UNMANNED: AMERICA'S DRONE WARS

ACTION GUIDE
Hello from Brave New Foundation and the War Costs Team! In this action guide, you will find information from various organizations¹ on ways you can get involved and join the conversation on U.S. drone policy.

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¹ Organizations included in this action guide do not directly endorse the views presented in the film.
The American Civil Liberties Union (https://www.aclu.org) is working in the courts and in Congress to rein in the U.S. government’s unlawful targeted killing program, in which people far from any battlefield are killed based on vague and shifting legal standards, a closed executive decision-making process, and evidence never presented to any court, even after the killing.

Our targeted killing litigation includes the following cases seeking transparency and due process:

**Al-Aulaqi v. Panetta:** In July 2012, the ACLU and the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR) filed a lawsuit challenging the government’s killing of three U.S. citizens in two drone strikes in Yemen. The suit charges that the killings of U.S. citizens Anwar Al-Aulaqi, Samir Khan, and Al-Aulaqi’s 16-year-old son, Abdulrahman Al-Aulaqi, in 2011 violated the Constitution’s fundamental guarantee against the deprivation of life without due process of law. For more info: [http://bit.ly/1a2pPVH](http://bit.ly/1a2pPVH)

**Targeted Killing FOIA:** In February 2012, the ACLU filed a Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) lawsuit seeking information about the targeted killings of the three American citizens listed above. The lawsuit seeks disclosure of the legal memoranda written by the Department of Justice’s Office of Legal Counsel that provided justifications for the targeted killing of Anwar Al-Aulaqi, as well as records describing the factual basis for the killings of all three Americans. For more info: [http://bit.ly/1i7rk8x](http://bit.ly/1i7rk8x)

**Drone FOIA:** In June 2010, the ACLU filed a FOIA lawsuit demanding that the government disclose basic information about its use of drones to conduct targeted killings. The lawsuit seeks disclosure of the legal basis, scope, and limits on the drone targeted killing program; information pertaining to the training, supervision, oversight, or discipline of drone operators and others involved in the decision to execute a targeted killing using a drone; and data about the number and identity of people killed in drone strikes. Despite an appeals court ruling that the CIA could no longer deny its intelligence interest in the program, the agency continues to refuse to provide information about the documents in its possession and we are fighting its extreme secrecy claims. For more info: [http://bit.ly/LnRhN1](http://bit.ly/LnRhN1)

**Al-Majalah Civilian Deaths FOIA:** In April 2012, the ACLU and CCR submitted a FOIA request seeking information about a December 2009 U.S. missile strike on a community in the al-Majalah region of the Abyan province of Yemen. The attack, which was the Obama administration’s first known missile strike in Yemen, apparently targeted alleged “militants” but killed dozens of civilians, including at least 21 children. The U.S. government has yet to release basic information about the strike. For more info: [http://bit.ly/17SrrmK](http://bit.ly/17SrrmK)

**Take Action**

Call on President Obama to recommit to the rule of law and put an end to the unlawful killing program. Sign the petition here: [http://bit.ly/199ey4W](http://bit.ly/199ey4W)

Get updates from the ACLU:

Follow us on Twitter: [http://www.twitter.com/aclu](http://www.twitter.com/aclu)

and

Like us on Facebook: [http://www.facebook.com/aclu.nationwide](http://www.facebook.com/aclu.nationwide)
Founded in 1966, the Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR) is a legal and educational non-governmental organization dedicated to protecting the rights guaranteed by the United States Constitution and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Since 9/11, we have been at the forefront of efforts to end and bring to bear accountability for U.S. government abuses in the name of national security, including indefinite detention at Guantanamo; extraordinary rendition and torture; war crimes and other violations in Iraq; and unlawful surveillance, detention and prosecution practices domestically. Learn more about our cases at:

We have also led efforts to challenge the executive branch’s most extreme claim of power over the past decade: that the government may kill suspected enemies as it would in wartime, worldwide, based on its own say-so. By conservative estimates, the United States has killed over 3,000 people outside of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq – in Pakistan, Yemen, Somalia, and perhaps elsewhere. But exactly how many have been left dead and harmed, who they were, where, and why—we don’t know, because the government will not say.

In 2010, in *Al-Aulaqi v. Obama*, CCR and the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) filed a lawsuit against the Obama administration’s authorization for the killing of a U.S. citizen in Yemen, Anwar Al-Aulaqi. The case was the first legal challenge to the United States’ “targeted killing” program. We argued that the Constitution prohibited Al-Aulaqi’s killing without charge and trial outside of an armed conflict context, except as a last resort in the face of a specific and imminent threat. The standing order to kill him flew in the face of these requirements.

On September 30, 2011, U.S. drone strikes killed Anwar Al-Aulaqi and another U.S. citizen, Samir Khan, along with two others. Two weeks later, on October 14, 2011, U.S. drones fired missiles at an outdoor restaurant in Yemen where 16 year-old Abdulrahman Al-Aulaqi, Anwar Al-Aulaqi’s U.S. citizen son, was eating dinner with his teenage cousin, killing the two boys and five others.

In 2012, CCR and the ACLU filed a second case, *Al-Aulaqi v. Panetta*, now pending, alleging that the killings of Anwar Al-Aulaqi, Samir Khan, and Abdulrahman Al-Aulaqi were unconstitutional. Government officials have moved to dismiss the case, arguing that there should be no judicial review. This position is consistent with the government’s position in virtually every national security civil suit since 9/11, on behalf of U.S. and foreign citizens alike, whether for arbitrary detention, torture, or killing.

**What You Can Do**

- Watch this video of our client, Nasser Al-Aulaqi, talking about his grandson Abdulrahman. If you’re troubled by it, act on it. Share it on Facebook or Twitter and ask the White House to explain why it killed this 16 year-old boy. Tell others to do the same.
- Follow our challenge in *Al-Aulaqi v. Panetta*.
- In an important speech on May 23, 2013, President Obama spoke of a future where the United States would end its perpetual global warfare of the past 12 years. Tell the President you want that future now.
- Learn more about our work and how to get involved. Sign up for CCR emails to get action alerts, updates, and information about events near you. Follow us on Twitter @the CCR and like us on Facebook.
THE CODEPINK STORY:

CODEPINK is a women-initiated grassroots peace and social justice movement working to end U.S. funded wars and occupations, to challenge militarism globally, and to redirect our resources into health care, education, green jobs and other life-affirming activities.

The name CODEPINK plays on the former Bush Administration's color-coded homeland security alerts — yellow, orange, red — that signaled terrorist threats. While Bush's color-coded alerts were based on fear and were used to justify violence, the CODEPINK alert is a call for people to "wage peace.” CODEPINK stands firmly against the use of spy and killer drones.

OUR ANTI-DRONE HISTORY:

CODEPINK has been at the forefront of the anti-drone movement since 2008. They have been a constant presence on Capitol Hill to hold perpetrators of targeted killing accountable. This has included talking directly to President Obama, protesting the nomination of John Brennan as director of the CIA, taking the stories of drone victims literally to the front steps of deadly drone manufacturers such as General Atomics and Northrop Grumman, and standing up to the profiteering pro-drone lobby—AUVSI (Association of Unmanned Vehicle Systems International). The CODEPINK team has also led two delegations to areas most affected by drone strikes—Yemen and Pakistan.

The 2012 delegation to Pakistan was groundbreaking, and the 32 activists took part in a several thousand person march to the tribal territories where drones fly overhead 24/7. On the recent Yemen delegation, the team heard stories from drone survivors and brought those stories into the halls of Congress. CODEPINK has also organized and participated in the protest of drone bases where the killer machines are operated from within the US.

BE BOLD – JOIN THE RESISTANCE:

Join the anti-drone movement with CODEPINK. We’re hosting an exciting drones Summit in Washington, DC, from November 16-17. We have a line-up of inspiring speakers-- Dr. Cornel West, drone witnesses, attorneys and activists from Yemen and Pakistan, former drone pilots and legal experts. Can’t make it? March with CODEPINK and allies from the White House to the steps of General Atomics on Friday, November 15th, or sign up for our e-mail list to be in the loop about the growing resistance!

* get Congress to publicly release the legal documents justifying drone strikes
* push the administration to apologize to and compensate drone victims
* stay up to date with all our actions and developments in the anti-movement at www.droneswatch.org
About FCNL:

The Friends Committee on National Legislation (FCNL) is a Quaker lobby in the public interest that has represented a Quaker perspective on Capitol Hill for over 75 years. We believe the U.S. drone policy is immoral, often illegal and harms U.S. standing in the world. Armed drones should have no place in U.S. foreign policy. For more information, please visit www.fcnl.org/issues/drones.

Prominent Voices on Drones:

Farea Al-Muslimi, Yemeni Activist

"The drone strike and its impact tore my heart, much as the tragic bombings in Boston last week tore your hearts and also mine," he added. “What radicals had previously failed to achieve in my village… one drone strike accomplished in an instant: There is now an intense anger and growing hatred of America.”


General Stanley McChrystal (ret.), Former ISAF commander in Afghanistan

"The resentment created by American use of unmanned strikes ... is much greater than the average American appreciates. They are hated on a visceral level, even by people who've never seen one or seen the effects of one."

"Retired general cautions against overuse of 'hated' drones," Reuters, 1/7/2013 (http://reut.rs/UC8ry5)

The Washington Post Editorial Board

"U.S. interests will be better served by greater disclosure, more political accountability, more checks and balances and more collaboration with allies. Drone strikes should...publicly disclosed and subject to congressional review."

"Pulling the U.S. drone war out of the shadows," The Washington Post, 11/1/2012 (http://wapo.st/UmcKLm)

For more quotes, see: http://fcnl.org/issues/afghanistan/questions_surfacing_drones/

Deaths by Drone Strikes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Civilians Killed</th>
<th>“Militants”* Killed</th>
<th>Total Killed**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pakistan</strong></td>
<td>411-884</td>
<td>1657-3129</td>
<td>2,098-4,013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Somalia</strong></td>
<td>0-15</td>
<td>7-27</td>
<td>7-27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yemen</strong></td>
<td>14-97</td>
<td>226-760</td>
<td>240-857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>165-993</td>
<td>2,795-4,171</td>
<td>2345-4,897</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Drones are used for both surveillance and strike missions in Afghanistan (Operation Enduring Freedom) and were used in Iraq (Operation New Dawn) and Libya (Operation Unified Protector). The U.S. Air Force does not report statistics for drone-related deaths separately.

Drone operators suffer similar psychological wounds as their fellow service members. These invisible wounds have resulted in the death by suicide of an estimated 2,000 current and former service members since 2001.
Some Additional Considerations:

- A Global Hawk costs approximately $30,000 per flight hour—on par with stealth fighter jets.
- Surveillance drones operated on the U.S.-Mexican border cost between $2,500 and $3,500 per flight hour.
- Each drone requires an hour of maintenance for every hour it spends in the air.
- Each Predator and Reaper drone (our most common strike drones) requires a team of 180 people to operate properly.
- The cost of producing a military drone ranges from $100,000 to hundreds of millions of dollars.
- Over the next decade, the Pentagon plans to spend $40 billion on medium-to-large sized drones.
- In the Senate version of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 2014, the Senate Armed Services Committee authorized $1.38 billion in drones procurement, a number almost certain to rise in coming years.

Resources on Drones:

For more information on the conduct, costs and scope of U.S. drones policy:
- The overall size of the U.S. drones fleet - http://wapo.st/UmcKLm
- The Obama administration’s decision-making process - http://nyti.ms/JKRpYA

For more information on the civilian deaths and their impact:

For more information on the psychological impact of drone warfare:
- Analysis based on interviews conducted in Pakistan’s Federally Administered Tribal Area - http://bit.ly/P9BpRr

* The Obama administration and media outlets define “militants” as any male deemed of fighting age found in an area of interest. Many such “militants” might in fact be civilians.

** The difficulty of reporting and accounting for unrecorded strikes from these countries hinders 100% accuracy in these figures, raw data source: The Bureau for Investigative Journalism

A. As of April 2012
B. http://wapo.st/qqEF2Q

For more information, please contact:

Matt Southworth, Friends Committee on National Legislation, matt@fcnl.org
Human Rights First is an independent advocacy organization that challenges our country to live up to its ideals. We press American institutions—including government and business—to respect human rights, seeking to close the gap between values and action. Around the world, we foster American influence to secure core freedoms through the rule of law.

Our Work on Drones and Targeted Killing

✔ Publications

- **Blueprint**: How to Ensure that the U.S. Drone Program does not Undermine Human Rights (December 2012). ([Link](#))
- **Issue Brief**: Key Facts and Analysis on the U.S. Targeted Killing Program (July 2012) ([Link](#))
- **Quote Sheet**: More Drone Transparency (September 2013) ([Link](#))
- **Quote Sheet**: Concerns About Current Drone Operations (June 2013) ([Link](#))

✔ Advocacy

- Letter from Human Rights First President and CEO Elisa Massimino to President Obama (May 2012). ([Link](#))
- Regularly meet with lawmakers and administration officials about making the United States’ use of lethal force more transparent and consistent with the rule of law.
- Monitor and participate in hearings and panels on drones and targeted killing. ([Link 1](#), [Link 2](#), [Link 3](#), [Link 4](#))
- Write articles, op-eds and blog posts calling for more transparency on targeted killing from the Obama administration. ([Link](#))

[Click here to help Human Rights First continue this work by donating today.](#)
RootsAction.org believes we need a fresh approach to defend the public interest. Our country faces a far-right Republican Party that is a wholly-owned subsidiary of corporate America, and a Democratic Party whose leadership is enmeshed with corporate power. **RootsAction** is an online initiative dedicated to galvanizing Americans who are committed to economic fairness, equal rights, civil liberties, environmental protection -- and defunding endless wars.

RootsAction makes these commitments: (1) **We will not be silent as Congress and the president continue to squander billions of dollars on foreign wars, causing destruction and hatred overseas while failing to meet the needs of the vast majority of people in our country**; (2) **We will not stand by as people lose their jobs and homes due to Wall Street schemes abetted by both major parties**; (3) **We will not give the Obama administration a pass as it continues many of the same policies that sparked loud protests under the Bush White House**; (4) **We will take action -- independent of both party leaderships.** That’s why RootsAction has been strongly endorsed by such respected, independent-minded progressives as Jim Hightower, Barbara Ehrenreich, Cornel West, Daniel Ellsberg, Glenn Greenwald, Naomi Klein, Bill Fletcher Jr., Laura Flanders, former U.S. Senator James Abourezk and Coleen Rowley.

RootsAction is concerned that weaponized and surveillance drones are quietly becoming accepted as legal and respectable tools of governance. A United Nations Special Rapporteur’s report in October 2013 suggested that drones are making war the norm and peace the exception. A Congressional Research Service report in early 2013 concluded that drones and the Fourth Amendment are incompatible. Yet the drones are rolling off the assembly lines, and it may be the Fourth Amendment that's sacrificed. We believe that one priority should be to ban weaponized drones. Their endless buzzing is as indiscriminate as poison gas and traumatizes children in large numbers. Drones make killing look deceptively easy and painless. They create more wars, they fuel terrorism, they make us all less safe. Attempts to discriminate between legal and illegal drone kills have thus far been very unsuccessful. Attempts to identify moral drone kills have been complete failures. So we've created a petition at [http://BanWeaponizedDrones.org](http://BanWeaponizedDrones.org) to begin the urgently needed process of placing armed drones in the same category as land mines, cluster bombs, and chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons.
Who We Are

Win Without War is a national leader in the fight to promote a more progressive national security strategy and foreign policy. Our campaign-style operation aggressively attacks right-wing distortion while pushing our elected leaders to stand up against the politicization of our national security. Formed in 2002 to lead the first national campaign against the war in Iraq and the disastrous policies of the Bush/Cheney Administration, our coalition of national organizations reflects the diversity of the progressive movement.

Today we continue to go on the offensive, challenging those on the right who use fear to build support for their failed policies while holding our leaders accountable. We are currently working to bring our troops home from Afghanistan, rein in wasteful spending at the Pentagon, prevent a disastrous war with Iran, and defend the rule of law in national security. We are also working to bring transparency and accountability to America’s drone wars.

What We Believe

We are patriotic Americans committed to a US foreign policy that embodies our nation's highest ideals. We oppose the over militarization of our foreign policy and its effects at home and abroad. We share the commitment to countering terrorism and weapons proliferation, but oppose the doctrine of unilateral military preemption. We believe that international cooperation and enforceable international law provide the greatest security for the United States and the world, and the greatest opportunity for people to live in free, healthy, and just societies.

What You Can Do

Join us, take action, and sign up for our email list on our website: www.winwithoutwar.org

Access our free resources, fact sheets, and analyses at our blog: www.winwithoutwar.org/blog

Support our work with a tax-deductible donation: www.winwithoutwar.org/donate

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