2011 SENATE GOVERNMENT AND VETERANS AFFAIRS

SCR 4015

2011 SENATE STANDING COMMITTEE MINUTES

Senate Government and Veteran's Affairs Committee Missouri River Room, State Capitol

SCR 4015 February 11, 2011 14425

Committee Clerk Signature) /	Dive	

☐ Conference Committee

Explanation or reason for introduction of bill/resolution:

A resolution urging Congress to urge the President to pursue peace in Iraq and Afghanistan and disengage American combat forces from duty in these countries.

Minutes:	Testimony Attached

Chairman Dever called the committee to order, roll was taken and all members were present.

Senator Mathern: See attached testimony #1 & attached amendment.

Chairman Dever: When you asked me to put my name on the resolution I had a concern with the language, 'to immediately halt military action'. Some of the amendments that I want to see are that we acknowledge the role of the military.

Senator Mathern: As you know we are looking at a history...this war activity about 10 years directly and so to bring that all together into one resolution is a challenge and while I appreciate what you are saying we are trying to clarify our support of the people who serve.

Senator Berry: In reference to the opening line of the resolution, do you feel currently that those bodies are not trying to pursue peace in that part of the world?

Senator Mathern: I believe that is the stated goal and I think that with SCR 4015 we are saying we also support it. This resolution is supporting the efforts of Congress and the President; I think that this resolution asks them to move resources in a way that supports other organizations that are involved with peace activity.

Senator Berry: I see multiple ways to make this a positive resolution by changing the connotation. That is the problem I have with it as written. I just want to make sure that we send a message in a positive fashion.

Senate Government and Veteran's Affairs Committee SCR 4015 February 11, 2011 Page 2

Senator Mathern: The intent is to be positive towards peace and to the degree that we can make it more positive I think that the President would welcome any support he can get. There is a myriad of ways to state the intent and this is just one. The goal is to be a positive source of peace activity.

Thomas M. Disselhorst: See attached testimony #2.

Chairman Dever: On a per capita basis Native Americans make the largest commitment to our military.

Thomas M. Disselhorst: We have a traveling memorial at United Tribes Technical College.

Chairman Dever: In both Iraq and Afghanistan there have been more civilian causalities at the hand of insurgents than at the hands of the military and it seems to me that there is a place for the military to stop that.

Thomas M. Disselhorst: While I don't disagree that the military has a place to provide some level of security, in fact it is suggested in my testimony that where such organizations might request such security then it could be provided. What I think is most troubling is the kind of offsensive maneuvers that continue to undermine our effort. It is very difficult to say that you are bringing the peace when you are killing people that are innocent.

Joe Richardson: See attached testimony #3.

Sister Kathleen Atkinson: See attached testimony #4

Jeff Skjelver: See attached testimony #5

Sister Maris Stella Korb: See attached testimony #6

Karen Van Fossan: See attached testimony #7.

Chairman Dever: I am curious, the 5 factors that bring about peace, it seems to me that there are those, including the Taliban, who would deny the population those factors. And the work of the military, that has overturned the Taliban, puts in place the opportunity to carry those forward.

Karen Van Fossan: I am not here to argue about the value of the military but I think that we have reached a point where it is time to bring the troops home.

Tammy Hathaway: See attached testimony #8. 48:51

Chairman Dever: As we consider this some people think that it is a cut and run and I don't advocate that.

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Dr. Herbert J. Wilson: Retired physician and veteran of World War II and I wish to register my support for SCR 4015. Our service men and women are engaged in a conflict that has outlived its purpose. Line 19-22 is the meat of the bill; we should take a good look at this and please give a unanimous do pass on this.

Chairman Dever: The thought that occurred to me, you were in World War II that there were specific dates that point to progress. Even though there is a date when it is done our obligation continues. The activity of the United States government is to go in a re build those and that effort continues over time.

Verle Reinicke: Peace is a term that is at the core of the resolution and I want to support that. Peace is at the core of all religious persuasions around the world, I would think. The word peace is a complex one it has lots of meanings. One of its core meanings is well being. When peace happens the word health can be connected. To be at peace is to be in a state of well being, to be at rest, to be whole, to be complete. There are references in the bible that talk about peace, Isaiah talks about reshaping instruments of war into instruments of agriculture, in Psalms there is talk of not putting your trust in the horse, in the implements of war. I distinguish between optimism and hope; I don't find the former very compelling. Where human hope fails there is still hope from outside that is powerful for me. There are people who say that there will never be peace in the Middle East. I am also influenced by Greg Martinson who is an inspiration when it comes to developing school in Afghanistan. One of the things that is important to him is to teach girls, because if girls are educated they will not send their children to Taliban related work. Peace is not just in the future, it is now. There are also references to peace in the bible the heavenly host of angels will bring peace. Peace is now well being, completeness, and wholeness. If we don't pursue for peace, who will?

Dawn Archer: See attached testimony #9.

Hannah Balaban: I had no intention of speaking today but I feel that there is one area that is being overlooked. My reason for being here today is that I am a mother. The first time that Saddam Hussein went into Iraq I was pregnant with my first child, that child is now 20 years old and we are still at war. Currently I am a guardian ad litem for children for cases of juvenile cases of abuse and neglect. I find it an ironic parallel that children can be removed from the home if they witness an act of domestic abuse and yet we are being raised in an environment of war. My children have grown up in a world where war

Senate Government and Veteran's Affairs Committee SCR 4015 February 11, 2011 Page 4

is common and continuously in the background; my 20 year old has friends now who are joining the armed services. Suddenly she has friends that are dying, friends that are being maimed for life and we support them in that we want them to be safe and home and protected and well. We do not support the continuing of a war for another decade. The time is now, it is absoultly ridiculous that have things going on in our schools with guns and telling our children that there is a zero tolerance policy if you make a threat but we have got 2 decades of war going on here. As a mother I find it to be hypocrisy beyond belief that we continue to carry this on all the while waving the flag of patriotism. Patriotism is peace because that is what is working for the best of our country and our children and our future.

John Jacobsen: Se attached testimony #10.

Eric Thompson: Retired counselor in juvenile corrections. I think that one thing that we like to do as a country is look at what it is like on the other side. This area has been at a crossroads since before history began. What a bully says to their victims says that there is something that is wrong with you. I would like point out that Hitler came from a democratic society. We went into these 2 countries with the purpose of finding Bin Laden and his allies but when we went into Afghanistan he wasn't there so we went into Iraq. They have known invasion after invasion after invasion. They know the difference between a conqueror and a liberator. How would the United States have felt if the French had stuck around after we won the Revolutionary War? To answer your question about what would happen if we leave: I would like to state that it is the right of the people to decide how their country should be run. If we intend to go into this country we don't want to be a concurring force, we want to be a liberating force.

Christopher Dodson: NDCC. See attached testimony #11

Harold Neff: See attached testimony #12.

Lt. Colonel Davina French: See attached testimony #13.

There was no further discussion on SCR 4015 and Chairman Dever closed the public hearing; the committee decided to suspend action on the bill until a further date

2011 SENATE STANDING COMMITTEE MINUTES

Senate Government and Veteran's Affairs Committee Missouri River Room, State Capitol

SCR 4015 February 18, 2011 14728

14720
Conference Committee
Committee Clerk Signature
Explanation or reason for introduction of bill/resolution:
A resolution urging Congress to urge the President to pursue peace in Iraq and Afghanistan and disengage American combat forces from duty in these countries.
Minutes: No testimony attached

Chairman Dever: I passed out some amended language that still keeps the spirit of the bill but recognizes the role that the military has in bringing peace and the ongoing role that it has in maintaining that peace.

Senator Nelson: So you shortened up the 4th whereas

Chairman Dever: Yes that was part of the original amendment presented by Senator Mathern.

Senator Cook made a motion to adopt the amendments that had been provided by Chairman Dever with a second by Vice Chairman Sorvaag.

Chairman Dever: One of the things that has struck me that there are many more Muslims being killed by Muslims than being killed by the military.

Chairman Dever: The last person to testify was Devina French was the commander of 957 in Iraq; in her role as commander she not only commanded the troops but trying to locate equipment to restore power in Iraq. The role of the military is not just offensive it is also diplomatic in reconstruction and I think that it is important to recognize that.

There was no further discussion, roll was taken and the motion passed 6-1-0. A motion was then made by Vice Chairman Sorvaag for a do pass as amended with a second by Senator Cook. There was no further discussion, roll was taken and the motion passed 7-0 with Senator Marcellais carrying the bill to the floor.

11.8237.02002 Title.04000

Adopted by the Government and Veterans Affairs Committee

February 18, 2011



PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 4015

Page 1, line 12, remove ", without any"

Page 1, remove line 13

Page 1, line 14, remove "goal of security for the citizens of those countries"

Page 1, line 17, remove "and is causing great harm to the social"

Page 1, line 18, remove "and economic structure of the United States"

Page 1, remove lines 19 through 22

Page 1, line 23, remove "bring community-based health,"

Page 1, remove lines 24 and 25

Page 2, replace lines 1 through 4 with "end violence against women in Iraq, bring community-based health, education, and economic development to Afghanistan and Iraq, and promote peace"

Page 2, line 9, remove "immediately halt offensive military action and"

Page 2, line 9, remove "without the"

Page 2, remove lines 10 through 13

Page 2, line 14, replace "Afghanistan using nonviolent, peaceful methods" with "with the combined efforts of nongovernmental organizations and the United States military forces, to disengage and safely withdraw American forces from those countries at the appropriate time, and to support, through reasonable expenditures of funds, peaceful methods for decreasing the global risk of terrorist activities"

Renumber accordingly

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Roll Call	Vote #	<u> </u>	

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Chairman Dever	X		Senator Marcellais	V	
Vice Chairman Sorvaag	X		Senator Nelson		Х
Senator Barry	Ł				
Senator Cook	X				
Senator Schaible	X				
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If the vote is on an amendment, briefly indicate intent:

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REPORT OF STANDING COMMITTEE

SCR 4015: Government and Veterans Affairs Committee (Sen. Dever, Chairman) recommends AMENDMENTS AS FOLLOWS and when so amended, recommends DO PASS (7 YEAS, 0 NAYS, 0 ABSENT AND NOT VOTING). SCR 4015 was placed on the Sixth order on the calendar.

Page 1, line 12, remove ", without any"

Page 1, remove line 13

Page 1, line 14, remove "goal of security for the citizens of those countries"

Page 1, line 17, remove "and is causing great harm to the social"

Page 1, line 18, remove "and economic structure of the United States"

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Page 2, line 14, replace "Afghanistan using nonviolent, peaceful methods" with "with the combined efforts of nongovernmental organizations and the United States military forces, to disengage and safely withdraw American forces from those countries at the appropriate time, and to support, through reasonable expenditures of funds, peaceful methods for decreasing the global risk of terrorist activities"

Renumber accordingly

2011 HOUSE GOVERNMENT AND VETERANS AFFAIRS

SCR 4015

2011 HOUSE STANDING COMMITTEE MINUTES House Government and Veterans Affairs Committee Fort Union Room, State Capitol

SCR 4015 March 18, 2011 15690

Conference Committee

	Committee Clerk Signature (Ermen Hart
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Explanation or reason for introduction of bill/resolution:

Urge Congress and the President to pursue peace in Iraq and Afghanistan and disengage American combat forces from duty in these countries

Minutes:

Chairman Bette Grande opened the hearing on SCR 4015.

Senator Tim Mathern, Fargo, appeared. Attachment 1.

Senator Dick Dever, District 32, appeared in support. I am the author of the amendments that represent the rewrite of this resolution. I believe that rewrite keeps with the spirit of the resolution but also acknowledges and recognizes the important role that the military plays in that part of the world. I think this September will be ten years since terrorists flew two airplanes into the world trade center, one in the pentagon, and heroes redirected another one into the ground in Pennsylvania. Evil exists in our world and we can't pretend that it does not. The resolution did call and does call for support of the efforts of nongovernmental institutions, women in Afghanistan, in support of bringing about peace in the world. We also need to recognize those that they would not be in a position to do that without the actions of the military. Those were evil regimes that existed in Irag. I think the circumstance in Afghanistan that allowed the Taliban to control that part of the world was because they didn't have a government. I was careful as chairman of the senate government and veteran affairs committee to ensure that the hearing on this resolution was respectful and fair and open to everyone. I would trust that the house would do the same. As you know, a resolution or a bill when it is introduced to the legislature becomes the property of the legislature and legislature has the responsibility to do with it what it will. I am sure your committee will do that. If my committee doesn't like it, we will visit in conference committee.

Rep. Glen Froseth: Is this an effort that is being done in other states as well as North Dakota? It seems to me I heard a news release recently that US Congress considering a similar resolution. I believe they defeated it.

Senator Dick Dever: I am not aware of that.

Chairman Bette Grande: It did fail yesterday.

Rep. Glen Froseth: How about other states?

Senator Dick Dever: I am not sure about that either. Others might be able to

speak to that.

Rep. Roscoe Streyle: When were the changes made to this?

Senator Dick Dever: I am not sure of the exact timing. It was before crossover.

Rep. Bill Kretschmar, District 28, appeared. It is a good thing for our state to take a stand on peace and try to project into the future what we want our society to be and how we would conduct our affairs throughout the world although we here in North Dakota probably do not have much to say in the foreign affairs or government. I think it would be a good thing to let the Congress know that at least in our state the majority of our people are supportive of peace which I hope they are.

Tom Disselhorst, Bismarck Attorney, appeared. Attachment 2. I want to respond just briefly to the idea that the Congress may have defeated a similar resolution. Of course, the politics in Congress are a bit different than the politics of this body. I suspect that there were a lot of swirling countercurrents of political concerns about such a resolution even if it was relatively similar to this. Certainly what the opinions of the states are and can be are important as the Congress and the President, particularly the President, pursues his policies in this region. It is the President after all who decides where the troops are going to go and how many are going to go. I think this resolution is directed not at the Congress but at the President.

Rep. Vicky Steiner: In your amendment you say disengage and safely withdraw American forces and you want to strike safely to disengage and withdraw American forces. Why?

Tom Disselhorst: It is included in the next line. If you read the whole thing, delete the words at the appropriate time after the word countries in Line 24. Insert the words as safely and quickly as possible. It simply is grammatical syntax.

Rep. Karen Rohr: Do you have a military background?

Tom Disselhorst: No, I was drafted and unqualified to serve for medical reasons. My parents, however, do. They are both decorated veterans from World War II. My father was a prisoner of war in World War II for eight months. I have been to their prisoner of war meetings which include prisoners of war from Vietnam and have been a counselor for many Vietnam veterans over the years as an attorney here in Bismarck and elsewhere.

Rep. Karen Rohr: Upon writing the resolution, did you get any input from our existing military people?

Tom Disselhorst: We didn't seek the input from military people, but we had testimony at the senate hearing in support of this resolution by a collection of veterans' groups in North Dakota. This whole resolution was an attempt to end that kind of suffering as well.

Rep. Karen Rohr: I guess my question would be for the existing military people in Afghanistan and Iraq that are back now.

Tom Disselhorst: That is the kind of testimony received from those groups in the senate.

Rev. Lyn Burton, Minister of the Bismarck-Mandan Unitarian Universalist Fellowship and Church, appeared in support. Attachment 3.

Marv Mutzenberger, ELCA Clergyman and Religion Instructor at Bismarck State College, appeared. Attachment 4. I am not here as an employee of the college.

Christopher Dodson, Executive Director, North Dakota Catholic Conference, appeared in support. War and peace, of course, are ultimately moral issues. The position of the bishops and the Holy See is really also driven by experience. We have about \$14 million in development projects for Catholic relief services in Afghanistan and Syriac Catholics, Caudan Catholics, and both Syriac Orthodox and Caudan Orthodox also are suffering greatly in Iraq at the moment. The positions are based on regular consultation with people on the ground. The position of the universal Catholic Church on these two countries is very similar although they are very different countries, that is the support of a responsible transition sooner rather than later. The thing we like about the resolution is it fits very much with the position of the church that the purpose of our being there at this moment is to transition out and provide that which is necessary to build communities primarily focusing on private voluntary associations or NGOs. Particularly in Afghanistan where our experience is that if the solution is not political, the solution will be based on community. Afghanistan has never had a single political solution in its history. Iraq is a little different. Building up political structures that can protect the people is what is important, and the purpose of our being there at this moment is to provide responsible transition so that common good can develop, religious rights are protected, lives are protected, the rights of women are protected, and then it would be safe to leave. Sometimes that involves military action, but the purpose is to responsibly transit out as soon as possible with those goals in mind. We think the resolution fits those goals as it is written now.

Rep. Lonny Winrich: You said you support the resolution as it is. Does that mean you oppose the amendment that was proposed by Mr. Disselhorst?

Christopher Dodson: I don't think there would be any problem with adding the Afghanistan regarding the women on Line 17. Safely is obviously. On an international issue I have to run by the people in Washington and that is a matter of interpretation of whether quickly is similar to the statement as sooner rather than later.

Rep. Lonny Winrich: I was going to say that when you talked about sooner rather than later it seemed to me that is pretty much the same.

Christopher Dodson: At this point I am not opposing that. I won't take a position on it one way or another.

Tammy Hathaway, Burleigh County Resident, appeared. Attachment 5.

Jeff Skjelver, Rugby, Veteran of two Operation Iraqi Freedom deployments, Retired from United States Marine Corps, appeared. Attachment 6.

Sr. Maris Stella Korb, Fargo, Presentation Sister, Director of our Congregation's Peace and Justice Center, had the attached testimony handed out by Karen Van Fossan. Attachment 7.

Karen Van Fossan, Bismarck, Spokesperson for the North Dakota Peace Coalition, appeared. Attachment 8.

Kris Kitko, Bismarck Resident, appeared. Attachment 9.

There was no opposition to this resolution.

Neutral:

John Jacobsen, Chairman of the Legislative Committee of the North Dakota Veterans' Coordinating Council handed out neutral testimony. Attachment 10.

The hearing was closed.

2011 HOUSE STANDING COMMITTEE MINUTES

House Government and Veterans Affairs Committee Fort Union Room, State Capitol

SCR 4015 March 24, 2011 15948

Conference Committee

Committee Clerk Signature

Explanation or reason for introduction of bill/resolution:

Urge Congress and the President to pursue peace in Iraq and Afghanistan and disengage American combat forces from duty in these countries

Minutes:

Vice Chairman Randy Boehning opened the discussion on SCR 4015.

Rep. Roscoe Streyle: I have a hoghouse amendment for this bill. Attachment 1. I sympathize with some of the people that testified, but I don't feel that is a piece of legislation or resolution we should be sending on behalf of the state of North Dakota. A concurrent resolution urging Congress and the President to pursue victory in Iraq and support American combat forces on duty in these countries. Whereas, the goals of the United States in the foreign wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have been to eliminate terrorist activity directed at the United States and to create a just and democratic rule of law for the citizens of those countries; and Whereas, effective American forces on duty in Iraq and Afghanistan have served bravely in the midst of the greatly declining civil disorder in Iraq and the elimination of the Taliban and training of Afghan forces ongoing in Afghanistan, and merit the respect and support of all people; and 11-12 stay the same. Lines 13-15 come out. Whereas, the efforts of nongovernmental organizations to end violence against women in Afghanistan and Iraq, the rest of it is the same. Line 18, Iraq, and promote freedom should be supported. On Line 20, that the 62nd legislative assembly urges Congress and the President to pursue freedom and the democratic rule of law in Iraq and Afghanistan through the combined efforts of nongovernmental organizations international and the United States military to support and honor American forces who are dedicated to fighting evil in those countries, and to support all necessary expenditures of funds effective and secure governments in Iraq and Afghanistan which will decrease the risk of terrorist activities. I would move the amendment.

Rep. Karen Rohr seconded the motion.

Rep. Lonny Winrich: If Rep. Streyle wanted to say these things, he certainly had the privilege of introducing his own resolution at the appropriate time. I think it is kind of a travesty to completely reverse a resolution that someone else has introduced rather than simply vote it down. I oppose the amendment. I request a roll call vote.

Motion carries. 7 Yeas, 4 Nays, 2 Absent.

Rep. Roscoe Streyle moved a Do pass as amended.

Rep. Karen Rohr seconded the motion.

Rep. Glen Froseth: I am not sure how I am going to vote yet. I would not have supported the original one. I don't think this is the right message to send to our troops in support of our troops across the nation. This specifies two conflicts, Iraq and Afghanistan. We have troops all over the world. This past week we are involved in another conflict. We have troops in Iran, Pakistan, Kosovo, Philippines, World War II countries that are peaceful countries, and democratic countries. If we are going to call for bringing our troops home, let us bring them all home and let us defend our borders. I just don't see why we spell out or choose two areas of conflict. I don't know if I will support either version of this. I think we have to stand behind our servicemen and veterans that are doing to bring peace across the world. If we are going to pull them out of some conflicted areas, let us call them all back home all over the world.

Vice Chairman Randy Boehning: I didn't realize we still had troops in Great Britain.

Rep. Glen Froseth: There is one other comment I would like to make. I am really disappointed. We have belonged to the United Nations. It seems like the United Nations pulls us into these conflicts. All the other countries have one little battle or one little loss and they pull out. They leave. It ends up being the United States taking care of the whole problem. If this is the way the United Nations is going to continue doing their business as usual, I think the United States should probably send a message to discontinue our membership with the United Nations and take care of our own country.

Rep. Lonny Winrich: The United Nations had nothing to do with getting us involved in Iraq. That was the so called coalition of the willing, if you remember.

Motion fails. Do Pass as Amended, 5 Yeas, 6 Nays, 2 Absent.

Rep. Glen Froseth made a motion for a Do not pass as amended.

Rep. Lisa Meier seconded the motion.

Rep. Karen Rohr: Would you again just clarify what we are going to be voting on this time?

Vice Chairman Randy Boehning: On a do not pass. You would want to vote yes for a do not pass as amended.

Rep. Glen Froseth: Did we attach those two amendments that were suggested?

Vice Chairman Randy Boehning: We did not. Rep. Streyle, how would those fit into that?

Rep. Roscoe Streyle: On Line 17 that was in Afghanistan. I can't remember the other one.

Rep. Glen Froseth: On Line 23 remove the word safely and on Line 24 after countries inserted the words as safely and quickly as possible.

Rep. Roscoe Streyle: Those were stripped out with that amendment, with support and honor.

Vice Chairman Randy Boehning: You do have a motion on the floor for a do not pass with Rep. Streyle's amendment but without these additional amendments.

Rep. Lonny Winrich: I move that we reconsider our action whereby we amended 4015.

Vice Chairman Randy Boehning: We have a motion on the floor yet.

Rep. Glen Froseth: I will withdraw my motion for Do not pass. I misunderstood. I thought you said Rep. Streyle's amendments failed.

Vice Chairman Randy Boehning: The amendments did pass.

Rep. Lisa Meier withdrew her second.

Vice Chairman Randy Boehning: We have the bill as amended in front of us.

Rep. Lonny Winrich: I move we reconsider our action whereby we amended senate concurrent resolution 4015.

Rep. Bill Amerman seconded the motion.

A voice vote was taken. The chair was uncertain so it was decided to take a roll vote.

Vice Chairman Randy Boehning: This is the vote to reconsider the amendment. If you vote I, you wish to remove the amendment. If you vote no, you wish to retain the amendment.

Motion fails. 4 Yeas, 7 Nays, 2 Absent.

Vice Chairman Randy Boehning: We have the bill as amended in front of us.

Rep. Lisa Meier moved a Do not pass as amended.

Rep. Gary Paur seconded the motion.

DO NOT PASS AS AMENDED, 9 YEAS, 2 NAYS, 2 ABSENT. Rep. Lonny Winrich is the carrier of this bill.

2011 HOUSE STANDING COMMITTEE MINUTES

House Government and Veterans Affairs Committee

Fort Union Room, State Capitol

SCR 4015 March 31, 2011 16246

☐ Conference Committee

Committee Clerk Signature

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Explanation or reason for introduction of bill/resolution:

Urge Congress and the President to pursue peace in Iraq and Afghanistan and disengage American combat forces from duty in these countries

Minutes:

Chairman Bette Grande opened the discussion on SCR 4015. (The discussion started at about 6:54). You did take up 4015 last Thursday but I would like to just have the opportunity for Rep. Sanford and I who were not here for that to just walk through a little bit and see where the committee stands. There were five or six votes, and I know that sometimes lends to a little bit of confusion. Now that you have had a chance to look at it again, we can continue discussion on that. I was asked about it on Friday by some of the press. As I pointed out, when a bill comes forward, whether it is a bill or resolution and it is presented to the committee, it becomes the possession of the committee. There is never the guarantee of anything or anything that happens to a bill once inside a committee, and I think we have all experienced that. This isn't a partisan thing. It is just a part of the process.

Rep. Bill Amerman: We are just having a discussion? Do you need a motion to bring it back or anything?

Chairman Bette Grande: No. I think right now we can get by with a discussion in that I have had a chance to look at the bill. I have had email conversations with Senator Mathern and I know he had asked that we reconsider some of these amendments. Personally for me, I have had a conversation with Rep. Streyle and I have said maybe there were compromised words that we could come to that would be better suited to meet the needs of all of the North Dakota citizens or at least the vast majority. If the committee wants to know more about that discussion, I am willing to open that up for discussion, if the committee would like to see what words he and I have come up with that sounded better.

Rep. Lisa Meier: I would actually move that.

Chairman Bette Grande: You would like to look at what Rep. Streyle and I have come up with? It won't really be a motion per say, because we don't have a bill on the table.

Rep. Lisa Meier: Correct. Okay.

Chairman Bette Grande: Just so everybody is aware this is not something anyone else has had the opportunity to really look at. Rep. Streyle will just need to be able to present that to us.

Rep. Roscoe Streyle: I certainly am not a war monger like the press indicated but I just felt, and I still support the actual amendment but would be willing to change a few words if that is the committee's wishes. I would hate to have a do not pass come out on supporting troops serving abroad. It doesn't seem appropriate. I changed a few of these words. Some of them you might dislike a little bit, but I think it might be a fair compromise. He read the entire resolution. **Attachment 1.**

Rep. Lisa Meier: This is a good amendment and if you are ready for a motion, I would move this amendment.

Chairman Bette Grande: We don't have a bill in front of us at this time, so we will have to at least be in agreement to bring the bill back to us and then be willing to further amend. I know it is not normal procedure, but the bill is just not here in front of us unless we bring it back. That is going to be up to committee. A couple of things that I think are important. As I looked at this and I heard the discussions, having been on the ground in Iraq and spoke with the people and worked with them through that democratic process and what they had to say about the fact that they had the freedom and the ability to vote, I would never want to say to them—we have moved away from there. The reason we were there and the reason I had to be protected the way I was is that our troops were on the way out. A vast majority of the troops had been pulled and actually were pulled out of where I was. I think we have made that move and we are doing the right thing as far as getting people out of Iraq. I don't think it is our call to make that any more disruptive. I felt it to be very important that we support them in their infant democracy. My purpose there was to be with the women of Iraq and hearing them discuss their freedom brought me to tears every time I had a discussion with them. It was so wonderful for them to have been able to vote and be told that they could be a part of the parliament. Is it perfect? Oh my gosh, no. Did they do the best they could at this point? I think they really made every effort in the world to do that. For us to say that their democracy is not worth helping and supporting I find interesting in that ours has been going on for 200 some years and it is not perfect. Why would we expect theirs to be perfect now? We have had much support throughout all the years to maintain our freedom here. I don't know why we wouldn't want to support them in their pursuit now for freedom. I don't want the peace and the freedom to fight each other. If we are going to sign this and this is going to go to the secretary of state and the President of the United States and to the Congress with my name stamped on it, the house of representatives, I want it to be in a form that my troops know that I love and respect them because one of my dear friend's son is one of those fallen soldiers. I can't have her feeling disrespected by not having the right words in place.

Rep. Roscoe Streyle: I did spell appropriate wrong in there. It says or to. That should be of. Third from the bottom paragraph, the house or.

Chairman Bette Grande: The house of representatives.

Rep. Roscoe Streyle: Obviously, this maybe wasn't the most kosher thing to do. Had I seen this before the deadline, I certainly would have put my own in so the argument that well, you should have done it yourself. Yes, I probably should have, but I honestly didn't see it until after the deadline or I certainly would have put it in myself with just my name on it if that is all it took. I am in no way a pro war guy and I don't dislike the military. Both of my grandfathers and uncle served in the military. My grandfather just passed away two weeks ago and he was a great American patriot. This isn't in any way a slap at any American servicemen that serve abroad. I am sure some are upset with it. A few emails from people that have served, but it certainly is not the intent.

Chairman Bette Grande: That is the debate, Rep. Winrich, you and I have heard that debate in finance and tax, when a bill gets brought it up, what form is it in? It comes back to here and everything that was considered is gone. You are back to your original bill. That is how we have ruled that in this committee before.

Rep. Bill Amerman: This is much better. The one part I have trouble with is the second whereas. The original one, whereas the goals of the United States in the foreign wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have been to reduce, now it is prevent—I don't have much trouble with that, terrorist activity directed at the United States and to create a peaceful environment for the citizens of those countries. With these amendments, it is peaceful, just and democratic rule of law. The reason I have trouble with that is we are over there now in Iraq and Afghanistan to prevent terrorism, but that wording seems like we are almost forcing how the democratic rule of law should be. Whatever they come up with, I just like the peaceful environment, because I have a lot of trouble with the just and democratic rule of law. What is the just and democratic rule of law? What we have here in the United States is it what they have over there?

Chairman Bette Grande: I have looked at this over and over again and I think democratic falls very clearly with the form of government that Iraq chose. They established that there, but will Afghanistan choose that? I believe you are correct in that we can't determine that for them. A just rule of law I think is critical in the fact that if it is not just, you have over half the people that will not be educated, they will not be given freedom, they will not be given the ability to even step out of their homes. I think justice is important when it comes to the women over there. It is what they have called for. I don't feel it is fair for us to not continue down that plight. In the original piece they talk exactly to that. This is a critical part that they even had in, that the women deserve this end of violence. If we don't bring justice, they do not see an end to the violence. If you are looking at peaceful and just rule of law, I can live with that if the committee can. The passion I have for the women over there, I can't let go of the justice.

Rep. Bill Amerman: I agree. Of course, I have never been there, but I understand the plight to some degree. It says directed at the United States and to create a peaceful, just. The women over there, if we are going to have a true democracy, they have to create it. It can't be something we try to create, a democratic rule of law. Just like all the struggle we have had in this country, they were one cause or another group. Women's vote, we could argue that one. Better not go there.

Chairman Bette Grande: Maybe you are creating a peaceful environment for a just rule of law. Without a peaceful environment, women have no rights to move in to a justice rule of law. We can certainly play with that if you want, create a peaceful environment for a just rule of law for the citizens. Does that make sense?

Rep. Glen Froseth: If you just said peaceful and democratic environment—basically what we want is a democracy.

Chairman Bette Grande: I think the concern comes with what Rep. Amerman said, though, is that our idea and our calling something democracy might not be what they call democracy but they may see just rule. I don't know that you can take a country like Afghanistan, and I guess I am not in high enough power to make those decisions, to whether or not they will ever come to the understanding of democracy as we know it. What is democracy there versus democracy here?

Rep. Lonny Winrich: My concern is along the lines of Rep. Amerman's. I don't like the kind of implication in all of this that it is our responsibility to impose some form of government on these countries. Furthermore, I think there is considerable evidence that we don't have to. The uprisings in Egypt and Tunisia and the reaction of the Iraqis to what was done in terms of elections and so on, to me, indicates that those things will come. Those people want that kind of freedom and that kind of government as much as anything. I don't think it is the province of the United States to go in and create, which unfortunately is a word that is used quite a bit in here, a particular kind of government for these countries. We simply don't have that sort of authority in my estimation.

Chairman Bette Grande: That was their language, not mine. To create a peaceful environment was the original language.

Rep. Lonny Winrich: Creating a peaceful environment is very different from creating a form of government.

Chairman Bette Grande: You can bring up other countries, but I think it has been proven that it doesn't work. We don't know what Libya is going to do. We certainly don't know what is going to happen in Syria. This is going to continue on into and over to Jordan and Lebanon. They are all so small and tightly knit and back and forth that this disruption comes and goes but creating a peaceful environment doesn't mean there will ever be a rule of law that comes forward. We talk about Egypt. Egypt had an election. We still don't know what is going to happen there. If we are going to interfere at Libya, you better be looking at Egypt. This type of thing, as much as it sounds wonderful to have a call for peace, I don't think we sitting in this room nor even in the body, understands everything that is coming out of Washington and what the pentagon knows that we don't. Having been in six of those countries as I sit here, it is different to be in there and to see it and how it works.

Rep. Lonny Winrich: That is sort of my point. Those are very different cultures, very different societies. They are tribal societies. They are not even at the point where our kind of culture was in 1776 when we formed the government in this country. To take this sort of attitude that we are going to impose some form of government on them I think is

counterproductive. They have to figure out how to do it themselves. I think we can support them in that cause and I think that is what we are trying to do, but this resolution says we are going to impose some kind of government on those countries and I just think that is wrong.

Chairman Bette Grande: If we are going to create a peaceful environment, then would you say and promote and aid in a just rule of law? They can't do it on their own. You look at Iraq and if we would have totally abandoned it prior to that election, that infant democracy may have not made it to the toddler stage. When they start to make that move, you have to support it in some fashion.

Rep. Lonny Winrich: I agree and I don't think anyone is suggesting that we totally abandon our efforts in the Middle East, but I don't want us to become an army of occupation either. That is where this is headed.

Chairman Bette Grande: Referring to Afghanistan?

Rep. Lonny Winrich: And Iraq.

Chairman Bette Grande: Iraq, we are almost out.

Rep. Lonny Winrich: We are still having casualties.

Chairman Bette Grande: I would like to know if we are looking at terrorist activities directed at the United States and to create a peaceful environment and promote a just rule of law for the citizens of those countries. Are you okay with that, at least the majority?

Rep. Roscoe Streyle: We are not saying anything. It says to create a peaceful environment and I guess with your language there, and to promote a just rule of law. I don't think that says you have to do x, y, or z. I think this says we will try to create a peaceful environment so you can do it yourself. Speaking of Egypt, I think that is a different situation. A lot of these countries, if you do digging into it, the reason they are uprising is because of food prices. Obviously, it is about freedom too. A large portion of what is going on is because their food prices are soaring because of commodity prices around the world which is inflaming the citizens. A lot of it has to do with the outside things and not just one specific thing. There are a lot of variables that are kind of under the surface if you dig into it a little bit especially with the corn prices.

Rep. Glen Froseth: If you wanted to soften it somewhat, rather than promote rule of law you could say to encourage a rule of law.

Chairman Bette Grande: Encourage a just rule of law? Encourage or support.

Rep. Glen Froseth: Let us go to our educator.

Rep. Mark Sanford: I would suggest peaceful and just environment. If justice is the environment, that certainly deals with the issue of all citizens. We are not saying what kind

of government it has to be. Whatever kind of government it has to be, it needs to be one that is just, one that is fair. I think that implies rule and order and this kind of thing.

Chairman Bette Grande: Whereas the goal of the United States in the foreign wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have been to prevent terrorist activity directed at the United States and to create a peaceful and just environment for the citizens of those countries.

Rep. Gary Paur: I was just noticing that towards the bottom on the paragraph that begins that the 62nd legislative assembly, there is peace, freedom, and democratic rule of law there also. If we change that up there, should that be changed also?

Chairman Bette Grande: My concern about getting rid of the democratic rule then is if you are going to do that, then I want Iraq taken out. That is the rule of law they chose. I certainly don't want them to think that we are not in support of that. I am with Rep. Froseth in the fact that just rule of law is a democratic rule of law.

Rep. Mark Sanford: I am not sure how broad a definition the word justice has. I think that is really the key thing here. When you go to the Book of Micah, it talks about love mercy, do justice, and walk humbly. I always thought that was a pretty good code of conduct. To me in that particular instance, justice is a pretty big definition, pretty wide reaching. That is kind of why I was suggesting the other.

Chairman Bette Grande: Committee, what are your thoughts on as far as the word democratic? I hate taking that out because that is part of what we do, but if you want to say just, I will let you have that discussion.

Rep. Roscoe Streyle: I personally like democratic but whatever you wish.

Chairman Bette Grande: If there was a way that you wanted to split it out and have democratic rule of law for Iraq and just for Afghanistan since we don't know what form they are going to take, I don't have a problem with doing that. Watching them take on that democratic process in how complicated it is, I don't want to take that away from them.

Rep. Karen Rohr: Would you repeat that recommended statement please.

Chairman Bette Grande: Sixty-second legislative assembly urges Congress and the President to pursue peace, freedom and democratic rule of law in Iraq and a just rule of law in Afghanistan. Committee, here is what I have in front of me. The first part, whereas the goals of the United States in the foreign wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have been to prevent terrorist activity directed at the United States and to create a peaceful environment and encourage a just rule of law for the citizens of those countries. Then I am going to jump down two paragraphs. Whereas the efforts of the nongovernmental organizations to end violence against women in Iraq and Afghanistan, bring community-based health, education, and economic development to Afghanistan and Iraq, and promote peace and freedom should be supported; Now, therefore, be it resolved by the senate of North Dakota, the house of representatives of North Dakota concurring with therein: That the sixty-second legislative assembly urge Congress and the President to pursue peace, freedom and democratic rule of law in Iraq and a just rule of law in Afghanistan through the combined

efforts of nongovernmental organizations and international and United States military forces, to support and honor American forces who have dedicated themselves to protecting the United States of America, helped to bring an end to the violence against women and all citizens and have promoted the just cause of freedom around the world, and to support through appropriate (cross out the e) means our brave military personnel and their families, and to support effective and secure governments in Iraq and Afghanistan which will decrease the global risk of terrorist activities; and then it goes on. I like the way that reads. Committee, I am willing to receive a motion to consider our actions on 4015.

Rep. Vicky Steiner made the motion.

Rep. Karen Rohr seconded the motion.

A voice vote was taken. Motion carried.

Rep. Roscoe Streyle moved the amendments that we just discussed.

Rep. Lisa Meier seconded the motion.

Steven Podoll, law intern, appeared to address one thing. If you look in the fourth whereas, and Rep. Streyle, I know you took this directly from the 4000 version that first came to our committee. For some reason the third line has Afghanistan and Iraq in that order. Every other time we have Iraq and Afghanistan in that order. Can you think of any reason why it would be in this order other than probably a mistake? If there is some logical reason to have them in that order, then we will keep it that way. Otherwise, I will just change that.

Chairman Bette Grande: Being it is a technical change, I think you are fine to make that adjustment without us ruling on it.

Rep. Bill Amerman: The amendments we made did make the other amendments better. The one where it says it would be disruptive in the move towards democracy to abandon the cause to which our brave patriots and so on. This is longer than the Vietnam War, so when do we abandon? How do we do this? It would be disruptive to move in a move towards democracy. I would submit that the ten years that we have been in these two wars has been very disruptive to the one million American families who have had their family members go back and forth and have lost family members. I have a little trouble with that.

Chairman Bette Grande: I understand what you are saying but I don't believe that I know more than the generals in the pentagon as to the time frame.

Rep. Lonny Winrich: I was working on some language here. I am still interested in getting to the point where we are not imposing a government on these countries. In the last paragraph where it says the combined efforts of nongovernmental organizations and international and United States military forces, and then substitute from there to the end, as they disengage from conflict and assist these countries in the transition to peaceful and stable government. That would take out all the material about their securing government and so.

Rep. Roscoe Streyle: I understand where you are going with that but I think it reads better how it is.

Chairman Bette Grande: Which first paragraph did you say that you see support and honor? It was pointed out to her. Where are you putting this language?

Rep. Lonny Winrich: In place of the last eight lines of the first resolve.

Chairman Bette Grande: You would say organizations and international and United States military forces as they. I just don't see how it is bad to have this language in there still. I don't mind adding it, but I have a problem taking out the other.

Rep. Roscoe Streyle: I would agree. I don't see how this in any way says that we are trying to impose anything on them. It simply says who have dedicated themselves to protecting. That is a great statement. Helped to end violence, it certainly had done that. Helped promote freedom, that has been the goal of our country for years. To support through appropriate means, I suppose that is debatable on that statement. I think their family should be included because they have suffered just as much as the troops. To support effective and secure governments, I don't see how that directs anything. It just says we support effective and secure governments. It has been proven that if there are effective democratic governments, it does reduce terrorist activities. I think adding that language would be okay, but I certainly wouldn't support pulling out all that language.

Rep. Glen Froseth: One way of including it all would be to add the words after Rep. Winrich's suggestion, while continuing to support and honor American forces who have dedicated themselves. Then both statements could be included.

Chairman Bette Grande: Rep. Winrich, will you read that the 62nd with your language and Rep. Froseth's. Insert yours and then continue with the old language.

Rep. Lonny Winrich: That the sixty-second legislative assembly urges Congress and the President to pursue peace, freedom and democratic rule of law in Iraq and Afghanistan through the combined efforts of nongovernmental organizations and international and United States military forces as they disengage from conflict and assist these countries in the transition to peaceful and stable government while continuing to support and honor American forces who have dedicated themselves to protecting the United States of America, helped to bring an end to violence against women and all citizens and have promoted the just cause of freedom around the world and to support through appropriate means our brave military personnel and their families, and to support effective and secure governments in Iraq and Afghanistan which will decrease the global risk of terrorist activities.

Chairman Bette Grande: The only difference I had in there was on Line 2, peace, freedom and democratic rule of law in Iraq and a just rule of law in Afghanistan. It doesn't matter to me if that is included or not. You want to split that?

Rep. Lonny Winrich: That is okay.

Chairman Bette Grande: Did that read well for you guys? I like having that language added in. With that, I would need a motion to further amend from you, Rep. Winrich.

Rep. Lonny Winrich: I so move.

Rep. Vicky Steiner seconded the motion.

Chairman Bette Grande: We never took a vote on that first set, so we will just set that aside and just leave it as this is our new one. You can void out that first motion of amendments.

A voice vote was taken to accept the amendment. Motion carried.

Rep. Roscoe Streyle moved a Do pass as amended.

Rep. Karen Rohr seconded the motion.

Rep. Bill Amerman: I think the amendments went a long way to correct the other amendments. However, I still believe I like the original bill the best so I will probably resist the motion.

Rep. Lonny Winrich: I was going to say essentially what Rep. Amerman said. I think this is a great improvement over the bill that I was going to carry with a do not pass recommendation. I still believe the original version was more appropriate and I will vote against the do pass.

Do pass as amended, 0 yeas, 13 nays. Motion fails.

Vice Chairman Randy Boehning made a motion for a Do not pass as amended.

There was no second.

Vice Chairman Randy Boehning: Being there was no second, I will make a motion without recommendation.

Chairman Bette Grande: Failed as a second. We will send it out without recommendation.

A voice vote was taken to send it out without recommendation. Motion carries. Rep. Lonny Winrich is the carrier.

The meeting was adjourned.



PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO ENGROSSED SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 4015

- Page 1, line 1, replace "peace" with "victory"
- Page 1, line 2, replace "disengage" with "support"
- Page 1, line 2, replace "from" with "on"
- Page 1, line 4, replace "reduce" with "eliminate"
- Page 1, line 4, remove "peaceful"
- Page 1, line 5, replace "environment" with "just and democratic rule of law"
- Page 1, line 6, remove "the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan are now the longest wars in the United States"
- Page 1, line 7, replace "history" with "effective military action may require a presence for years to come as is evidenced by the maintenance of military forces in Germany"
- Page 1, line 9, replace "continued" with "greatly declining"
- Page 1, line 9, replace "sectarian war" with "elimination of the Taliban and training of Afghan forces ongoing"
- Page 1, line 13, remove "the continued cost of these wars in both the lives and health of American"
- Page 1, remove line 14
- Page 1, line 15, replace "\$10 billion per month cannot be sustained indefinitely" with "it would be unconscionable to abandon the just cause to which our brave patriots have sacrificed so much while we enjoy our safety and security here at home"
- Page 1, line 17, after "Iraq" insert "and Afghanistan"
- Page 1, line 18, replace "peace" with "freedom"
- Page 1, line 22, replace "peace" with "freedom and the democratic rule of law"
- Page 1, line 22, replace "with" with "through"
- Page 1, line 23, replace "the" with "international and"
- Page 1, line 23, replace "disengage and safely withdraw" with "support and honor"
- Page 1, line 23, replace "from" with "who are dedicated to fighting evil in"
- Page 1, line 24, remove "at the appropriate time"
- Page 1, line 24, replace "reasonable" with "all necessary"
- Page 1, line 25, replace "peaceful methods for decreasing" with "effective and secure governments in Iraq and Afghanistan which will decrease"
- Renumber accordingly

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Adopted by the Government and Veterans Affairs Committee

April 1, 2011



PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO ENGROSSED SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 4015

- Page 1, line 1, after "peace" insert "through strength"
- Page 1, line 2, replace "disengage" with "support"
- Page 1, line 2, replace "from" with "on"
- Page 1, line 2, after "countries" insert "and around the world"
- Page 1, line 4, replace "reduce" with "prevent"
- Page 1, line 4, replace "Sates and" with "States"
- Page 1, line 5, after "environment" insert "and to encourage a just rule of law"
- Page 1, remove lines 6 and 7
- Page 1, line 9, replace "continued" with "declining"
- Page 1, replace lines 13 through 15 with:
 - "WHEREAS, it would be disruptive in the move toward democracy to abandon the cause to which our brave patriots have sacrificed so much while we enjoy our safety and security here at home; and"
- Page 1, line 17, after "Iraq" insert "and Afghanistan"
- Page 1, line 17, remove "Afghanistan and"
- Page 1, line 18, after "Iraq" insert "and Afghanistan"
- Page 1, line 18, after "peace" insert "and freedom"
- Page 1, line 22, after "peace" insert ", freedom, and democratic rule of law"
- Page 1, line 22, after the first "and" insert "a just rule of law in"
- Page 1, line 22, replace "with" with "through"
- Page 1, line 23, replace "the" with "international and"
- Page 1, line 23, replace the comma with "as they disengage from conflict and assist these countries in the transition to peaceful and stable governments while continuing"
- Page 1, line 23, replace "disengage and safely withdraw" with "support and honor"
- Page 1, line 23, remove "from those"
- Page 1, line 24, replace "countries at the appropriate time" with "who have dedicated themselves to protecting the United States of America and helped to bring an end to violence against women and all citizens and have promoted the just cause of freedom around the world"
- Page 1, line 24, remove "reasonable expenditures of funds,"

Page 1, line 25, replace "peaceful methods for decreasing" with "appropriate means, our brave military personnel and their families, and to support effective and secure governments in Iraq and Afghanistan which will decrease"

Renumber accordingly

Date:	3-31-11	
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2011 HOUSE STANDING COMMITTEE ROLL CALL VOTES BILL/RESOLUTION NO. 4015

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2011 HOUSE STANDING COMMITTEE ROLL CALL VOTES BILL/RESOLUTION NO. ______4015

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2011 HOUSE STANDING COMMITTEE ROLL CALL VOTES BILL/RESOLUTION NO. 4015

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2011 HOUSE STANDING COMMITTEE ROLL CALL VOTES BILL/RESOLUTION NO. 4015

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REPORT OF STANDING COMMITTEE

SCR 4015, as engrossed: Government and Veterans Affairs Committee (Rep. Grande, Chairman) recommends AMENDMENTS AS FOLLOWS and when so amended, recommends BE PLACED ON THE CALENDAR WITHOUT RECOMMENDATION (13 YEAS, 0 NAYS, 0 ABSENT AND NOT VOTING). Engrossed SCR 4015 was placed on the Sixth order on the calendar.

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Renumber accordingly

2011 TESTIMONY

SCR 4015

A concurrent resolution urging Congress and the President to pursue peace in Iraq and Afghanistan and disengage American combat forces from duty in these countries.

WHEREAS, the goals of the United States in the foreign wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have been to reduce terrorist activity directed at the United Sates and to create a peaceful environment for the citizens of those countries; and

WHEREAS, the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan are now the longest wars in the United States history; and

WHEREAS, American forces on duty in Iraq and Afghanistan have served bravely in the midst of the continued civil disorder in Iraq and the sectarian war in Afghanistan, and merit the respect and support of all people; and

WHEREAS, now over 1 million American families have had a family member serve in these overseas wars, and more than 4,000 Americans have died in these wars; and

WHEREAS, the continued cost of these wars in both the lives and health of American forces and civilians and the cost to the United States government and our citizens of more than \$10 billion per month cannot be sustained indefinitely; and

WHEREAS, the efforts of nongovernmental organizations to end violence against women in Iraq, bring community-based health, education, and economic development to Afghanistan and Iraq; promoting peace and should be supported;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED BY THE SENATE OF NORTH DAKOTA, THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CONCURRING THEREIN:

That the Sixty-second Legislative Assembly urges Congress and the President to pursue peace in Iraq and Afghanistan with the combined efforts of non-governmental organizations and the United States military forces and to disengage and safely withdraw American forces from those countries at the appropriate time and to support, through a reasonable expenditure of funds, peaceful methods for decreasing the global risk of terrorist activities; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Secretary of State forward copies of this resolution to the President of the United States and to each member of the North Dakota Congressional Delegation.

SCR 4015, Government and Veterans Affairs Committee, February 11, 2011 Chairman Dever and Members of the Senate Government and Veterans Affairs Committee, my name is Tim Mathern. I am a Senator from Fargo and introduced SCR 4015.

Ladies and gentlemen-Now is the time to prepare for peace.

This resolution addresses the cause of peace in Iraq and Afghanistan. It recognizes our brave men and women in uniform and heartily supports our troops, their hard work, and self-sacrifices. Many have given their lives; countless others will suffer lifelong consequences. Over 1 million families have had a family member serve in these wars, over 4000 Americans have died and our costs of \$10 billion per month cannot be sustained. This resolution urges Congress and the President to pursue peace and disengage American combat forces while using non military means to reduce the global risk of terrorist activities.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, while the war on terror may be ongoing, the focus of this resolution is not on the past; for example, should we or should we not have gotten into this war, or the equally serious issue as to what is accomplished or not accomplished by our presence thus far in Iraq and Afghanistan. This resolution is forward looking: It asks the President and Congress to make concerted efforts toward peace to save lives and resources. Now is the time to prepare for peace.

I have a set of amendments for your consideration that address some issues that need to be corrected in this draft of the resolution.

- 1. Add non profit.
- 2. Remove one organization that I just did not have enough time to review.
- 3. Make a more appropriate timing of the halt to offensive military action.
- 4. Include the issue of contractors because that has become a major method of war activity.

I look forward to the testimony of other citizens and their further description of the situation we are in and hopes and dreams of our people.

Thank you for your consideration. I ask for your Do Pass recommendation on SCR 4015. You and I can make this a time to prepare for peace.

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 4015

Page 1, line 23, after "nongovernmental" insert "and nonprofit"

Page 2, line 2, remove "The Organization of Women's Freedom in Iraq--working to"

Page 2, line 3, remove "end violence against women in Iraq,"

Page 2, line 9, remove "immediately halt offensive military action and"

Page 2, line 10, replace the first "and" with "or private military contractors,"

Page 2, line 10, after "forces" insert "and private military contractors"

Page 2, line 11, after "opportunity" insert ", to immediately cease offensive military operations by both United States military forces and private military contractors,"

Renumber accordingly

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62nd Legislative Assembly State of North Dakota

Testimony of Thomas M. Disselhorst, Esq. P.O. Box 2463, Bismarck ND 58502 Tel. 701-421-1646

Before the Senate Government and Veteran's Affairs Committee

February 11, 2011

Regarding SCR 4015

Calling for Safe and Immediate Removal of Troops from Iraq and Afghanistan and seeking peaceful alternatives to conflict in those countries

Mr. Chairman, members of the Committee:

My name is Tom Disselhorst. I am an attorney in Bismarck, North Dakota, and, at the request of Sen. Mathern and others, I am the principal author of the resolution in front of you this morning. At present, I am working full-time for United Tribes Technical College in Bismarck, but I speak to you today as an ordinary citizen of North Dakota, and as a long time student of U.S. interaction with the Indian Tribal Nations within the United States.

First, I want to thank the co-sponsors of this resolution, including the Chairman of this Committee. This is meant to be a bi-partisan resolution, as I think the basic elements of this resolution can be agreed to by all. Those basic elements are:

- 1) The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have dragged on for far too long; almost nine years. These are now the longest wars in U.S. history. In fact, no one seems to be discussing them much at all any longer, even though more than 1 million American families have been affected directly by them due to service by at least one member of those families in one or the other, or both, theaters of war. More than 4,000 men and women have been killed in these conflicts.
- 2) We must honor and respect the U.S. veterans of these conflicts, including those killed in action and those serving their country as we speak. We must ensure their safety, now and when they are asked to withdraw from Iraq and Afghanistan. Our military men and women have tried their hardest to keep safe the troops with whom they serve, and to enhance and secure the safety of the citizens of the countries in which they find themselves, often without much thanks from their fellow citizens. They also deserve appropriate and prompt animary care when they return to the U.S.
- 3) Our nation is bleeding economically, in part because of the massive expenditures from our treasury needed to fund these wars. The Iraq war alone has cost the U.S. more than \$ 1 trillion, nearly twice as much as all annual discretionary spending in the U.S. budget. This layout of funds cannot be sustained. A real peace dividend can be achieved by a withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq and Afghanistan that could help our nation restore its fiscal health.

- 4) Democracy and a civil government cannot be forced upon any country at gunpoint. The people of the country have to want it. The extraordinary events just unfolding in Egypt and many other countries of the Middle East illustrate this point dramatically. Largely peaceful demonstrations have unfolded in countries with a long history of autocratic rulers. These self-same autocratic rulers have had to change their political ways and fundamentally change their governments to satisfy the pent-up demands of their mostly younger citizens. As a result of these demonstrations, I suspect that far reaching changes will occur in many other countries similarly situated.
- 5) Most importantly, countries with a history of autocratic rulers must have the tools to be able to make a democratic system work, or to make some other version of a civil society work. These tools include the ability of all citizens, women and men, to read and write, to communicate freely with each other about their views and to be free of violence or the constant threat of violence in their immediate lives. These elements are the bedrock of a civil society in which respect is given to all members of that society. Our military is not in a position to actually provide these tools but there are non-governmental organizations that can do this work, with or without support from the governments of these countries. Such organizations exist, and need to be supported in their efforts.
- 6) Finally, when our military inadvertently, and occasionally indiscriminately, kills civilian citizens of Iraq or Afghanistan, or even neighboring civilians in countries such as Pakistan, we often create legions of people who are bitter or hateful towards the United States. This is obviously not a healthy situation for those citizens caught in the cross-fire of a difficult war where there are few defined battlefields. These deaths, injuries and destruction of property make the effort of the military to bring peace much more difficult and cause untold suffering and hardship.

These are not my conclusions alone. Many others have spoken and written about these matters, commentators both politically conservative and liberal. Most of these conclusions and lessons are matters of common sense, the kinds of things you think about when you put yourself in the shoes of the citizens of Iraq and Afghanistan.

Therefore, given the above facts and hard-learned lessons and principles, the resolution before you calls on the U.S. to reconsider its options in Iraq and Afghanistan, and, instead of pursuing more aggressive military actions to subdue the population at large, calls on the U.S. to promote peaceful solutions to these conflicts. These solutions do not generally depend on the governments of those countries, although the help of those governments can be useful.

Non-governmental organizations in both Iraq and Afghanistan are providing real relief and real hope to literally millions of people. Some of these organizations are now becoming well known, even to our military leaders, such as the Central Asia Institute, which is providing schools for women and girls in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The best of these organizations thoroughly understand that assistance is rendered much more difficult if it is not respectful of the cultures and religions of the people being assisted. Further, these organizations also understand that assistance is meaningless if it is not managed and

undertaken by the citizens of those countries with a minimum of outside interference. It is Afghans helping Afghans to learn how to read and write that helps combat violence against women – that helps combat ignorance and fundamentalist religious regimes that have pushed Afghanistan backwards, regimes that have extended the dependence of many parts of Afghanistan on the opium poppy trade.

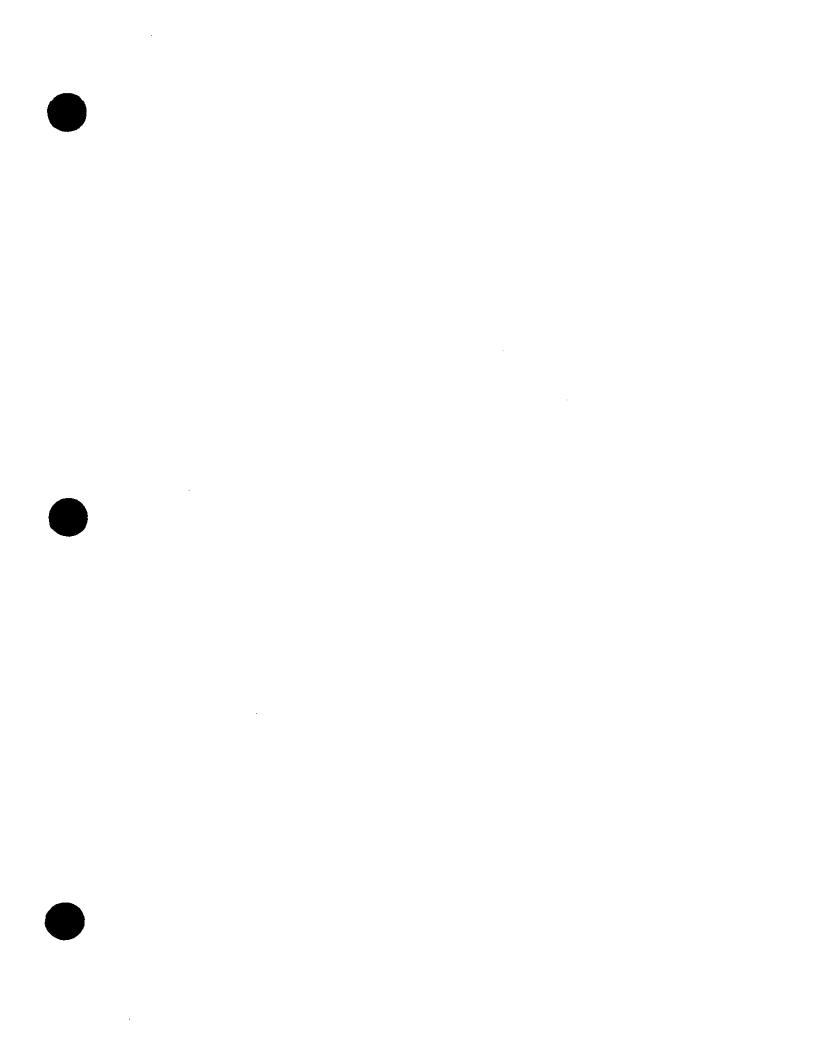
This lesson is absolutely consistent with my experiences in Indian country working with the various Tribal Nations of the Great Plains. Given the right tools, given adequate respect for their cultures, Tribal citizens can revitalize their governments, their economies and the lives of other Tribal citizens by themselves. When citizens of these Tribal Nations take on the tasks of improving their lives, rather than waiting for the efforts of outsiders, a lot of good things can happen and have happened.

This does not mean that monetary assistance is not needed. In order to make a peace alternative work in Iraq and Afghanistan, the U.S. needs to put part of the money saved by withdrawing our troops into grant funds that organizations with a strong track record of success can use to expand their work. Obviously the U.S. will want accountability for the funds so expended. The actual assistance may not always be in cash grants; it may be in providing logistical support for such services, even providing a degree of security for the work in a manner that does not involve offensive military actions, but only when requested by the citizens of these countries.

In other words, the U.S. needs to fundamentally reinvent its presence in Iraq and Afghanistan. Notice the resolution does not call on the U.S. to abandon its efforts to bring peace and a civil society to these countries. But it does place emphasis on existing peaceful alternatives that are already beginning to produce excellent results. Naturally, we should also seek to bring our allies into this effort.

Will this process be perfect? Will it be easy? Are their risks? Of course it won't be easy, there will be setbacks, there are risks, and perfection is an illusion, but the opportunities, in my opinion, far outweigh the risks and the setbacks. We, the United States, can still make what we have done right by making it possible for people to put away their weapons and learn to communicate peaceably and in safety with one another. A continuing military presence renders those goals nearly impossible. Our efforts to promote peaceful alternatives can ultimately secure the peace in Iraq and Afghanistan, and at the same time improve the likelihood that our homelands are safer as well.

I urge this Committee to give a "DO PASS" on SCR 4015.



Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee

I have come from Fargo to speak in favor of SCR 4015. I have taken this time away from my work not because I am a member of some group or because I feel that all wars are without merit. I do believe that, as unfortunate as wars are, sometimes we must forcefully defend ourselves and our families, home and country. Wars are a clear matter of life, death and sometimes life-long suffering.

In a democratic society, our government acts on our behalf. When the government commands that members of our society place their lives and health at risk in war, others of us are duty-bound to ensure that such a command is derived out of clear and dire need. As citizens, we must demand proof that war is absolutely, not "kind-of," not "perhaps," not "I guess so," but absolutely required. We cannot tell our fellow citizens that we "kind of believe" they should lay their lives on the line for reasons that "we guess" are important.

This high standard of necessity was never met and is far less met today than it was ten years ago. You may disagree. You may have been convinced beyond question that the war in Afghanistan was required. But, do you believe we are sincerely, or will sincerely, match the personal courage of our people in uniform with political action required to win this war? Let me tell you why I believe we are not serious.

My comments will focus more on Afghanistan; however, an equally, if not stronger case can be made for our leaving Iraq.

In September 2001, a group of largely Saudi Arabian nationals, largely financed by Saudis, flew two jets into the World Trade Towers in New York and one jet into the Pentagon.

The reasons stated in going after Afghanistan were first to defeat the multinational, Saudi funded, al-Qa'ida who took responsibility for 9/11 and then to end the use of Afghanistan as a base for terrorist operations.

Logical question one might ask is, why wouldn't al-Qa'ida move its operations elsewhere and what difference to us would it make if they launched attacks against us from say, Yemen or Sudan or some other poor country? Is this a live game of "whack-a-mole?"

With enough money, there is always another country too poor to police its frontiers in which bases can be established and there are hundreds of people who will do whatever is necessary to feed their families.

Al-Qa'ida received most of its financial backing from Saudi Arabia. And, according to a recently leaked 12/30/09 State Department cable:

Saudi Arabia remains a critical financial support base for al-Qa'ida, the Taliban, LeT, and other terrorist groups, including Hamas, which probably raise millions of dollars annually from Saudi sources, often during Hajj and Ramadan. In contrast to its increasingly aggressive efforts to disrupt al-Qa'ida's access to funding from Saudi sources, Riyadh has taken only limited action to disrupt fundraising for the UN 1267-listed Taliban and LeT-groups that are also aligned with al-Qa'ida and focused on undermining stability in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Choking the financial support for terrorism would mean boycotting those countries known to provide a "critical financial support base" for terrorists. Really, we boycott for 50 years Cuba, a country that has never attacked us or been engaged in attacking us, but we let the main funders of those who actually have killed our people go scott-free? Really?

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia charges us for oil. They quietly shovel some of our money to terrorists who otherwise, if they were not engaged attacking western nations, might attack the House of Saud. In response, we attack

Afghanistan saying that attacking terrorist there will keep them too busy to attack us here at home. This is almost magical, except for our military and thousands of civilians catch bullets and bombs that might as well have written on them: "paid for by the House of Saud with funds made amply available by U.S. SUVs."

President Bush repeatedly said we were going to "smoke Osama bin Laden out of his hole." I'm not sure we wanted to find that hole. Sustained military presence in Afghanistan plays another possible role.

In September of 1996, with military support from Pakistan and financial support from Saudi Arabia, the Taliban, a group initially composed of madrassas students in Pakistan, took control of Afghanistan's capitol and established the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan. In keeping with their interpretation of Islam, they made it illegal for women to go to school, work outside their homes or even leave their houses without a male escort,. The Taliban freely tortured and executed their political opponents.

In late 1990s the Uzbekistan Ambassador to the U.S. came to Texas to meet with then Governor of Texas, George Bush, to discuss, with him and various oil interests, the building of a pipeline for Caspian oil in Uzbekistan. After the meeting Unocal had the pipeline contract in Uzbekistan and Enron was awarded the natural gas rights to Uzbekistan's portion of the huge new Caspian Basin oil and gas field.

In 1997, a high-power delegation of Taliban were invited to Houston and courted with four days of VIP treatment organized by Unocal in a successful effort to win the rights to build an 876 mile pipeline to ship oil from the Caspian Basin through Afghanistan. The Taliban were, as much as anything else, looking for recognition as the rightful leaders of Afghanistan. At the time only the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates and Pakistan had recognized them.

The Taliban were unreliable in defending the pipeline route from competing warlords. Thus, 9-11, despite the Saudi handwriting writ large, may have provided just the right excuse to take control of Afghanistan security.

Is this war about terrorism or is this war about oil? Are you sure? Why have we not boycotted nations known to support terrorism? Is this a blood for oil program? Are you certain? Are you certain enough to send your sons and daughters to their possible deaths?

Why support SCR4015? Because, if our nation does not have the political will to stop the financing of terrorism, we should not have the will to commit North Dakota blood. The very least we can do, is raise our hand in objection. That is what SCR4015 does.

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, let us object to these wars because proof-certain of their need has not been given. Let us also endorse this legislation as an, albeit slight, gesture to our troops that we are willing to stand up, when they cannot, and demand that their sacrifices be justified.

Joe Richardson 2816 27th St. S. Fargo, North Dakota 58103

Testimony in support of Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 4015 February 11, 2011 Kathleen Atkinson, osb

Mr. Chair, I wish to begin by thanking you for co-sponsoring this bipartisan concurrent resolution.

Distinguished members of the Government and Veterans Affairs committee and all gathered here, I thank you for the opportunity to speak today. My name is Sister Kathleen Atkinson, Annunciation Monastery, Bismarck. I speak today in favor of Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 4015.

During World War II, a German widow hid Jewish refugees in her own home. As her friends discovered the situation, they became extremely alarmed.

"You are risking your own well-being," they told her.

"I know that, "she said.

"Then why," they demanded, "do you persist in this foolishness?"
Her answer was stark and to the point. "I am doing it," she said, "because the time is now and I am here."

Each of us stands in time and place. The call of this resolution is simply to see our own obligations to life at this time in history and to respond with the widow's sense of conscious and converting commitment. The times are just as crucial, the issues just as complex. In ways never before faced in history, we realize that the planet is one and the population interdependent. I ask you to consider Senate Concurrent Resolution No 4015 not only as citizens of our great state of North Dakota, but as citizens of the world.

At the outset of this war, men and women of the United States stepped forward to fight terrorism and create a peaceful environment for the people of Iraq, Afghanistan and for the world. Over 1 million American families have had a family member serve in these wars (p 1, 11); as a teacher at the University of Mary I have come to know some of them personally and been so impressed with the quality service and dedication of forces and families. This resolution acknowledges their bravery; their willingness and sacrifice is gratefully recognized. And a call to a new time and place is put forward.

Not only the cost in lives and health is significant, but the current cost of \$10 billion per month is suffocating the very quality of life we seek to promote (p1, 17). Imagine what could be done for reducing the global risk of terrorist activities and improve the lives of the people of Iraq and Afghanistan with just a fraction of this money invested in peaceful, nonmilitary methods for health, education, economic development (p 2, 12-14). As stated so succinctly by the United States Catholic Bishops, "Millions currently go hungry while billions are fed to munitions factories, not to children."

This resolution is not about cut and run. It is not about forgetting the attack on our country on 9/11 or giving up the war on terrorism; it is not about abandoning the advancements made by those who have served so valiantly. This resolution is about seeking new ways to continue to achieve the goals of security, justice and freedom that have undergirded our efforts.

Have we the courage to teach and lead our nation into this strong nonviolent, movement?

Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 4015 may seem like a small gesture. It may even seem foolish. But the time is now, and we are here....

Thank you.

Thank you Mr. Chairman, and committee members, for allowing me the opportunity to speak in support of Senate Concurrent Resolution 4015.

I am Jeff Skjelver from Rugby. I served in the North Dakota Army National Guard from 1984 until I enlisted in the United States Marine Corps in 1990. I retired from the Marines in 2009 after 25 years of military service. I am a veteran of two Operation Iraqi Freedom deployments, in 2005 and in 2007. I am a member of the Clarence Larson Post #23 of the American Legion in Rugby. I am also a member of Iraq Veterans Against the War.

When the North Dakota Peace Resolution was previously introduced 4 years ago, I was deployed for my second time to the Al Anbar province in western Iraq. It was clearly obvious to me by then that our presence in Iraq was not to the benefit of people of the United States, nor to the people of Iraq. Iraq had no involvement with the attacks of September 11, 2001. Weapons of mass destruction were not in Iraq. The people of Iraq did not hate us for our freedoms. Iraq posed no threat to our nation, or to our people. Every reason and rationale presented to us about why the United States military had to invade Iraq has been found to be lacking substantive evidence or proof, and to be of questionable legality.

As an advocate for peace, my hope is that the truth and reality of what the United States is doing in Iraq and Afghanistan is revealed to an ever-widening audience. When people see and hear the truth and reality of what the United States is, and has been, doing in Iraq and Afghanistan, they will come to question why anyone can continue to support the wars.

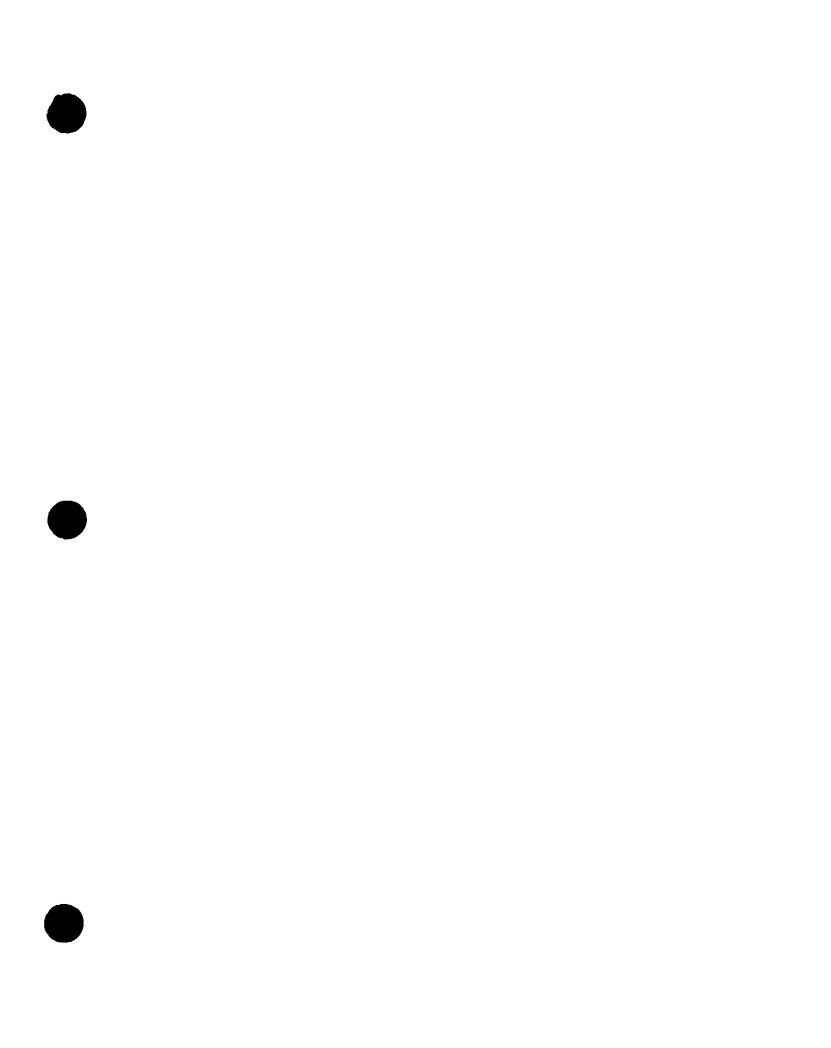
The reality is that corporate profiteering continues to drive the occupations. Defense contractors and defense industry corporations receive billions of dollars from the U.S. Government in the form of security and re-construction contracts. In short, there is no incentive to end the occupations.

With more and more voices uniting in efforts to promote peace in Iraq and Afghanistan, maybe, just maybe, the United States Congress will cease funding the aforementioned occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan, and force the withdrawal of U.S. military forces from those nations.

My goal for speaking in support of the new North Dakota Peace Resolution is to present to this committee, and to the people of North Dakota, the voice of one veteran of Operation of Iraqi Freedom, that the cost of blood and treasure paid in Iraq and Afghanistan is not worth the price.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Peace and Semper Fidelis... Jeff Skjelver Rugby, ND



TESTIMONY IN SUPPORT OF CONCURRENT RESOLUTION #4015

Chairman Senator Dever, Members of the Government, and members of the Veterans Affairs Committee, for the record I am Sr. Maris Stella Korb, a Presentation Sister from Fargo and Director of our Congregation's Peace and Justice Center.

I am in full support of Senate Concurrent Resolution #4015, and thank you especially, Senator Dever, for co-sponsoring with Senator Mathern this Resolution. The time for peace is long over-due!

These wars have gone on for ten years and we're still counting. Currently the target is supposedly set for 2014. When will it stop? ...or will it stop? What is going to be the ultimate determining factor that declares: "The War is over!"

From my perspective the wars have already been extended beyond legitimacy and the words of Dwight D. Eisenhower are as appropriate today as they ever were. He said, "We will bankrupt ourselves in the vain search for absolute security." Is that perhaps what we're seeking? .. absolute security?

Lives already lost in these wars number in the 100s of thousands if we rightfully include all the victims, friend or foe. Many of them were mere children; others frightened and confused civilians. How can we, morally, continue day after day along this path of human destruction?

It was encouraging to read all the positive assistance Non-Governmental Organizations have been offering to the Afghans and Pakistans. It is my hope that as the military operations cease, more services supportive of health, education, and economic development will be made available to the people. Then we really will have won over our enemies, but we will have done so by becoming their friends.

In closing, I urge you to give a "Do Pass" recommendation to Resolution 4015, and thank you for your attention.

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Senate Government and Veterans Affairs Committee

Chair Dever and Members of the Committee:

My name is Karen Van Fossan. I am a writer, foster mother, and trained counselor living in Bismarck, North Dakota. I would like to thank the committee for this opportunity to speak, and I would especially like to thank Chair Dever for his sponsorship of the Resolution.

I stand before you today on behalf of the parents, teachers, veterans, faith leaders, peace activists, community members, and survivors of violence who are members of the North Dakota Peace Coalition. I am joined today by some of the founders of this Coalition.

To the best of my knowledge, North Dakota is the first state in the union to propose a Resolution quite like SCR 4015. It doesn't only call for an end to the wars and occupations in Iraq and Afghanistan – it supports programs that help create the conditions for lasting peace.

As a clinician and researcher, I've had the opportunity to study an emerging concept in the field of psychology called "peace psychology." This field asks the essential question, "What are the conditions that support human beings to live in peace?"

So far, my study has identified these factors:

One) A sense of capacity or potential.

Two) A sense of belonging, of being welcome.

Three) A sense of place, of being at home in your environment.

Four) A sense of safety, that your elders, warriors, or police will protect you.

Five) A sense of generosity, the willingness to make the world a better place.

SCR 4015 suggests that peace psychology can be fostered among the people of Afghanistan and Iraq. It also names specific programs that work.

The mission of the Central Asia Institute is "to promote and support community-based education, especially for girls, in remote regions of Pakistan and Afghanistan."

Afghanistan Samsortya, which means "revitalization," exists to establish nurseries, replant orchards, and redevelop traditional agriculture as a way of life.

Women for Women Afghanistan offers direct financial aid, awareness classes, job-skills training, and emotional support to women in Afghanistan. To date, they have served more than 20,000 women in 16 communities.

A crucial aspect of each of these programs is that they pair local wisdom with American ingenuity. There is so much good we can do in Iraq and Afghanistan. Studies show that the number one reason young people enlist in the U.S. military is to follow their sense of altruism — to be of service to their world. After nearly ten years of war, they have sacrificed enough.

Let's bring our troops home, bring our private contractors home, and turn our attention toward peace. Thank you. I would be glad to answer any questions you might have.

Testimony for SCR 4015

Chairperson Dever and Members of the Government & Veterans Affairs Committee,

My name is Tammy Hathaway. I am a resident of Burleigh County. I am a member of the Bismarck-Mandan Unitarian Universalist Church's Social Justice Committee, which fully endorses SCR 4015. I am most importantly a mother of four sons, ages 5, 9, 16 and 19. I am here today in personal support of SCR 4015.

My eldest son is today entering the Air Force. I also have four nephews who are in the National Guard and Marines. Further, my childhood friend's oldest son has, this summer, suffered lifelong physical and emotional injuries during a gunfight on the ground in Afghanistan as a front-line Marine. All of these young men I've mentioned are serving as eager volunteers out of a sense of duty to their families and country. They are willing to put themselves in harms way on our behalf and on behalf of the citizens of Iraq and Afghanistan. I am so proud of each of them and their choices and dedication.

At the same time, I know we can do better for these young people. The ongoing conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan are draining our country, our resources and most significantly, our service men and women; needlessly. It is now time send a clear message to our leadership that prolonging these wars is not the best, most effective means to bringing about stability to these nations.

As a significant person in the lives of several of our servicemen, I understand how important it is to support each of them in meaningful ways. The best support that we, as citizens of North Dakota, can offer at this time is to bring them immediately home, provide them with much needed follow up services and to actively seek nonviolent solutions to bring peace and stability to those areas of our world.

My hope for all of our service people would be that they know North Dakota is proud of their service and that we are willing to seek lasting alternatives to ongoing conflict. I do not want my son to feel one moment of regret or disillusionment for his choice to serve his country as a proud member of its military. Isn't that what any parent would want?

I'd like to thank the committee for its support of this Resolution. I'd be happy to answer any questions you may have for me.

ND Peace Resolution Hearing 2-11-11

Chairman Dever and Members of the Government & Veterans Affairs Committee, my name is Dawn Archer, I serve as the Associate Pastor of the Bismarck United Church of Christ. I am here today representing myself, and I stand in favor of this resolution.

I have never been a fan of bumper sticker religion or bumper sticker politics, as it invites those unknown to us to judge us based solely upon their personal feelings and gut reactions to a few words.

Today I ask each of us to set aside our initial reactions, whatever they may be, to the word "Peace" and to vote on this resolution based upon what it actually states rather than how we feel about the chosen title.

Resolution (SCR 4015) clearly states that the goals of reduced terrorist activity have not been met, that we are currently engaged in the longest running wars in U.S. history, that we support and respect the service of our troops, that the economic and human cost cannot be sustained indefinitely, and finally that there are non-profit / grassroots programs already up and running that are producing far better outcomes for significantly fewer dollars.

Resolution (SCR 4015) *does not* address all wars the U.S. has been engaged in to this point. The resolution *does not* speak to any other wars the U.S. may potentially engage in at a future date as deemed necessary by our elected officials. And finally, Resolution (SCR 4015) *does not* lay blame at the door of any elected official either past or present.

This Resolution speaks to only these two wars, and the situation we find ourselves in today. I ask you to please not let the word "Peace" in the title of this resolution become an obstacle to doing what is right, under these specific circumstances. Thank you for your time, and thank you to all who sponsored this resolution.

TESTIMONY ON SCR 4015 - ND VETERANS COORDINATING COUNCIL.

A veteran is an individual that has signed a blank check in the amount of and up to including his or her life for their country. Good morning, my name is John L. Jacobsen. I am the Chairman of the Legislative Committee of the North Dakota Veterans Coordinating Council. I am also a member of the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

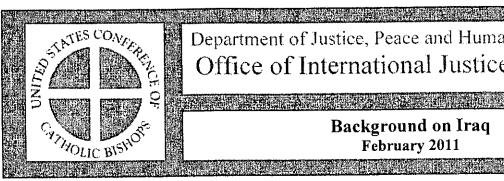
I served in the North Dakota National Guard and the US Army Reserve for a total of 30 years. I retired in 1995 as a Colonel. I was mobilized for Active Duty in 1991 during Operation Desert Shield/Desert Storm. Like all mobilizations, I left my home and family to serve in the Persian Gulf, stationed in the United Arab Emirates.

The Coordinating Council is made up of 15 members, 3 from each of the five Veterans Organizations in North Dakota:

- American Legion
- AMVETS
- Disabled American Veterans
- Veterans of Foreign Wars
- Vietnam Veterans of America

It is the policy of the Coordinating Council to support legislation that will benefit the welfare of the members of the Armed Forces. The committee MUST concur totally, that is all 15 members must agree on the legislation to be supported or else it does not get the support.

In this case, I have been instructed to recommend to this legislative committee that a "DO PASS" on SCR 4015 is supported by the entire membership of the Veterans Coordinating Council.



Department of Justice, Peace and Human Development Office of International Justice and Peace

Background on Iraq February 2011

Out of love for the dialogue and peace which protect creation, I exhort the government leaders and the citizens of Iraq to overcome their divisions and the temptation to violence and intolerance, in order to build together the future of their country. The Christian communities also wish to make their own contribution, but if this is to happen, they need to be assured respect, security and freedom.

--Pope Benedict XVI, January 11, 2010

BACKGROUND

The Iraq War was initiated in March 2003. Some eight years later the situation in Iraq remains very challenging. President Obama announced the end of the U.S. combat mission in Iraq on August 31, 2010. In February 2009 the Obama Administration had offered an 18-month plan for the withdrawal of U.S. combat troops, but promised to "responsibly end the war in Iraq" by leaving some non-combat forces to advise and assist Iraqi forces, giving Iraqi leaders time to "move toward political reconciliation and away from sectarianism."

Iraq held parliamentary elections in March 2010. Unfortunately, due to a closely divided vote, it took many months to establish a government and that government remains divided and fragile.

In January 2007, President Bush had set out a new policy to meet the then growing violence in Iraq. It called for a surge of about 20,000 U.S. troops in Iraq and the doubling of provincial reconstruction teams to help local Iraqi communities. The surge, combined with a realignment of tribal forces and former insurgents against al-Qaeda-in-Iraq's brutal tactics, contributed to a reduction in overall violence. But these gains remain tenuous. Smaller, decentralized acts of violence continue, especially against Christians and other minorities.

Terrorists and insurgents continue to target both security forces and civilians in an effort to destabilize the government. The U.S. remains in the difficult position of trying to support security even though its presence, and that of other multinational forces, is resented by many Iraqis. Important ways to enhance security include accelerating economic and social reconstruction in Iraq. Out of a total population of about 27 million, more than 2 million Iraqis are internally displaced from their homes and another 2 million are refugees who have fled the country, many to neighboring Syria and Jordan.

For Iraqi Christians, the overall situation is terrible. At first Iraqi Christians viewed the attacks on Christians as attacks on all Iraqis; however, a pattern of deliberate violence against Christians and other vulnerable minorities by extremist groups has clearly emerged, powerfully symbolized by the attack that killed scores of Christians at worship in the Syrian Catholic cathedral in Baghdad in October 2010. Violence has led many Christians to flee Iraq and become refugees. A disproportionate number of Iraqi refugees are Christians.

THE BISHOPS' POSITION PRIOR TO THE WAR

USCCB issued four major letters/statements prior to the war, questioning the moral legitimacy of any preemptive, unilateral use of military force to overthrow the government of Iraq as such actions would create deeply troubling moral and legal precedents. The Conference expressed "grave moral concerns about military intervention in Iraq and the unpredictable and uncontrollable negative consequences of invasion and occupation." With the Holy See, the Conference maintained that resorting to war would not meet the strict conditions in Catholic teaching for the use of military force.

USCCB POSITION

For over five years, USCCB has consistently highlighted the need for a "responsible transition to end the war in Iraq." Of special concern to USCCB is the dire situation of Christians and other minorities in Iraq. This concern is reflected in USCCB's major statements on Iraq. Current USCCB policy continues to call for a "responsible transition" and urges full withdrawal at the earliest opportunity consistent with that goal. A responsible transition needs to minimize further loss of human life, address the humanitarian crisis in Iraq and the refugee crisis in the region, promote political reconciliation in Iraq, and engage international support for stabilizing Iraq, including engagement with Syria and Iran.

On October 15, following the announcement of the withdrawal of U.S. combat troops from Iraq, Bishop Howard Hubbard, Chairman of the Committee on International Justice and Peace, and Bishop John Wester, Chairman of the Migration Committee, sent a joint letter to Secretary Clinton welcoming the end of U.S.-led combat operations, but emphasizing the continuing need to support Iraq in achieving a "responsible transition" that provides security and human rights for all citizens, especially Christians and other minorities, and develops long-term solutions for Iraqi refugees and internally displaced persons. They noted the "continuing moral obligations that came with military intervention" and the "moral responsibility to help protect the lives and dignity of the Iraqi people and to assist them as they seek to recover from war and rebuild their nation."

In response to the horrific October 31 attack on the Syrian Catholic cathedral in Baghdad, Cardinal Francis George, the USCCB President, issued a public statement decrying the violence and wrote a letter to President Obama calling on our nation to take "additional steps now to help Iraq protect its citizens, especially Christians and others who are victims of organized attacks." This letter was affirmed by the full body of bishops at their November 2010 Plenary Assembly.

On November 4, Bishop Hubbard and Bishop Wester wrote a second letter to Secretary of State Clinton noting that the attack on Catholic Church in Baghdad was a "critical reminder of the need for a 'responsible transition' in Iraq that protects all citizens, especially Christians and vulnerable minorities." In numerous letters, meetings, and statements, USCCB has focused particular attention on the terrible situation of refugees, a disproportionate number of whom are Christians. USCCB Migration and Refugee Services and Catholic Relief Services sponsored a refugee fact-finding trip to the region in July 2007.

ACTION REQUESTED

The U.S. bishops raised grave moral questions prior to the war in Iraq; now USCCB urges "a responsible transition...sooner rather than later" that aims to reduce further loss of life, address the humanitarian crisis in Iraq and the refugee crisis in the region, help rebuild the war-torn country, promote political reconciliation in Iraq, protect human rights and religious freedom, and engage international support, including Syria and Iran. The USCCB urges strong action to protect Christians and other minorities. Although the combat phase of U.S. engagement in Iraq has ended, the moral obligation of our nation toward the Iraqi people has not.

For information: visit www.usccb.org/sdwp/international/iraq.shtml or contact Stephen Colecchi, Director, Office of International Justice and Peace, USCCB, 202-541-3160, scolecchi@usccb.org; on refugees contact Kevin Appleby, MRS, USCCB, 202-541-3260, K.Applebv@usccb.org.

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Department of Justice, Peace and Human Development Office of International Justice and Peace

Background on Afghanistan-Pakistan February 2011

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I think with affection of all those who have suffered ... as a result of terrorist attacks which have sown death and destruction in countries like Afghanistan ... (and) Pakistan. ... Faced with this reality, we must not grow discouraged ... but rather redouble our efforts on behalf of security and development. --Pope Benedict XVI, January 9, 2009

CURRENT SITUATION: In March 2009, President Obama announced a strategy which aimed "to disrupt, dismantle and defeat al Qaeda in Pakistan and Afghanistan, and to prevent their return to either country in the future." U.S. troop levels exceed 90,000 since 30,000 were added last year in Afghanistan. More than 40,000 troops from 47 other countries operate there under NATO's International Security Assistance Force (ISAF). The Obama Administration strategy includes not only security, but also helping Afghanistan improve its governance and development. A December 2010 review of that strategy cited slow progress. President Obama reiterated his intention to begin bringing some troops home by July 2011 while "building the Afghan capacity that can allow for a responsible transition of our forces out of Afghanistan." International donors to Afghanistan who met in July pledged continued support to the Afghan government, military and police for an anticipated transition of power by 2014. Reconstruction and development are expected to continue beyond that time.

Yet many challenges remain nearly ten years into this effort. Flawed August 2009 presidential and September 2010 parliamentary elections in Afghanistan continue to raise questions as to the credibility of President Hamid Karzai's government and its ability to deliver basic services. Violence has escalated not only in the south where the U.S. has focused the strategy, but also in the west and north. Much needed development assistance and efforts to improve governance are fraught with tribal tensions, questions of accountability for U.S. funds, and weak capacity.

Developments in Afghanistan are closely tied to Pakistan. U.S. pressure on Pakistan has increased, given the presence of al Qaeda-affiliated terrorist groups in the region bordering Afghanistan, its nuclear weapons capability, and its importance for regional stability. More U.S. drone attacks along the border killed militants, but also civilians, inflaming anti-American sentiments. To improve stability in and relations with Pakistan, the "Enhanced Partnership with Pakistan Act" passed in 2009 providing \$7.5 billion in non-military aid over five years. It aims to "improv[e] the living conditions of the people of Pakistan through sustainable economic development, strengthening democracy and the rule of law, and combating the extremism that threatens Pakistan and the United States." Some of this assistance has been used to help respond to the devastating floods in summer 2010, which covered one-fifth of the country, killed thousands and displaced millions. In recent months there are growing and serious concerns over religious freedom issues, particularly blasphemy laws which were used to sentence a Christian woman to death. In January 2011 a guard assassinated the Punjab provincial governor who had been outspoken in defending religious freedom and calling for a repeal of the blasphemy laws. The killing was condoned by some Islamic leaders.

BACKGROUND: During the Cold War, the U.S., Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and other nations provided covert support to an alliance of Afghan freedom fighters (mujahideen) who successfully routed the invading Soviets in 1989. But after the Soviets withdrew, infighting between different ethnic, tribal and religious groups devolved into anarchy. By 1998, the Taliban, a ruthless but relatively disciplined collection of Pashtun mujahideen groups, restored order and controlled 90% of Afghanistan. But their strict interpretation of Sharia law led to severe human rights violations, especially against women and minorities. The Taliban were also closely allied with al Qaeda, offering them sanctuary in exchange for financial and political support. Those opposed to the Taliban formed the Northern Alliance. After the terrorist attacks of 9/11, U.S. forces entered Afghanistan in October 2001 and helped the Northern Alliance dislodge the Taliban, many of whom fled to Pakistan. The International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) was created in late 2001 to help the fledgling Afghan

3211 Fourth St., NE. Washington, DC 20017. Tel: (202)541-3160 Fax: (202)541-3339

government with security. When U.S. attention and resources shifted to Iraq, the Taliban regrouped, regained territory and support (some through intimidation), capitalizing on the Afghan people's anger over civilian casualties from ISAF/U.S. military action, and rising fears of "foreign occupation." Although ISAF/U.S. forces have sought to eliminate terrorist groups and restore order, basic security, and human rights in Afghanistan, their presence is resented by many Afghanis and Pakistanis.

CRS in Afghanistan has more than \$14 million in programs to build community-based schools, improve agricultural development, empower women, and build capacity for emergency response. In Pakistan, CRS funds similar programs and also responded to Afghan refugees in 2009. In response to the floods, CRS has helped to build temporary shelters and restore agricultural production to expedite economic recovery. In both countries, as it does worldwide, CRS collaborates with local NGOs to carry out these programs in culturally sensitive ways that build the capacity of local organizations.

USCCB POSITION: Following the 9/11 tragedy and the U.S. decision to send troops into Afghanistan, the bishops issued a pastoral message, "Living with Faith and Hope after September 11." They offered moral guidance for military action: restrain use of military force and ensure that civilians are not targeted; address the root causes of terrorism rather than rely solely on military force; and encourage international collaboration to provide humanitarian assistance and rebuild Afghanistan. They noted, "Probability of success is particularly difficult to measure in dealing with an amorphous, global terrorist network. Therefore, special attention must be given to developing criteria for when it is appropriate to end military action in Afghanistan."

USCCB embraced a "responsible transition" as an overall ethical framework for U.S. actions in Afghanistan and outlined some specific criteria for withdrawing U.S. military forces at the earliest opportunity, consistent with the objectives of denying safe havens for terrorist organizations, minimizing further loss of human life, assisting refugees and internally displaced persons, and helping set the country on a path to recovery. USCCB acknowledged a perception that the presence of U.S. and ISAF forces in Afghanistan may be creating resentment in the local population. USCCB supports a multilateral approach that strengthens and improves the accountability of national and local governments, and fosters economic and agricultural development. The Conference advised that whenever possible, development assistance should be delivered through civilian/NGO channels, rather than through the military. It remains important to give priority to the poor and marginalized, especially in a continued response to the flooding in Pakistan. International private voluntary organizations (PVOs), like Catholic Relief Services, provide cost-effective, sustainable, community-based development and humanitarian relief in partnership with local community organizations.

Each action taken by the U.S. must be weighed in light of the traditional moral principle of "probability of success." Will this action contribute to a "responsible transition" and withdrawal as soon as appropriate? Will it improve Afghan security and minimize loss of life? Will it lay an adequate foundation for long-term development? The bishops urge the Administration to continually review the use of military force—whether and when force is needed to protect the innocent and resist terrorism—to insure that it is proportionate and discriminate. The goal of a "responsible transition" should be carefully defined and limited to permit a timely withdrawal. Having initiated military action in Afghanistan, our nation must help build good governance, respect for human rights and religious freedom, and economic development long after direct military engagement ends.

ACTION REQUESTED

Seek opportunities to encourage political leaders to promote a "responsible transition" in Afghanistan and withdrawal of U.S. forces at the earliest opportunity consistent with that goal. A "responsible transition" should aim to reduce further loss of life; address the humanitarian needs in Afghanistan and the refugee crisis in the region; help rebuild the war-torn country; promote human rights; support good governance and accountability in political systems and long-term sustainable economic development in both countries; and engage international support for stabilizing Afghanistan and Pakistan. International relief and development should be redefined to ensure that it is community-based, sustainable, and delivered through civilian channels in partnerships between international PVOs like CRS and local civil society groups.

For information: visit www.usccb.org/sdwp/international/afghanistan.shtml or contact Virginia Farris, Office of International Justice and Peace, USCCB, 202-541-3160 (phone); vfarris@usccb.org.

North Dakota Gov't. and Veterans Affairs Committee Chairman Dever and Committee Members

I write in regard SCR4015; a resolution urging the U.S. Congress and President to pursue peace in Iraq and Afghanistan and disengage....

I write in opposition to the Resolution for the following reasons:

The U.S. forces in both countries are a stabilizing and peacekeeping presence during this time they need to establish stable governmental systems; to withdraw forces before they are able to stand on their own may allow the re-establishment of tyranny so recently removed.

The nation of Iraq is well on the way to stabilization, and our forces are being drawn down as we speak. The governmental system being established may not be "our best choice" it is certainly a better situation for the millions of Iraqi people.

The Afghan situation is more difficult, and the people there are in great jeopardy of going, once again, under the yoke of tyranny. The free world has made a valiant effort to help the Afghanis--we have paid in lives of men and women, and in material treasure--this progress should not be put in jeopardy.

We must not lose sight of our good and noble purpose as we help people find the blessings of freedom. As many have said, the United States is the last great hope of freedom for millions of oppressed people everywhere. I firmly believe that. As we see events in Egypt today we see the struggle play out before our eyes how people desperate for freedom will put their lives before the battle tanks of tyrants.

I am a veteran of the Korean conflict and served in relative safety of the USS Yorktown (aircraft carrier) in 1953 off the coast of Korea. The conflict ended with a cease-fire that allowed some 20 million Koreans in the south to be "free". That same accord condemned about 20 million people in the north to remain under a tyrant "not free". Today: the people of the north suffer under a third generation of the tyrants—the question remains: will these people ever find deliverance? Who will help them?

The choice of our nation and our leaders is very difficult as decisions are made to put our fellow citizens in harms way, and to commit our treasure, as well. There is a great moral good that stirs in us; we see something that must be done, even knowing it carries cost, we proceed because we cannot do other.

Hal Neff 903 No. Mandan St. Bismarck, ND

Testimony of
Lieutenant Colonel Davina French
Government Affairs Officer, NDNG
Before the
Government and Veteran Affairs Committee
11 Feb 2011
Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 4015

Since the 2001 terrorist attacks on America, the North Dakota National Guard has mobilized more than 3,500 Soldiers and more than 1,800 Airmen in support of the Global War on Terrorism. Currently, about 75 North Dakota Guardsmen are serving overseas while more than 4,000 remain in the state for emergency response and national defense. For every 10,000 citizens in North Dakota, 65 serve in the North Dakota National Guard, a rate that's more than four times the national average.

The North Dakota National Guard and the hundreds of other North Dakotans from all the branches of the military who serve with distinction and pride have sacrificed so much. The State of North Dakota remembers the 21 Fallen Heroes from both the Iraq and Afghanistan combat areas. What the public doesn't always see is the many amputees, the dozens who have been physically injured and been awarded the Purple Heart for injuries sustained in a combat zone, the hundreds of unseen injuries that we bring back from war, and the silent effects made on the Families and Communities across North Dakota.

A Soldiers memory doesn't forget life changing experiences. January 17th 1991, I remember the first wave of aircraft that flew over the Saudi Arabian dessert which signaled the start of combat actions in Desert Storm. And on February 27th the war ended as quickly as it started. For many of us what was left behind was a date on a calendar, the smell of oil fires and gun smoke and the lasting memories of the atrocities of war.

Tomorrow signifies another date of war. February 12 2003 was the day the 957 Multi-Roll Bridge Company drove our 96 vehicle convoy out of Bismarck and started our journey that eventually landed us in Iraq. For 17 months we endured death, injury and sorrow. Witnessing war first hand. I remember the sounds of gunfire, the screams after the Improvised Explosive Devises explode next to the vehicles and I remember the crisp salutes given by my Soldiers as the casket of SPC Jon Fettig was loaded onto the transport plane enroute back to his home here in North Dakota.

Mr. Chairman, I want the next memory I have to be the end of combat operations in Iraq and Afghanistan. It is said...The person who wants peace the most is a Soldier.

February 18, 2011

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 4015

Page 1, line 12, remove the second comma

Page 1, line 12, remove "without any"

Page 1, remove line 13

Page 1, line 14, remove "goal of security for the citizens of those countries"

Page 1, line 17, after "indefinitely" insert a period

Page 1, line 17, remove "and is causing great harm to the social"

Page 1, line 18, remove "and economic structure of the United States"

Page 1, remove lines 19 through 22

Page 1, line 23, remove "ring community-based health,"

Page 1, remove lines 24 and 25

Page 2, replace lines 1 through 5 with "end violence against women in Iraq, bring community-based health, education, and economic development of Afghanistan and Iraq; promoting peace and should be supported;"

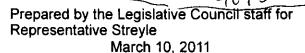
Page 2, line 9, replace "immediately halt offensive military action and" with a hyphen

Page 2, line 9, remove "without the"

Page 2, replace lines 10 through 14 with "with the combined efforts of n-governmental organizations and the United States military forces and to disengage and safely withdraw American forces from those countries at the appropriate time and to support, through reasonable expenditures of funds, peaceful methods for decreasing the global risk of terrorist activities"

Renumber accordingly

11.8237.04001 Title.



Attachment 1



PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO ENGROSSED SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 4015

Page 1, line 1, replace "peace" with "victory"

Page 1, line 2, replace "disengage" with "support"

Page 1, line 2, replace "from" with "on"

Page 1, line 4, replace "reduce" with "eliminate"

Page 1, line 4, remove "peaceful"

Page 1, line 5, replace "environment" with "just and democratic rule of law"

Page 1, line 6, remove "the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan are now the longest wars in the United States"

Page 1, line 7, replace "history" with "effective military action may require a presence for years to come as is evidenced by the maintenance of military forces in Germany"

Page 1, line 9, replace "continued" with "greatly declining"

Page 1, line 9, replace "sectarian war" with "elimination of the Taliban and training of Afghan forces ongoing"

Page 1, line 13, remove "the continued cost of these wars in both the lives and health of American"

Page 1, remove line 14

Page 1, line 15, replace "\$10 billion per month cannot be sustained indefinitely" with "it would be unconscionable to abandon the just cause to which our brave patriots have sacrificed so much while we enjoy our safety and security here at home"

Page 1, line 17, after "Iraq" insert "and Afghanistan"

Page 1, line 18, replace "peace" with "freedom"

Page 1, line 22, replace "peace" with "freedom and the democratic rule of law"

Page 1, line 22, replace "with" with "through"

Page 1, line 23, replace "the" with "international and"

Page 1, line 23, replace "disengage and safely withdraw" with "support and honor"

Page 1, line 23, replace "from" with "who are dedicated to fighting evil in"

Page 1, line 24, remove "at the appropriate time"

Page 1, line 24, replace "reasonable" with "all necessary"

Page 1, line 25, replace "peaceful methods for decreasing" with "effective and secure governments in Iraq and Afghanistan which will decrease"

Renumber accordingly

Attachment 1 SCR 4015

Government and Veterans Affairs Committee, March 18, 2011

Madame Chairman Grande and Members of the House Government and Veterans Affairs Committee:

My name is Tim Mathern. I am a Senator from Fargo and introduced SCR 4015 on behalf of many North Dakota citizens concerned about our people and our world.

Now is the time to prepare for peace.

This resolution addresses the cause of peace in Iraq and Afghanistan. It recognizes our brave men and women in uniform and heartily supports our troops, their hard work, and self-sacrifices. Many have given their lives; countless others will suffer lifelong consequences. Over 1 million families have had a family member serve in these wars, over 4000 Americans have died and our costs of \$10 billion per month cannot be sustained. This resolution urges Congress and the President to pursue peace and disengage American combat forces while using non military means to reduce the global risk of terrorist activities.

Madame Chairman and members of the Committee, the focus of this resolution is not on the past. This resolution is forward looking: It asks the President and Congress to make concerted efforts toward peace to save lives and resources.

The original resolution was amended in the Senate which while supported by the Senate was not supported by all the citizens who testified. The main area of disagreement was the timing of ending the war with many wanting it more clearly stated that the war be ended immediately.

Please consider the testimony of other citizens coming after me and their further description of the situation we are in and their expression of the hopes and dreams of our people.

Thank you for your consideration. I ask for your Do Pass recommendation on SCR 4015. You and I can make this a time to prepare for peace.

62nd Legislative Assembly State of North Dakota

Testimony of Thomas M. Disselhorst, Esq. P.O. Box 2463, Bismarck ND 58502 Tel. 701-421-1646

Before the House Government and Veteran's Affairs Committee

March 18, 2011

Regarding SCR 4015

Calling for safe and prompt removal of U.S. troops from Iraq and Afghanistan and seeking peaceful alternatives to conflict in those countries

Madam Chair, members of the Committee:

My name is Tom Disselhorst. I am an attorney in Bismarck, North Dakota, and, at the request of Sen. Mathern and others, I assisted in drafting the resolution in front of you this morning. At present, I am working full-time for United Tribes Technical College in Bismarck, but I speak to you today as an ordinary citizen of North Dakota, and as a long time student of U.S. interaction with the Indian Tribal Nations within the United States.

First, I want to thank the co-sponsors of this resolution. This is meant to be a bi-partisan resolution, as I think the basic elements of this resolution can be agreed to by all. Those basic elements are:

1) The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have dragged on for far too long; almost nine years. These are now the longest wars in U.S. history. In fact, no one seems to be discussing them much at all any longer, even though more than 1 million American families have been affected directly by them due to service by at least one member of those families in one or the other, or both, theaters of war. More than 4,000 men and women have been killed in these conflicts.

This is, in my opinion, the most important reason to withdraw forces from these countries as quickly and safely as possible. In light of this, I have proposed a very short amendment that would replace the words "at the appropriate time" in the RESOLVED section with the words "as quickly and safely as possible" and which would delete the word "safely" in the line before that.

2) We must honor and respect the U.S. veterans of these conflicts, including those killed in action and those serving their country as we speak. We must ensure their safety, now and when they are asked to withdraw from Iraq and Afghanistan. Our military men and women have tried their hardest to keep safe the troops with whom they serve, and to enhance and secure the safety of the citizens of the countries in which they find themselves, often without much thanks from their fellow citizens. They also deserve appropriate and prompt health care when they return to the U.S.

- 3) Our nation is bleeding economically, in part because of the massive expenditures from our treasury needed to fund these wars. The Iraq war alone has cost the U.S. more than \$ 1 trillion, nearly twice as much as all annual discretionary spending in the U.S. budget. This layout of funds cannot be sustained. A real peace dividend can be achieved by a withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq and Afghanistan that could help our nation restore its fiscal health.
- 4) Democracy and a civil government cannot be forced upon any country at gunpoint. The people of the country have to want it. The extraordinary events that have just unfolded in Egypt and are still unfolding in many other countries of the Middle East illustrate this point dramatically. Largely peaceful demonstrations have taken place in countries with a long history of autocratic rulers. These self-same autocratic rulers are beginning to see that they must change their political ways and fundamentally change their governments to satisfy the pent-up demands of their mostly younger citizens; those rulers that are responding with violence to peaceful demands for change will only create conditions that lead to their eventual overthrow. As a result of these demonstrations, I suspect that far reaching changes will occur in many other countries similarly situated.
- 5) Most importantly, countries with a history of autocratic rulers must have the tools to be able to make a democratic system work, or to make some other version of a civil society work. These tools include the ability of all citizens, women and men, to read and write, to communicate freely with each other about their views and to be free of violence or the constant threat of violence in their immediate lives. These elements are the bedrock of a civil society in which respect is given to all members of that society. Our military is not in a position to actually provide these tools but there are non-governmental organizations that can do this work, with or without support from the governments of these countries. Such organizations exist, and need to be supported in their efforts.

Another reason to withdraw our forces from Iraq and Afghanistan is something not noted in the resolution as it currently is drafted (it was amended in the Senate as you know) that was mentioned in the first resolution. This is the fact that the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan have led to the deaths of thousands of civilians of those countries. Somehow this fact caused some controversy in the Senate Committee that considered this resolution.

Civilian deaths, along with even more injuries and the destruction of property, make the effort of the military to bring peace much more difficult and cause untold suffering and hardship. Often, no matter how hard our military tries to help end the suffering of civilians, the U.S. is not seen in a favorable light because of civilian deaths. Because of the deaths and damage caused by these conflicts, it will not be enough simply to withdraw our forces. We must help these countries heal. I think the U.S. needs to acknowledge the negative consequences of its action in these countries, as well as the positive consequences, but that acknowledgement does not need to be in this resolution.

Thus, I am not proposing any amendment regarding the changes made in the Senate, other than one small amendment to add the words "and Afghanistan" before the comma after the word "Iraq" in line 17 of the currently drafted resolution and the other amendment urging quick and safe withdrawal mentioned above. The amendment in line 17 simply references the fact that

efforts by many organizations to end violence against women are happening in both Iraq and Afghanistan and I urge the adoption of this small amendment.

The points I have made above are not my conclusions alone. Many others have spoken and written about these matters, commentators both politically conservative and liberal. Most of these conclusions and lessons are matters of common sense.

Therefore, given the above facts and hard-learned lessons and principles, the resolution before you calls on the U.S. to reconsider its options in Iraq and Afghanistan, and, instead of pursuing more aggressive military actions to subdue the population at large, calls on the U.S. to withdraw from these conflicts and promote peaceful solutions. These solutions do not generally depend on the governments of those countries, although the help of those governments can obviously be useful.

Non-governmental organizations in both Iraq and Afghanistan are providing real relief and real hope to literally millions of people. Some of these organizations are now becoming well known, even to our military leaders, such as the Central Asia Institute, which is providing schools for women and girls in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The best of these organizations thoroughly understand that assistance is rendered much more difficult if it is not respectful of the cultures and religions of the people being assisted. Further, these organizations also understand that assistance is meaningless if it is not managed and undertaken by the citizens of those countries with a minimum of outside interference. It is Afghans helping Afghans to learn how to read and write that helps combat violence against women – that helps combat ignorance and fundamentalist religious regimes that have pushed Afghanistan backwards, regimes that have extended the dependence of many parts of Afghanistan on the opium poppy trade.

This lesson is absolutely consistent with my experiences in Indian country working with the various Tribal Nations of the Great Plains. Given the right tools, given adequate respect for their cultures, Tribal citizens can revitalize their governments, their economies and the lives of other Tribal citizens by themselves. When citizens of these Tribal Nations take on the tasks of improving their lives, rather than waiting for the efforts of outsiders, a lot of good things can happen and have happened.

This does not mean that monetary assistance is not needed. In order to make a peace alternative work in Iraq and Afghanistan, the U.S. needs to put part of the money saved by withdrawing our troops into grant funds that organizations with a strong track record of success can use to expand their work. Obviously the U.S. will want accountability for the funds so expended. The actual assistance may not always be in cash grants; it may be in providing logistical support for such services, even providing a degree of security for the work in a manner that does not involve offensive military actions, but only when requested by the citizens of these countries.

In other words, the U.S. needs to fundamentally reinvent its presence in Iraq and Afghanistan. Notice the resolution does not call on the U.S. to abandon its efforts to bring peace and a civil society to these countries. But it does place emphasis on existing peaceful alternatives that are

already beginning to produce excellent results. Naturally, we should also seek to bring our allies into this effort.

Will this process be perfect? Will it be easy? Are their risks? Of course it won't be easy, there will be setbacks, there are risks, and perfection is an illusion, but the opportunities, in my opinion, far outweigh the risks and the setbacks. We, the United States, can still turn what has happened in these countries into a net positive by making it possible for people to put away their weapons and learn to communicate peaceably and in safety with one another. A continuing military presence renders those goals nearly impossible. Our efforts to promote peaceful alternatives can ultimately secure the peace in Iraq and Afghanistan, and at the same time improve the likelihood that our homelands are safer as well.

I urge this Committee to give a "DO PASS" on SCR 4015 with the amendments that follow below.

Proposed amendment to SCR 4015:

- 1. In line 17, before the comma after the word "Iraq", add the words "and Afghanistan"
- 2. In line 23, delete the word "safely"; in line 24 delete the words "at the appropriate time"; and after the word "countries" in line 24, insert the words "as safely and quickly as possible"

Attachment 3. SCR 4015

Friday, March 18, 2011

SCR 4015

Honorable Bette Grande and Members of the House Government & Veterans Affairs Committee:

Thank you for the opportunity to speak in support of SCR 4015, North Dakota's Peace Resolution. My name is Rev. Lyn Burton, minister of the Bismarck-Mandan Unitarian Universalist Fellowship and Church. I'm also a native North Dakotan, born in Fargo, with an undergraduate degree from the University of North Dakota.

Our UU church is part of a larger association of over 1000 congregations across the country which are committed to the process of peace. Our Universalist faith in the oneness of the whole human family teaches us that peace is necessary; our Unitarian faith in the sacred potential of each person teaches us that peace is possible.

For two hundred years, Unitarians and Universalists have worked to build peace by removing the underlying causes of war. As early as 1790, Universalists gathered in Philadelphia declared, "Although a defensive war may be considered lawful, yet we believe there is a time coming, when the light and universal love of the gospel shall put an end to all wars." The Massachusetts Peace Society, founded by Unitarians Noah Worcester and William Ellery Channing during the War of 1812, helped launch the first peace movement to include both those repudiating all violence and those supporting defensive wars, to welcome members of all religious persuasions, and to affirm that nonviolence is humanly possible as well as divinely commanded. Since that time, Unitarian and Universalist peace efforts have continued to be informed by those principles. Though we have always held diverse views on the justification of defensive and humanitarian wars, at our best we have worked together to end the violence of slavery, to promote international law, to liberate Jews and others from Nazi tyranny, and to build the United Nations and other institutions of international cooperation.

In our 2010 General Assembly, member congregations adopted a Statement of Conscience that affirms our belief that "all people share a moral responsibility to create peace." Our commitment to creating peace calls us to the work of peacebuilding, peacemaking, and peacekeeping. We advocate a culture of peace through a transformation of public policies, religious consciousness, and individual lifestyles. At the heart of this transformation is the readiness to honor the truths of multiple voices from a theology of covenant grounded in love.

Our Statement of Conscience is grounded in such Unitarian Universalist theological principles as:

"The fundamental unity and interdependence of all existence.

The interdependence we have long affirmed has become the daily reality of our globalized world. Our interdependence makes it both possible and necessary that we see the peoples of the world as one community in which the security of each nation is entwined with the security of all others.

The transforming power of love. We affirm the reality of love as a dynamic power within and among us. This power moves us to create relationships of compassion, respect, mutuality, and forgiveness; to love our neighbor; and to recognize everyone as our neighbor. We stand on the side of love when we work for peace.

The inherent worth and dignity of all persons. All human beings have the right to a meaningful and fulfilling life, including physical safety and economic and social well being. All have the responsibility to work on behalf of the dignity of others.

Human freedom. Most human beings are free moral agents with the capacity to make choices and are accountable for these choices. Human freedom may be used creatively or destructively. These possibilities are expressed not only in our individual choices and actions, but also in the institutions and social structures we create. Peace is the product of human choices that empower human agency and extend the possibilities for human freedom.

Rejection of moral dualism. We reject as false the sharp separation of good and evil so we refuse to assign individuals and nations into one category or the other. Moral dualism can blind us to our own and our nation's capacity for evil and to the inherent worth and dignity of those whom our nation labels as enemies. In the midst of ambiguity we can build peace by cultivating the goodness in ourselves and others.

Cooperative power. Power is created and expressed in complex networks of human relationships. Power can be used to create or destroy, to liberate or oppress. Preventing war and creating nonviolent alternatives require the use of cooperative power—power with, not power over. Cooperative power is grounded in a commitment to mutual persuasion rather than coercion."

For Unitarian Universalists, the exercise of individual conscience is holy work. Conscientious discernment leads us to engage in the creation of peace in different ways, including the democratic process of decision-making on issues of the public interest. As concerned clergy, I speak both for myself as a matter of conscience and I stand with my congregation in supporting passage of SCR 4015, North Dakota's Peace Resolution.

Rev. Lyn Burton

Bismarck-Mandan Unitarian Universalist Fellowship & Church 818 East Divide Avenue Bismarck, ND 58501 Email: office@bismanuu.org

Attachment of

TESTIMONY on

SCR 4015

B۷

Mary Mutzenberger

ELCA Clergy

Religion Instructor – Bismark State College

March 18, 2011

mutzenberger@msn.com

701 223-1512

It is my understanding that the passage of Senate Concurrent Resolution (SRC 4015), will send a message from citizens in North Dakota, to our President, and to our North Dakota Congregational Delegation, that we urgently work to pursue peace in Iraq and Afghanistan and disengage American combat forces from duties in those countries as soon as possible.

WHAT A GREAT, AND IMPORTANT MESSAGE!

I do not speak for, but I testify, that <u>all</u> major Religions of World (which is my major teaching subject at Bismarck State College) do not advocate violence as a way to solve problems.

The mandates of these religions range from the Hindu teaching, "Do no Injury," to Jewish, "Do not Kill," to Buddhist, "Respect Life," and to the Christian's, "Love your neighbor as yourself," the awesome, "Love your enemies," and, "Be Peacemakers."

THIS RESOLUTIONS SENDS AN APPROPRIATE MESSAGE!

As a Human Being, I support this Resolution.

As a Christian, I support this Resolution.

Authorized by Bishop Narum, I speak for WND-ELCA Lutherans, in support of this Resolution. and for Religious Groups and Others not present, I presume to speak (for some) of them too.

IT IS INCUMBENT THAT WE AFFIRM, ENCOURAGE AND SUPPORT OUR LEADERS IN THE PURSUIT OF PEACE!

March 18, 2011

Testimony for SCR 4015

attachment 5 SCR 4015

Chair Bette Grande and Members of the House Government & Veterans Affairs Committee:

My name is Tammy Hathaway. I am a resident of Burleigh County. I am the mother of four sons, ages 5, 9, 16 and 19. I am here today in personal support of SCR 4015.

My eldest son is today entering the Air Force. I also have four nephews who are in the National Guard and Marines. Further, my childhood friend's oldest son has, this summer, suffered lifelong physical and emotional injuries during a gunfight on the ground in Afghanistan as a front-line Marine. All of these young men I've mentioned are serving as eager volunteers out of a sense of duty to their families and country. They are willing to put themselves in harms way on our behalf and on behalf of the citizens of Iraq and Afghanistan. I am so proud of each of them and their choices and dedication.

At the same time, I know we can do better for these young people. The ongoing conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan are draining our country, our resources and most significantly, our service men and women; needlessly. It is now time send a clear message to our leadership that prolonging these wars is not the best, most effective means to bringing about stability to these nations.

As a significant person in the lives of several of our servicemen, I understand how important it is to support each of them in meaningful ways. The best support that we, as citizens of North Dakota, can offer at this time is to bring them immediately home, therefore I would urge the committee to adopt language to speed up that process. In addition, we need to provide them with much needed follow up services and to actively seek nonviolent solutions to bring peace and stability to those areas of our world.

My hope for all of our service people would be that they know North Dakota is proud of their service and that we are willing to seek lasting alternatives to ongoing conflict. I do not want my son to feel one moment of regret or disillusionment for his choice to serve his country as a proud member of its military. Isn't that what any parent would want?

I'd like to thank the committee for its time and I'd be happy to answer any questions you may have for me.

Thank you **Chair Bette Grande and Members of the House Government & Veterans Affairs Committee**, for allowing me the opportunity to speak in support of Senate Concurrent Resolution 4015.

I am Jeff Skjelver from Rugby. I am a veteran of two Operation Iraqi Freedom deployments, in 2005 and in 2007. I retired from the United States Marine Corps in 2009.

Tomorrow, March 19th 2011, marks the eighth anniversary of the U.S. invasion of Iraq. Eight years... To what end? The United States is not safer or more secure from acts of terrorism because we occupy Iraq. Every reason and rationale our leaders at the time presented to us about why the United States military had to invade Iraq has been found to be lacking substantive evidence or proof, and to be of questionable legality. Iraq had no involvement with the attacks of September 11, 2001. Weapons of mass destruction were not in Iraq. The people of Iraq did not hate us for our freedoms. Iraq posed no threat to our nation, or to our people.

50,000 U.S. troops remain in Iraq to "advise and assist." However, they're still killing and dying in Iraq – while the U.S. media has largely departed. We are told that U.S. military forces will depart Iraq by the end of this year. Previous experience shows us that this deadline is likely to be missed, with barely a whimper of disapproval from the corporate media.

And, since the current President's election, the war in Afghanistan has intensified and is spreading to Pakistan and other countries. After nine years of combat, at a cost of 1,422 Americans killed and 9,971 wounded and no clear end in sight, almost two-thirds of the American public -- 64 percent -- now believe the Afghan war is not worth fighting, according to a *Washington Post*/ABC News poll this past week.

With more and more voices uniting in efforts to promote peace in Iraq and Afghanistan, it just might be possible, that the members of the United States Congress will listen to the voices of their constituents and cease funding the occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan, and force the withdrawal of U.S. military forces from those nations.

My goal for speaking in support Senate Concurrent Resolution 4015 is to see our elected representatives send a strongly worded message to the President and to our North Dakota Congressional Delegation, expressing the concerns of the majority North Dakotans that we do not support unnecessary wars and occupations, and that continuing current expensive foreign policy failures is not tolerable.

Thank you.

Jeff Skjelver 512 2nd St SE Rugby, ND 58368 701-771-8638

TESTIMONY IN SUPPORT OF CONCURRENT RESOLUTION #4015

Chair Bette Grande and members of the House Government and Veterans Affairs Committee. For the record I am Sr. Maris Stella Korb, a Presentation Sister from Fargo and Director of our Congregation's Peace and Justice Center.

I am in full support of Senate Concurrent Resolution #4015. The time for peace is long over-due! These wars have gone on for ten years and we're still counting. Currently the target is supposedly set for 2014. When will it stop? ...or will it stop? What is going to be the ultimate determining factor that declares: "The War is over!"

From my perspective the wars have already been extended beyond legitimacy and the words of Dwight D. Eisenhower are as appropriate today as they ever were. He said, "We will bankrupt ourselves in the vain search for absolute security." Is that perhaps what we're seeking? ..absolute security?

Lives already lost in these wars number in the 100's of thousands if we rightfully include all the victims, friend and foe. Many of them were mere children; others frightened and confused civilians. How can we, morally, continue day after day along this path of human destruction?

It was encouraging to read all the positive assistance Non-Governmental Organizations have been offering to the Afghans and Pakistanis. It is my hope that as the military operations cease, more services supportive of health, education, and economic development will be made available to the people. Then we really will have won over our enemies, but we will have done so by becoming their friends.

In closing, I urge you to give a "Do Pass" recommendation to Resolution #4015, and thank you for taking time to give this your consideration.

March 18, 2011

Dear Chair Grande and Members of the House Government & Veterans Affairs Committee:

For the record, my name is Karen Van Fossan. I work with underserved children here in Bismarck, and I am also the spokesperson for the North Dakota Peace Coalition. As we consider SCR 4015, we could discuss a number of statistics:

20% of Americans who die from suicide each year are veterans [VA Secretary, Eric Shinseki] More than 4000 troops have died in these wars [The Washington Post, January 16, 2011] There is documentation of more than 100,000 civilian deaths in Iraq [Iraq Body Count] The cost of these wars now totals more than \$1 billion for North Dakota taxpayers alone [costofwar.com]

But these statistics are not new information. The cry for peace is not a new longing for humankind. It occurs to me this morning that I have nothing new to add. So I'll tell you what others have said.

Cameron White, from Fargo, ND, says this: "I am a Marine Corps veteran, I served two combat tours in Iraq, and I have witnessed the horrors of war. The truth is that the war does not end or stay in Iraq. We veterans carry the images of dead men, women, and children with us everywhere we go. The war follows us home, and we relive it everyday in several ways. For some that comes in the form of PTSD, and for others it is due to physical injuries and disabilities. We need to find an alternative to war and occupation, work on a real exit strategy, save the lives that we can, and prevent more young men and women from becoming casualties of this war, either on the battlefield or here at home."

A 12-year-old student from Mandan, ND, grapples with a world at war: "I wonder if the world will ever be peaceful...No war in the world? How can people imagine that? I know I can't." A twelve-vear-old North Dakota girl cannot imagine peace in our time.

Her peers in Afghanistan, from the Afghanistan Youth Peace Volunteers, would like us to imagine just that. They have asked U.S. and allied forces to leave their country, so they may pursue their own work for sustainable peace.

In this spirit, SCR 4015 not only calls for an end to these wars and occupations – it holds up nonviolent alternatives that work. If adopted, particularly with the amendments offered by Tom Disselhorst, this resolution can be a clear and strong statement on how we might support the conditions for peace.

From building schools for children to reestablishing agriculture to preventing violence against women, alternative programs make a difference – supporting people to use their own wisdom to solve their own struggles.

Sister Kathleen Atkinson, when she testified to the Senate GVA Committee last month, said this:

"Each of us stands in a time and place. In ways never before faced in history, we realize that the planet is one and the population interdependent. I ask you to consider SCR 4015 not only as citizens of our great state of North Dakota, but as citizens of the world."

Lecho Sister Kathleen in asking you to make a DO PASS recommendation on SCR 4015.

Attackment 9

March 18, 2011

Chair Grande and Members of the Committee:

My name is Kris Kitko, and I live in Bismarck. I am speaking on my own behalf.

Here is a famous quote that some of you may—or may not—be familiar with (which I will shorten in the interest of time):

"Naturally, the common people don't want war. But, after all, it is the *leaders* of the country who determine the policy and it is always a simple matter to drag the people along, whether it is a democracy or a fascist dictatorship...voice or no voice, the people can always be brought to the bidding of the leaders. That is easy. All you have to do is to tell them they are being attacked, and denounce the pacifists for lack of patriotism and exposing the country to danger. It works the same way in any country."

Those are the words of Herman Goering, who was a leading member of the Nazi party and Hitler's designated successor. He spoke these words during the Neremberg trials where he was convicted of war crimes and crimes against humanity.

I believe that our involvement in the war in Iraq was begun this way—by leaders of our country telling us that we are being attacked (somehow by Iraq) and by denouncing those who want peace as enemies of patriotism. It was the leaders who "dragged" us into this so that a very few could profit through private contracts, and it is high time that we call the troops home and pull out the private contractors. I find it deeply disturbing that Nazi Herman Goering, war criminal, chillingly described the start of this war and occupation decades before it started.

If we are to learn anything from history, it's now or never. I urge you to recommend "Do Pass" on SCR 4015.

Attachment 10 4015

TESTIMONY ON SCR 4015 - ND VETERANS COORDINATING COUNCIL.

A veteran is an individual that has signed a blank check in the amount of and up to including his or her life for their country. Good morning, my name is John L. Jacobsen. I am the Chairman of the Legislative Committee of the North Dakota Veterans Coordinating Council.

The Coordinating Council is made up of 15 members, 3 from each of the membership of the five Veterans Organizations in North Dakota:

- American Legion
- AMVETS
- Disabled American Veterans
- Veterans of Foreign Wars
- Vietnam Veterans of America

It is the policy of the Coordinating Council to support legislation that will benefit the welfare of the veterans of the State of North Dakota. The committee MUST concur totally, that is all 15 members must agree on the legislation to be supported or else it does not get the support.

In this case, the Coordinating Council is NEUTRAL on SCR 4015.

A concurrent resolution urging Congress and the President to pursue peace peace through strength in Iraq and Afghanistan and disengage support American combat forces from on duty in these countries and around the world.

WHEREAS, the goals of the United States in the foreign wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have been to reduce prevent terrorist activity directed at the United Sates and to create a peaceful peaceful, just and democratic environment rule of law for the citizens of those countries; and

WHEREAS, American forces on duty in Iraq and Afghanistan have served bravely in the midst of the continued declining civil disorder and merit the respect and support of all people; and

WHEREAS, now over 1 million American families have had a family member serve in these overseas wars, and more than 4,000 Americans have died in these wars; and WHEREAS, the continued cost of these wars in both the lives and health of American forces and civilians and the cost to the United States government and our citizens of more than \$10 billion per month cannot be sustained indefinitely it would be disruptive in the move towards democracy to abandon the cause to which our brave patriots have sacrificed so much while we enjoy our safety and security here at home; and

WHEREAS, the efforts of nongovernmental organizations to end violence against women in Iraq and Afghanistan, bring community-based health, education, and economic development to Afghanistan and Iraq, and promote peace and freedom should be supported; NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED BY THE SENATE OF NORTH DAKOTA, THE HOUSE OR REPRESENTATIVES CONCURRING THEREIN:

That the Sixty-second Legislative Assembly urges Congress and the President to pursue peace, freedom and democratic rule of law in Iraq and Afghanistan with through the combined efforts of nongovernmental organizations and international and the United States military forces, to disengage and safely withdraw support and honor American forces from who have dedicated themselves to protecting the United States of America, helped to bring an end to violence against women and all citizens and have promoted the just cause of freedom around the world at the appropriate time, and to support through appropriate means our brave military personnel and their families, peaceful and to support effective and secure governments methods for in Iraq and Afghanistan which will decrease the global risk of terrorist activities; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Secretary of State forward copies of this resolution to the President of the United States and to each member of the North Dakota Congressional Delegation.