Torture: It’s Not Who We Are– Or Is It?  
by Todd Pierce

“Senate Confirms Gina Haspel to Lead C.I.A. Despite Torture Concerns,” is how The New York Times put it. Was there ever any doubt of this outcome? In fact, in spite of being nominated by Donald Trump, Bloody Gina Haspel, as some former CIA officers know her, was confirmed as the new CIA director by a Senate vote of 54 to 45, with six Democrats supporting her confirmation. To be sure, the CIA got whom they wanted. (The New York Times reported on April 20th on “How the C.I.A. Is Waging an Influence Campaign to Get Its Next Director Confirmed”).

Accomplishing Haspel’s confirmation with today’s U.S. Senate was not hard. It was reminiscent of a remark attributed to Minnesota Senator Eugene McCarthy in 1967, on hearing that presumptive presidential candidate Michigan Governor George Romney admitted he had been “brainwashed” by State Department officials and Army generals on a visit to Vietnam—McCarthy is said to have responded that Romney had only needed a “light rinse.” In the U.S. today, it doesn’t take much of an influence campaign to confirm an indisputable CIA torturer, with so many Americans now eager to defer to the CIA and predisposed to believe anything it says, even, or especially, on torture.

Yet it is still frequently said of the American people that the practice of torture “is not who we are,” when criticizing its practice by U.S. intelligence and military officers. This is said in response to statements that Trump has made in favor of torture, treating him and his views on torture as an aberration from the American “mainstream’s” opinion on torture. However, by its vote in favor of promoting Haspel to CIA director, the

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PM: Humanity at a Crossroads:
Omnicide or Citizens Decide?

“Omnicide: The destruction of all life, especially by nuclear war.”– Merriam-Webster’s Dictionary

One of the organizations which has my name on its mailing list is Citizen’s Watch, published by Tri Valley Communities Against a Radioactive Environment (Tri-Valley CAREs) at Livermore, California. Tri-Valley CAREs was founded in 1983 by concerned neighbors living around the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, one of two locations where all U.S. nuclear weapons are designed.

The Spring 2018 issue of Citizen’s Watch reports a $15 billion request in the National Nuclear Security Administration, with most of those billions meant for “Weapons Activities” which include putting “new military capabilities into warheads and bombs that make the world more dangerous.”

Citizen’s Watch says the big winner in the DOE funding request now is Livermore Lab’s program to create a new nuclear tip (referred to as the W80-4 warhead) to be mounted on an air-launched cruise missile, called the Long Range Stand Off weapon (LRSO). The LRSO would enable a pilot to “stand off” from a target thousands of miles away and launch a radar-evading nuclear sneak attack, creating “a first-strike capability that is fueling a perilous new arms race.”

Also under development is a modernized version of the B61 bomb [classified as a tactical or low-yield nuclear bomb], slated for deployment at six bases in five NATO countries surrounding Russia, as well as at four bases in the U.S. [The B61-12 can have up to several times the firepower of the bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and it may be used at the discretion of generals in the “battlefield,” which has now been defined as anywhere in the world.]

And then there is a funding request to jump-start the development of the so-called “interoperable” warhead design. Originally, this interoperable warhead was supposed to sit atop both a land-based ICBM and a sub-launched ballistic missile. However, Tri-Valley CAREs and Nuclear Watch New Mexico revealed to Congress that the Navy had several objections to this warhead and citizens’ groups convinced Obama to put a hold on its development. But now, in 2018, the U.S. Department of Defense’s Nuclear Posture Review refers to it as a “warhead replacement.” Weapons scientists warned the citizens’ organizations that “design changes planned by Livermore, which has been designated as the ‘lead lab’ to create this novel warhead, may push the U.S. to resume nuclear testing underground in Nevada.”

If I had a choice, I would much prefer that my tax dollars be used to build roads, feed the hungry, give teachers pay raises, and help build a better world rather than build weapons that could destroy it. We must bear in mind that the new Nuclear Posture Review can’t move forward without funding.

Citizen’s Watch recommends that concerned citizens contact their senators and congresspeople about these plans. I believe that a personal letter is the most effective way to communicate. Concerned citizens can make comments on the websites of their congressional representatives.
While things at the top of government are looking more and more dangerous, it’s important for people to act on local levels. Every state does not host a nuclear weapons laboratory, but it’s still possible to resist. That’s why I sent a letter to Minnesota state senators asking them to outlaw nuclear weapons. Senators Scott Dibble, John Marty, and Sandy Pappas responded and plan to introduce legislation in the next session at the Minnesota State Capitol. A corresponding piece of legislation is to be introduced into the Minnesota House of Representatives. Antinuclear statements have been passed in city caucuses and city councils in the various parts of the U.S.

One concerned citizen, Steve McKeown, who is with WAMM’s Campaign to Ban Nuclear Weapons and Veterans for Peace, has traveled throughout the state of Minnesota with the goal of obtaining the signatures of residents in every city and town on a petition to pressure the U.S. to sign an international treaty to permanently ban all nuclear weapons—more than 11,000 Minnesotans have now signed in more than 300 cities and towns.

**ACTION:** Ask your local government bodies and U.S. Congressional representatives to make nuclear weapons illegal and abolish them. Fact sheets, petitions, and other material for the WAMM Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons is available at the WAMM office. Call 612-827-5364.

**U.S. Congresswoman Betty McCollum: No Nuclear Weapons**

In the case of the NPR [Nuclear Posture Review], the Trump administration has gone far beyond a plan to recapitalize the existing U.S. nuclear deterrent by proposing the development of new, costly, and unnecessary weapons systems. These include a new low-yield nuclear weapon and a nuclear-tipped sea-launched cruise missile. Development of these weapons, in addition to recapitalizing our existing nuclear infrastructure, will cost American taxpayers over a trillion dollars over the next decade…I will continue to oppose the expansion of these programs and work to reduce unnecessary expenditures on these antiquated and irresponsible weapons.

—Constituent letter dated June 1, 2018, from Minnesota’s Congresswoman Betty McCollum, member of the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Defense, on voting against authorization for new nuclear weapons in the National Defense Authorizing Act for Fiscal Year 2019 (H.R. 5515).
In August 2017, the Voice of America (VOA), a U.S. government-funded news source, posted an article titled “Trump’s Tweets, Use of Rhetoric, Keep World on Edge.” It reports: “We always have important things to discuss with our American allies…but it is the elephant in the room,” one Western diplomatic official told VOA of Trump’s tweets.”

While the above VOA statement is intended primarily for an international audience, it is telling that even the VOA sees the President’s statements as keeping the world on edge. This article, however, is limited to a discussion of the opinions of Americans and suggests that one expression of people feeling on edge may be their self-reported stress levels. Another may be their lack of confidence in the government in Washington, D.C.

According to the American Psychological Association (APA), “in 2017, many Americans say they are stressed about at least one issue facing our nation, and a majority of adults (59 percent) said they consider this the lowest point in our nation’s history that they can remember...” A mere five percentage points separated this thinking as being related to age group, with Gen Xers (born 1965 to 1978) feeling most stressed. In 2015, it was the millennials (born in 1979 to 1999):

Reporting in 2015, the APA writes: “Since 2007, the survey has found that money and work are the top two sources of very or somewhat significant stress (67 percent and 65 percent in 2015, respectively).” For more information on the breakdown of identified stressors by various demographic groups, see the APA report.

Similarly, the Pew Research Center suggests that changes in the economy are an ongoing factor affecting the level of trust that survey participants have in the government. The Pew Research Center includes the following question in one of its surveys: “How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right? Just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?” The percentage of Americans reporting that they trust the government in Washington always or most of the time reached a peak of 40 percent in February 2000, and was at a low of 18 percent in November 2017. However, whether the White House is occupied by Democrats or Republicans, declining trust has been persistent over time and it has been multigenerational.

The millennial generation has experienced the greatest decline of trust in the government in Washington, moving from a high of 44 percent in 2004 to a low of 15 percent in 2017. This generation is commonly considered to have spearheaded some of the major mass protests in the streets in the past decade. Yet participants have been multigenerational.

According to one survey, 64 percent of those in the Occupy Wall Street movement were under the age of 35. Another study reported that in the Black Lives Matter movement adults between 30 and 64 years old were more active than young adults.

The 2016 protest against the oil pipeline near the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe’s reservation in North Dakota was initiated by youth but quickly became multigenerational, as was the 2017 international Women’s March to express disdain for many of President Donald Trump’s views and policies. At the St. Paul, MN, Women’s March, I documented with photos the age spread, from toddlers to older adults. (Adults born in the 1920s to early 1940s are sometimes referred to as the silent generation.)

Likewise, at the March 2018 Washington, D.C., March for Our Lives event that was spearheaded by teenagers, the average age of the adults in the crowd was just under 49 years old. Only about 10 percent of the participants were under 18.
Youth-led March for Our Lives activities and other antigun protests events just this year were pretty clear that the violence in contemporary America is systemic. Youth demanded to have a voice in their future.

Even the annual May Day events are increasingly multigenerational with their recent focus on immigrant rights. In addition, the refusal of Washington politicians to grant a path to citizenship for DACA youth “…has resulted in some confusion, uncertainty, and anxiety for kids and their parents and teachers…”

Increasing stress and declining lack of trust in the government in Washington may be reasons that the top four attended mass protests in the United States have taken place during the Trump administration.

The VOA statement and the APA and Pew Center surveys support the idea that recent spontaneous mass movements may be a response to a population that feels on edge. It is probably safe to say these recent movements help point the way forward.

It may be unclear what conditions will be necessary to move the U.S. to institutional changes. It is, nevertheless, clear that millions of Americans are ready for a national agenda that moves the country toward a more inclusive economic, political, and social agenda.

Linda J. Hoover is a longtime peace and justice activist and is a member of the Women Against Military Madness Newsletter Committee.

Endnotes
5. The Week Staff. (2011, October 20.) The demographics of Occupy Wall Street: By the numbers.tinyurl.com/y8chjyrf
6. Olteanu, Alexandra; Weber, Ingmar; Gatica-Perez, Daniel. (2015, August.) Characterizing the Demographics Behind the #BlackLivesMatter Movement. tinyurl.com/y9b28n4a
8. Lee, Esther Yu Hsi. (2017, January 21.) People in more than 60 countries are protesting Trump with the Women’s March. tinyurl.com/ydgplscg
Since March 30, thousands of Palestinians who have been struggling to survive in the Gaza Strip gathered nonviolently along the militarized zone that keeps them imprisoned and under siege in unlivable conditions. Peaceful women, men, and families with children – generations of people displaced by Israel – participated in the Great March of Return, based on UN resolution 194, demanding an end to their forced confinement.

The Great March of Return was met with another barbaric episode in Israel’s 21st century strategy for Palestinians. As explained by Efraim Inbar and Etan Shamir of Bar Ilan University in “Mowing the Grass, Israel’s Strategy for Protracted Intractable Conflict”: “Only after showing much restraint in its military responses does Israel act forcefully to destroy the capabilities of its foes, hoping that occasional large-scale operations also have a temporary deterrent effect in order to create periods of quiet along its borders…” (Journal for Strategic Studies. Download of full PDF available.)

Breaking this down: By their very existence, Israel regards Palestinians as the “enemy” or “foe.” And “occasional large-scale operations” are, of course, code for ethnic cleansing by massacre. Israel wants quiet along what it defines as its borders. Why? So that the world will not notice that Gazans, who have no sophisticated military for their defense, will submit quietly to dying - either slowly from confinement in a narrow strip of land with a destroyed infrastructure, or by Israeli weapons used against them in a peaceful protest.

On May 21, the Palestinian Health Ministry revealed just how Israel demonstrated “much restraint in its military responses.” According to the ministry, the “Israeli army killed 112 Palestinians and injured 13,190 since the Great March of Return began on March 30th.” The ministry reported 13 children among the dead. More than 2,000 children and 1,000 women were wounded. Among all the people shot, 502 people were shot in the head and neck, 283 were shot in the back, 225 were shot in the pelvis and abdomen, 325 were shot in the legs. Twenty-seven of the wounded Palestinians “suffered amputations in [of] their legs, one in [of] his arm, and four others had some fingers severed by Israeli fire.”

Soldiers also attacked medical personnel, rescuers, and journalists.

The Israeli forces shot and killed one medic [update: two as of June 1], and injured 323 others with live fire and gas bombs, in addition to causing damage to 37 ambulances. The Committee to Protect Journalists documented that live rounds fired by the Israel Defense Force hit at least 22 journalists; two of them died later from their injuries. It is widely assumed that professionals working in the area were deliberately targeted, as they wore clear indications of their functions.

None of this would be possible without the support of the U.S. political and media refusal to recognize the rights and humanity of Palestinians. Yet, in tragedy, Palestinians’ will to live is not defeated: Instead, the roots of Palestinian identity grow stronger.

Sources for statistics: Palestinian Health Ministry/International Middle East Media Center (IMEMC News): tinyurl.com/y73vv95d; Committee to Protect Journalists cpj.org
**Walking for Peace in Korea**

An international delegation of women from civil society, Women Cross the DMZ, marched along the Demilitarized Zone on May 25 to support the official peace process that was to begin with a meeting in Singapore between U.S. President Trump and North Korea Supreme Leader Kim Jong Un.

In Minnesota, Korean-American artist/photographer Kyong Juhn, who was a Distinguished Scholar at the Art Institute of Chicago School, embarked on a Walk for Hope and Peace throughout the month of May. With her camera in hand, Kyong walked from her home in Rochester, Minnesota, through the state on a 325-mile trek that paralleled her mother’s route from the north in Korea to the south to escape war in the 1950s. Kyong’s walk honored her mother’s determination to escape war and generated her own hope for peace on the Korean peninsula which she shared with people she encountered along her journey.

**Talking for Reconciliation between Iraq and the U.S.**

Peace-minded people from the United States who grieved the suffering that war-making has caused were invited to the beautiful, historic city of Najaf to speak English with Iraqis who wanted to learn the language. Individual Americans who responded to the invitation were able to live and interact with Iraqi families for a month or more. They shared in cultural exchanges as participants in the English for Reconciliation Program, a project of the Muslim Peacemaker Teams (MPT), which promotes principles of peacebuilding and friendship via people-to-people contact.

Ordinary Iraqi and American citizens held informal conversations and formed relationships based on mutual understanding and respect. The program, which has been accepted as a legitimate nonprofit by both the U.S. and Iraq, was so successful that it is continuing. People interested in learning more can contact Iraqi-American Sami Rasouli, founder, Muslim Peacemaker Teams of Najaf, Iraq: sami.rasouli@gmail.com

**Good News: People Create Prospects for Peace**

Suad Rasouli and Kathleen Struble of Star Prairie, Wisconsin, participate in the English for Reconciliation program in Najaf, Iraq.

**RESOURCES:**

- “Six Things to Know About the Great Return March” Jewish Voice for Peace tinyurl.com/ybu35594
- Freedom Flotilla Coalition 2018/Right to a Just Future for Palestine. An international grassroots people-to-people solidarity movement working together to end the siege of Gaza by sea. jfp.freedomflotilla.org
- “Arms Manufacturers Use Israeli Massacres in Gaza to Test New Weapons.” Interview with arms trade expert Andrew Feinstein. The Real News Network. tinyurl.com/y9doutpy

**ACTION:** See U.S. Campaign for Palestinian Rights uscpr.org and Jewish Voice for Peace.org

**In the Twin Cities:** Watch for events on the WAMM Calendar at womenagainstmilitarymadness.org. Join the Vigil to End the Occupation of Palestine on Fridays, 4:30 to 5:30 p.m., corner of Summit and Snelling Avenues, St. Paul.
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Senate demonstrated that it doesn’t really condemn torture by U.S. officials.

But in fact, in spite of misconceptions promoted by Trump and now broadly accepted in the mainstream view, torture is not supposed to be who we are, because federal law criminalizes torture as a “war crime” in the War Crimes Act. The act is U.S. law (codified as: 18 U.S.C. § 2441), making it an offense “whether inside or outside the U.S.” to commit a war crime if one is a member of the Armed Forces of the U.S. or a national of the U.S., which would include most CIA officers involved in these crimes, such as Gina Haspel. Her confirmation as director of the CIA is perhaps a reward for destroying evidence revealing that her fellow CIA officers had committed war crimes. A war crime is defined as any conduct that is a grave breach of Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions when committed in war. As the U.S. government declares our “perpetual war,” that specifically means torture is a war crime.

We know many U.S. officials are guilty of it, because President Obama, without going into greater detail of the elements of torture, admitted it, as in “we tortured some folks,” in that down-home, aw-shucks way he had in explaining away U.S. war crimes while saving his vituperation for Syrians and Libyans and condemning them to hell on earth by waging war against them.

So, the next step is holding our war criminals accountable for torturing, one would think? Granting impunity to war criminals is, itself, a war crime, so U.S. officials wouldn’t compound the war crimes already committed by granting impunity, would they? Yes, Trump would, of course, and has said so. In fact, the perpetrators get promoted, as Haspel was by the Senate.

But torture by U.S. officials began long before Trump came along; in fact, as we must remember, it began under the George W. Bush administration and has continued through the Obama administration down to the present day.

How can this be so when Obama ordered that individuals held by any U.S. government agency “shall not be subjected to any interrogation technique or approach, or any treatment related to interrogation, that is not authorized by and listed in Army Field Manual 2 22.3?” Here’s how: As The Guardian explains in a 2014 article by Jeffrey Kaye, “the U.S. Army Field Manual (AFM) on interrogation has been sold to the American public and the world as a replacement for the brutal torture tactics used by the CIA and the Department of Defense during the Bush/Cheney administration!

The Guardian continues: “A close reading of Department of Defense documents and investigations by numerous human rights agencies have shown that the current Army Field Manual itself uses techniques that are abusive and can even amount to torture.” Those techniques were listed under Appendix M, which, as human rights and legal groups have recognized, include numerous abusive techniques such as the use of solitary confinement, sleep deprivation, and sensory deprivation. These abusive techniques are also torture when their use is prolonged even a little, and have been said by victims to be the worst forms of torture; they constitute torture when employed for extended periods of time because of the way they cause the body to shut down so that the mind loses touch with reality and begins to hallucinate.

Furthermore, as Physicians for Human Rights reported years ago, “indefinite detention” itself can rise to the level of torture with the passage of enough time, as has now happened with the so-called “forever prisoners” being held at Guantánamo. A 2016 letter to the Senate from the Bellevue/NYU Program for Survivors of Torture (PSOT), the Center for Victims of Torture (CVT), and Physicians for Human Rights (PHR) called for an end to indefinite detention without charge or trial. They wrote:

Medical knowledge and experience establish that the protracted uncertainty of indefinite detention inflicts profound psychological and physical trauma. Harmful effects include severe anxiety and dread, pathological levels of stress, dissociation, depression and suicidal thoughts, and post-traumatic stress disorder. Some individuals even manifest physical symptoms such as breathing difficulties, physical pain, and skin disorders. The mental and physical harms of indefinite detention are over and above the already substantial stressors of incarceration, and are exacerbated in individuals who have previously experienced torture and ill-treatment.

In addition, “lack of treatment for physical and mental symptoms and disabilities related to experiences
of torture combined with prolonged incarceration where many of these abuses took place, without due process or opportunity to address their confinement status, has dramatically intensified detainee suffering.” In other words, “perpetual torture” is what these prisoners are condemned to for the remainder of their lives. In fact, a former defense counsel at Guantánamo who was actually able to visit his client once in his cell (through a series of mistakes inadvertently made by guards) reported that his client, and the prisoner in the cell next to him, were both in a vegetative state, and that was years ago. His client is still being held in Guantánamo under Trump, just as he was held under Obama.

So, accepting that there will never be any criminal liability attaching to the perpetrators of what are undeniably war crimes, surely there must be civil liability so that a victim can sue for monetary damages from those officials who were complicit in the victim’s torture? (This would have to be done through a lawyer, as the torture victims are barred from entering the U.S.) Well, it was not possible to bring even a civil suit under Obama. Cases against U.S. officials brought during his administration were all dismissed by the appellate courts, through a complicated process which required that all suits be brought in the District of Columbia. In that court, there is a provision which effectively grants impunity to officials regardless of how horrendous the war crime.

An early case set the precedent that has been argued ever since. The argument was made by the Department of Justice on behalf of officials who might well have been charged and convicted under the War Crimes Act. Those other prior cases included Ali versus Rumsfeld, upheld in District of Columbia Court in 2011; among those allegations against U.S. officials were: beatings, stabbing, mutilation, hooding, confinement in phone-booth-sized wooden box, prolonged sleep deprivation enforced by beatings, inadequate food and water, mock execution and death threats, sexual assault, exposure to dangerously high temperatures for prolonged periods, inadequate medical care, painful restraints and positions, and intimidation with vicious dogs. In that first case, and all those brought against U.S. officials by their victims since, the case was dismissed on the grounds that the defendants charged with the barbaric acts listed above had done them within the “scope of their employment” as U.S. officials – something which will stand as a permanent moral stain on all Americans.

Incredibly, the allegations made in the cases cited by the U.S. Government in defense of its officials do not differ in any material way from the allegations made against many of the defendants convicted of war crimes in the Nuremberg and Tokyo tribunals following World War II. In those tribunals, the defense, which became known as the Nuremberg Defense, was that the officials were “just following orders,” which is much the way Gina Haspel defended herself.

The “accomplishment” of the Bush administration was to turn the U.S. into a terrorist torture state, as inducing “terror” is the purpose of torture. Obama’s “accomplishment”
Focus on Torture

was to “normalize” our torture/terror state, and bequeath it to his successor, Trump. So, what will Trump do with Guantánamo and with the policy of torture? By all indications, he will seek to return the numbers of prisoners to previous highs, if not higher, if he has the pretext. He will also do everything his predecessors did, as he is doing at this moment with the prisoners there now in the continuation of their torture as just described, with virtually no one complaining, for torture has become so normalized that most people don’t even realize that Obama never did close Guantánamo. Even if they do know, it has become a “part of the fabric of our nation.” Consequently, Trump has a lot of room to expand despotic government: When he took office, the “instruments” were already in place should he choose to put them to use. They could even include military detention for U.S. civilians at his sole discretion.

But after 16 years of “perpetual war,” what else would we expect? We are seeing in the U.S. the cultural change that takes place in conditions where the government constantly incites us to even more war and hatred for the “enemy,” whoever that may be. Both major political parties play a role in this, as well as the media. This is “who we are as a nation” today; militarists unconstrained by law.

The task of the peace and justice community under these conditions is to educate others on the war crimes being committed in our name, ceaselessly demand an end to torture and all other unlawful behavior conducted by government officials in the name of “security,” and end what is now fully acknowledged as a “perpetual war” that has given birth to the “rogue regime” which we have become.

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 at Guantánamo Bay detention camp. 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 issues remaining in the case of al Bahlul v. U.S. In addition, he is on the board of directors of the Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy and the ExposeFacts Advisory Board.

Endnotes

**Ongoing Vigils for Peace**

**Vigil to End War**
Every Wednesday, from 5:00 to 6:00 p.m. at 4200 Cedar Avenue South. Signs are available on the St. Paul side. Brief circle up for announcements after the vigil on St. Paul side. FFI: Call WAMM 612-827-5364.

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

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

**Grandmothers for Peace Vigil**
Every Wednesday, from 4:45 to 5:45 p.m. at 50th Street and Halifax (1 block west of France), Edina. FFI: Call Marian Wright 612-927-7607.

**WAMM Committee Meetings**

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

**Book Club**
Episcopal Senior Living Complex, Welcome Center, 1860 University Avenue West, St. Paul. Call WAMM for meeting time and date. FFI: Call 612-827-5364.

**End War**
First Monday of every month, at 6:00 p.m. at 4200 Cedar Avenue South, Minneapolis. FFI: Call WAMM 612-827-5364.

**Ground All Drones**
Second Thursday of every month, 10:00 to 11:30 a.m. at 4200 Cedar Avenue South, Minneapolis. FFI: Call WAMM 612-827-5364.

**Middle East**
Second Monday of every month, at 10:00 a.m. at WAMM, 4200 Cedar Avenue South, St. Paul. FFI: Call WAMM 612-827-5364.

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

**Tackling Torture at the Top (T3)**
Second Wednesday of every month, at 10:00 a.m. at WAMM, 4200 Cedar Avenue South, Minneapolis. FFI: Call WAMM 612-827-5364.

**Ongoing Events Committee to Stop FBI Repression**
Stand with the people subpoenaed in a witch hunt, defend civil liberties. Learn what you can do. FFI: Visit stopfb.net and mnStopFBI.wordpress.com.

**People of Faith Peacemakers Breakfast**
Second and fourth Wednesdays of every month, 8:00 to 9:30 a.m. at the African Development Center, Riverside and 20th Avenues South, Minneapolis. Peace with justice resource, support group. FFI: Visit justviewpoint.org or call 612-333-4772.

**Grandmothers for Peace**
First Wednesday of every month, 12:45 p.m. at Edina Public Library, 5280 Grandview Square, Edina. Justice issue programs for understanding our role in changing systems. FFI: Call 952-929-1566.

**Pax Salons**
Every Tuesday, call for details and location. Small donations accepted. FFI: Call 651-227-3228.

**Middle East Peace Now**
Usually second or third Saturday. Refreshments at 9:30 a.m. Program at 10:00 a.m. Location varies. FFI: Visit mepn.org.

**WAMM Second Monday Movies**
Second Monday of every month, at 7:00 p.m. at 4200 Cedar Avenue South (enter on 42nd St.), Minneapolis. Projected on big screen. Free admission, popcorn. All welcome. Discussion follows film. FFI: Call WAMM 612-827-5364, or email wamm@mtn.org.

**Killing Gaza**
July 9, 2018. A chilling visual document of war crimes committed by the Israeli military, featuring direct testimony and evidence from the survivors, delivered to them often just days after escaping indiscriminate shelling, bombings and summary executions. Co-sponsored with the WAMM Middle East Committee.

**Special Events**

**Now That Trump Pulled Out of the Iran Deal, What’s Next?**
A talk by Soraya Sepahpour-Ulrich via Skype on Wednesday, June 20 at 7:00 p.m. at 4200 Cedar Avenue, Minneapolis. See back cover for details.

**Peacestock: 16th Annual Gathering for Peace**
Saturday, July 14 at 9:00 am on (all day), Hobgoblin Farm, Red Wing. Featured speakers: Medea Benjamin of CodePink and Chris Mato Nunpa, professor of Indigenous Nations and Dakota Studies and army veteran. Sponsored by Veterans for Peace. $30 per individual. peacestockvfp.org

**WAMM Silent Auction**
Sunday, September 30. FFI: WAMM 612-827-5364 or wamm@mtn.org.
Now That Trump Pulled Out of the Iran Nuclear Deal, What’s Next?

WAMM presents a talk by Soraya Sepahpour-Ulrich

via Skype Wednesday, June 20 at 7:00 p.m.
4200 Cedar Ave. S., Minneapolis

Soraya Sepahpour-Ulrich was in Iran among the people when Trump announced that the U.S. was pulling out of the Iran nuclear deal (the Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action or JCPOA). Soraya is an Iranian-American independent researcher and writer with a focus on U.S. foreign policy. She is a current events analyst, essayist, public speaker, and peace activist, and holds advanced degrees in Middle East studies, public diplomacy, and international relations. Her writings have been published by various national and international websites, and she is often a guest political commentator on radio and television. Hear what she has to say about Trump’s pull-out, what people in Iran say about it, how it may affect relations between the U.S., the Middle East, and world.

Pizza provided. Donations appreciated.
Sponsored by Women Against Military Madness Middle East Committee 612-837-5364