' names. Added to the names of those from past massacres are the recent deaths of activists from Honduras, Mexico, and Colombia who were killed earlier this year.

SOA Watch founder Roy Bourgeois, on a stage set up for the purpose of reaching the crowd, welcomed everyone, linking the many reasons people were in attendance at the rally and vigil. A variety of others spoke. One of them, Father Ismael Moreno, known as Padre Melo, is the director of *Radio Progreso* based in northern Honduras, which has reported on human rights abuses since the military coup in 2009 that overthrew the democratically elected president, Manuel Zelaya; the coup was led by General Romeo Orlando Vásquez Velásquez, a two-time graduate of the U.S. Army's School of the Americas. Another speaker, Javier Barrera Santa, is the leader of the Association of Families of the Detained and Disappeared in Medellín, Colombia; Colombia is one of SOA/WHINSEC's top client countries. Edward Dubose of the NAACP and Alex Sanchez, the executive director of the Los Angeles branch of Homies Unidos, also spoke, as did Jennifer Harbury, the human rights lawyer whose probe into the torture and death of her Guatemalan husband turned up a close involvement between the CIA and the Guatemalan military.

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**SOA,**  
continued from page 6

She described U.S. involvement in torture in her book, *Truth, Torture, and the American Way: The History and Consequences of U.S. Involvement in Torture* (Beacon Press, 2005).

Bringing us new energy and hope for the future were some of the 33 youth leaders from 18 Latin American countries who had gathered at SOA Watch's Youth Encuentro in Venezuela the previous July. And, in this time together, in addition to the speakers, and music at the gates and in workshops throughout the weekend, the creative puppetistas lifted our spirits inspiring us to continue our resistance back home. Not waiting until they returned home, on Sunday, November 23, two protesters, Nashua Chantal, 62, of Americus, Georgia (it's the third year he has climbed over the fence), and long-time activist Eve Tetaz, 83, of Washington, D.C. (carrying a poster of one of the 43 disappeared Mexican students) were arrested for entering Fort Benning property and could face federal prison sentences of up to six months for trespassing.

While continually pursuing efforts to close the school through legislation in the United States Congress, activists with SOAWatch

have another tactic: SOAWatch delegations to various countries have met with high level officials resulting in five countries—Uruguay, Argentina, Bolivia, Venezuela, and Ecuador—making public announcements that they will no longer send students to SOA/WHINSEC. The SOAW.org website states: “In meetings with human rights organizations, these countries cited the negative human rights message this institution sends to the people in their nations. Comments from representative defense ministers include experiencing first hand the horrors of tortures, detention, imprisonments, and disappearances caused by WHINSEC’s graduates. They also stated that knowing the history of the school, ‘we have absolutely no need for training at this kind of school.’ A former Uruguayan general expressed feeling ‘used’ by the Pentagon to protect U.S. interests, to the point of leading (many of his) fellow officers to repress, torture, and kill their own people. Latin American nations are pulling away from WHINSEC and from United States policies as a whole. Closing the school would send a strong positive human rights message to these nations and to the world.”

**Stewart Detention Center:** This year’s resistance weekend included an action at the Stewart

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*Photos: (At left) Pouring rain did not deter the crowd from progressing to the gates of Ft. Benning. (Above) Crosses raised bearing the names of SOA/WHINSEC victims. (At right) Edward Dubose of the NAACP was one of the speakers at the SOA Watch, connecting issues inside the U.S. to those of foreign policy.*

*All SOAW photos by Tom Bottolene, who was also the official photographer for the 2010 SOAWatch delegation to Colombia.*



**RESOURCES:**

**SOA Watch**

- Independent organization seeking to close the SOA/WHINSEC, end torture, change U.S. foreign policy through vigils and fasts, demonstrations and nonviolent protest, as well as media and legislative work.
- Soawatch.org

**ACTION:**

**Shut Down the SOA, Resist Militarization, and Promote a Culture of Peace**

- Newly released reports have put US-sponsored torture back into the spotlight. Call for justice and demand the perpetrators be held accountable. SOA Watch started an online pressure campaign directed at the US Congress and the White House to call for prosecutions of the US officials involved in torture and for the closing of the SOA/WHINSEC.
- Soawatch.org

**WORD UP!**

**Latin America:**

**the Empire's Workshop**

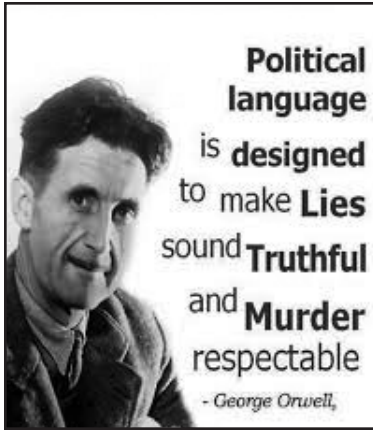
- Latin America became a laboratory for counterinsurgency, as military officials and covert operators applied insights learned in the region to Southeast Asia, Africa, and the Middle East . . .
- — Greg Grandin, *The Empire's Workshop: Latin America, the United States and the Rise of the New Imperialism* (Henry Holt & Co., 2007)

**Who Profits, Who Pays?**

- Corrections Corporation of America is the nation's largest owner and operator of for-profit correctional and detention facilities and one of the largest prison operators in the United States, behind only the federal government and three states.
- 100% of revenues come from taxpayers via government contracts (2012).
- — *In the Public Interest*, [inthepublicinterest.org](http://inthepublicinterest.org)

# Twelve Memes of 2014 to Say Good-bye to in 2015

by Jeff Nygaard



## 1. The U.S. is The World's Only Superpower.

While still powerful, signs of U.S. decline are everywhere. The heads of state of both Russia and China have recently given speeches calling for a new, multipolar world order. In Latin America there is a "Pink Tide" of nations electing to break out of the so-called "Washington

Consensus." The dollar's days as the world's reserve currency are numbered. The reality is that there is no "superpower" at the moment, and the World Order of the future is yet to take shape.

## 2. Iran Has a Nuclear Weapons Program.

Iran expert William Beeman, University of Minnesota, has this to say: "Iran has never been proven to have a nuclear weapons program. Any claim to the contrary is absolutely false. The attempt to claim that such a weapons program exists was the result of a decades-long effort on the part of American neoconservatives allied with right-wing forces in Israel to legitimize hostile actions against Iran designed to effect regime change there." — From a review of Gareth Porter's 2014 book, *Manufactured Crisis: The Untold Story of the Iran Nuclear Scare*, an intensive investigative report on the subject

<http://womenagainstmilitarymadness.org/newsletter/2014/030414/tale.html>

## 3. Government Eavesdropping Prevents Terror, Protects the Innocent.

The massive, indiscriminate spying on U.S. citizens (and others) by the National Security Agency (and others) that has been revealed by whistleblower Edward Snowden has been defended by officials in a variety of ways, all tapping into our collective fear of terrorism.

But, besides the rampant violation of the privacy rights of all U.S. residents (which raise serious constitutional issues), a major report released last year by the New America Foundation found that such massive spying does little to protect against terrorism. The report, "Do NSA's Bulk Surveillance Programs Stop Terrorists?," found that "Traditional investigative methods [rather than mass surveillance] initiated the majority of terrorism cases," and "Surveillance of American phone metadata has had no discernible impact on preventing acts of terrorism and only the most marginal of impacts on preventing terrorist-related activity, such as fundraising for a terrorist group." The full report can be found online here: [http://www.newamerica.net/sites/newamerica.net/files/policydocs/Bergen\\_NAF\\_NSA%20Surveillance\\_1\\_0\\_0.pdf](http://www.newamerica.net/sites/newamerica.net/files/policydocs/Bergen_NAF_NSA%20Surveillance_1_0_0.pdf)

## 4. The Killing of Terrorists with Drones is Keeping Us Safe.

The militarization of the U.S. response to terrorism is based on the idea that violence can protect people in the U.S. from this or any other threat. The use of drones by the U.S. is a part of what has been called "The New American Way of War." The idea is to project U.S. power by means of an international military alliance that can attack rapidly anywhere in the world, dominated by the United States, using U.S. weapons and technology, but with no risk to U.S. life. That's where drones come in, as such "remote-control" killing avoids direct U.S. casualties—the kind that get on the evening news, that is.

While drone attacks allegedly are aimed at killing "bad guys," they have all sorts of unintended outcomes. These include the killing of innocent people, the moral corrosion that results from the attempts to justify such killings, and the likelihood that such attacks will actually endanger people in the U.S. by increasing the perception of the U.S. as a rogue state that kills whenever and wherever it wants (making it a legitimate target in the minds of the victims).

For much more on drones, check out the WAMM "Ground All Drones" Committee at <http://groundalldrone.blogspot.com/>

## 5. Suicide Terrorism is Always the Work of Irrational Individuals.

Research by political scientist Robert Pape suggests otherwise: "Suicide terror is not simply the product of irrational individuals or an expression of fanatical hatreds. . . . Nearly all suicide attacks occur in organized, coherent campaigns, not as isolated or randomly timed incidents. . . ." AND "Most suicide terrorism is undertaken as a strategic effort directed toward achieving particular political goals. . . . The main purpose of suicide terrorism is to use the threat of punishment to coerce a target government to change policy, especially to cause democratic states to withdraw forces from territory terrorists view as their homeland." — See "The Strategic Logic of Suicide Terrorism" at <http://danieldrezner.com/research/guest/Pape1.pdf>

## 6. The United States Has Become a Post-Racial Society.

The fact that this idea has even been entertained in recent years—notably since the election of a black man to the Presidency—tells us the extent to which the public sphere is and has been dominated by so-called white people. Consider that 37 percent of "white" respondents in a recent poll say that the shooting of Michael Brown in Ferguson Missouri "raises important issues about race." 80 percent of black respondents say it does. Anyone who still thinks the U.S. is a post-racial society may benefit from aiming their internet search engine at Michael Brown, Eric Garner, John Crawford, Tamir Rice, Ezell Ford, or Levar Jones. All were shot by police in the past six months, with the exception of Garner who was choked; all,

*continued on page 9*



## Say Good-bye,

*continued from page 8*

with the exception of Jones, were killed. And those are just the high-profile cases! — See “Stark Racial Divisions in Reactions to Ferguson Police Shooting,” <http://www.people-press.org/2014/08/18/stark-racial-divisions-in-reactions-to-ferguson-police-shooting/> AND this CBS news report of November 24: <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/recent-violent-confrontations-between-black-males-and-police/>

## 7. We are a Nation of Immigrants.

Hardly. Here is a response from a 2006 essay called “Stop Saying This Is a Nation of Immigrants!” by Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz: “This is a convenient myth developed as a response to the 1960s movements against colonialism, neocolonialism, and white supremacy. The ruling class and its brain trust offered multiculturalism, diversity, and affirmative action in response to demands for decolonization, justice, reparations, social equality, an end of imperialism, and the rewriting of history. . .

What emerged to replace the liberal melting pot idea and the nationalist triumphal interpretation of the ‘greatest country on earth and in history,’ was the ‘nation of immigrants’ story. . .” — Read the essay here: <http://mrzine.monthlyreview.org/2006/dunbarortiz290506.html>

## 8. Immigrants Take Jobs Away from Native-born Workers.

The Immigration Policy Center tells us that: “Immigrants are not the cause of unemployment in the United States. Empirical research has demonstrated repeatedly that there is no correlation between immigration and unemployment. In fact, immigrants—including the unauthorized—create jobs through their purchasing power and their entrepreneurship, buying goods and services from U.S. businesses and creating their own businesses, both of which sustain U.S. jobs. The presence of new immigrant workers and consumers in an area also spurs the expansion of businesses, which creates new jobs. In addition, immigrants and native-born workers are usually not competing in the same job markets because they tend to have different levels of education, work in different occupations, specialize in different tasks, and live in different places. Because they complement each other in the labor market rather than compete, immigrants increase the productivity—and the wages—of native-born workers.” — <http://www.immigrationpolicy.org/just-facts/value-added-immigrants-create-jobs-and-businesses-boost-wages-native-born-workers>

## 9. The United States is a Great Force for World Peace.

In a largely-ignored survey by Gallup International, people in 65 countries around the world were asked which country they think is the “greatest threat to peace in the world today.” The leading vote-getter, at 24 percent, was the United States. China received 6 percent of the votes, North Korea and Iran each received 5 percent, and Russia 2 percent. American foreign policy is aimed at protecting its interests, not at preserving the peace. And the world outside of the U.S. knows it. — See [http://www.wingia.com/en/services/about\\_the\\_end\\_of\\_year\\_survey/7/](http://www.wingia.com/en/services/about_the_end_of_year_survey/7/)

AND <http://www.commondreams.org/news/2013/12/31/biggest-threat-world-peace-united-states>

## 10. Social Security is Going Bankrupt!

The Strengthen Social Security Coalition says this: “Social Security can never go bankrupt. Nearly all (97 percent) of its income comes from the contributions of workers and employers, or interest on these contributions. Hence as long as there are workers in America, Social Security will have income. Even if Congress were to take no action, Social Security could pay 100% of promised benefits for the next two decades, and more than three-quarters of benefits after that. Around 2033 there will be a modest funding gap requiring modest increases in revenues to guarantee everyone 100% of promised benefits.” — <http://www.strengthensocialsecurity.org/>

## 11. Single-Payer Health Care is the Radical Choice.

Actually, Single-payer is the “middle road” between a largely-private health care system like the one currently in place, and a fully-socialized system. Socialized medicine is a system in which doctors and hospitals work for and draw salaries from the government, and medical practices and hospitals are publically owned. Single-payer, in contrast, is a system in which a single public or quasi-public agency organizes health care financing, but the delivery of care remains largely in private hands. In a socialized system, there is no need for insurance, since everyone is guaranteed health care. The current Minnesota health care exchange, known as MNsure, says in their marketing campaign that “95% of Minnesotans Now Have Health Insurance. 100% Need It.” Nobody needs insurance; what we need is health care!

## 12. The Private Sector Can Do Anything Cheaper and Better than Government.

In fact, privatization often raises costs for the public and governments. The quality of public goods and services often declines when outsourced to private contractors. A great example is health insurance. Under Obamacare, private insurers can spend no more than 20 percent of their premium income on overhead, and many struggle to comply with the requirement. In contrast, the overhead for the publicly-managed Medicare system is below 2 percent. See “Privatization Myths Debunked” by “In the Public Interest” at <http://www.inthepublicinterest.org/sites/default/files/ITPI%20Privatization%20Myths%20Handout.pdf>

*Jeff Nygaard is a writer and activist in Minneapolis, Minnesota who publishes Nygaard Notes, independent periodic news and analysis, free by email and online at [www.nygaardnotes.org](http://www.nygaardnotes.org)*

# 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 till spring: 4:30 to 5:30 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) 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, 4:30 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, or call (612) 379-3585.

**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 763-784-5177

**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

**Second Monday Night at the Movies** February 9, 7:00 p.m. 4200 Cedar Ave. South, Minneapolis. New feature every time. Popcorn popped on site. Discussion follows. Free and open to the public. Sponsored by WAMM Monday Night Movie Committee. See back page.

**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

## Special Events

**SAVE THE DATE: WAMM's 8th Annual Valentine Party**, Saturday, February 14 at 7:00 p.m. Location TBA

**WAMM's Annual Meeting** Saturday March 7 at 10:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. Spirit of St. Stephen's Church, 2201 First Ave, Minneapolis. Sha Cage, spoken word artist, actor, and activist will honor us with a performance.

**Support at Rasmia Odeh's Sentencing** Tuesday, March 10 (note date correction from WAMM Newsletter Winter I) U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Michigan, 231 W. Lafayette Blvd., Detroit, Michigan FFI: uspcn.org and stopfbi.net

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

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

## Tackling Torture at the Top (T-3) Video Contest

WAMM's Tackling Torture at the Top (T3) Committee announces our **2nd Annual Video Contest** on the subject of torture and torture accountability.

### Prizes

\$500 Jury Prizes in Serious and Satirical Categories

\$300 Audience Favorite Prizes in the same two categories

Two prizes in each Serious and Satirical Categories Jury and Audience Favorites.

Deadline for entries: **March 1, 2015.**

FFI and details: [tacklingtorturevideocontest.webs.com](http://tacklingtorturevideocontest.webs.com)

*Tackling Torture at the Top, through this contest, hopes to produce entertaining and informative videos that contradict the harmful and inhumane view that torture is acceptable and necessary educate the public, raise questions about the direction of our foreign policy and our use of the military, and by so doing, give the public the awareness and courage to rein in our country's out of control security apparatus.*

**No one has to go it alone in the pursuit of peace! Join, renew, or give the gift of a WAMM membership to someone you know.**

**WAMM Membership**

\$15-39 Low Income/Student membership  
 \$40-59 Annual membership  
 \$60-199 Household membership  
 \$200-349 Sustainer (amount above membership)  
 \$350+ Major Donor (amount above membership)  
 This is a new membership.  This is a membership renewal  This is a gift membership  
 Check enclosed.  Please charge my VISA card  Total amount enclosed \$ \_\_\_\_\_  
 Credit Card # \_\_\_\_\_ Expiration Date \_\_\_\_\_ Security Code \_\_\_\_\_  
 Signature \_\_\_\_\_  
 Name \_\_\_\_\_ Phone (H) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Address \_\_\_\_\_  
 City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_  
 Email \_\_\_\_\_  
 Contributions are tax deductible to the full extent of the law.  
 Make checks payable to WAMM, 4200 Cedar Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55407

**Pledge for Peace**

(WAMM will send a coupon book)  
 \$ \_\_\_\_\_ Monthly  
 \$ \_\_\_\_\_ Quarterly  
 I want to volunteer for WAMM

- **WAMM Committees**
- **Issues Committees:**
- Book Club
- Counter Recruitment
- End War Committee: Acting Against War and the Threats of War
- Immigration
- Middle East
- St. Joan of Arc/ WAMM Peacemakers
- Ground All Drones Committee
- Tackling Torture at the Top
- **Administrative and Other Committees:**
- Coordinating
- Finance
- Fundraising
- Monday Movie Committee
- New Member
- Newsletter
- Personnel
- Program/New Issues
- Silent Auction
- **WAMM Board**
- Meredith Aby
- Marie Braun, Treasurer
- Diane Haugesag
- Sally Kundert, Co-chair
- Vanessa Lawrow
- Polly Mann
- Sarah Martin
- JoAnn Maus
- Brigid McDonald
- BethAnne Nelson
- Coleen Rowley
- Margaret Sarfehjooy
- Lucia Wilkes Smith, Secretary
- Sharon Rice Vaughan, Co-Chair
- Carol Walker

**SOA,**  
*continued from page 7*

Detention Center, about 30 miles from Columbus in Lumpkin, Georgia, the Stewart County seat and a town, according to the official Georgia state website, with a population of 2,741, named to honor Wilson Lumpkin, a former governor who also served as a U.S. representative and U.S. senator, who was a leading advocate of state rights and “Indian removal.” Lumpkin is now the site of one of the largest detention centers in the United States and is Stewart County’s largest employer.

The for-profit prison is a private 1,800-bed facility where undocumented immigrants can be held for months, sometimes years, while fighting deportation.<sup>1</sup> Drawing connections between Ferguson, U.S. foreign policies, reasons people migrate, the militarization of the border and police (both in the U.S. and in Latin America), unjust systems, Plan Mexico,<sup>2</sup> the disappearance of 43 students inspired people to act. About 1,000 people marched a mile and a half from downtown Lumpkin. The wife of a man locked up for a year and a half spoke to those gathered about how she will never get that time back. Holding immigrants prisoner destroys families. Children can’t see their parents. Five activists were arrested for crossing onto the immigration center’s property

in opposition to the oppressive policies. They were charged with trespassing and released on a \$250 bond each.

**Endnotes:**

- 1 Stewart Detention Center holds a male-only population and is a product of Corrections Corporation of America (CCA) CCA website, cca.com; another CCA facility is now opening: The Obama administration announced on Monday that CCA would run a 50-acre compound in Dilley, Texas, that will ultimately hold 2,400 women and children awaiting release or deportation.— “The Operators of America’s Largest Immigrant Detention Center Have A History of Inmate Abuse,” *Newsweek*, December 20, 2014.
- 2 Plan Mexico involves U.S. military aid and security training. For more information, see the Witness for Peace analysis of the Mérida Initiative/ Plan Mexico fact sheets at witnessforpeace.org

*Pepperwolf has attended the annual vigil and rally in Georgia since 1997 after she first heard Father Roy Bourgeois. She has traveled to Colombia with an SOAWatch/Witness for Peace delegation in 2002. As a member of the Minnesota chapter of SOAWatch, she conducted many workshops at area colleges to prepare for the annual vigil. Pepperwolf has served on the WAMM Board and was the WAMM director through the end of January, 2015.*

**WAMM THANKS**

- **Carol Walker in memory of Mary Eoloff**
- **Margaret Gerhard in honor of Pepperwolf and Tom Bottolene for their constant, dedicated efforts for peace.**
- **WAMM Thanks for the Brauns Birthday Celebration: With gratitude and on behalf of Marie and John Braun, WAMM thanks everyone for helping the Brauns celebrate their birthdays! You are an amazing group of people coming together to honor two among us for all they do for peace, their families and WAMM.**



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# Second Monday Movies Return!

**Opening Night: February 9, 2015, 7 pm**

(new feature every second monday every month)

**on the BIG Screen at 4200 Cedar Ave S.**

FEBRUARY FEATURE



## THE AGE OF STUPID

A future archivist looks at old footage from the year 2008 to understand why humankind failed to address climate change.

Lively Discussion follows. Connecting the dots.

Free. Open to the public.

Sponsored by the WAMM Monday Night Movie Committee.

