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VOICE OF REVOLUTION

Publication of the U.S. Marxist-Leninist Organization

March 8, 2019

USMLO 3942 N. Central Ave, Chicago, IL 60634



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All Out to Support Venezuela : 1-9



Defend Rights : 10-21



Dismantle NATO : 22-24

URGENT NEED TO UNITE THE CONTINENT TO PRESERVE THE PEACE

All Out to Strengthen Work in Support of Venezuela

NO Sanctions
NO Military Intervention
U.S. imperialism, using more sanctions and amassing military forces and provocateurs at the Venezuelan border with

passions, violence and manufactured incidents to justify a military invasion, has met with firm and broad resistance from the people of Venezuela. People across the U.S. and

No war on Venezuela • 3

BUDGET DEAL AND TRUMP NATIONAL EMERGENCY

As Potential for Civil War Increases, U.S. Prepares for More Imperialist War

A second government shutdown was barely averted with a budget deal that was designed to get Trump's signature in exchange for giving him a green light to announce a national emergency.

It was known by Congress that Trump would sign the bill without the more than \$5 billion he has been demanding for militarizing the border with Mexico. It was known

Potential for Civil War Increases • 10

ORGANIZE FOR AN ANTI-WAR GOVERNMENT

Dismantle NATO! Close All U.S. Bases Abroad

A salute to all those in Washington DC, across the country and worldwide who are standing together to demand *NO to NATO, No to War on Venezuela*. Actions are occurring in DC from March 30-April 4

(see p.24), with a main demonstration at the White House Saturday March 30. *Voice of Revolution* urges all to join these actions and step up the anti-war work by defending

Dismantle NATO • 22

DEFEND THE RIGHTS OF ALL ABROAD AND AT HOME

March edition of ***Voice of Revolution***

Editorials & Statements

- *All Out to Strengthen Work in Support of Venezuela..... 1*
- *As Potential for Civil War Increases,
U.S. Prepares for More Imperialist War..... 1*
- *Dismantle NATO! Close All U.S. Bases Abroad 1*

Stand with Venezuela

- *Protesters Stand United: No U.S. War on Venezuela! (photos). 4*
- *San Francisco Labor Council says NO to U.S. Intervention
in Venezuela 7*
- *Black People Will Never Abandon Venezuela! 7*
- *Open Letter to the People of the United States 8*
- *Urgent Message to the Political and Social Forces of Latin America
and the Caribbean9*

Defend Rights Abroad and at Home

- *Joint Declaration of Former United States Government Officials 12*
- *Lawsuits Challenge Trump National Emergency..... 17*
- *The Alarming Scope of the President's Emergency Powers 18*

Dismantle NATO

- *Confront the NATO War Makers March 30!..... 23*
- *Calendar of Events in DC Opposing NATO..... 24*

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I • No War on Venezuela

throughout the Americas have stood up with the resistance to U.S. efforts at regime change against Venezuela. This battle is about U.S. efforts to destroy human productive powers, as they have done in Libya, Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan. This struggle is not just about oil and resources but about blocking any effort to reject U.S. imperialism and chart an independent course. This reality can be seen in Trump's attacks on Cuba and Nicaragua, threatening them as well, because they too defend their revolutionary cause and refuse to bow down.

It is to the merit of the Venezuelans that their broad and determined resistance has blocked U.S. coup efforts and exposed their fabrication of providing humanitarian aid. The humanitarian aid required is the lifting of the sanctions now! Instead the U.S. has increased them in effort to bring Venezuela to her knees. The peoples as one are rising to say NO! It must not pass!

In Venezuela, the people continue to prepare for any eventuality. Their resilience is legendary and should not be either underestimated or doubted. On February 10, Venezuela's military kicked off large-scale military drills against foreign military intervention, which ran until February 15. According to President Maduro, the drills were the largest the country has held in its 200-year history. Separately, President Maduro announced that 50,000 "popular defense units" are being set up. This has a significance that must be appreciated. The arming and training of an organized people is essential to defending their neighborhoods, as the resistance in Syria demonstrated. He promised that the U.S. will get a South American "Vietnam War" if it decides to invade.



The streets of Caracas have been filled with tens of thousands of people who are determined to reject the establishment of the so-called "parallel government" armed by the U.S. against their president, Nicolás Maduro, and their sovereignty. They uphold the Bolivarian Revolution that is the legacy of Hugo Chávez. Simultaneously, demonstrations, meetings and protests are being held all over the world to denounce these plans of invasion, oppose the interference into Venezuela's sovereign affairs and demand that peace be preserved on the American continent.

People across the continent, in Haiti, Cuba and the rest of the Caribbean are taking their stands with resistance to U.S. imperialism. Peoples know well that to keep the region as a Zone of Peace, stepped up and united resistance is crucial. In the U.S., going all out to strengthen the work by organizing meetings, debates, forums and directing demonstrations to the public and strengthening public opinion in favor of the peoples is needed. The broader and more united the stand of the people against U.S. dictate and for rights abroad and at home, the stronger the support for the people of Venezuela. Integral to this is organizing in the U.S. for an anti-war government and people's democracy, where we decide!

Protesters Stand United: No U.S. War on Venezuela!

U.S. threats to invade Venezuela, along with Trump's efforts to instigate a coup d'état, were answered on February 23 by massive actions in Venezuela and demonstrations in 150 cities across the U.S. and worldwide. The rallying cry for this International Day of Action was "No U.S. War on Venezuela!"

February 23 marked the one-month anniversary of the U.S.-backed coup attempt against elected Venezuelan President Nicolás Maduro. Called by the No War on Venezuela Coalition, the mobilization in the U.S. brought together a diverse range of organizations and organizers. The call for coordinated global actions opposing a new U.S.-imperialist war against Venezuela was posted in 16 languages at NoWarOn-Venezuela.org, where hundreds of endorsing organizations and thousands of signers were listed, as well as information on the 150 cities that held actions.

While accepting the Best First Feature award for his film "Sorry to Bother You" at the Film Independent Spirit Awards, director Boots Riley spoke out: "We should all be putting our voices out to stop regime change for oil in Venezuela."

Protests were held in Washington, D.C. and in more than 35 U.S. states, in cities large and small, from Belfast, Maine, in the Northeast to Miami in the Southeast, to Spokane, Washington, and San Diego on the West Coast.

President Maduro sent a video message to the No War on Venezuela Coalition the next day in appreciation of the actions and urging people in the U.S. to continue their resistance and anti-war organizing.

Here are some highlights of the day's activities:

Boston — Over 200 people gathered downtown to denounce the U.S.-led coup attempt in Venezuela. Speakers connected the anti-imperialist struggle of the Venezuelan people to struggles facing all of Latin America and the world. They cited the Trump administration's hypocrisy in claiming a humanitarian motive. Several connected the imperialist offensive against Venezuela with the ongoing anti-government insurrection in Haiti.

Ahmad Kawash, director of the Palestinian House of New England, explained the solidarity between Palestine and the Bolivarian Revolution: "Maduro said, 'I am a Palestinian,' and I say, 'I am a Venezuelan.'" Bishop Teixeira criticized military funding that has been diverted from money for essential educational and medical programs. Jill Stein, Green Party 2016 presidential candidate, noted the media's role in creating a pretext for U.S. imperialism's wars. She stressed, "We need to do whatever it takes to stop this empire from crushing half the world."

Syracuse, N.Y. — Dozens rallied at Perseverance Park in



downtown Syracuse, including members of Upstate Drone Action and the Workers Center of Central New York. A covert U.S. drone was recently deployed in an assassination attempt on President Maduro.

Buffalo, N.Y. — Protesters joined national and global rallies denouncing U.S. aggression against Bolivarian Venezuela, calling for an end to U.S. sanctions and interventions.

New York City — Upwards of 1,000 people marched on Wall Street and rallied outside the Trump Building near the New York Stock Exchange. They made clear the people of the U.S. stand with the people of Venezuela resisting imperialism. Many organizations worked together for the action and plan to continue doing so. Showing solidarity that day were people from countries that have also faced imperialist attacks, such as Honduras, Ecuador, Colombia, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Haiti, Yugoslavia, Iran and the Philippines.

Philadelphia — A spirited and diverse crowd of 150 rallied at City Hall before marching to the Liberty Bell. Palestinian activist Susan Abulhawa rejected the U.S. justification about supplying humanitarian aid saying, "Palestinians are living in extreme poverty with many facing starvation, but no Palestinian is asking the U.S. to invade."

Durham and Charlotte, North Carolina — People from organizations across the state gathered in Charlotte to stand with the Bolivarian Revolution of Venezuela and reject the attempted U.S. coup. The demonstration took place at Eastway Square, a bustling part of town in the heart of the growing migrant and Latinx community. Cars driving by honked and cheered as the crowd chanted, "What do we want? U.S. out! When do we want it? Now!"

Atlanta — A program called "Stand with the Bolivarian Revolution! U.S. Hands Off Venezuela!" was held at the Arts Exchange in Atlanta. Discussion brought out the crimes of the U.S. sanctions, propaganda war and attempted coup. It focused

NO SANCTIONS, NO WAR ON VENEZUELA

on the need and the ways to educate and mobilize opposition in the U.S. to all the U.S. moves to foment “regime change” in Venezuela. Proposals included organizing a local March 16 demonstration, setting up campus events, pressuring metro Atlanta Congressional members to oppose the coup and raising funds for Venezuela.

Pensacola, Florida — Demonstrators gathered outside the Pensacola Bay Center

to stand with the people of Venezuela and global anti-imperialist struggles. The activists rubbed shoulders with U.S. armed forces outside Pensacon, one of the city’s biggest annual events that draws over 10,000 people to the military town. Activists handed out fact sheets about Venezuela to the crowd and demonstrated with vivid signage that a broad, diverse group showed what southern activists think of U.S. imperialism.

Wheeling, West Virginia — As part of an International call to defend Venezuela and in support of President Maduro, picketers held signs reading, “No War On Venezuela.” The action received a lot of support from people driving by.

Cleveland — A spirited picket line was held outside military contractor Voss Aerospace, followed by a short march to the Cleveland West Side Market for a rally. Passing cars beeped horns in support.

Houston — Activists gathered at a busy traffic circle in the heart of the city to denounce the U.S. government’s attempted coup in Venezuela and say *U.S. Hands Off Venezuela!* Armed with bright yellow signs supporting President Maduro and a huge Venezuelan flag, they got a largely positive response, as many drivers honked and waved. Some raised their fists in solidarity. Youth and seniors agreed at the closing rally that they must stay on alert. Plans were made to protest at the Mickey Leland Federal Building in downtown Houston if the U.S. invades. Students at the University of Houston announced a teach-in on Venezuela on February 25.

Denver — The 10 inches of snow that fell on the Denver area the night before did not stop dozens of people from rallying February 23 on all four corners of the downtown 16th Street Mall. They handed out fliers and engaged people in discussion about the danger of another U.S.-provoked war, this one in Venezuela.



Salt Lake City — Activists of all ages, including members of the Latinx community, gathered at a busy corner holding signs and banners and chanting, “No War on Venezuela!” They were there to stand with the people of Venezuela and the democratically elected government of Maduro, opposing U.S. efforts to destroy Venezuelan resistance. They maintained a constant presence on the corner and received

positive responses from the community, with supportive honks and thumbs-up gestures by people driving and walking by. People were given fact sheets detailing background on the current crisis in Venezuela. Participants signed an open letter to the people of the U.S. from President Maduro, with petitions from across the country to be delivered to the White House March 30 at the *No NATO, No War on Venezuela* demonstration.

Oakland, California — More than 150 people rallied at Oscar Grant Plaza to demand *U.S.-CIA Hands Off Venezuela*. Speakers expressed strong support for the Bolivarian Revolution and the Maduro government. They brought out that hundreds of thousands of people in Venezuela were also taking action to defend the sovereignty of the country and block the U.S. war efforts.



FIGHT FOR AN ANTI-WAR GOVERNMENT



Charlotte, North Carolina



Boston



Houston



Philadelphia



Los Angeles



Richmond, California

San Francisco Labor Council says NO to U.S. Intervention in Venezuela

The following resolution was adopted by the Delegates Meeting of the San Francisco Labor Council (AFL-CIO) on February 11, 2019.

Whereas, Trump administration officials have openly declared their intention to overthrow the democratically elected government of Venezuelan President Nicolás Maduro; and

Whereas, the U.S. has tightened economic sanctions, including the seizure of Venezuela's oil properties in the United States, increasing the hardship on the people of Venezuela; and

Whereas, Venezuela has the largest oil reserves in the world, and leading Trump administration foreign policy officials have made clear their intention to privatize Venezuela's oil and open it to exploitation by the U.S. oil companies if their coup strategy succeeds; and

Whereas, Elliott Abrams has been named Special Envoy to Venezuela and is notorious for his central role in the Iran-Contra scheme and arming of the Nicaraguan contras, the Salvadoran death squad government, and the genocidal regime in Guatemala responsible for the massacres of hundreds of thousands of indig-



enous people in that country; and

Whereas, the U.S. campaign of regime change in Venezuela is against the interests of the people of Venezuela, Latin America and the people of the United States; and

Whereas, the San Francisco Labor Council resolved on May 12, 2014, to “support the sovereignty of the Venezuelan people to continue their political and social process free from foreign intervention,” demanding “that the U.S. government refrain from intervention in the internal af-

fairs of Venezuela.”

Therefore Be It Resolved, that the San Francisco Labor Council endorse and support (1) the February 23 Emergency Bay Area *Hands Off Venezuela* protest action; (2) the March 16 National March on the White House to say *Hands Off Venezuela, No War, No Sanctions, No Coup*, which in the Bay Area will be held on Saturday, March 9; and (3) the *Hands Off Venezuela* National Action, which in the Bay Area will be held on March 31.

Be It Further Resolved, that this resolution will be sent to the California Labor Federation and to Bay Area Congress members.

Black People Will Never Abandon Venezuela!

Black Alliance for Peace

[...] We must remind our people that over 150 million Africans live throughout the so-called Americas. We especially must raise this reality at critical moments like this when the corporate media and establishment opinion is legitimizing U.S. gangsterism that could kill thousands of people in Venezuela.

Afro-Venezuelans contacted Black Alliance for Peace to ask us to remind our people in the United States that military forces will target Afro-Venezuelans if a military intervention occurs because they represent a core constituency of the Bolivarian revolutionary process in Venezuela.

When a so-called opposition takes down the flag of its own country and raises the U.S. flag — after also displaying the Israeli flag on its podium during a demonstration — the true nature and interests of this element are exposed. This is an opposition that burnt Afro-Venezuelans alive because they assume all Black people support the government.

We know what will happen if a U.S.-led military intervention takes place. It will be a re-play of the 1989 invasion of Panama, where U.S forces turned the Black community of El Chorrillo into a “free fire zone,” resulting in the complete destruction of the community and the deaths of over 3,000 Panamanians.

The U.S. state has demonstrated repeatedly that it has no regard for non-European life, from Iraq through Libya to Yemen and a dozen nations in between.

It is imperative we separate our folks from this naked imperialist move on Venezuela. It is important for African/Black people to be clear where we stand on these kinds of issues. The war and militarism being waged against us by the domestic military we call “the police”— along with the mass incarceration complex — is part of the global Pan-European Colonial/Capitalist White Supremacist patriarchy that is now conspiring against the Bolivarian revolutionary process in Venezuela. The European Union Parliament's decision to recognize the puppet government being imposed on the people of Venezuela demonstrates why we have a common enemy in the U.S./EU/NATO “axis of domination.”

There can be no confusion — despite the sectoral fights inside the capitalist class that are currently playing out in their struggle against Trump, they are united when it comes to projecting the dominance of the Pan-European imperialist project. They are prepared to fight to the last drop of your blood and mine to defend their privilege.

That is why the Black Alliance for Peace is clear: We say

“not one drop of blood from working class and poor to defend the interests of the capitalist oligarchy.” We want peace and People(s)-Centered Human Rights, but we recognize that there is no peace without justice. Real social justice, which requires radical structural change, cannot be realized without struggle. And there can be no effective social change without clearly identifying the enemy — the source of our oppression — and being able to imagine an alternative.

The people of Venezuela have made a choice. We will not debate the merits of their process — its contradictions or problems. Our responsibility as citizens/captors of empire is to put a brake on the U.S. state’s ability to foster death and destruction on the peoples of the world.

Black Alliance for Peace is calling on all African/Black organizations to oppose U.S. intervention in Venezuela. Create

public educational materials for the groups you are working with. [...]

We are also joining with organizations from across the country to support a national day of action against U.S. intervention February 23. We will share more information on that on our site as that information is produced. If you might be interested in organizing actions on that day, please get in contact with us at info@blackallianceforpeace.com.

Also feel free to distribute this information on Venezuelan actions: <https://blackallianceforpeace.com/newsletter/whitesupremacyofusinterventions>

Hands Off Venezuela!

Stop U.S. Subversion and Lawlessness!

Close U.S. and NATO Bases!

U.S. Out of Africa — Shut Down Africom

Open Letter to the People of the United States

Venezuelan President Nicolás Maduro



(This letter is being circulated in the U.S. and worldwide as a petition expressing the firm support of the peoples for the resistance in Venezuela to U.S. imperialism and for their right to chart their own course. Petitions will be presented to the White House at the NO NATO, NO War on Venezuela action in DC March 30)

* * *

If I know anything, it is about people, because like yourselves, I am a man of the people. I was born and raised in a poor neighborhood of Caracas. I was forged in the heat of popular and union struggles in a Venezuela submerged in exclusion and inequality. I am not a tycoon, I am a worker in thought and heart. Today I have the great privilege of presiding over the new Venezuela, rooted in a model of inclusive development and social equality, envisioned by Commander Hugo Chávez

since 1998, inspired by the Bolivarian legacy.

We are living in a historic moment. In the coming days the future of our countries will be defined, as one of war or peace. Your national representatives in Washington want to bring to your borders the same hatred they sowed in Vietnam. They want to invade and intervene in Venezuela -- they say, as they said then -- in the name of democracy and freedom. But it’s not like that. The story of the usurpation of power in Venezuela is as false as the weapons of mass destruction in Iraq. It is a false case, but it can have dramatic consequences for our entire region.

Venezuela is a country that, by virtue of its 1999 Constitution, has broadly expanded the participatory and protagonistic democracy of the people and, something unprecedented, is today one of the countries that has held the largest number of elections in the last 20 years. You might not like our ideology or the way

we look, but we exist and we are millions.

I address these words to the people of the United States of America to warn of the gravity and danger of some sectors in the White House considering an invasion of Venezuela, with unpredictable consequences for my country and for the entire American region. President Donald Trump also intends to disrupt the noble dialogue initiatives promoted by Uruguay and Mexico, with the support of CARICOM, for a peaceful solution and dialogue in favor of Venezuela. We know that for the good of Venezuela we have to sit down and talk because to refuse to dialogue is to choose the path of force. Keep in mind the words of John F. Kennedy: "Let us never negotiate out of fear. But let us never fear to negotiate." Are those who do not want to dialogue afraid of the truth?

The political intolerance towards the Venezuelan Bolivarian model and the appetite for our immense oil resources, minerals, and other great riches, has prompted an international coalition, headed by the U.S. government, to commit the serious insanity of militarily attacking Venezuela under the false pretext of a non-existent humanitarian crisis.

The people of Venezuela have suffered painful social wounds caused by a criminal commercial and financial blockade, which has been aggravated by the seizure and theft of our financial resources and assets in countries aligned with this demented onslaught.

And yet, thanks to a new system of social protection, of direct attention to the most vulnerable sectors, we proudly continue to be a country with a high human development index and one of the lowest inequality indices in the Americas.

The U.S. people must know that this complex multifaceted aggression is carried out with total impunity and in clear violation of the Charter of the United Nations, which expressly outlaws the threat or use of force, among its other principles and aims, for the sake of peace and friendly relations between Nations.

We want to continue being business partners of the people of the United States, as we have been throughout our history. Your politicians in Washington, on the other hand, are willing to send your sons and daughters to die in an absurd war, instead of respecting the sacred right of the Venezuelan people to self-determination and to safeguard their sovereignty.

Like you, people of the United States, we Venezuelans are patriots. And we shall defend our homeland with every piece of our soul. Today Venezuela is united in a single clamor: we demand a stop to the aggression that seeks to suffocate our economy and socially suffocate our people, as well as the grave and dangerous threats of military intervention against Venezuela. We appeal to the good soul of U.S. society, a victim of its own leaders, to join our call for peace; let us be all one people against warmongering and war.

Long Live the Peoples of America!

Urgent Message to the Political and Social Forces of Latin America and the Caribbean

Communist Party of Cuba

As the Statement of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba emphasized on February 13, "the escalation of pressures and actions of the U.S. government in preparation for a military adventure under the guise of a humanitarian intervention," not only constitute a real threat against the Bolivarian Revolution, but they pose a real danger for continental peace.

Washington should not underestimate the costs of aggression against Venezuela. The possibility of a disastrous regionalization of the armed conflict would affect our peoples and all their social, economic and political sectors.

We are facing a typical threat of war of imperialist aggression, no matter how it disguises itself, whose main objective is the appropriation, by the United States, of the largest certified oil reserves on the planet. Washington's contempt for the tens of thousands of civilian victims that a conflagration like the one being planned could produce is evident, once again.

It would not be just an attack against the Bolivarian Revolution. In the logic of the hawks that control the Trump administration's policy toward Latin America, the action is seen as a final onslaught against the left and progressive forces on the continent. Today it is Venezuela, tomorrow it will be Nicaragua, Bolivia or Cuba.

The defense of the Bolivarian Revolution thus becomes the first entrenchment in the struggle for the sovereignty of Our

America, for the ideal of social justice, peace with dignity, and Latin American unity that the founders of our noble nations bequeathed to us.

We reaffirm the position of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba, when it said, "What is at stake today in Venezuela is the sovereignty and dignity of Latin America and the Caribbean and the peoples of the South. Equally at stake is the survival of the rules of International Law and the UN Charter. What is being defined today is whether the legitimacy of a government emanates from the express and sovereign will of its people or from the recognition of foreign powers."

Let us march together and show the Yankee Empire that the peoples of the continent do have a sense of their independence and sovereignty.

It is an opportune moment for the forces of the São Paulo Forum to reclaim the political potential they represent. Our people demand it.

The democratic and patriotic political and social sectors of the left have before them the possibility of demonstrating that the best way to say is to do, as José Martí emphasized.

From Cuba, we urge you to win the war: let us prevent it from being unleashed, let us guarantee peace for all. Let us honor this historic decision of the Spanish anti-fascists: They will not pass!

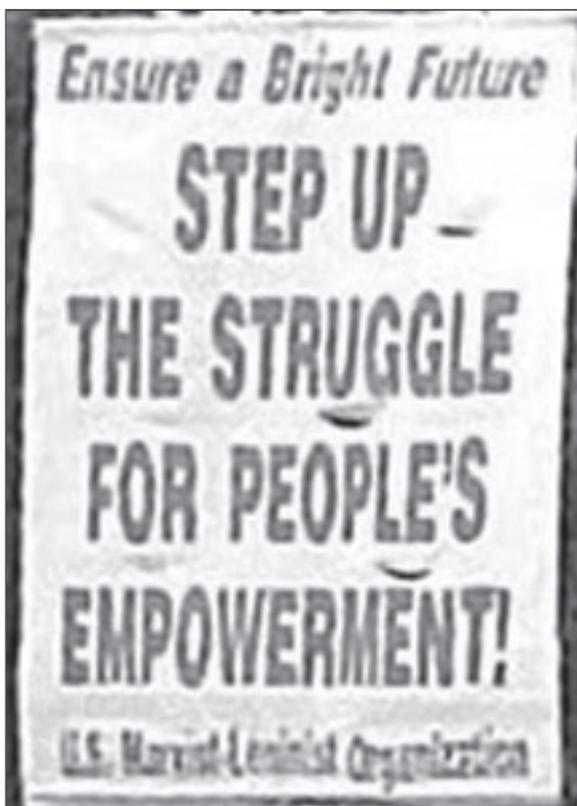
I • Potential for Open Civil War Increasing

that he would accept the deal on the basis of then declaring a national emergency, which he promptly did February 15. He justified the action saying, “We’re talking about an invasion of our country with drugs, with human traffickers, with all types of criminals and gangs.” He used the word “invasion” seven times, in part to invoke language of the Constitution allowing use of the military inside the country to “suppress insurrections and repel invasions.” He also made clear the emergency was not necessary and thus not an emergency: “I didn’t need to do this, but I’d rather do it [fund the border wall] much faster.” He then left for Florida and played golf on Saturday.

The budget, an omnibus bill of more than 1,000 pages, was presented Wednesday, February 13, and voted on Thursday. Few legislators had even read it. As one put it, “This is no way to run a legislature.” The speed was done in the name of preventing yet another shutdown Friday, February 15 — the same day Trump announced the national emergency and signed the budget into law.

By agreeing to the deal, Congress gave him the green light for even more troops and repression at the southern border. Whatever battles now ensue, including civil suits, state challenges and Congress rejecting the declaration, Trump has already set in motion the authorities for using yet more police powers. For example, the declaration, in saying the military is needed, further secures overall control by the military, additional troops (possibly 3,750 in addition to the more than 5,000 already there) and the ability to use the troops, including lethal force, against peoples both sides of the border. It also gives the executive, most notably the military, control of land, including private farms, along the border: “The Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Homeland Security, and, subject to the discretion of the Secretary of Defense, the Secretaries of the military departments, shall take all appropriate actions, consistent with applicable law, to use or support the use of the authorities herein invoked, including, if necessary, the transfer and acceptance of jurisdiction over border lands.” It is also known that the emergency allows the vacating of laws and regulations concerning environmental and health requirements.

Many families along the border, especially in Texas where construction is planned, are opposing further building of the border wall. A number of them immediately launched a suit to block action by the military and the Department of Homeland Security (DHS).



Potential for Open Civil War Increasing

The budget deal and national emergency are themselves an indication that the usual means for sorting out conflicts among the rulers are not functioning. Trump’s election did nothing to sort them out, as the open conflicts within and between the executive, military and intelligence agencies show. Various influential retired generals, for example, have ridiculed Trump’s current claims of an invasion (such as retired Admiral James Stavridis, former head of SOUTHCom and NATO). The budget battles, with government shutdowns, have also only increased the factional fighting as funds are concentrated in the Pentagon and war monopolies and the president acts to further usurp budget authority. Whereas in the past, elections and budget negotiations served to keep the conflicts at bay, now, with government dysfunction and rule

of laws and norms eliminated, they intensify them. All the open fighting also serves to further discredit government, both Congress and the presidency, in the eyes of the people.

Former Officials Condemn President’s Emergency

One important current example of the deepening conflicts is a declaration issued by 58 former government officials, serving both Republican and Democratic presidents, rejecting the emergency declaration (see p.12). It must be remembered that the emergency declaration invoking use of the military involves the president acting as Commander-in-Chief. Given this is the case, public condemnation of the president by officials is not usually done, as this is seen to undermine his authority as Commander. Yet in this situation, these former officials — including high ranking people that were with the Pentagon, State, Homeland Security, CIA, Director of National Intelligence, National Security Adviser to the President — are openly declaring “We are aware of no emergency that remotely justifies” declaring a national emergency. They then provide factual information to back up their statement.

While the facts provided are useful, what is significant here is the public and organized condemnation of the Commander-in-Chief, who has also been ridiculed by retired military. The participation by those from both the Republicans and Democrats also indicates that the vying factions cannot easily be identified along party lines and by their nature fluctuate, as the many changes in the Trump administration also indicate.

The declaration, along with challenges by the states (see p.17),

are also significant as they show the deepening divide among the factions as to how to keep the rulers in power and the people out. Trump and similar forces are pushing increased use of police powers, including the military at home and abroad. He has consolidated a government of police powers. Others seem to think maintaining the veil of liberal democracy and its institutions, like the Constitution, can still salvage the situation.

House Speaker Nancy Pelosi of California and Senate Minority Leader Charles E. Schumer of New York for example said, “The president’s actions clearly violate the Congress’s exclusive power of the purse, which our Founders enshrined in the Constitution.” They added, “The Congress will defend our constitutional authorities in the Congress, in the Courts, and in the public, using every remedy available.” It is well known that Congress has long since conceded its power to declare war and its power not to fund wars. It has also provided broad emergency powers to the Office of the President (see p.18).

The Constitution itself guarantees the president police powers, as shown in the oath of office, which states: “I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.” The “faithfully execute” the office ensures the president has powers to take actions. And it is not qualified, as the portion concerning the Constitution, which is only to “the best of my abilities.” It is also the case that in enshrining two social systems, that of slavery and that of wage labor, the Constitution embodied conditions of civil war, as the first one confirmed.

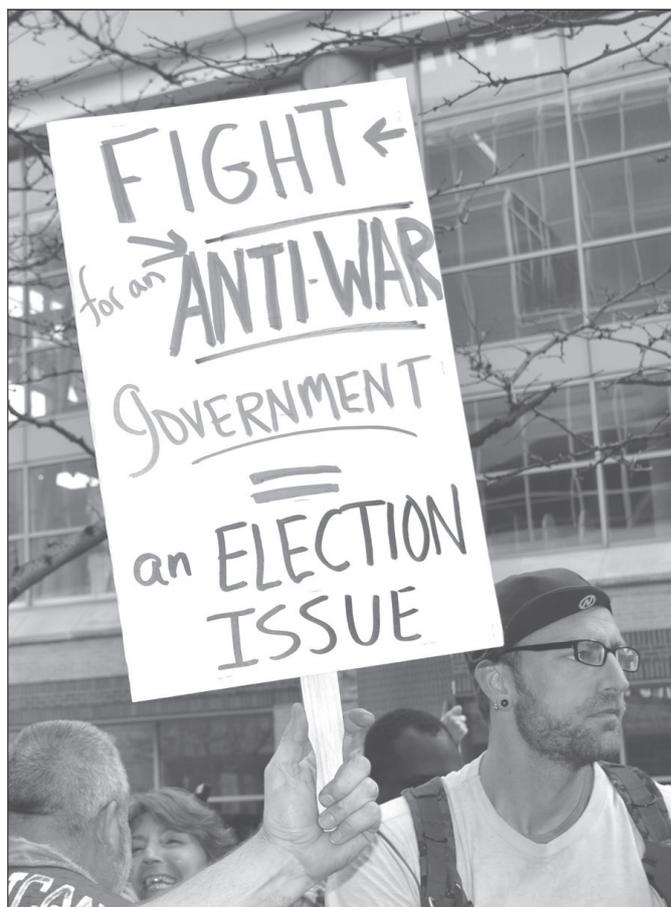
Now, the dysfunction and crisis of U.S.-style democracy, where the institutions do not function and the rulers refuse to go forward to a modern democracy empowering the people, means the potential for a second bloody civil war is increasing. In such circumstances the courts and Constitution have not and will not prevent such an outcome. The organized resistance of the people, relying on their own efforts to organize for political empowerment, can.

Mexico, Venezuela and More Imperialist War

Faced with growing conflict and illegitimacy, one of the means the rulers have to unite their ranks, including the huge military bureaucracy, is imperialist war. The war against Iraq was largely for that purpose. Preparations now to invade Venezuela are as well. No doubt the chants of “USA, USA” during the State of the Union were for this purpose.

The many wars, including those against Yemen and Syria, are also directed against crushing resistance and creating the notion that resistance is futile while it is the U.S. that is indispensable. What has actually been shown is that it is the peoples’ struggles for their rights, including charting their own path forward, which are indispensable for securing a bright future.

While the threat against an invasion of Venezuela is greatest at present, the threat against Mexico is also very grave. Thousands of troops, with arms, drones and helicopters at the ready, are an invasion force. It is the Army that is the main occupying force for the U.S. and that is the armed force at the border with



Mexico. Trump’s constant use of “invasion” and “threat to national security” are efforts to justify such an action. So too are the claims about drugs and human trafficking.

At issue here is the close connection between the growing possibility of open civil war and more imperialist war. Indeed, there is already talk that the “peaceful transition of power,” will not take place with the 2020 election. Those claiming there has been more than 200 such years of peaceful transition clearly forget the first Civil War.

The conditions today are crying out for solutions that the current rulers and their liberal democracy and Constitution cannot provide. That is evident. Why remain stuck in this old, unsustainable set up? The huge human productive powers that exist and create vast wealth sufficient to provide for the rights of all here and abroad require a new form of governance — an anti-war government and people’s democracy, where the people are empowered to govern and decide. Now is not the time to get embroiled in the debates of the rulers, about the Constitution or the courts or hoping elections will save the situation. Now is the time to organize on the necessity for a new direction for the country and a new Constitution that favors the peoples and guarantees their rights. In standing firm against U.S. imperialist wars, let us all stand for our own program here at home:

*Unite and Fight for An Anti-War Government,
Peace Economy and a
Democracy Where We Decide!*

OPPOSING TRUMP'S NATIONAL EMERGENCY

Joint Declaration of Former United States Government Officials

We, the undersigned, declare as follows:

1. We are former officials in the U.S. government who have worked on national security and homeland security issues from the White House as well as agencies across the Executive Branch. We have served in senior leadership roles in administrations of both major political parties, and collectively we have devoted a great many decades to protecting the security interests of the United States. We have held the highest security clearances, and we have participated in the highest levels of policy deliberations on a broad range of issues. These include: immigration, border security, counterterrorism, military operations, and our nation's relationship with other countries, including those south of our border.

[A list of the 58 signatories and their positions in the Defense Department, State Department, Homeland Security, CIA, and others is then provided. For the full list go to: <https://www.justsecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/former-senior-united-states-officials-national-emergency-declaration-february-2019.pdf>. We provide a small sample of the former officials that signed, serving both Republican and Democratic presidents, at the end of the declaration — VOR Ed. Note]

2. On February 15, 2019, the President declared a “national emergency” for the purpose of diverting appropriated funds from previously designated uses to build a wall along the southern border. We are aware of no emergency that remotely justifies such a step. The President's actions are at odds with the overwhelming evidence in the public record, including the administration's own data and estimates. We have lived and worked through national emergencies, and we support the President's power to mobilize the Executive Branch to respond quickly in genuine national emergencies. But under no plausible assessment of the evidence is there a national emergency today that entitles the President to tap into funds appropriated for other purposes to build a wall at the southern border. To our knowledge, the President's assertion of a national emergency here is unprecedented, in that he seeks to address a situation: (1) that has been enduring, rather than one that has arisen suddenly; (2) that in fact has improved over time rather than deteriorated; (3) by reprogramming billions of dollars in funds in the face of clear congressional intent to the contrary; and (4) with assertions that are rebutted not just by the public record, but by his agencies' own official data, documents, and statements.

3. *Illegal border crossings are near forty-year lows.* At the outset, there is no evidence of a sudden or emergency increase in the number of people seeking to cross the southern border. According to the administration's own data, the numbers of apprehensions and undetected illegal border crossings at the southern border are near forty-year lows.(1) Although there was a modest increase in apprehensions in 2018, that figure is in



keeping with the number of apprehensions only two years earlier, and the overall trend indicates a dramatic decline over the last fifteen years in particular.(2) The administration also estimates that “undetected unlawful entries” at the southern border “fell from approximately 851,000 to nearly 62,000” between fiscal years 2006 to 2016, the most recent years for which data are available.(3) The United States currently hosts what is estimated to be the smallest number of undocumented immigrants since 2004.(4) And in fact, in recent years, the majority of currently undocumented immigrants entered the United States legally, but overstayed their visas,(5) a problem that will not be addressed by the declaration of an emergency along the southern border.

4. *There is no documented terrorist or national security emergency at the southern border.* There is no reason to believe that there is a terrorist or national security emergency at the southern border that could justify the President's proclamation.

a. This administration's own most recent Country Report on Terrorism, released only five months ago, found that “there was no credible evidence indicating that international terrorist groups have established bases in Mexico, worked with Mexican drug cartels, or sent operatives via Mexico into the United States.”(6) Since 1975, there has been only one reported incident in which immigrants who had crossed the southern border illegally attempted to commit a terrorist act. That incident occurred more than twelve years ago, and involved three brothers from Macedonia who had been brought into the United States as children more than twenty years earlier.(7)

b. Although the White House has claimed, as an argument favoring a wall at the southern border, that almost 4,000 known

or suspected terrorists were intercepted at the southern border in a single year,(8) this assertion has since been widely and consistently repudiated, including by this administration's own Department of Homeland Security.(9) The overwhelming majority of individuals on terrorism watchlists who were intercepted by U.S. Customs and Border Patrol were attempting to travel to the United States by air;(10). Of the individuals on the terrorist watchlist who were encountered while entering the United States during fiscal year 2017, only 13 percent traveled by land.(11) And for those who have attempted to enter by land, only a small fraction do so at the southern border. Between October 2017 and March 2018, forty-one foreign immigrants on the terrorist watchlist were intercepted at the northern border.(12) Only six such immigrants were intercepted at the southern border.(13)

5. *There is no emergency related to violent crime at the southern border.* Nor can the administration justify its actions on the grounds that the incidence of violent crime on the southern border constitutes a national emergency. Factual evidence consistently shows that unauthorized immigrants have no special proclivity to engage in criminal or violent behavior. According to a Cato Institute analysis of criminological data, undocumented immigrants are 44 percent less likely to be incarcerated nationwide than are native-born citizens.(14) And in Texas, undocumented immigrants were found to have a first-time conviction rate 32 percent below that of native-born Americans;(15) the conviction rates of unauthorized immigrants for violent crimes such as homicide and sex offenses were also below those of native-born Americans.(16) Meanwhile, overall rates of violent crime in the United States have declined significantly over the past 25 years, falling 49 percent from 1993 to 2017.(17) And violent crime rates in the country's 30 largest cities have decreased on average by 2.7 percent in 2018 alone, further undermining any suggestion that recent crime trends currently warrant the declaration of a national emergency.(18)

6. *There is no human or drug trafficking emergency that can be addressed by a wall at the southern border.* The administration has claimed that the presence of human and drug trafficking at the border justifies its emergency declaration. But there is no evidence of any such sudden crisis at the southern border that necessitates a reprogramming of appropriations to build a border wall.

a. The overwhelming majority of opioids that enter the United States across a land border are carried through legal ports of entry in personal or commercial vehicles, not smuggled through unauthorized border crossings.(19) A border wall would not stop these drugs from entering the United States. Nor would a wall stop drugs from entering via other routes, including smuggling tunnels, which circumvent such physical barriers as fences and walls,(20) and international mail (which is how high-purity fentanyl, for example, is usually shipped from China directly to the United States).(21)

b. Likewise, illegal crossings at the southern border are not the principal source of human trafficking victims. About two-thirds of human trafficking victims served by nonprofit organizations that receive funding from the relevant Department of

Justice office are U.S. citizens, and even among non-citizens, most trafficking victims usually arrive in the country on valid visas.(22) None of these instances of trafficking could be addressed by a border wall. And the three states with the highest per capita trafficking reporting rates are not even located along the southern border.(23)

7. *This proclamation will only exacerbate the humanitarian concerns that do exist at the southern border.* There are real humanitarian concerns at the border, but they largely result from the current administration's own deliberate policies towards migrants. For example, the administration has used a "metering" policy to turn away families fleeing extreme violence and persecution in their home countries, forcing them to wait indefinitely at the border to present their asylum cases, and has adopted a number of other punitive steps to restrict those seeking asylum at the southern border. These actions have forced asylum-seekers to live on the streets or in makeshift shelters and tent cities with abysmal living conditions, and limited access to basic sanitation has caused outbreaks of disease and death. This state of affairs is a consequence of choices this administration has made, and erecting a wall will do nothing to ease the suffering of these people.

8. *Redirecting funds for the claimed "national emergency" will undermine U.S. national security and foreign policy interests.* In the face of a nonexistent threat, redirecting funds for the construction of a wall along the southern border will undermine national security by needlessly pulling resources from Department of Defense programs that are responsible for keeping our troops and our country safe and running effectively.

a. Repurposing funds from the defense construction budget will drain money from critical defense infrastructure projects, possibly including improvement of military hospitals, construction of roads, and renovation of on-base housing.(24) And the proclamation will likely continue to divert those armed forces already deployed at the southern border from their usual training activities or missions, affecting troop readiness.(25)

b. In addition, the administration's unilateral, provocative actions are heightening tensions with our neighbors to the south, at a moment when we need their help to address a range of Western Hemisphere concerns. These actions are placing friendly governments to the south under impossible pressures and driving partners away. They have especially strained our diplomatic relationship with Mexico, a relationship that is vital to regional efforts ranging from critical intelligence and law enforcement partnerships to cooperative efforts to address the growing tensions with Venezuela. Additionally, the proclamation could well lead to the degradation of the natural environment in a manner that could only contribute to long-term socioeconomic and security challenges.

c. Finally, by declaring a national emergency for domestic political reasons with no compelling reason or justification from his senior intelligence and law enforcement officials, the President has further eroded his credibility with foreign leaders, both friend and foe. Should a genuine foreign crisis erupt, this lack of credibility will materially weaken this administration's

ability to marshal allies to support the United States, and will embolden adversaries to oppose us.

9. *The situation at the border does not require the use of the armed forces, and a wall is unnecessary to support the use of the armed forces.* We understand that the administration is also claiming that the situation at the southern border “requires use of the armed forces,” and that a wall is “necessary to support such use” of the armed forces. These claims are implausible.

a. Historically, our country has deployed National Guard troops at the border solely to assist the Border Patrol when there was an extremely high number of apprehensions, together with a particularly low number of Border Patrol agents. But currently, even with retention and recruitment challenges, the Border Patrol is at historically high staffing and funding levels, and apprehensions — measured in both absolute and per-agent terms — are near historic lows.(26)

b. Furthermore, the composition of southern border crossings has shifted such that families and unaccompanied minors now account for the majority of immigrants seeking entry at the southern border; these individuals do not present a threat that would need to be countered with military force.

c. Just last month, when asked what the military is doing at the border that couldn’t be done by the Department of Homeland Security if it had the funding for it, a top-level defense official responded, “[n]one of the capabilities that we are providing [at the southern border] are combat capabilities. It’s not a war zone along the border.”(27) Finally, it is implausible that hundreds of miles of wall across the southern border are somehow necessary to support the use of armed forces. We are aware of no military- or security-related rationale that could remotely justify such an endeavor.

10. *There is no basis for circumventing the appropriations process with a declaration of a national emergency at the southern border.* We do not deny that our nation faces real immigration and national security challenges. But as the foregoing demonstrates, these challenges demand a thoughtful, evidence-based strategy, not a manufactured crisis that rests on falsehoods and fearmongering. In a briefing before the Senate Intelligence Committee on January 29, 2019, less than one month before the Presidential Proclamation, the Directors of the CIA, DNI, FBI, and NSA testified about numerous serious current threats to U.S. national security, but none of the officials identified a security crisis at the U.S.-Mexico border. In a briefing before the House Armed Services Committee the next day, Pentagon officials acknowledged that the 2018 National Defense Strategy does not identify the southern border as a security threat.(28) Leading legislators with access to classified information(29) and the President’s own statements(30) have strongly suggested, if not confirmed, that there is no evidence supporting the administration’s claims of an emergency. And it is reported that the President made the decision to circumvent the appropriations process and reprogram money without the Acting Secretary of Defense having even started to consider where the funds might



come from,(31) suggesting an absence of consultation and internal deliberations that in our experience are necessary and expected before taking a decision of this magnitude.

11. For all of the foregoing reasons, in our professional opinion, there is no factual basis for the declaration of a national emergency for the purpose of circumventing the appropriations process and reprogramming billions of dollars in funding to construct a wall at the southern border, as directed by the Presidential Proclamation of February 15, 2019.

* * *

Below are a sample of the officials that signed the declaration and their former positions. Note that Clinton was 1992-2000, Bush 2000-2008 and Obama 2008-2016:

- Madeleine K. Albright served as Secretary of State from 1997 to 2001. A refugee and naturalized American citizen, she served as U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations from 1993 to 1997. She has also been a member of the Central Intelligence Agency External Advisory Board since 2009 and of the Defense Policy Board since 2011, in which capacities she has received assessments of threats facing the United States.

- Jeremy B. Bash served as Chief of Staff of the U.S. Department of Defense from 2011 to 2013, and as Chief of Staff of the Central Intelligence Agency from 2009 to 2011.

- John B. Bellinger III served as the Legal Adviser to the U.S. Department of State from 2005 to 2009. He previously served as Senior Associate Counsel to the President and Legal Adviser to the National Security Council from 2001 to 2005.

- Daniel Benjamin served as Ambassador-at-Large for Counterterrorism at the U.S. Department of State from 2009 to 2012.

- John O. Brennan served as Director of the Central Intelligence Agency from 2013 to 2017. He previously served as Deputy National Security Advisor for Homeland Security and Counterterrorism and Assistant to the President from 2009 to 2013.

- R. Nicholas Burns served as Under Secretary of State for

Political Affairs from 2005 to 2008.

- William J. Burns served as Deputy Secretary of State from 2011 to 2014. He previously served as Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs from 2008 to 2011, as U.S. Ambassador to Russia from 2005 to 2008, as Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs from 2001 to 2005, and as U.S. Ambassador to Jordan from 1998 to 2001.

- James Clapper served as U.S. Director of National Intelligence from 2010 to 2017.

- David S. Cohen served as Under Secretary of the Treasury for Terrorism and Financial Intelligence from 2011 to 2015 and as Deputy Director of the Central Intelligence Agency from 2015 to 2017.

- Thomas Donilon served as National Security Advisor to the President from 2010 to 2013.

- Jen Easterly served as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Counterterrorism from 2013 to 2016.

- Nancy Ely-Raphel served as Senior Adviser to the Secretary of State and Director of the Office to Monitor and Combat Trafficking in Persons from 2001 to 2003.

- Jendayi Frazer served as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs from 2005 to 2009. She served as U.S. Ambassador to South Africa from 2004 to 2005.

- Suzy George served as Executive Secretary and Chief of Staff of the National Security Council from 2014 to 2017.

- Chuck Hagel served as Secretary of Defense from 2013 to 2015, and previously served as Co-Chair of the President's Intelligence Advisory Board. From 1997 to 2009, he served as U.S. Senator for Nebraska, and as a senior member of the Senate Foreign Relations and Intelligence Committees.

- Avril D. Haines served as Deputy National Security Advisor to the President from 2015 to 2017. From 2013 to 2015, she served as Deputy Director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

- Luke Hartig served as Senior Director for Counterterrorism at the National Security Council from 2014 to 2016.

- Gil Kerlikowske served as Commissioner of Customs and Border Protection from 2014 to 2017. He previously served as Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy from 2009 to 2014.

- John F. Kerry served as Secretary of State from 2013 to 2017.

- John E. McLaughlin served as Deputy Director of the Central Intelligence Agency from 2000 to 2004 and as Acting Director in 2004. His duties included briefing President-elect Bill Clinton and President George W. Bush.

- Lisa O. Monaco served as Assistant to the President for Homeland Security and Counterterrorism and Deputy National Security Advisor from 2013 to 2017. Previously, she served as Assistant Attorney General for National Security from 2011 to

2013.

- Janet Napolitano served as Secretary of Homeland Security from 2009 to 2013. She served as the Governor of Arizona from 2003 to 2009.

- Matthew G. Olsen served as Director of the National Counterterrorism Center from 2011 to 2014.

- Leon E. Panetta served as Secretary of Defense from 2011 to 2013. From 2009 to 2011, he served as Director of the Central Intelligence Agency.

- Samantha J. Power served as U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations from 2013 to 2017. From 2009 to 2013, she served as Senior Director for Multilateral and Human Rights at the National Security Council.

- Jeffrey Prescott served as Deputy National Security Advisor to the Vice President from 2013 to 2015, and as Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Iran, Iraq, Syria and the Gulf States from 2015 to 2017.

- Nicholas Rasmussen served as Director of the National Counterterrorism Center from 2014 to 2017.

- Susan E. Rice served as U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations from 2009 to 2013 and as National Security Advisor to the President from 2013 to 2017.

- Eric P. Schwartz served as Assistant Secretary of State for Population, Refugees, and Migration from 2009 to 2011. From 1993 to 2001, he was responsible for refugee and humanitarian issues at the National Security Council, ultimately serving as Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and Senior Director for Multilateral and Humanitarian Affairs.

- Strobe Talbott served as Deputy Secretary of State from 1994 to 2001.

Notes

1) Southwest Border Sectors: Total Illegal Alien Apprehensions by Fiscal Year, U.S. CUSTOMS & BORDER PROTECTION, <https://www.cbp.gov/sites/default/files/assets/documents/2017-Dec/BP%20Southwest%20Border%20Sector%20Apps%20FY1960%20-%20FY2017.pdf> (last accessed Feb. 17, 2019); Southwest Border Migration FY2019, U.S. Customs & Border Protection, <https://www.cbp.gov/newsroom/stats/sw-border-migration> (last accessed Feb. 17, 2019).

2) Southwest Border Migration FY2019, *supra* note 1; Southwest Border Migration FY2017, U.S. Customs & Border Protection, <https://www.cbp.gov/newsroom/stats/sw-border-migration-fy2017> (last accessed Feb. 17, 2019).

3) U.S. Dep't of Homeland Security, Dep't of Homeland Security Border Security Metrics Report 13 (May 1, 2018), https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/BSMR_OIS_2016.pdf.

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Immigrant Total Dips to Lowest Level in a Decade, PEW RES. CTR. (Nov. 27, 2018).

5) Richard Gonzales, For 7th Consecutive Year, Visa Overstays Exceeded Illegal Border Crossings, NPR (Jan. 16, 2019, 7:02 PM) (noting “that from 2016-2017, people who overstayed their visas accounted for 62 percent of the newly undocumented, while 38 percent had crossed a border illegally”).

6) U.S. Dep’t of State, Country Reports On Terrorism 2017, at 205 (Sept. 2018).

7) See Alex Nowrasteh, Trump’s Wall Will Not Stop Terrorism, CATO INST. (Dec. 18, 2018).

8) See Congressional Border Security Briefing: A Border Security and Humanitarian Crisis, White House (Jan. 4, 2019); Holly Rosenkrantz, Sanders Repeats Claim on Terrorists at the Border Refuted by Administration’s Own Data, CBS NEWS (Jan. 7, 2019, 3:28 PM). Vice President Mike Pence made similar statements during his appearance on ABC the next week. See Betsy Klein, Pence Misleadingly Cites Some Statistics to Push Trump Border Wall, CNN (Jan. 8, 2019, 5:46 PM).

9) See U.S. Dep’t of Homeland Security, Myth/Fact: Known And Suspected Terrorists/Special Interest Aliens (Jan. 7, 2019); see also, e.g., Brett Samuels, Conway: Sarah Sanders Made ‘Unfortunate Misstatement’ About Terror Suspects at Border, HILL (Jan. 8, 2019, 10:30 AM).

10) See U.S. Dep’t of Homeland Security, *supra* note 9.

11) See Press Release, Dep’t of Homeland Security, DOJ, DHS Report: Three Out of Four Individuals Convicted of International Terrorism and Terrorism-Related Offenses were Foreign-Born (Jan. 16, 2018).

12) See Julia Ainsley, Only Six Immigrants in Terrorism Database Stopped by CBP at Southern Border from October to March, NBC NEWS (Jan. 7, 2019, 4:10 PM).

13) See *id.*

14) Michelangelo Landgrave & Alex Nowrasteh, Criminal Immigrants: Their Numbers, Demographics, and Countries of Origin, CATO INST. (Mar. 15, 2017).

15) Alex Nowrasteh & Andrew Forrester, Illegal Immigrant Conviction Rates Are Low, Even When Factoring in Recidivism, CATO INST. (Jan. 7, 2019).

16) Alex Nowrasteh, Criminal Immigrants in Texas: Illegal Immigrant Conviction and Arrest Rates for Homicide, Sex Crimes, Larceny, and Other Crimes, Cato Inst. (Feb. 26, 2018).

17) John Gramlich, 5 Facts About Crime in the U.S., PEW RES. CTR. (Jan. 3, 2019).



18) Ames Grawert & Cameron Kimble, Crime in 2018: Updated Analysis, Brennan Ctr. for Just. (Dec. 18, 2018).

19) 2018 National Drug Threat Assessment, U.S. Dep’t Of Just. Drug Enforcement Admin. (2018). Ninety percent of heroin seizures at U.S. borders and more than 85 percent of cocaine and methamphetamine seizures occur at ports of entry, where drugs can be smuggled in personal vehicles or hidden among legal commercial goods in tractor trailers. Joe Ward & Anjali Singhvi, Trump Claims There Is a Crisis at the Border. What’s the Reality?, N.Y. TIMES (Jan. 11, 2019).

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25) Leo Shane III, Democrats Want To Know Why Active-Duty Troops Are Still on the Southern US Border, *Military Times* (Jan. 29, 2019); Thomas Gibbons-Neff & Helene Cooper, Impact of Border Deployments Is Felt by Troops at Home and Away, *N.Y. Times* (Dec. 24, 2018); Ashley Roque, Readiness Questions Abound, the Pentagon Prepares To Send Thousands of Additional Troops to Border, *Jane’s Defense Wkly.* (Jan. 29, 2019).

26) Alex Nowrasteh, Sending Troops to the Border Is Unnecessary and Dangerous, CATO INST. (Apr. 4, 2018).

27) Heather Timmons, The US Border Situation Isn’t a National Emergency, Pentagon Officials Tell Congress, QUARTZ (Jan. 29, 2019).

28) See *id.*

29) See, e.g., Press Release, Sen. Lamar Alexander, Statement on National Emergency Announcement (Feb. 15, 2019); Press Release, Sen. Susan Collins, Statement on Reports President Trump Will Declare National Emergency To Fund More Border Walls (Feb. 14, 2019); Press Release, Sen. Mitt Romney, Statement on Spending, Border Security Deal (Feb. 14, 2019).

30) Remarks by President Trump on the National Security and Humanitarian Crisis on our Southern Border, White House (Feb. 15, 2019) (“I didn’t need to do this. But I’d rather do it much faster.”).

31) Noah Gray, Acting U.S. Defense Secretary Will Review Programs To Cut for Wall Funding, CNN (Feb. 17, 2019).

16 STATES CALL FOR INJUNCTION

Lawsuits Challenge Trump National Emergency

California and 15 other states, including Illinois and New York, have challenged President Trump's emergency border declaration. The states filed a lawsuit February 18. The suit seeks a preliminary injunction to halt the President's declaration. The complaint accuses Trump of carrying out an "unconstitutional and unlawful scheme," and describes how states "stand to lose millions in federal funding" and that it could "cause damage to their economies." California State Attorney General Xavier Becerra said, "President Trump treats the rule of law with utter contempt," Becerra said. Joining in the lawsuit filed in federal court in San Francisco are the attorneys general of Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Hawaii, Illinois, Maine, Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota, Nevada, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Oregon and Virginia.

California and New Mexico also withdrew their National Guards from the border and are no longer participating in the Trump deployment. Troops at the border include more than 5,000 active duty troops and about 2000 National Guard. Their deployment was originally planned to end December, 2018 but has now been extended to September 2019. Trump is also planning to send another 3,750 troops, bringing the total to 10,000 — a sizable invasion force.

The significance of the challenge by the states, including some of the largest with the largest cities (New York City, Chicago and Los Angeles), is that they have sizable armed forces of their own. These include their National Guard, under control of the Governor, and the huge police forces of the cities, under control of their mayors. Given the intense conflicts among the rulers are heading toward open civil war, opposition by the states to federal government actions makes unifying all the police and military forces difficult. Martial law cannot be enforced without such unity. Trump is attempting to secure federal control, through the emergency declaration and actions at the border, but not succeeding. This itself contributes further to the danger of civil war and the need for the people to reject these unfit rulers and unite and fight for their rights and interests. The issue is not that Trump is overstepping his authority. Rather in conditions where there is a government of police powers, he is acting to expand and implement them, while Congress is reduced to a consultation body, not a legislative one.

In addition, various rights organizations have also filed lawsuits against the emergency declaration. In El Paso, Texas, El Paso County and Border Network for Human Rights seek an injunction to block Trump's national emergency declaration. It argues that Trump overstepped his authority when he issued the declaration to gain access to additional funds for his border wall, despite receiving \$1.375 billion from Congress. The complaint also says that the declaration does not meet the *National Emergencies Act's* definition of "emergency" and rejects Trump's remarks that border barriers led to a drop in crime in El Paso.

The American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) filed a lawsuit on behalf of the Sierra Club and Southern Border Communities Coalition. The lawsuit argues that the declaration was "made solely out



of disagreement with Congress's decision about the proper funding level, location, and timetable for constructing a border wall." It also alleges that the construction of the wall would negatively impact the environment and communities along the border.

Public Citizen filed on behalf of the Frontera Audubon Society and three landowners in south Texas who were told the federal government would build on their properties if money were available in 2019. The lawsuit says Trump exceeded his authority and the declaration violated the separation of powers. The complaint also describes the alleged harm on the three residents of Starr County who received notice from U.S. Customs and Border Protection that their land could be seized for border security purposes. According to the lawsuit, the proposed border wall would cut through their property, which in some cases has been in their families for at least five generations. The complaint says that Frontera Audubon Society would also be harmed because the proposed border wall would cut off access to the area and disrupt wildlife in the region.

Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington (CREW) is suing the Justice Department for not turning over legal opinions, communications, and other documents related to Trump's national emergency declaration. In January, CREW filed a *Freedom of Information Act* request for documents from the Office of Legal Counsel, the Department of Homeland Security, and the Department of Defense relevant to discussions about a national emergency declaration. The lawsuit requests that the Justice Department "immediately" provide the requested records.

The Center for Biological Diversity, Defenders of Wildlife and Animal Legal Defense Fund lawsuit opposes the claim that the situation along the border is an emergency and argues that Trump unlawfully circumvented Congress to fund his border wall. The complaint also says the border wall would harm the environment.

To date the cases have not gone to court so no injunctions have been issued.

The Alarming Scope of the President's Emergency Powers

Elizabeth Goitein, Brennan Center for Justice, NYU, The Atlantic, January/February 2019

From seizing control of the Internet to declaring martial law, President Trump may legally do all kinds of extraordinary things.

[...]The moment the president declares a “national emergency” — a decision that is entirely within his discretion — he is able to set aside many of the legal limits on his authority.

It would be nice to think that America is protected from the worst excesses of Trump’s impulses by its democratic laws and institutions. After all, Trump can do only so much without bumping up against the limits set by the Constitution and Congress and enforced by the courts. Those who see Trump as a threat to democracy comfort themselves with the belief that these limits will hold him in check.

But will they? Unknown to most Americans, a parallel legal regime allows the president to sidestep many of the constraints that normally apply. The moment the president declares a “national emergency”— a decision that is entirely within his discretion — more than 100 special provisions become available to him. While many of these tee up reasonable responses to genuine emergencies, some appear dangerously suited to a leader bent on amassing or retaining power. For instance, the president can, with the flick of his pen, activate laws allowing him to shut down many kinds of electronic communications inside the United States or freeze Americans’ bank accounts. Other powers are available even without a declaration of emergency, including laws that allow the president to deploy troops inside the country to subdue domestic unrest.

This edifice of extraordinary powers has historically rested on the assumption that the president will act in the country’s best interest when using them. With a handful of noteworthy exceptions, this assumption has held up. But what if a president, backed into a corner and facing electoral defeat or impeachment, were to declare an emergency for the sake of holding on to power? In that scenario, our laws and institutions might not save us from a presidential power grab. They might be what takes us down.

1. “A Loaded Weapon”

The premise underlying emergency powers is simple: The government’s ordinary powers might be insufficient in a crisis, and amending the law to provide greater ones might be too slow and cumbersome. Emergency powers are meant to give the government a temporary boost until the emergency passes or there is time to change the law through normal legislative processes.

Unlike the modern constitutions of many other countries, which specify when and how a state of emergency may be declared and which rights may be suspended, the U.S. Constitution itself includes no comprehensive separate regime for emergencies. Those few powers it does contain for dealing with certain urgent threats, it assigns to Congress, not the president.

For instance, it lets Congress suspend the writ of habeas corpus — that is, allow government officials to imprison people without judicial review — “when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it” and “provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions.”

Nonetheless, some legal scholars believe that the Constitution gives the president inherent emergency powers by making him commander in chief of the armed forces, or by vesting in him a broad, undefined “executive Power.” At key points in American history, presidents have cited inherent constitutional powers when taking drastic actions that were not authorized — or, in some cases, were explicitly prohibited — by Congress. Notorious examples include Franklin D. Roosevelt’s internment of U.S. citizens and residents of Japanese descent during World War II and George W. Bush’s programs of warrantless wiretapping and torture after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Abraham Lincoln conceded that his unilateral suspension of habeas corpus during the Civil War was constitutionally questionable, but defended it as necessary to preserve the Union.

The Supreme Court has often upheld such actions or found ways to avoid reviewing them, at least while the crisis was in progress. Rulings such as *Youngstown Sheet & Tube Company v. Sawyer*, in which the Court invalidated President Harry Truman’s bid to take over steel mills during the Korean War, have been the exception. And while those exceptions have outlined important limiting principles, the outer boundary of the president’s constitutional authority during emergencies remains poorly defined.

Presidents can also rely on a cornucopia of powers provided by Congress, which has historically been the principal source of emergency authority for the executive branch. Throughout the late 18th and 19th centuries, Congress passed laws to give the president additional leeway during military, economic, and labor crises. A more formalized approach evolved in the early 20th century, when Congress legislated powers that would lie dormant until the president activated them by declaring a national emergency. These statutory authorities began to pile up — and because presidents had little incentive to terminate states of emergency once declared, these piled up too. By the 1970s, hundreds of statutory emergency powers, and four clearly obsolete states of emergency, were in effect. For instance, the national emergency that Truman declared in 1950, during the Korean War, remained in place and was being used to help prosecute the war in Vietnam.

Aiming to rein in this proliferation, Congress passed the *National Emergencies Act in 1976*. Under this law, the president still has complete discretion to issue an emergency declaration — but he must specify in the declaration which powers he intends to use, issue public updates if he decides to invoke additional powers, and report to Congress on the government’s emergency-related

expenditures every six months. The state of emergency expires after a year unless the president renews it, and the Senate and the House must meet every six months while the emergency is in effect “to consider a vote” on termination.

By any objective measure, the law has failed. Thirty states of emergency are in effect today — several times more than when the act was passed. Most have been renewed for years on end. And during the 40 years the law has been in place, Congress has not met even once, let alone every six months, to vote on whether to end them.

As a result, the president has access to emergency powers contained in 123 statutory provisions, as recently calculated by the Brennan Center for Justice at NYU School of Law. These laws address a broad range of matters, from military composition to agricultural exports to public contracts. For the most part, the president is free to use any of them; the *National Emergencies Act* does not require that the powers invoked relate to the nature of the emergency. Even if the crisis at hand is, say, a nationwide crop blight, the president may activate the law that allows the secretary of transportation to requisition any privately owned vessel at sea. Many other laws permit the executive branch to take extraordinary action under specified conditions, such as war and domestic upheaval, regardless of whether a national emergency has been declared.

This legal regime for emergencies — ambiguous constitutional limits combined with a rich well of statutory emergency powers — would seem to provide the ingredients for a dangerous encroachment on civil liberties. Yet so far, even though presidents have often advanced dubious claims of constitutional authority, egregious abuses on the scale of the Japanese American internment or the post-9/11 torture program have been rare, and most of the statutory powers available during a national emergency have never been used.

But what is to guarantee that this president, or a future one, will show the reticence of his predecessors? To borrow from Justice Robert Jackson’s dissent in *Korematsu v. United States*, the 1944 Supreme Court decision that upheld the internment of Japanese Americans, each emergency power “lies about like a loaded weapon, ready for the hand of any authority that can bring forward a plausible claim of an urgent need.”

2. An Internet Kill Switch?

Like all emergency powers, the laws governing the conduct of war allow the president to engage in conduct that would be illegal during ordinary times. This conduct includes familiar incidents of war, such as the killing or indefinite detention of enemy soldiers. But the president can also take a host of other actions, both abroad and inside the U.S.

These laws vary dramatically in content and scope. Several of

them authorize the president to make decisions about the size and composition of the armed forces that are usually left to Congress. Although such measures can offer needed flexibility at crucial moments, they are subject to misuse. For instance, George W. Bush leveraged the state of emergency after 9/11 to call hundreds of thousands of reservists and members of the National Guard into active duty in Iraq, for a war that had nothing to do with the 9/11 attacks. Other powers are chilling under any circumstances: Take a moment to consider that during a declared war or national emergency, the president can unilaterally suspend the law that bars government testing of biological and chemical agents on unwitting human subjects.

The president could seize control of U.S. Internet traffic, impeding access to certain websites and ensuring that Internet searches return pro-Trump content as the top results.

One power poses a singular threat to democracy in the digital era. In 1942, Congress amended Section 706 of the *Communications Act of 1934* to allow the president to shut down or take control of “any facility or station for wire communication” upon his proclamation “that there exists a state or threat of war involving the United States,” resurrecting a similar power Congress had briefly provided Woodrow Wilson during World War I. At the time, “wire communication” meant telephone calls or telegrams. Given the relatively modest role that electronic communications played in most Americans’ lives, the government’s assertion of this power during World War II (no president has used it since) likely created inconvenience but not havoc.

We live in a different universe today. Although interpreting a 1942 law to cover the Internet might seem far-fetched, some government officials recently endorsed this reading during debates about cybersecurity legislation. Under this interpretation, Section 706 could effectively function as a “kill switch” in the U.S. — one that would be available to the president the moment he proclaimed a mere threat of war. It could also give the president power to assume control over U.S. Internet traffic.

The potential impact of such a move can hardly be overstated. In August, in an early-morning tweet, Trump lamented that search engines were “RIGGED” to serve up negative articles about him. Later that day the administration said it was looking into regulating the big Internet companies. “I think that Google and Twitter and Facebook, they’re really treading on very, very troubled territory. And they have to be careful,” Trump warned. If the government were to take control of U.S. Internet infrastructure, Trump could accomplish directly what he threatened to do by regulation: ensure that internet searches always return pro-Trump content as the top results. The government also would have the ability to impede domestic access to particular websites, including social-media platforms. It could monitor emails or prevent them from reaching their destination. It could exert

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control over computer systems (such as states' voter databases) and physical devices (such as Amazon's Echo speakers) that are connected to the Internet.

To be sure, the fact that the Internet in the United States is highly decentralized — a function of a relatively open market for communications devices and services — would offer some protection. [...] Based on its First Amendment rulings in recent decades, the Supreme Court seems unlikely to permit heavy-handed government control over Internet communication.

But complacency would be a mistake. Complete control of Internet content would not be necessary for Trump's purposes; even with less comprehensive interventions, he could do a great deal to disrupt political discourse and hinder effective, organized political opposition. And the Supreme Court's view of the First Amendment is not immutable. For much of the country's history, the Court was willing to tolerate significant encroachments on free speech during wartime... all it would take is five Supreme Court justices whose commitment to presidential power exceeds their commitment to individual liberties.

3. Sanctioning Americans

Next to war powers, economic powers might sound benign, but they are among the president's most potent legal weapons. All but two of the emergency declarations in effect today were issued under the *International Emergency Economic Powers Act (IEEPA)*. Passed in 1977, the law allows the president to declare a national emergency "to deal with any unusual and extraordinary threat" — to national security, foreign policy, or the economy — that "has its source in whole or substantial part outside the United States." The president can then order a range of economic actions to address the threat, including freezing assets and blocking financial transactions in which any foreign nation or foreign national has an interest.

In the late 1970s and '80s, presidents used the law primarily to impose sanctions against other nations, including Iran, Nicaragua, South Africa, Libya, and Panama. Then, in 1983, when Congress failed to renew a law authorizing the Commerce Department to control certain exports, President Ronald Reagan declared a national emergency in order to assume that control under IEEPA. Subsequent presidents followed his example, transferring export control from Congress to the White House. President Bill Clinton expanded IEEPA's usage by targeting not just foreign governments but foreign political parties, terrorist organizations, and suspected narcotics traffickers.

President George W. Bush took matters a giant step further after 9/11. His Executive Order 13224 prohibited transactions not just with any suspected foreign terrorists, but with any foreigner or any U.S. citizen suspected of providing them with support. Once a person is "designated" under the order, no American can legally give him a job, rent him an apartment, provide him with medical services, or even sell him a loaf of bread unless the government grants a license to allow the transaction. The *Patriot Act* gave the order more muscle, allowing the government to trigger these consequences merely by opening an investigation into whether a person or group should be designated.

Designations under Executive Order 13224 are opaque and

extremely difficult to challenge. The government needs only a "reasonable basis" for believing that someone is involved with or supports terrorism in order to designate him. The target is generally given no advance notice and no hearing. He may request reconsideration and submit evidence on his behalf, but the government faces no deadline to respond. Moreover, the evidence against the target is typically classified, which means he is not allowed to see it. He can try to challenge the action in court, but his chances of success are minimal, as most judges defer to the government's assessment of its own evidence.

Americans have occasionally been caught up in this Kafkaesque system. Several Muslim charities in the U.S. were designated or investigated based on the suspicion that their charitable contributions overseas benefited terrorists... The government shut these charities down by freezing their assets without ever having to prove its charges in court.

In other cases, Americans were significantly harmed by designations that later proved to be mistakes. For instance, two months after 9/11, the Treasury Department designated Garad Jama, a Somalian-born American, based on an erroneous determination that his money-wiring business was part of a terror-financing network. Jama's office was shut down and his bank account frozen. News outlets described him as a suspected terrorist. For months, Jama tried to gain a hearing with the government to establish his innocence and, in the meantime, obtain the government's permission to get a job and pay his lawyer. Only after he filed a lawsuit did the government allow him to work as a grocery-store cashier and pay his living expenses. It was several more months before the government reversed his designation and unfroze his assets. By then he had lost his business, and the stigma of having been publicly labeled a terrorist supporter continued to follow him and his family.

Despite these dramatic examples, IEEPA's limits have yet to be fully tested. After two courts ruled that the government's actions against American charities were unconstitutional, Barack Obama's administration chose not to appeal the decisions and largely refrained from further controversial designations of American organizations and citizens. Thus far, President Trump has followed the same approach.

That could change. In October, in the lead-up to the midterm elections, Trump characterized the caravan of Central American migrants headed toward the U.S. border to seek asylum as a "National Emergency." Although he did not issue an emergency proclamation, he could do so under IEEPA. He could determine that any American inside the U.S. who offers material support to the asylum seekers — or, for that matter, to undocumented immigrants inside the United States — poses "an unusual and extraordinary threat" to national security, and authorize the Treasury Department to take action against them. [This remains a possibility under Trump's current National Emergency designation — VOR Ed. Note.]

4. Boots on Main Street

The idea of tanks rolling through the streets of U.S. cities seems fundamentally inconsistent with the country's notions of democracy and freedom. Americans might be surprised, therefore, to learn just how readily the president can deploy troops inside the country.

The principle that the military should not act as a domestic police force, known as “*posse comitatus*,” has deep roots in the nation’s history, and it is often mistaken for a constitutional rule. The Constitution, however, does not prohibit military participation in police activity. Nor does the *Posse Comitatus Act of 1878* outlaw such participation; it merely states that any authority to use the military for law-enforcement purposes must derive from the Constitution or from a statute.

The *Insurrection Act of 1807* provides the necessary authority. As amended over the years, it allows the president to deploy troops upon the request of a state’s governor or legislature to help put down an insurrection within that state. It also allows the president to deploy troops unilaterally, either because he determines that rebellious activity has made it “impracticable” to enforce federal law through regular means, or because he deems it necessary to suppress “insurrection, domestic violence, unlawful combination, or conspiracy” (terms not defined in the statute) that hinders the rights of a class of people or “impedes the course of justice.”

Presidents have wielded the *Insurrection Act* under a range of circumstances. Dwight Eisenhower used it in 1957 when he sent troops into Little Rock, Arkansas, to enforce school desegregation. George H. W. Bush employed it in 1992 to help stop the riots that erupted in Los Angeles after the verdict in the Rodney King case. George W. Bush considered invoking it to help restore public order after Hurricane Katrina, but opted against it when the governor of Louisiana resisted federal control over the state’s National Guard. [...]

And yet the potential misuses of the act are legion. When Chicago experienced a spike in homicides in 2017, Trump tweeted that the city must “fix the horrible ‘carnage’” or he would “send in the Feds!” To carry out this threat, the president could declare a particular street gang — say, MS-13 — to be an “unlawful combination” and then send troops to the nation’s cities to police the streets. He could characterize sanctuary cities — cities that refuse to provide assistance to immigration-enforcement officials — as “conspiracies” against federal authorities, and order the military to enforce immigration laws in those places. Conjuring the specter of “liberal mobs,” he could send troops to suppress alleged rioting at the fringes of anti-Trump protests.

How far could the president go in using the military within U.S. borders? The Supreme Court has given us no clear answer to this question. Take *Ex parte Milligan*, a famous ruling from 1866 invalidating the use of a military commission to try a civilian during the Civil War. The case is widely considered a high-water mark for judicial constraint on executive action. Yet even as the Court held that the president could not use war or emergency as a reason to bypass civilian courts, it noted that martial law — the displacement of civilian authority by the military — would be appropriate



in some cases. If civilian courts were closed as a result of a foreign invasion or a civil war, for example, martial law could exist “until the laws can have their free course.” The message is decidedly mixed: Claims of emergency or necessity cannot legitimize martial law ... until they can.

Presented with this ambiguity, presidents have explored the outer limits of their constitutional emergency authority in a series of directives known as Presidential Emergency Action Documents, or PEADs. PEADs, which originated as part of the Eisenhower administration’s plans to ensure con-

tinuity of government in the wake of a Soviet nuclear attack, are draft executive orders, proclamations, and messages to Congress that are prepared in advance of anticipated emergencies. PEADs are closely guarded within the government; none has ever been publicly released or leaked. But their contents have occasionally been described in public sources, including FBI memorandums that were obtained through the *Freedom of Information Act* as well as agency manuals and court records. According to these sources, PEADs drafted from the 1950s through the 1970s would authorize not only martial law but the suspension of habeas corpus by the executive branch, the revocation of Americans’ passports, and the roundup and detention of “subversives” identified in an FBI “Security Index” that contained more than 10,000 names.

Less is known about the contents of more recent PEADs and equivalent planning documents. But in 1987, *The Miami Herald* reported that Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North had worked with the Federal Emergency Management Agency to create a secret contingency plan authorizing “suspension of the Constitution, turning control of the United States over to FEMA, appointment of military commanders to run state and local governments and declaration of martial law during a national crisis.” A 2007 Department of Homeland Security report lists “martial law” and “curfew declarations” as “critical tasks” that local, state, and federal government should be able to perform in emergencies. In 2008, government sources told a reporter for *Radar* magazine that a version of the Security Index still existed under the code name Main Core, allowing for the apprehension and detention of Americans tagged as security threats.

Since 2012, the Department of Justice has been requesting and receiving funds from Congress to update several dozen PEADs first developed in 1989. The funding requests contain no indication of what these PEADs encompass, or what standards the department intends to apply in reviewing them. But whatever the Obama administration’s intent, the review has now passed to the Trump administration. It will fall to Jeff Session’s successor as attorney general to decide whether to rein in or expand some of the more frightening features of these PEADs. And, of course, it will be up to President Trump whether to actually use them — something no previous president appears to have done. [...]

I • Dismantle NATO

the rights of all abroad and at home. We can best assist the peoples of Venezuela, Syria, Yemen, Iraq, Afghanistan, Palestine, and all those contending with U.S. imperialism by stepping up organizing here at home. What we need in DC is an anti-war government, not the war government and war economy we now have. An anti-war government would immediately act to *Dismantle NATO, Close All U.S. Bases Abroad* and *Bring All U.S. Troops Home Now*. This would be a great contribution to the cause of peace worldwide and in support of the struggles of the peoples here and abroad for their rights. In uniting to take a stand against the U.S./NATO war machine, let us also advance our own program for an Anti-War Government and Peace Economy!

The actions in DC and San Francisco are aimed at the U.S. military and government officials along with foreign ministers and military officials from the 29 North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) countries that are gathering in Washington, DC April 3-4. The summit marks the 70 anniversary of NATO. While initially heads of state were expected, the Summit will now bring together Foreign Ministers. Secretary of State Michael R Pompeo will host the event at the Harry S. Truman Building. President Trump is expected to attend at least some portion of the Summit.

The actions are occurring at a time when the U.S. is ramping up its plans for more imperialist war, with Venezuela the latest target. They are also occurring at a time when conflicts within the ruling circles here at home are intensifying as well as those between the U.S. and the European Union. Trump has numerous times threatened to withdraw from NATO. While he puts forward as justification the demand for NATO countries to burden more of the cost for U.S. bases worldwide and U.S./NATO wars, it is also the case that he and others in the military consider NATO an obstacle to full U.S. military control on a world scale. It is thought that without NATO, the U.S., with its massive military presence of close to 1,000 bases and battleships and nuclear weapons, can act unilaterally and without the restraint of concerns of the



European countries like Germany and France. The conflict on this issue is such that former Secretary of Defense James Mattis resigned, saying Trump did not appreciate the importance of alliances. In his resignation letter he said, "One core belief I have always held is that our strength as a nation is inextricably linked to the strength of our unique and comprehensive system of alliances and partnerships. While the U.S. remains the indispensable nation in the free world, we cannot protect our interests and serve that role effectively without maintaining strong alliances and showing respect to those allies."

It can be seen that the rulers hold in common the view that the U.S. must dominate and is "indispensable," but how to maintain such a role is of great contention. Whether Trump again threatens withdrawal at the upcoming summit remains to be seen — but it is important to follow these developments, as they are indicators of the threat of more U.S. wars and potentially world war.

In stepping up organized resistance to the U.S./NATO war machine, it is critical to take in an independent stand from our own vantage point, one that is to the advantage of the people, not a reaction to the rulers and their conflicts. This demands organizing today for an *Anti-War Government, Peace Economy and a Democracy Where We Decide*. Issues of war and peace cannot be left in the hands of the U.S. rulers, who destroy all they cannot control. Wars today are mainly for destruction of the human productive forces when what is needed is their unleashing for the benefit of the people — for guaranteeing the rights of all abroad and at home and for harmonizing the individual, collective and social interests. Human beings have created these powers, can control these powers and need political power to do so! Let us unite and organize today for that political power and for a democracy where we decide!

Dismantle NATO! Close All U.S. Bases Abroad!
For an Anti-War Government,
Peace Economy and a
Democracy Where We Decide!

DEMAND NO WAR ON VENEZUELA!

Confront the NATO War Makers March 30!

No2NATO2019

The week of March 30 to April 7 is a gathering of war makers in Washington DC. They must be opposed!

No to NATO, War & Racism! No War on Venezuela! Join a major demonstration in front of the White House on March 30.

U.S. generals and the war planners of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) are gathering for a “Summit Meeting” April 4. NATO is the aggressive U.S. commanded military alliance responsible for massive death, destruction, homelessness and waves of refugees in Iraq, Afghanistan, Yugoslavia, Syria and Libya.

At past NATO Summits of the war makers, people around the world have organized massive protests: in Chicago (2012), Wales (2014), Warsaw (2016), Brussels (2017 & 2018). There were mass protests at the Washington DC Summit to expand NATO in 1999.

Now in 2019 at this NATO Summit we must denounce NATO’s continuing wars and the coming war on Venezuela.

Join ‘No War on Venezuela’ contingents in DC at the March 16 Hands off Venezuela and the March 30 No2NATO mobilizations. We will deliver signatures supporting President Nicolás Maduro’s ‘Open Letter to the People of the U.S.’ directly to the White House.

For the last 5 months across the U.S. activists have been making plans to confront the NATO Generals and demand: *Stop the Wars! Say No to NATO, War and Racism!*

The No2NATO2019 mobilization helped to organize the February 23 Global Day of No War on Venezuela in 153 cities around the world. Now international activists are coming to Washington DC on March 30.

WHY? Because a new U.S. war is on the horizon – on Venezuela

First the U.S. imposed drastic sanctions and economic destabilization on Venezuela.

Meanwhile Colombia was ominously accepted as a global partner of NATO. This brings a foreign military alliance with nuclear capability into Latin America.

Then on January 23 the Trump Administration attempted a coup to overturn the elected government in Venezuela.

All the members of the NATO military alliance rushed to immediately recognize the self-appointed U.S. puppet Juan Guaido.

In Venezuela and around the world this past month millions of people have been in the streets opposing a new U.S. war.

As Trump declared that: “all options are on the table,” demonstration organizers were unanimous in immediately centering the demonstration opposing US/NATO wars on the escalating war threat on Venezuela!

We invite you to Washington DC to confront the War Mak-

ers Summit and to raise a united demand: *No to NATO, War & Racism! No War on Venezuela!*

We urge you to support all protests and actions against US/NATO wars.

Join us on Saturday March 30 in the streets and join a week of meetings, conferences and street actions from March 30 to the April 4 Black Alliance for Peace meeting on the anniversary of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King.

We invite you to add your, and/or your organization’s name to the list of supporters of the anti-NATO, Anti-War and Anti-Racism mass actions in Washington DC.

The Steering Committee for the March 30th Anti-NATO Mobilization:

Bahman Azad, Coalition Against U.S. Foreign Military Bases

Ajamu Baraka, Black Alliance for Peace

Leah Bolger, World Beyond War

Alison Bodine, Mobilization Against War and Occupation

Gerry Condon, Veterans For Peace

Miguel Figueroa, Canadian Peace Congress

Sara Flounders, International Action Center

Margaret Flowers, Popular Resistance

Rev. Graylan Scott Hagler, Plymouth Congregational United Church of Christ

Larry Hamm, People’s Organization for Progress

Madelyn Hoffman, U.S. Peace Council

Tarak Kauff, Coalition Against U.S. Foreign Military Bases, Veterans For Peace

Cassia Laham, People’s Opposition to War, Imperialism, and Racism (POWIR)

Marilyn Levin, UNAC

Joe Lombardo, UNAC

Tamara Lorincz, Canadian Voice of Women for Peace

Jacqueline Luqman, Virginia Defenders for Freedom, Justice & Equality

Jeff Mackler, West Coast UNAC

Alfred L. Marder, U.S. Peace Council

Sarah Martin, Women Against Military Madness

Diane Moxley, Green Party of New Jersey

Nancy Price, WILPF-US Section

Paul Pumphrey, Friends of the Congo

Cindy Sheehan, March on the Pentagon

Paki Wieland, CODEPINK

Phil Wilayto, Virginia Defenders

Ann Wright, Veterans For Peace, CODEPINK

Rev. Bruce Wright, Poor People’s Economic Human Rights Campaign and Refugee Ministries

Kevin Zeese, Popular Resistance

Calendar of Events in DC Opposing NATO

Saturday March 30

***No to NATO March on Washington DC @
Lafayette Park***

Mar 30 @ 1:00pm – 5:00pm

April 4, 2019 is the 51st anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. Disrespectfully ignoring Dr. King's life-long dedication to peace, military leaders of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the expanded military arm of the United States that has been responsible for many wars and destruction around the world, have chosen to celebrate NATO's 70th anniversary by holding its annual summit meeting in Washington, DC on that very day. This is not only an insult to Dr. King but NATO's message that Black lives and indeed the lives of the vast majority, really do not matter.

We are calling for a peaceful mass mobilization against this year's NATO Summit in Washington, DC, on Saturday, March 30. Additional actions will take place at the opening of the NATO meeting on April 4.

We invite you to add your and/or your organization's name to the list of supporters of the National Mobilization Against NATO, War and Racism mass actions in Washington, DC. (no2NATO2019.org)

Sunday March 31

***A Concert for Peace and to End War @
Franklin Square Park***

March 31 @ 1:00 pm – 10:00 pm

Bands, Speakers, Poets, DJs, HIP-HOP, tabling and refreshments. Call or refugepete@gmail.com. If you want to perform contact me. Sponsored in part by Poor Peoples Economic Human Rights Campaign, Refuge Ministries, Revolutionare Caucus Tampa Bay, Revolutionary Road Radio show, Squatter Productions, and others.

***World Peace Council Anti-NATO Conference in DC
@ St. Stephen Episcopal Church, 1525 Newton St. NW***

March 31 @ 3:00 pm – 7:00 pm

NATO, the biggest war machinery in human history is "celebrating" its 70th anniversary with a summit in Washington D.C., on 4th April 2019. The World Peace Council (WPC) opposed NATO from its founding days as the armed wing of imperialism. The history of NATO, which is full of crimes, wars and aggression, proves us right.

The World Peace Council calls upon all members and friends to organize around the date of 4th April 2019 protests, rallies and other events in as many as possible countries, underlining the opposition to the aggressive mechanism NATO, which is the enemy of peace and of the peoples.

The WPC supports and endorses the actions planned by the

U.S. Peace Council (USPC) and the United National Anti-War Coalition (UNAC) and numerous other peace organizations in the U.S. for March 30, 2019 for a National Mass Mobilization and Rally in Washington, DC, Lafayette Park (across from the White House) at 1:00 PM.

The World Peace Council will hold an Anti-NATO Conference on March 31, 2019 from 3:00 to 7:00 PM at the St. Stephen Episcopal Church Newton St., NW, Washington DC. 20010. We call upon all WPC members and friends to support and attend this conference organized together with the USPC and UNAC.

For further details we kindly ask you to communicate with the WPC (wpc@otenet.gr) or with the USPC (uspc@uspacecouncil.org).

Tuesday April 2

***No to NATO – Yes to Peace and Disarmament
Counter-Summit @ TBD***
April 2 all-day

Wednesday April 3

***No to NATO — Yes to Peace FESTIVAL @ St.
Stephen's Church, 1525 Newton St. NW***
April 3 @ 12:00pm – Apr 4 @ 10:00 pm

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) is coming to Washington, D.C., on April 4. We are organizing a peace festival to unwelcome them.

12:00 p.m. – 4:00 p.m.: Art-Making Workshop, and nonviolent action prep workshops (munch on vegan snacks, make art, and plan for the April 4 protest)

5:00 p.m. – 7:00 p.m.: Keynote Speeches

7:00 p.m. – 8:00 p.m.: Art-Making & Exhibits, Interactive Booths, Vegan Food & Drink (all available throughout the evening)

8:00 p.m. – 10:00 p.m.: Concert

Register to Reserve Your Spot. (World Beyond War)

Thursday, April 4

***Black Alliance for Peace Celebration @ Plymouth
Congregational United Church of Christ***
April 4 @ 7:00 pm – 9:00 pm

Black Alliance for Peace program at Plymouth Congregational United Church of Christ, 5301 N Capitol St., NE, Washington D.C. No Compromise, No Retreat in the Fight to End Militarism and War

World Beyond War: Procession from the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial to a rally at Freedom Plaza, and nonviolent demonstrations outside the NATO meeting. Details TBA.