

Peace & Freedom

MAGAZINE OF THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

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WILPF's 90th Year!



**BUILDING BONDS,
BREAKING BARRIERS**



Iraq & Afghanistan:

Counting the Costs, Stopping the Wars

ALSO INSIDE: TRIENNIAL CONGRESS REGISTRATION • *NEW* RESOURCE CATALOG



Members of the Brazilian women's theater group Loucas de Pedra Lilás, who use humor to promote women's involvement in gender issues and current affairs, at the World Social Forum in January.

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The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) has been working since 1915 to unite women worldwide who oppose oppression and exploitation. WILPF stands for equality of all people in a world free of racism, sexism and homophobia; the building of a constructive peace through world disarmament; and the changing of government priorities to meet human needs.

National Program: WILPF envisions a world free of violence, poverty, pollution, and domination — a genuine new world order of peace and justice. WILPF's program stands firm for disarmament and against oppression. The 2002-2005 program cycle has four key campaign areas: Challenge Corporate Power, Assert the People's Rights; Disarmament; Uniting for Racial Justice: Truth, Reparations, Restoration and Reconciliation (UFORJE); and Women and Cuba. Each campaign area focuses on local and national effectiveness in creating lasting social change.

WILPF has sections in 37 countries coordinated by an international office in Geneva. U.S. WILPF carries out its work through grassroots organizing by WILPF branches, coordinated by a national office in Philadelphia. WILPF supports the work of the United Nations and has NGO (non-governmental organization) status.

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Building the “Table of Peace” for 90 Years

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Mary Day Kent, Executive Director
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What does it mean to be a peace-making and peace-seeking organization for 90 years? Will there ever be a year when we are able to rest?

The Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom has a wealth of history from which to mine concepts, connections, and even spiritual strength at times when we face war, exploitation, and injustice — again and again. This year, as we mark nine decades since the Congress at the Hague in 1915, WILPF continues to advance the same essential themes that brought the first women to that gathering: finding a way to resolve conflicts without war, and seeking practical solutions to the problems that underlie conflict. The newly chosen national program campaigns for 2005-2008 represent both these themes: seeking peace in the Middle East by negotiating a just settlement, and solving one of the global community’s most vital resource problems, the future of the world’s water supplies.

See the next pages (4 and 5) for a full report on the campaign selection process and more information on the plans for work ahead!

Also in this issue, you will find a very important document, the registration form for the WILPF National Congress, planned for August 10-14 in San Francisco, CA. See page 21 for the form and page 20 for more enticing details about this upcoming event. The Congress will give us an opportunity to celebrate our 90th anniversary and to rededicate ourselves to, and organize with, the new campaigns and the old and new issue committees for the next decade.

The year 2005 is a particularly challenging one in which to be a *women’s* peace organization. The United States has a secretary of state who is a woman, defending a government war policy that uses women as tools of psychological and physical torture to “break” detainees

held without charges or trial, and without regard for international law. What real power do women have when our sis-

ters are considered so intrinsically degrading that they can be turned into torturers who use their identity as women — and in some cases, their sexuality — as their instrument? Condoleezza Rice, leader of the State Department, and Lynndie England, an Army private charged with torture at Abu Ghraib prison, may be at opposite ends of the chain of command, but they serve in the same war.

One of our members, poet Sonia Sanchez, cries out in verse *Where is the table of peace?/ Where are the forks of peace?/ Where are the spoons of peace?*, an image that fully conveys WILPF co-founder Jane Addams’ insistence on “peace and bread” in time of war. The peace table is the place for negotiations, for ending wars. It also has to be the place for nurturing, for community, for celebrating, for building peaceful lives.

During this 90th year of WILPF, I look forward to hearing from members and branches about the many ways we are striving to build and set the table of peace — at the United Nations, in Geneva, in North Carolina and California and Texas, in Cuba and Washington, DC. Ninety years on, WILPF members can be found working for peace everywhere from the streets of Porto Alegre, Brazil (site of the World Social Forum) to the halls of diplomacy to the fences of Vandenberg Air Force Base.

As we head into this celebratory year during harsh times, I would like to issue a personal invitation to any of our members who are themselves 90 or more years old to write a short essay on what being 90 and a WILPF member means to you.

Send your essay to me at the national office (1213 Race Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107). We hope to be able to incorporate them into the Congress program book or the next issue of this magazine. ♦



The peace table is an image that fully conveys WILPF co-founder Jane Addams’ insistence on “peace and bread” in time of war.

2005-2008 Campaigns Selected

After in-depth discussion, WILPF's U.S. Section Board decided in April 2004 to have two program campaigns for the years 2005-2008 rather than four, as in previous years. We also decided to make the selection process as democratic as possible, enabling all members to vote on the campaigns.

Votes have now been counted and we are pleased to announce that our two campaigns will be Women Challenge U.S. Policy: Building Peace on Justice in the Middle East and Save the Water (described below). The three other campaigns, Building the Beloved Community, DISARM! and Cuba, have agreed to continue working as issue committees.

About 6.5 percent of our membership voted, for a total of 428 votes, and we wish participation had been greater. At the same time, about 110 members volun-

teered to participate in the campaign and issue-committee work, which is no doubt an outcome of the new voting process.

Prior to the election, a small committee of volunteers and staff read all the campaign applications, and determined which ones could be submitted to the full membership. In the future, we hope to have more time allotted to evaluating campaign work, again involving as many members as possible so that we at the national level know better how the campaign work is going locally, especially in the branches.

Please continue to read about the program work, send comments, and volunteer to get involved at the local level — which is where the strength lies in a national organization such as WILPF.

— Marge Van Cleef, National Program Chair

Women Challenge U.S. Policy: Building Peace on Justice in the Middle East

Submitted by WILPF's current Middle East Issue Committee

Our campaign makes important interconnections with other WILPF concerns and past campaigns:

Peace: We will pinpoint the role of U.S. policy in prolonging conflict in the Middle East, expose weapons sales and nuclear proliferation in the region, and develop the concept of dual occupation: Palestine and Iraq.

Social and economic justice: We will discuss current threats to racial/ethnic groups and the social and economic costs of occupations.

Corporations: We will conduct research on multinational corporate involvement in the Middle East.

Goals:

- Develop membership expertise on U.S. policy on the Middle East, and specifically Israel and Palestine.
- Coordinate and strengthen branch actions; recruit new members.
- Advocate for Israel-Palestine issues to be included on the agenda of U.S. peace and justice organizations; develop resources that will help bridge gaps and build sensitive reactions to differing opinions.
- Focus on U.S. foreign policy, pressing to reactivate the peace process.
- Educate members about nuclear weapons development and globalization of the region.
- Examine and expose the roles of the aerospace industry, the Christian right, and the Zionist lobby.
- Emphasize U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325

on Women, Peace, and Security; the U.N. Decade of Building a Peace Culture; adherence to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (Article 6) and other relevant international laws and U.N. resolutions.

The Campaign's three-year plan is as follows: Year One: Perform research and education. Year Two: Evaluate, refine, and introduce legislative actions. Year Three: Develop a women's vision and plan for U.S. policy in conjunction with women from the Middle East, host a national conference, and continue previous actions.

CAMPAIGN CHAIR'S STATEMENT:

"I am not surprised this campaign was selected because there is a war in Iraq and it has to be one of our main priorities. What surprises me is that there is not a movement against the war by the rest of the world. We'll be focusing on U.S. policy, which could have a real effect on the world if we work to transform U.S. policy in the Middle East. It's also very important that more women get involved in foreign policy. We hope to affect the lives of women in the Mideast — that would be success, if we could see a difference in the lives of the people there."

— Odile Hugonot Haber

**It's important that more women
get involved in foreign policy.**

Save the Water

Submitted by the Berkeley/East Bay Branch

Save the Water not only interconnects all three of WILPF's major themes but, because water is a critical issue for every community in the country, it has the potential of being an exciting outreach opportunity for WILPF. The idea for this campaign grew out of the forum on water at the recent WILPF International Congress and is in keeping with WILPF's international goals and initiatives.

Our long-term goal is to become catalysts and stewards of a national "take back the water" movement.

Water is a human right!

Peace: U.S. foreign policy wages wars for oil. But U.S. residents are actually more dependent upon (and use more) water than oil. As the scarcity continues and privatization of water increases, U.S. foreign policy will include waging wars for water. Therefore, taking community control of our water is in the interest of peace. By addressing water issues, we also challenge the weapons industry—a major polluter of water.

Racial, social, and economic justice: The availability and distribution of water is becoming divided according to class and race in the United States. Buying up the water from a community and selling it back to them at higher prices is often an example of environmental racism. The bottled-water industry exploits the water resources of many communities in the United States and abroad, and markets it at great profit.

Radical democracy: This campaign is the embodiment of radical grassroots democracy. Given that every person, family, and community needs and has a right to water and that the sources and availability of water differ from community to community, the protection and use of water is a community issue. We will campaign branch by branch and community by community.

Our long-term goal is to become catalysts and stewards of a national "take back the water" movement through the education and mobilization of our communities to take responsibility for the quality, availability, and cost of their own water.

The Campaign's three-year plan is as follows: Year One: Set up branch Water Research and Planning Committees to research the condition of water in each community. Year Two: The committee and each community will define their own most urgent problems and strategies to address them. Year Three: Mobilize community response.

CAMPAIGN CHAIR'S STATEMENT

"We, of the Save the Water team, send our heartfelt thanks to the membership at large for their support in choosing our proposal to be one of the two 2005-2008 WILPF campaigns. We respect the fact that we are following in the steps of laudable campaigns into which have poured the blood, sweat, and tears of some of our most resilient fellow members. On their behalf, and on behalf of every WILPF member, we pledge to uphold our collective vision of peace, and of racial, social and economic justice in this campaign.

The danger to our water supply is multi-layered, but one clear problem is that five corporations intend to own 75 percent of the world's water. Essentially, these Goliaths have just begun their takeover, which makes our campaign winnable. Water is a human right! We are fired up, bursting at the seams with energy and ideas about how to protect this right. JOIN US NOW on the ground floor! We need you! Email Laura at Lindey89@aol.com to sign on."

— Laura Santina



California WILPF member Kaitlin Sopoci-Belknap was recently elected to the board of the Humboldt Bay Municipal Water District on an anti-water-privatization platform. She is the first woman and youngest person ever to serve in the post. (She is shown at right being sworn in.)



WILPF, Iraq, Afghanistan and the Push for Empire

.....
Carol Reilley Urner
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The U.S. invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq have brought into focus two starkly different visions for earth's future.

These alternative visions have been with us since the beginning of human history: one nurturing and compassionate, the other destructive. Here are contrasted the vision of a world with peace and freedom for all as promoted by WILPF, and the dark vision of the U.S. military-industrial complex. That vision, labeled Pax Americana, promises perpetual wars for control of the planet's resources and, indeed, of the entire solar system.

WILPF members, true to our vision, passionately resisted the military invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq. Our resistance, and that of millions around the globe, failed — with tragic consequences. Our war resistance has failed before.

WILPF began 90 years ago with unsuccessful efforts to stop World War I. Members failed again to prevent World War II, even though Jane Addams (1931) and Emily Greene Balch (1946) received Nobel Peace Prizes for their WILPF work. Yet we can look back across our nine decades and find cause for hope in progress made, despite such distressing failures.

WILPF conceived and supported the League of Nations and the World Court before most women even could vote. After World War II, WILPF member Eleanor Roosevelt acted as midwife for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Based on that declaration and on the U.N. Charter, national leaders — pushed by their own people and organizations like WILPF — have gradually crafted the network of human rights and disarmament treaties that constitute our evolving international law.

Since 1915 the darker vision of the military-industrial complex has frequently brought devastation and death. However, the war makers have also failed. Empires have crumbled, colonialism has collapsed, and tyrants have been nonviolently overthrown.

WILPF approached the 21st century with new hope for progress in achieving a world without war, hunger, and injustice. But with neo-conservatives in power, our own nation now evokes the dark vision in its most ominous form. We in WILPF now realize that the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq are but first steps in a calculated effort to achieve global domination. These plans include the use of new, futuristic weapons including a missile shield, nuclear rocketry, and space-based microwave and laser weapons.

The WILPF DISARM! campaign has mounted a four-fold response to the war-making culture in general and to the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq in particular.

First, we joined other WILPF members and millions around the world in protesting the Afghanistan and Iraq wars and seeking to bring them to an end. Ellen Barfield, our DISARM! co-chair, is one of many who engaged in civil disobedience to protest the wars, adding jail terms and court appearances as well as a journey to Iraq to her busy schedule of legislative action and nationwide speaking engagements. Indeed, all of WILPF has been involved, far beyond the limits of any single campaign.

Second, we've sought to understand the warmakers' minds, and their ambitious plans for planetary control.

As WILPF members, we know that pre-emptive invasions, with all their tragic consequences, are but first steps in a grand plan for global domination. A clear revelation of these plans came in 1997 with the U.S. Space Command's Vision 2020. This document can be accessed from the DISARM! Abolition pages at www.wilpf.org. Here, in near comic-book format, is a vision of Earth encircled by space weaponry and a clear call for an "American Century" with "full-spectrum military dominance" to "protect U.S. interests and investments."

During the Clinton administration, this "neo-con" vision was held in check, but in September 2000, two months before the presidential election, the Project for a New American Century issued *Rebuilding America's Defenses*. (Full text can be found at www.newamericancentury.org/RebuildingAmericasDefenses.pdf.) This report declared the central role of nuclear weapons in U.S. military policy, and stated that such weapons should be further developed rather than cut back or limited by the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). It resurrected the "Star Wars" antimissile system, including weapons in space, to serve as a "shield for proactive strikes." The writers also called for increased military spending and "military transformation" utilizing futuristic weapons and concepts. They called for new bases and battlefield capability to allow two simultaneous global theater wars. They identified as potential targets Iraq and Iran in the Middle East, and North Korea and China in East Asia. After George W. Bush was inaugurated, he added to the list Russia, Libya, and Syria, and placed Iraq, Iran, and North Korea at the top, labeling them the "axis of evil." And so this dark

vision became official U.S. policy.

September 11, 2001, gave the administration the “Pearl Harbor” it needed, and the banner of a “War on Terror” to promote its plans.

We now see the subsequent invasions as tragic failures, but the neo-cons don’t share our views. Former advisors to the Unocal oil company now serve as Afghanistan’s ambassador to the United States and president. In Iraq, U.S. corporations have gained control of oil, water, and banking resources. In both wars, the Pentagon experimented with its deadly new arsenal. New military bases in Afghanistan, Iraq, and in oil-rich bordering countries leave the United States well positioned for war on Iran or Syria.

WILPF DISARM! is resisting the neo-cons’ future plans, as well as the current wars. Leadership team member MacGregor Eddy leads resistance to missile defense at Vandenberg Air Force Base in California, and all branches should have received a copy of the video she produced about the “Star Wars” weaponry installed there. Val Ferguson supplies 56 branches with “EYE on Congress” alerts, and members have responded with letters and congressional visits that helped obtain last year’s cut in nuclear-weapons funding. The quarterly *DISARM!* UPDATE highlights wide-ranging branch actions.

Third, we’re confronting war profiteers, and especially those pushing nuclear weapons programs, the missile shield, space weaponry, and bio-weapons research.

All branch chairs should have received complimentary copies of DISARM!’s *Mil-Corp Manual*, developed primarily by Pat Birnie. The manual provides information about corporations involved in production of weapons of mass destruction, and includes resources and hundreds of links for investigating any community military industry, or military programs such as depleted uranium, land mines, or space weaponry.

DISARM! seeks to expose, close or convert military industries. The Tucson, Cleveland, and Peninsula branches have already investigated Raytheon, TRW, and Lockheed. They’ve presented their findings to their Congress members and communities. They’ve offered conversion plans, engaged in civilian inspections, and participated in stockholder meetings. Philadelphia is joining the process and the Boston Branch is investigating that city’s controversial new “bio-shield” lab. Soon, we hope, we will be able to share WILPF’s findings and actions around the country via our website.

Finally, and perhaps most important, WILPF DISARM! continues to help build peacemaking institutions within the United Nations, and to use and develop those provided under our own U.S. Constitution.

WILPF members are exploring the possibilities for prosecution in our own courts, or even in the International Criminal Court, of war and human-rights crimes commit-

ted in Afghanistan and Iraq. DISARM! is engaged in long-range efforts to prevent future wars, a renewed arms race, first use of nuclear weapons, and the total breakdown — sought by some in the current administration — of the United Nations and its treaty system.

One of the most important confrontations between these alternative

visions — a world of peace and freedom and a world at war — will occur at the United Nations this spring. WILPF branch chairs and DISARM! contacts are already receiving the first packets of materials to help them prepare for the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Review Conference taking place in New York May 2-27. The United States is apparently bent on destroying the NPT, and is again expected to promote military action against Iran. Our WILPF U.N. staff is taking the lead to stop this by preparing international nongovernmental organizations for these critical sessions. Here in the United States, we hope all WILPF branches will join in the Mayors for Peace Campaign and, when possible, send participants to the May 1 pro-NPT rally in New York and to at least some of the sessions. More information is available online at our own site or at www.reachingcriticalwill.org.

We in WILPF have much work remaining. We proceed with determination, knowing that increasing numbers share our vision. We realize love is stronger than hatred, truth more powerful than falsehood, and we have no reason to lose hope for peace and freedom.



DISARM! Campaign Co-chair Ellen Barfield releases a dove on New Year’s morning 2003 at the Canal Street U.N. compound in Baghdad as the Iraq Peace Team holds a peace vigil and greets the U.N. weapons inspectors, who were heading out for yet another day of searching for non-existent weapons of mass destruction.

Carol Reilley Urner, who joined WILPF 42 years ago while deeply involved in working for a nuclear test ban treaty, has been co chair of the U.S. DISARM! campaign since August 2002.

Profits of Mass Destruction: Talking Points for Your Discussions About the Iraq and Afghanistan Wars

Kirsten Coulter

Had any conversations about Iraq or Afghanistan lately? As a peace activist you probably have, and if your conversations were with people who rely on the mainstream corporate media for information, some may have been a little contentious. You're bound to run into disagreements on Afghanistan even from those who oppose the Iraq war.

Conversations among citizens are important opportunities. Everything you can do to enlighten one or two souls builds momentum toward a genuine movement for peace. But when a discussion becomes emotional, it can be difficult to keep your wits, organize your thoughts, and bring the conversation back to your own framework. Learning and sticking to a set of talking points is a time-honored technique used by skilled debaters. You can use this same method to further the cause of peace — and to keep the peace! — during exchanges with others.

The Challenge Corporate Power, Assert the People's Rights leadership team has assembled some core talking points that you can easily master. Collectively, we've spent years studying and analyzing the relationship between corporations and our government. We've found that corporations, through a variety of means, control our government. And corporate control over our government leads to empire building and war.

TALKING POINTS AND SUPPORTING DETAILS

1. The wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have been waged for the purpose of building U.S. empire in order to increase the wealth of a small number of corporate elite, many of whom are closely tied to the current administration.

As the people you talk with take the discussion into the corporate media-driven topics of how the wars have been waged (troop levels, unilateralism, reconstruction failures, prisoner abuse, etc.) and who is responsible for faulty intelligence, bring the discussion back to profits for giant corporations. People who oppose the Iraq war often don't see farther than the notion that the administration sent our military there for the oil. While securing oil is certainly a strong factor, there is more to it than that. The major stockholders (corporate executives and directors, U.S. banking corporations) of the U.S. military-industrial complex, and the contractors and private corporations that provide support to our people in uni-

form make money every moment that we spend in Iraq (and Afghanistan).

Many of these businesses are partly or entirely owned by the Carlyle Group, one of the world's largest private investment firms, many of whose major stakeholders are former high-ranking government officials. They include James Baker (secretary of state under George H.W. Bush a.k.a. Bush I), Frank Carlucci (secretary of defense under Ronald Reagan and Bush I), and Richard Darman (advisor to Bush I, assistant to Reagan). Bush I was on the board of directors until he left part way through his son's first term in office, and former British Prime Minister John Major is currently on the board. When the Bush II administration finally leaves in 2009, chances are very good that the current members will find jobs and stock options waiting for them among the Carlyle Group's holdings or elsewhere in the private sector.

2. Profit is not an incidental by-product of these wars. It is a primary motive.

Some people maintain that while profits may be made from any war, they are not a motive for waging one. If this were the case, the administration would have awarded the majority of the Iraq reconstruction contracts to Iraqis, and it would have agreed to award some of them to our European allies as an incentive for cooperating. If profit wasn't the motive, why is protection and maintenance of oil-production facilities in Iraq a higher priority for the U.S. military than crucial infrastructure elements such as electrical plants, water facilities, and hospitals? Iraqi oil flows to the oil corporations while clean water, electricity, and hospitals are dangerously scarce. More and more Iraqi people are despairing of the United States' good intentions and are providing growing cover for the insurgents on the ground. Meanwhile, the oil companies, military suppliers, and private contractors are profiting, and the Bush administration tells us it's going well. In terms of corporate profits and building empire, things are indeed going well in Iraq.

3. A military loss in Iraq is still a corporate win.

It is frequently suggested by administration officials that Afghanistan is a model for the operation in Iraq. After all, the Afghanistan war is already won: the administration's corporate man is installed as the country's

leader, and a U.S.-controlled oil pipeline is under construction there. Using that measuring stick, even if the war in Iraq is utterly lost, and all U.S. military and corporate elements are forced to leave, the military-industrial complex and its neo-conservative operatives in the Bush Administration will have won. The U.S. treasury will have been dangerously drained financing the Iraq war, lining the pockets of these corporate giants, their shareholders, top executives, and directors. This is why awarding the reconstruction contracts to Iraqis — which would have helped stem the insurgency and given the Iraqi people a strong sense of investment in their own future — was out of the question.

When you are presented with the idea that the Iraq war was justified, but poorly planned and executed, ask why the world's leading military experts would allow something like that to happen. Is it not likely that it's because the administration was only partially concerned with "winning"? A fully-functioning democracy is not required or even necessarily desirable to the administration. The only necessary accomplishment is a compliant Iraqi regime that will cooperate with the corporate interests now installed there (as in Afghanistan). And if even that fails, the corporate interests will still have become considerably wealthier, their corporate power more consolidated.

4. While the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks were the excuse used for going into Afghanistan, control of the region for corporate profit was the primary motive.

The mainstream corporate media has never questioned the motive for invading Afghanistan. It has mistaken the excuse (9/11) for the motive. As a result, conversations within the civic community rarely consider what we believe is the primary motive for that war: profit in the form of control over oil. While many (especially women) are glad to see the former Taliban rulers gone, they may not know that before 9/11 the administration had already been working with the Pentagon on a plan to invade Afghanistan. Even back then, restoring human rights was not the impetus. The Taliban was refusing to



WILPFers perform street theater about corporate influence.

allow U.S. corporations to put an oil pipeline through their country, and just weeks before the Al Qaeda attacks, an administration representative threatened the Taliban with military action if it did not acquiesce.

After 9/11, the Bush Administration had the excuse it needed to invade Afghanistan. Is it any surprise that the country's leader today, Hamid Karzai, is a former consultant for energy corporation Unocal? And that the oil pipeline is already under construction while the supposed target of the invasion, Osama Bin Laden, remains free?

5. Public corporations are required by law to grow ever larger. There comes a point where this can only be achieved by raiding other countries.

While human greed alone might explain the profit motive behind war, in the United States greed is actually embedded in law. Public corporations are legally required to maximize shareholder value and do everything possible to grow year by year. Never-ending growth isn't possible for corporations any more than it is for sentient creatures — not without performing unsustainable acts such as subjugating populations to sweatshop labor, raiding other countries' resources, despoiling the earth's ecosystems, and dismantling the foundations of democracy. To work effectively for a future without war, we must bring corporations back under the rule of the people.

Resources

The Challenge Corporate Power/Assert the People's Rights campaign:

www.wilpf.org/campaigns/ccp/default.htm

The Center for Corporate Policy's list of top 10 Iraq war profiteers:

www.corporatepolicy.org/topics/topten2004list.htm

Kirsten Coulter has been a member of the Challenge Corporate Power/Assert the People's Rights leadership team for more than two years. A San Francisco resident, she helped pass Berkeley, CA's, resolution to revoke corporate "personhood."

Race, Justice, and War

Evelyn Spears

Our acronym, UFORJE, is used so often that what it stands for is sometimes forgotten: Uniting for Racial Justice: Truth, Reparations, Restoration, and Reconciliation.

When the U.S. intervention in Afghanistan and Iraq was announced as the theme for this issue of *Peace and Freedom*, we realized some research was necessary. Even with the current involvement making the daily news, we recognized that our own knowledge of these countries was somewhat limited and that the average American may not be able to locate these nations on a map. The volume of information is so great, we will focus solely on Afghanistan, which supplies a perfect example of the connections between race, justice, and war that UFORJE seeks to expose.

AFGHANISTAN'S ETHNIC GROUPS¹

Afghanistan is a nation in Central Asia. If you look at a map (*see page 11*) that includes both Central Asia and Southwest Asia, you can see that Afghanistan is separated from Iraq by Iran. In addition to its border with Iran, Afghanistan abuts Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Pakistan. A small finger of the country in the north-west corner of the country shares a border with India.

The major ethnic groups of Afghanistan are the

Pashtuns, Tajiks, Turkic groups, the Kirghiz, and the Hazaras. Others include the Nuristanis, Aimaqs, Baluch, Hindus, and Sikhs.

The Pashtuns are the dominant ethnic and linguistic group, representing about 45 percent of the population. Pashtu is the language spoken by many (Dari is spoken in urban areas). The Pashtuns are generally Sunni Muslims. Most make their living in agricultural pursuits scattered throughout the country. The Pashtuns are organized along tribal and sub-tribal lines, among which there is considerable conflict.

The Tajiks are the second-largest group, representing about 25 percent of the population. They are overwhelmingly Sunni Muslims and commonly speak Dari and Persian. They engage in some sedentary farming but are often well-educated city dwellers and could be considered Afghanistan's middle class. Although they are not often part of the governing group, they hold many of the administrative positions within government. They are the closest rivals for power and prestige with the Pashtuns.

The Turkic groups, comprised of Uzbek, Turkmen, and Kirghiz, make up about 11 percent of the population. They tend to be Sunnis, speaking Turkish and Persian. The Uzbek are the largest of this group and are farmers and breeders of sheep and horses. Turkmen are both farmers and stockmen. The Kirghiz are a nomadic people, mostly yak herders.

The Hazaras are a smaller population, comprising only 9 percent. They are a Mongoloid group; most are Shi'a Muslims but some are Sunnis. Many speak Persian/Farsi. They are primarily farmers and herders. This group has experienced religiously fueled discrimination for two centuries.²

Several of the smaller ethnic groups are:

The Nuristanis, who are Muslims, mostly shepherds living in the mountains along the Pakistani border;

The Aimaqs, whose origins and beliefs are not clear, live as farmers west of Hazarat;

The Baluch, nomadic shepherds who travel near the southwestern area of Pakistan; the Afghan Hindus, who have always lived in Afghanistan;

The Sikhs, who originated in India. Both the Baluch and the Sikhs are religious and linguistic minorities. Very little research documenting their origin, culture, and language is readily available.

All told, Afghanistan's population is primarily Sunni Muslim, with the Shi'a Muslims the next-largest religious group. In addition to the Hindus and Sikhs there are trace

RESOURCES

- The U.N. Refugee Agency South-West Asia and Central Asia administrative map of Afghanistan (2002), published by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees: www.unhcr.ch/cgi-bin/texis/vtx/publ/openlist.html
 - 2003 National Geographic Society map showing ethnic group dispersal: www.unomaha.edu/afghanistan_atlas/maps2.html
- Ethnic groups: www.afghan-network.net/Ethnic-Groups. You'll notice the site features photos of eight men, all with facial hair and wearing turbans. The natural reaction: no women?
- History of Afghanistan: www.historyofnations.net/asia/afghanistan.html

numbers of Christians, Jews, and others.

The usefulness of listing some of the ethnic groups in this way is that, when their names are compared with the maps, their origins become clear. The groups did not remain in their native countries because of past wars and persecution based on both ethnicity and religion; they are widely dispersed throughout Afghanistan because of continued violent upheavals, including resettlement by different regimes.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Afghanistan has had a turbulent past; intervention by numerous other countries dates back for centuries. In addition to protracted internal conflicts based on ethnicity, tribal affiliations, and religion, the people have undergone three Anglo-Afghan wars (beginning in the 1800s) and the installation of a Marxist government, culminating in the 1979 Soviet invasion and the subsequent rise of the rebel Mujahidin, with assistance from the United States and others.

The Geneva Accords in 1998 saw the withdrawal of the Soviets. But the Mujahidin were not party to these negotiations and internecine fighting continued. Anarchy ruled throughout the 1990s, giving rise to the Taliban, mostly rural Pashtuns who proceeded to impose an extreme fundamental interpretation of Islam on the country. The Taliban also provided a base for terrorist organizations.

In October 2001, Afghanistan was invaded by a U.S.-led coalition that targeted the Taliban military and terrorist facilities. By November the opposition had crumbled. In December 2001 an interim government was formed that held power for six months until a nationwide Grand Council (“Loya Jirga”) met in June of 2002 to decide the structure of a transitional authority. This authority renamed the government as Transitional Islamic State of Afghanistan and drafted a constitution that was ratified by a Constitutional Loya Jirga in January 2004.

AN UNCERTAIN FUTURE

Outsiders believe (or seem to think) that once ballot boxes are available, peace will prevail. The media, and most information sources, have focused on the violence of the insurgencies in countries such as Afghanistan and Iraq. Seldom do we encounter an analysis focused on the lack of justice and the continual exploitation that promotes, exacerbates, and escalates these cycles of violence.

The lack of justice, anywhere in the world, is a major obstacle to attaining a lasting peace. Racial, economic, gender, and religious justice are not only rare,



Map of Afghanistan in relation to its neighbors.

but there is little discussion of the need for their existence. Instead we see continued exploitation on a massive scale.

The history of the United States is also turbulent: In our brief existence (less than 250 years) we have undergone a war of independence, the establishment of a constitution, a civil war, constitutional amendments, and numerous legal battles to attempt to attain full civil rights for all citizens. We still have not met with success.

Thus it remains to be seen how the latest Central Asian “experiment in democracy” will evolve.

¹ “Race” is a social construct to categorize human beings. Scientists agree that there is only one race. In the United States, the primary trait used to categorize people by race is skin color. In many other countries, the term “ethnicity” is used and the characteristics used to group people are common customs, language, religion, etc.

² In 2001, a petition to the United Nations addressed the issue of racism in the genocide of Hazaras in Afghanistan. According to the website www.hazara.net, “The most overlooked aspect of the ethnic problems and civil war in Afghanistan is that of race.”

Evelyn Spears is UFORJE campaign membership coordinator and a member of the board of WILPF.

Is Cuba Next?

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Nancy Abbey and Peggy Edwards
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What countries come to mind when considering President Bush's seeming intent to wage perpetual war through the doctrine of pre-emption? Iran, of course. Syria, maybe. North Korea? Could be. Add Cuba to the list.

Ridiculous? We hope so. Invading Cuba would seem a foolish and senseless act of aggression. But the Bush Administration has a plan for regime change in Cuba that just may include military action. Consider:

In October 2003, after two years of steadily increasing hostile rhetoric and economic sanctions against Cuba, President Bush established the Commission for Assistance to a Free Cuba. Its explicit mandate was to "identify additional means by which the United States can help the Cuban people bring about an expeditious end to the Castro dictatorship."

The commission, co-chaired by former Secretary of State Colin Powell and Secretary of Housing Mel Martinez (now a member of Congress representing Florida), presented a report to the president in March 2004 that, in the words of the report, "sought a more proactive, integrated, and disciplined approach to undermine the survival strategies of the Castro regime." The commission included administration anti-Castro hardliners Otto Reich (former assistant secretary of state for western hemisphere affairs), his successor Roger Noriega, Jose Cardenas of the Cuban-American National Foundation, and U.S. Reps. Ileana Ros-Lehtinen and Lincoln Diaz-Balart (R-FL).

Their report defines "six inter-related tasks" that reflect an all-too-familiar pattern of mounting aggression that can be summed up as: Strangle the economy, intimidate the government by sending military flights over its borders, find manufactured evidence of weapons of mass destruction, promote dissidence, demonize the government, and, finally, establish a toady government.

The Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) put the commission's first recommendation into effect last summer, shocking and angering Cuban-Americans and effectively eliminating travel to Cuba by thousands of U.S. citizens. OFAC's new regulations severely restricted all educational travel, curtailed family visits to once every three years, and redefined the Cuban family altogether by limiting these visits to parents, siblings, and children.

While these were the measures that got the press coverage, a second "task," supported by an \$18 million budget, has flown under the media radar: the "deploy-

ment of the EC-130 . . . for the transmission of Radio and Television Martí into Cuba." This intimidating act is a direct violation of the Nairobi Convention, which gives each government the right to control telecommunications within its borders.

The EC-130 transport aircraft's profile is identical to the AC-130 gunship, one of the terrifying airborne weapons used to attack Iraq. Thus Cubans could mistake an EC-130 for an AC-130, a serious provocation that could lead to military conflict.

Also hidden from the headlines is \$36 million budgeted to promote dissidence. The commission's report describes how youth, women, and Afro-Cubans can be courted to turn against the existing government. For example, it speaks of "grants of U.S. funds [that] could provide the critical spark to activate more of the Afro-



"Nuestras Armas Son las Ideas": A garage/car repair shop sign in Vedado, Cuba, translates as "Our Ideas Are Our Weapons."

Cuban community" in promoting change in Cuba. This is a blatant statement of intent to interfere in the governance of a sovereign nation.

In language reminiscent of the rationale for invading Iraq, the fourth task is to "fund U.S. Embassy public diplomacy sections worldwide to disseminate information . . . about . . . the U.S. Government's belief that Cuba has at least a limited, developmental offensive biological weapons research and development effort." Ironically, on September 17, 2004, this allegation was refuted by the Bush Administration itself. As Steven R. Weisman reported in the *New York Times* (9/18/2004), "The Bush Administration, using stringent standards adopted after the failure to find banned weapons in Iraq, has conducted a new assessment of Cuba's biological weapons capacity and concluded that it is no longer clear that Cuba has an active, offensive bio-weapons program, according to administration officials."

Additional plans and dollars are earmarked to sup-

port “efforts by NGOs in selected third countries to highlight human rights abuses in Cuba, as part of a broader effort to discourage tourist travel.” An example of this tactic in action is the recent protests staged at French airports by Reporters Without Borders against people traveling to Cuba, which are funded by U.S. dollars through the National Endowment for Democracy and the United States Agency for International Development.

Those dollars also support “international diplomatic efforts to . . . challenge the Castro regime” — in more forthright terms, to demonize the Cuban government and specifically President Fidel Castro.

The report also proposes that \$5 million be set aside to “fund and promote international or third-country national conferences to disseminate information abroad about U.S. policies” and to “deter foreign investment in Cuba in confiscated properties.”

And these plans appear in just the first 57 pages of the report.

The next 365 pages describe the occupation of Cuba and the installation of a new government, with “an active role for the Cuban-American community.” The new government is to restore ownership of houses and plantations to former owners, create a major program to vaccinate Cuban children (who already enjoy the most extensive inoculation program in the world), establish capitalism, and, of course, privatize resources, health care, education, etc. To facilitate the process, the U.S. government will establish “a Transition Coordinator at the State Department to . . . continue regular transition planning and coordination with other U.S. Government agencies.”

The plan also includes teaching the Cubans how to hold free and fair elections — an almost laughable idea after the controversial and chaotic U.S. elections of 2000 and 2004.

The new government will have no place for current government officials; the report specifically advises that the “transition government . . . bars Fidel and Raul Castro from any role in a future government . . . targeting regime officials for U.S. visa denials . . . visa denial watch lists will be provided to other nations.”

Although the commission isn’t candid about how the occupation is to be accomplished, it does acknowledge that “there will be resistance to the transition . . . [it] will therefore require the presence of effective, professional Cuban security institutions [read: a U.S.-trained-and-equipped army] that are committed fully to supporting the democratic transition. Military modernization will also be important.”

Unfortunately, these plans were not just a campaign tactic to win votes in Miami. Rather than backing down after November 2, 2004, the administration has stepped up its rhetoric, its prosecution of travelers, and its roadblocks to trade in Cuba. And if that doesn’t evoke déjà vu, nothing will.

Nancy Abbey has been an observer of U.S. Cuba relations for over 45 years and is a member of the Santa Cruz Chapter of WILPF. Peggy Edwards is a member of the WILPF Cuba Action leadership team and is a founding board member and current vice president of the U.S. Cuba Sister Cities Association.

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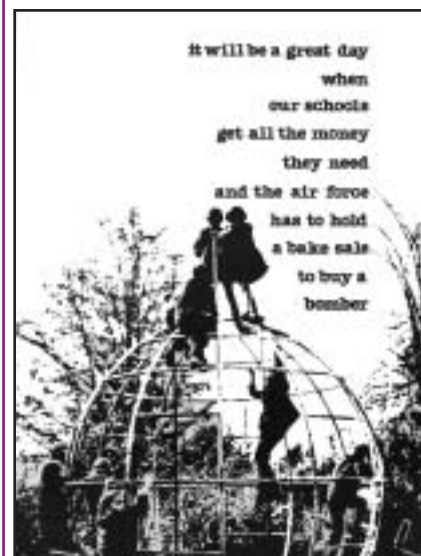
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Committee Corner

Around and about WILPF



Confronting U.S. Policy on Israel/Palestine

Libby Frank, *Middle East Committee*

Libby Frank spoke before two WILPF groups in Michigan last December; the following are some of the key points of her talk. Her complete speech, footnotes and all, can be found on the WILPF website, www.wilpf.org.

While public attention is focused on the conflict between Palestinians and Israelis, our movement as a whole ignores the critical importance of the United States' imperialist policies in the region. Many activists understand that our compelling challenge is to examine and challenge these policies.

The principles that govern U.S. foreign policy elsewhere in the world govern it in the Middle East as well. U.S. strategy there is dictated by its perceived concerns: cheap and ready access to natural resources (in this case, oil); privatization of major institutions in the region; and the curbing of revolutionary movements.

Peace activists need to recognize that the current Israeli establishment advances U.S. interests even outside the Middle East. For example, in the past it has served as a conduit for U.S. arms to regimes and movements too unpopular to grant direct and open military assistance — apartheid in South Africa, the Islamic Republic in Iran, the military junta in Guatemala, and the Nicaraguan Contras.

Support for such policies continues as Congress and the U.S. public are bombarded by propaganda exerted by a variety of powerful, overlapping lobby groups, both non-Jewish and Jewish. They include the aerospace industry (whose influence is considerable but little known); Christian evangelical groups; and some Jewish right-wing organizations. These groups support the current right-wing Israeli government and its strategic cooperation with the United States. They are not friends of the Israeli people.

The struggle for justice in the region is complicated by the widespread misconception that Jews determine U.S. foreign policy, as well as by racism toward Arabs and Muslims and concerns about anti-Semitism.

We activists can express the highest form of solidarity with resistance movements in the Middle East as we challenge and change U.S. policy. ♦

Heterosexism: How Does It Affect Our Political Work?

Chris Morin and Mary Zepernick
Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgendered Committee

- **Heterosexism:** Discrimination based on the belief that only opposite-gender sexual relationships are legitimate; enforced by prejudice plus institutional power, as are racism, classism, and other oppressions
- **Homophobia:** a fear or hatred of homosexuals

Heterosexism, racism, and classism are institutionalized and interrelated in a system that assigns unequal worth to people. This culture sees a lesbian as “stepping out of the box.” Since her world is not male-centered or dependent on a man's financial resources, she upsets the patriarchal system that demands that women be subordinate.

How does this form of prejudice get in the way of our political work? Working for women and with women can stimulate, consciously or unconsciously, a fear of being labeled “lesbian.” In an effort to keep from being thus labeled, some of us step back into the box, into a role that doesn't threaten the men in our lives.

The Violence Against Women movement is an example of this anxiety in action. In the early 1980s when domestic violence shelters and programs began to multiply, activists were pressured to provide only services — the acceptable “helping” role — without political analysis. To analyze the causes of violence and oppression is to challenge the entire system of power and control, from the interpersonal to the global level — and such analyses are central to the work of WILPF. To move WILPF's agenda forward, we must understand and organize around the dynamics that keep women, gays and lesbians, people of color, the very poor, working poor, and elders (including many men) caught in the patriarchal corporate-government system.

WILPF's LGBT committee sent a survey to branches in spring 2004, asking questions that would help us determine our committee's goals and objectives. We received very few responses. Heterosexism can be a difficult discussion to have; it may unravel layers of pain and some branch members anticipate and fear conflict.

However, these are reasons to talk about it, not reasons to avoid it.

We can organize a big political rally, but if we are uncomfortable about the main speaker's being a lesbian, we need to ask ourselves why. The discussion of how heterosexism keeps the present system in place, how it can be a roadblock to our being more effective, is freeing and empowering for all of our work.

The surveys have been sent out again. Please have the discussion and fill out the survey. It is available online (www.wilpf.org) for individual branch or at-large members who would like to participate. ♦

RECOMMENDED READING:

Homophobia: A Weapon of Sexism by Suzanne Pharr (Chardon Press, 1988).

Queerly Classified, edited by Susan Raffo (South End Press, 1997).

CEDAW Campaign Goes Local

The Women's Rights/CEDAW Committee

The Women's Rights/CEDAW (Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women) issues committee is joining local efforts to advance human rights and actively seeking WILPF members to work with us on campaigns that use United Nations human rights instruments to educate and organize at the municipal, county, and state levels.

Campaigns to adopt international human rights standards are currently under way in New York City and San Francisco. The San Francisco campaign is focusing on using the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) to create employment protections for laborers, set minimum standards for the treatment of prisoners, mandate human rights training for police, and protect children in the foster care system. The New York City Campaign has introduced a city ordinance that draws on the definition of non-discrimination used in CEDAW and in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination to change the way in which municipal government programs are administered and monitored.

U.S. WILPF's Women's Rights/CEDAW committee hopes to help jump start five to 10 additional local initiatives over the next two years by becoming a vital national network for the exchange of practical tips and experiences.

Through these campaigns, individuals at the community level can enjoy opportunities to familiarize themselves with the nuts and bolts of human rights treaties and compliance options. States and municipalities can lead the way, pulling the federal government toward

greater participation in and compliance with international human rights law. Elected representatives have a significant role to play in this process.

For example, legislation passed by the state of Pennsylvania in 2002 has recently yielded a study outlining ways in which the principles of the ICESCR could be integrated into the laws and policies of the commonwealth, and the state legislature of Massachusetts is currently considering a bill that would authorize a similar study there.

We are promoting any and all of the human rights instruments because human rights are conceptually and strategically indivisible. The U.S. position has been to impede the struggle by severing women's political and civil rights from their economic, cultural, social, sexual, and environmental rights by, for example, refusing to ratify CEDAW in its present form, which includes guarantees on issues of paid maternity leave and equal pay for work of equal value. Unbundling women's human rights in this way might succeed in moving more women into positions of power but will never succeed in putting more power into the hands of all women. WILPF members concerned with advancing women's rights need to create opportunities to assert the indivisibility of women's human rights.

For more information on WILPF's Women's Rights/CEDAW committee see:

www.wilpf.org/issues/womensrights.htm or e-mail masscedaw@yahoo.com. ♦

TSUNAMI AID: GIVE TO THE WILPF-SRI LANKA FUND

Many WILPF members have asked what they can do to help tsunami survivors in South Asia. WILPF International is accepting donations to a WILPF-Sri Lanka Fund that will be used for the organizational work of WILPF in Sri Lanka, according to the organization's mission and guidelines. Members and others can send a contribution to the Geneva office (address below) and designate it "WILPF-Sri Lanka Fund."

WILPF-SRI LANKA FUND of JAPA
C/o International WILPF, 1 rue de Varembe
1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland

To read a letter from WILPF-Sri Lanka member Manel Tiranagama about conditions in South Asia and correspondence about disaster aid from Executive Director Mary Day Kent and International President Regina Birchem, visit the International section of the website, www.wilpf.org.

Ending the U.S. War in Iraq: How to Bring the Troops Home and Internationalize the Peace

Phyllis Bennis and Erik Leaver

"There is an old military doctrine called the First Rule of Holes: If you find yourself stuck in one, stop digging."

— the late Rear Admiral Eugene Carroll, U.S. Navy (Ret.)

Around the world the vast majority of people and governments stand opposed to [the Iraq War]. In the United States, a majority of people, and increasing numbers of political and military leaders, believe the war was wrong from the beginning or is not worth the price. But many are uncertain what to do. Even if the war is wrong, will it make things worse if the U.S. pulls out? Having invaded and occupied Iraq, what are our responsibilities to the Iraqi people?

ENDING THE U.S. OCCUPATION OF IRAQ IS THE ONLY SOLUTION TO THIS ESCALATING CRISIS

Ending the U.S. occupation of Iraq means bringing the U.S. troops home. All of them. Immediately. U.S. troops are the primary cause of the violence in Iraq and not the solution to the violence. The nearly 150,000 U.S. troops currently in Iraq should be out of the country and on their way home by July 4, 2005, allowing Iraq to celebrate its own independence.

The Iraqi resistance has grown larger, stronger, and more popular in the past two years in response to the U.S. invasion and occupation. In November 2003, the Pentagon estimated that there were about 5,000 Iraqi resistance fighters. By December 2004 the Iraqi "interim government" estimated that the number had grown to approximately 40,000 active military forces and 200,000 supporters in the resistance.

The continuing presence of the U.S. troops has strengthened, not weakened, the resistance. Resistance

attacks are killing far more Iraqi civilians than U.S. troops, but the target of almost all the attacks remains institutions and individuals associated with — and thus viewed as collaborating with — the U.S. occupation forces. They include police officers, other security forces, officials of the U.S.-backed interim government, translators, and civilian employees of the United States and "coalition" militaries.

With the withdrawal of the occupation forces and the resulting end of the Iraqi structures supporting them, the major target for resistance attacks will disappear. The current deployments in Iraq include 150,000 U.S. troops, about 30,000 "coalition" troops from often reluctant U.S. allies, and 20,000 U.S. military contractors. The pattern is clear: Adding more troops sparks greater resistance, not less.

Just as the resistance and U.S. troop levels have increased, so has the casualty toll. In the first three months following last June's so-called "hand-over" of authority to the U.S.-installed interim Iraqi government, the number of U.S. military casualties skyrocketed, from 449 to 747 each month. And Iraqi civilians continue to die in huge numbers. Johns Hopkins University researchers published a study in the British medical journal *The Lancet* indicating that by October 2004 more than 100,000 Iraqi civilians had died as a result of the war and occupation.

The dynamics of the fighting between the resistance and the United States, and the horrific human costs that are being unleashed, are unlikely to change in the near term. . . . Peace activists in the United States and around the world [have supported] elections as one component of democratization. But not every election is legitimate



or democratic. An election cannot be legitimate when it is conducted under foreign military occupation and during war. . . [The] January 30 elections in Iraq [were] designed to

provide a veneer of credibility and legitimacy to the continuation of U.S. control of Iraq. The United States hopes [the new government will be U.S.-friendly and] will welcome U.S. military bases in Iraq, all legitimized through the drafting of a U.S.-style constitution.

Certainly Iraqis need to be in charge of their own security. But that can only happen in a truly sovereign nation. U.S. officials dismantled the existing security forces on May 17, 2003, soon after invading Iraq. But the Iraqi police and military forces the United States is trying to create have failed to provide security for the Iraqi people and the situation appears to be only worsening. Iraq's security forces are fighting in a war that puts anyone who is physically near or associated with the U.S. occupation at greatest risk. At the same time, soldiers and police officers lack adequate training. One measure of the problem can be seen in their death toll. [More than] 1,500 Iraqi security force recruits and 750 Iraqi police officers have been killed. U.S.-sponsored Iraqi security forces cannot succeed as long as the United States is leading a war on the ground in Iraq.

As with any guerrilla war, the Iraqi resistance is unlikely to be defeated by military means. Political and diplomatic solutions must be the key components to change the terrible situation Iraqis are in today.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN WHEN THE U.S. TROOPS ARE WITHDRAWN?

No one can say with certainty what will happen when U.S. troops leave. But if the administration continues to “stay the course,” U.S. troops will continue to die and they will continue to kill. Iraq's reconstruction will remain stalled. Regional governments will stay paralyzed. And the country's overall situation will remain dire.

While there is no absolute certainty about all the consequences of full withdrawal, likely developments can be anticipated. The resistance is multifaceted. It includes an amalgam of Iraqi nationalists, democratic and otherwise, outraged by the illegal foreign occupation of their country. Some are disgruntled former Ba'athists. Others are Iraqi Islamists, both Shia and Sunni, holding a range of religious views who see fighting the U.S. occupation of Iraq as both a national and religious obligation. And some are foreign fighters, allied with some

Editor's Note: This essay is excerpted from a longer version published in January by Foreign Policy In Focus (FPIF), a joint project of the International Relations Center (IRC, online at www.irc-online.org) and the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS, online at www.ips-dc.org). The original version is available at www.presentdanger.org/papers/0501occupation.html. ©2005. All rights reserved.

Iraqis, apparently mostly extreme fundamentalist Islamists, who see an opportunity to transform Iraq into part of an Islamic caliphate.

To the extent that the resistance is unified at all among its disparate eth-

nic, religious, and political sectors, the unity appears limited to a shared opposition to the U.S. occupation. Without the occupation as an outside enemy, those much smaller sectors of the resistance that are motivated largely by religious extremism, and who are responsible for some of the worst violence against civilians, will likely become isolated from the broader sectors of the resistance. One probable result will be a significant reduction — though not an immediate end — of violence, with the departure of the key targets of the violence, the U.S. occupation and its Iraqi supporters.

It is likely that the withdrawal of U.S. troops would lead to the collapse of at least some parts of the “government,” but some of its institutions, including the police, the military, and other security agencies, could well survive — untainted by association with the U.S. occupation, emerging from within them to assert new leadership. And without an outside enemy occupying the country, it is also more likely that the kind of secular nationalism long dominant in Iraq would again prevail as the most influential (though certainly not sole) political force in the emerging Iraqi polity, as opposed to the virulent Islamist tendencies currently on the rise among Iraqis facing the desperation of occupation, repression, and growing impoverishment. . . .

LOOKING FORWARD

All possible scenarios in today's war-ravaged Iraq pose potential risks. Having waged an illegal invasion and occupation of Iraq, the United States has no good options. Maintaining the U.S. occupation, with U.S. troops killing and dying in Iraq, violates U.S. and international law, as well as the U.N. Charter and the Geneva Conventions. Clearly this is not the way forward.

Withdrawing U.S. troops, and ending the occupation, is the only option that puts the United States back on the side of the rule of law, and gives the people of Iraq the best chance of rebuilding their devastated country and moving toward peace, justice, and security.

Phyllis Bennis is a fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, DC. Erik Leaver is the policy outreach director for the Foreign Policy In Focus project at the Institute for Policy Studies.

Women, Feminism, and Peace: Highlights from the 2005 World Social Forum

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Catia Confortini
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The World Social Forum returned this year to Porto Alegre, Brazil, for its fifth incarnation. Between January 26-31, more than 200,000 people from 135 countries participated in the events designed to represent an alternative to the World Economic Forum. While the “big” decision-makers of the world convened in Davos, Switzerland, to decide on economic policies and objectives to impose on the rest of the globe, grassroots activists, nongovernmental organization representatives, progressive academics, and other outsiders gathered in the capital of Rio Grande do Sur to talk about social change under the slogan “um outro mundo é possível” (Portuguese for “another world is possible”; *see photo at right*). The Forum was organized around 11 thematic areas, from the role of culture and the arts in building people's resistance to oppression, to peace and demilitarization.

WILPF hosted one of the most successful panels I attended, on “Women, Peace, and Security: Implementation of U.N. Resolution 1325.” With Pat Willis from the United States as moderator, WILPF's International President, Regina Bircham from the United States, International Vice-President Marta Benavides from El Salvador, Margarita Muñoz from Colombia, and PhoeBe ANNE (sorgen)* from Berkeley, CA's, Peace and Justice Commission led a workshop designed to explore the ways in which U.N. Security Council Resolution 1325 can be used as a tool to advance toward the world we want. Res.1325, passed unanimously by the U.N. Security Council in 2000, was drafted by WILPF and a series of other NGOs to promote greater participation by women in peacemaking processes; it was intended to address the fact that although women are severely impacted by war and other violent conflicts, either as civilians or combatants, rarely if ever are they included in postwar negotiations.

Many participants shared their stories. For example, in Colombia, whose conflict has lasted more than 40 years, WILPF (LIMPAL in Spanish) is using 1325 as one more instrument to validate women's participation in pacification processes. Forging alliances with other women's organizations, LIMPAL Colombia has launched a campaign, *El Exilio Que Nos Habita* (The Exile Inhabiting Us), to educate the public and pressure the Colombian government into paying attention to the

grave human-rights violations committed against displaced populations (particularly women). Headed by Benavides, LIMPAL El Salvador has organized workshops and training sessions directed at students, lawyers, justices of the peace, government officials, and U.N. workers. Sometimes going door to door, LIMPAL has brought 1325 information pamphlets into offices to inform their target audiences about the resolution's existence, pointing out the aspects that most directly apply to the Salvadoran situation. LIMPAL has also worked with community members to spread information about 1325 and empower local women to use the resolution according to their own needs.

PhoeBe ANNE (sorgen) reminded the workshop



audience to recognize the connection between economic policies and violent conflicts, in all of which transnational corporations are deeply involved. In her own city, Berkeley, PhoeBe has worked as a “peace and justice commissioner” to help pass a resolution against corporate personhood. Regina Bircham also reminded us that security for everyone must be broadly defined; after all, corporations such as Bechtel and Halliburton hardly provide water security to the people of Iraq, while profiteering from their suffering.

In response, the questions and comments coming from the audience were indicative of the interest 1325 sparked, and of the need in many communities for a tool with which to demand women's participation and women's rights in conflict and post-conflict situations.

It was also clear that participants were already thinking creatively on how to use 1325 in non-conflict contexts: Suzuyo Takazato from Okinawa, for example, wondered about possible applications of 1325 on her island to protect women from violence deriving from the presence of U.S. military bases. Debbie Bell, a WILPF member from Philadelphia, observed how violence against women in the military is a compelling reason for using 1325 in a creative way, even inside the U.S. In this

Continued on page 20 ➤



Meet WILPF's New Secretary General: Susi Snyder

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On January 31, Susanne “Susi” Snyder embarked on her new role as International WILPF's secretary general, based in Geneva, Switzerland. At 28, she already has almost a decade of anti-nuclear and peace activism behind her. A native New Yorker, Snyder jettisoned a job as a Wall Street receptionist in 1996 and hitch-hiked to San Francisco, soon finding her way to Southern California to participate in the Ward Valley Encampment, which helped halt a low-level nuclear waste dump near the Colorado River. There she met WILPF member Sheila Baker, who introduced her to the organization's work. Not long after, she moved to Las Vegas to volunteer with, and eventually take a job as, an organizer for the Shundahai Network, a nonprofit that advocates nuclear disarmament and promotes the rights of indigenous peoples. During the course of her work there, she participated in such direct actions as chaining herself to a federal building to end nuclear testing at the Nevada Test Site and marching all night across the desert to stop the proposed nuclear waste dump at Yucca Mountain. Her dedication garnered sympathetic press coverage for the causes — and several stints in jail for the obviously resilient Snyder. She returned to New York in 2003 to work at WILPF's U.N. Office, where she served in progressively responsible positions as its coordinator, co-director, and most recently, director.

Following is a condensed version of an intercontinental Q&A interview with Snyder, conducted via Internet by acting *Peace and Freedom* editor Miranda Spencer.

P & F: *What are your main responsibilities in your new position?*

Snyder: My work as secretary general is to coordinate and implement WILPF's programs and policies — including those related to the United Nations — working with the U.N. representatives here in Geneva and [with] Special Advisor on U.N. Matters Edith Ballantyne in order to influence both the Conference on Disarmament and the Commission on Human Rights. I will also continue working closely with U.N. Office staff in New York so that the Reaching Critical Will and

PeaceWomen projects continue to excel. I was able to meet [before I left] with two of the U.S. representatives, Jean Verthein and Anita Pulier, to talk more about specific roles and responsibilities of the U.S. section representatives, as well as ways they could best enhance the efforts of the U.N. Office. We looked at ways to bring together local and international parts of WILPF and how to report on events in a way that is useful to everyone.

P & F: *What is your vision of the future for International WILPF?*

Snyder: I see [it] getting stronger and stronger. . . .

WILPF has quite a history of being on the cutting edge politically and I hope to continue that. I also hope that we, as WILPF, can all work together to continue empowering women, both young and old, to participate in political processes. I would also like to see WILPF membership grow. We are few, but powerful; let us be many, and unstoppable.

P & F: *How do you hope to strengthen connections between U.S. WILPF, U.S. activism, and International WILPF in Geneva?*

Snyder: I would like to link the struggles going on in the U.S. with those around the world, to encourage messages of solidarity and support from our international WILPF sisters to those struggling under a second Bush term. I hope that by improving our overall communications mechanisms, we can more easily know what WILPFers around the world are doing. I hope that the upcoming International Executive Committee meeting (in early September 2005) will be a place where these communications are realized.

P & F: *How will you bring your background as anti-nuclear activist into your work?*

Snyder: One of the reasons I was so excited to apply for this position is because it is in Geneva. The Palais des Nations here . . . is home to the world's only multilateral disarmament-treaty negotiating body, the Conference on Disarmament. I hope that my passion as an anti-nuclear activist will inspire my work as it relates to that body.

P & F: *As a U.S. citizen, how do you feel about relocating to Europe?*

Snyder: The idea of moving was both exciting and intimidating. Do I describe myself as a Canadian? How do I explain Bush's re-election? Will it be too quiet? Where will I find bagels? . . . These and many other questions filled my head. I had been to Geneva several times before, and felt really comfortable with the idea of coming to work in the office here. . . I hope here in Geneva I will strengthen my language skills and will quickly make new friends. ♦



The WILPF 90th Anniversary Triennial Congress

San Francisco State University (SFSU) is the site of the 90th Anniversary Triennial WILPF Congress on August 10-14, 2005. The cost for the entire Congress, including registration, all meals, a shared room, and all materials and events is only \$350.

We hope everyone will attend the whole Congress. If you can only come for part of it, the cost for members will be \$90 per day. A Congress "day" starts after lunch, includes that night's dinner, a shared room, and breakfast and lunch the next day. For those who live in the Bay Area, and will be commuting to the Congress, the per day cost for registration, lunch, and dinner is \$53. Non-members pay an extra fee for each day they attend. This fee can be applied to membership in WILPF.

Meals will be cafeteria style with many choices, including vegetarian options. Participants with additional special food needs should contact the Congress coordinator no later than July 6 at congress@wilpf.org.

Rooms are in a university dormitory adjacent to the conference center, with two people per room. Linens are included in the cost. A limited number of singles are available at an additional cost. There are no triples. Children under 2 years old stay free, with an adult. Older children must pay for a room and meals. A full meal plan must be purchased with each night's stay.

At SFSU the conference center, cafeteria, rooms, and bathrooms are all wheelchair accessible. The campus is also smoke free. Rooms have Internet access but no phones. There is a computer center on site.

If there is enough interest, there will be a Peace Camp for children ages 5-12 on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday. Anyone expressing an interest in Peace Camp will be contacted with further details. There will be a small additional fee for this program. If you need child care for a younger child, contact the Congress coordinator at congress@wilpf.org.

There will be a Leadership Institute at the Congress. The Institute is offered for young (under 30) and new members of WILPF. It will begin on August 9 (one day before the Congress begins) and sessions will continue throughout the Congress. The Institute is designed to build leadership skills in the democratic arts and to deepen understanding of WILPF. In addition to their own sessions, participants will take part in many of the Congress events. They will also be matched with active WILPF members. Be prepared for an active and fun-filled five days. The cost for the Congress and Institute is \$410. This includes all the Congress costs plus one extra night and five extra meals. Partial scholarships may be available. For more information, contact Jody Dodd at the WILPF National Office, (215) 563-7110 or jdodd@wilpf.org.

An information packet including details about ground transportation, sightseeing and possible home stays before and after the Congress will be sent after receipt of the registration form. ♦

► WORLD FORUM

continued from page 18

context, Regina Birchem pointed to our responsibility — as citizens of the country that, more than any other, is imposing violence all over the world — to educate people about 1325 and about U.S. violent actions abroad. Debbie Bell added that these responsibilities include becoming more reflective and self-critical about a peace movement that fails to draw the African American population (90-95% of whom say they are against the Iraq war) to its rallies and meetings

While there seemed to be widespread agreement with WILPF's analysis of war and peace issues, the panelists, as well as the audience of this workshop, took issue with WILPF's reliance on U.N. mechanisms to foster women's participation in peace processes. Some were skeptical of the usefulness of the United Nations as an

institution to promote peace and demilitarization, given its past failures to prevent tragedies such as the Rwandan genocide. Others, however, offered further examples of how Res. 1325 is being used to push for women's inclusion at negotiating tables. Still others were unaware of 1325, but showed interest in using it in their work. Despite some strategic differences, women's peace movements, as represented at the World Social Forum, are united in their recognition of the need to work at multiple levels. Their goal: as International President Regina Birchem put it, "to make war become unthinkable."

Catia Confortini is a Ph.D. candidate in international relations at the University of Southern California. She is writing her dissertation on WILPF's ideas about peace and gender.

*punctuation and capitalization are correct

WILPF U.S. SECTION TRIENNIAL CONGRESS AND 90TH ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION: MAKING PEACE A REALITY
Wednesday, August 10 - Sunday, August 14, 2005, San Francisco, CA

REGISTRATION FORM

Space is limited. Pre-registration must be received by July 6, 2005 to ensure meals and lodging.

Name _____ Branch/Organization _____

Address _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Telephone _____ E-mail _____

The Congress fee of \$350 includes: registration, event materials, all events, all meals (dinner Wednesday evening through lunch Sunday), and lodging in a double-occupancy room in an SFSU Residence Hall.

To request scholarship assistance: please contact the WILPF National Office, wilpf@wilpf.org

Note: There is no lodging available without the meal plan. Meals can be purchased without lodging if you register in advance. A few meal tickets for individual meals may be available on a "first come, first served" basis.

I would like to room with: First choice _____

Second choice _____

Special meal requests: ☐ vegetarian ☐ vegan ☐ other (specify) _____

Special accommodation needs: ☐ ASL signing ☐ other (specify) _____

Please send me information about:

☐ Peace Camp (ages 5-12) ☐ Child Care (under 5) ☐ The Leadership Institute

Entire Congress - 5 days, 4 nights including all lodging, meals, and registration \$350.00 \$ _____

Single-room supplement for 4 nights \$100.00 \$ _____

"Congress Day" (2 p.m. one day to 2 p.m. the next) : lodging, meals, registration

Wednesday - Thursday \$ 90.00 \$ _____

Thursday - Friday \$ 90.00 \$ _____

Friday - Saturday \$ 90.00 \$ _____

Saturday - Sunday \$ 90.00 \$ _____

Meals and registration only - no lodging

Entire Congress (5-day special!) \$190.00 \$ _____

Wednesday - dinner only \$ 28.50 \$ _____

Thursday - lunch and dinner \$ 56.00 \$ _____

Friday - lunch and dinner \$ 56.00 \$ _____

Saturday - lunch and dinner \$ 56.00 \$ _____

Sunday - lunch only \$ 22.50 \$ _____

Registration only - no meals or lodging

Entire Congress (5 day special!) \$125.00 \$ _____

Wednesday \$ 20.00 \$ _____

Thursday \$ 40.00 \$ _____

Friday \$ 40.00 \$ _____

Saturday \$ 40.00 \$ _____

Sunday \$ 15.00 \$ _____

Scholarship donation \$ _____

Non-member fee (\$10 per day additional) \$ _____

Registering after July 6 (\$25 additional) \$ _____

TOTAL ENCLOSED \$ _____

MAKE CHECKS OR MONEY ORDERS PAYABLE TO WILPF
PAYMENT VIA CREDIT/DEBIT CARDS (Visa, Master Card, or Am Ex only)

Card Number _____ Expiration Date _____

Signature _____ TOTAL \$ _____

IMPORTANT DEADLINES: Registration must be RECEIVED by July 6, 2005. Late registrations require a \$25 late fee. No refunds honored if requested after July 15.

Mail completed registration form and payment to:
WILPF, 1213 Race Street, Philadelphia PA 19107



BranchAction News

Leslie Reindl, Branch Action Editor

Members: Please remember to send me a copy of your announcements and newsletters. That's the only way I am able to report on your activities so all the branches know what you are doing. My address: Leslie Reindl, 1233 Ingerson Road, St. Paul, MN 55112.

WILPFERS HONORED

Ellen Barfield (**Baltimore**) was given a gala tribute in San Francisco by the War Resisters League for her work with the League, the School of the Americas Watch, Veterans for Peace, and WILPF. Sally Frank (**Des Moines**), a member of the Drake University law school faculty, was honored at the Central Iowa Activist awards ceremony. She has represented a number of people who have crossed the line at the State Area Command (STARC) Armory to protest the Iowa National Guard's involvement in the Iraq war.

REPRESSION

Santa Cruz's newsletter carried an article entitled "Fascism in Small-Town Oregon: An Eyewitness Account." Written by a lawyer, it reported that when President Bush came to Jacksonville, OR, to campaign on October 16, 2004, people carrying pro-Kerry signs or otherwise demonstrating against Bush were attacked by a SWAT team, hit with pepper-spray pellets, shoved, and herded down the street out of "W's" earshot. Bush supporters were left alone. The police action continued until Bush was secured in his hotel for the night.

ELECTIONS

Most branches participated in the get-out-the-vote campaigns in their area. **Delaware County** joined the Campaign for Peace and Democracy and mobilized WILPF volunteers. **Berkeley** published a comprehensive list of contacts for election information. **Berkeley** and **Monterey County** published all 15 propositions on the California ballot, with voting recommendations; **Palo Alto** published the recommendations. **St. Louis** phoned all members a week before the election to provide information about and convey WILPF's position on a constitutional amendment calling for diverting the sales tax on vehicles to build roads. **Portland** published a list of demands to the election's winner, beginning with creating a voting system that enfranchises all eligible voters. **Detroit** contributed to a newspaper ad highlighting the Bush Administration's record on "homeland security."

Santa Cruz sent members WILPF bumper stickers saying "Dare to Hope, Care to Vote." **San Jose** urged calls to state legislators to support a bill requiring a paper trail for the election. **Cape Cod** urged members also to focus on local elections and published a list of county delegates.

After the election, **Peninsula** WILPF members sang election-fraud songs they had composed (set to the tunes of Christmas carols) at protests in front of the offices of Senators Diane Feinstein and Barbara Boxer in San Francisco; in December they joined **Sacramento** members at a rally in California's capital and were seen on local TV leading the crowd in songs and chants.

Minnesota Metro and **Peninsula** published editorials and articles pointing out fraud. **Palo Alto** urged members to ask California senators not to certify election results until there is a full investigation.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

Many branches addressed the issue of post-election planning. **Monterey County** held a three-hour workshop on the topic. **Santa Cruz** invited women from diverse communities to discuss this question in light of their cultures and interests.

IRAQ

Portland published Iraq Watch's October highlights of "A Failed Transition: The Mounting Costs of the Iraq War," a report from the Institute for Policy Studies. Among the findings: As of last fall, between 12,800 and 14,843 Iraqi civilians had been killed and 40,000 injured; 44 international media workers also were killed. **Delaware County** held a screening of the documentary "About Baghdad." **Santa Cruz** reported that the United States has put in place a requirement that Iraq accept genetically modified organisms, opening the door to U.S.-based corporations such as Monsanto and making seed-saving illegal.

MILITARISM

Los Angeles presented a speaker from the Coalition Against Militarism in the Schools, part of the Human Rights Committee of the United Teachers of Los Angeles. **Palo Alto** has mounted a campaign called Think First that provides anti-military information to high school students, in collaboration with Veterans for Peace and other peace groups. **Minnesota Metro** invited a member of national WILPF's DISARM! campaign to speak at its annual meeting.

NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Detroit, Portland, and St. Louis urged action on the draft environmental impact statement for the ballistic missile defense system ("Star Wars") that was due

November 17, 2004. **Delaware County** and **Detroit** both showed the new documentary "A Space 4 Peace," produced by Global Network and WILPF. **Des Moines** described the proceedings at a daylong, statewide conference, "National Security & the New Arms Race: Impact on Our Health, Environment, and Humanity," including the horrifying consequences of nuclear weapons. Physicians for Social Responsibility, a conference sponsor, discussed the SMART (Sensible, Multilateral, American Response to Terrorism) Security resolution, a.k.a. HR 392, and suggested people promote its passage. The **Oregon** PSR has produced a new video on SMART Security alternatives to war, available for use at house parties.

ENVIRONMENT

Minnesota Metro has a new Peace and Environment Committee that will focus on how the American lifestyle impacts the environment and promotes injustice around the world, as well as on nuclear waste/production pollution. **St. Louis** highlighted the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Kenyan Wangari Muta Maathai. Maathai started the Green Belt Movement, which has planted about 30 million trees to halt deforestation. The award is appropriate, she says: "Many of the wars that we know are over natural resources."

WATER ISSUES

Berkeley and **Cape Cod** formed water-issues groups, and proposed the new national campaign Save the Water. **Santa Cruz** is reactivating its Challenging Corporate Power group to help fight for a local community's right to regain control over its water. **Portland** printed a report on WILPF's "Forum on Water" at the 2004 International Congress.

RACIAL JUSTICE

Catonsville invited Sheila Shafiq from the Islamic Society of Baltimore to present a program on "Understanding Islam." **Cape Cod** is working with others to get a Human Rights Commission for their county. **Chapel**



A WILPF WOMAN REMEMBERED:

Marcia McLane (1919-2005) did not consider herself a radical, just a woman who worked for change in whatever way she could. Marcia joined the **Fresno** branch in 1966, and her WILPF work became the main focus of her political activity. She served as branch president for two

years and on the national board for four years, as well as representing WILPF on several fact-finding trips to Central America. Marcia spoke widely about the U.S. role in killings and torture there, helping to organize the Sanctuary Movement for Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees in Fresno. She and her husband, Vic, also helped draft-resisters during the Vietnam War. After retiring, they lived in a Guatemalan refugee camp, where they assisted in protecting people from the military, and later spent two years managing the Friends House in Mexico City. In 1988, Marcia and Vic received a special Peace Award from the peace community in Fresno, and in 1992 the Fresno City/County Commission on the Status of Women selected Marcia as Fresno's Woman of the Year. In memory of Marcia, a fund for International WILPF has been established. Contributions may be sent to Fresno WILPF, P.O. Box 5114, Fresno, CA 93755.

Hill urged support for the March for the Greensboro Trust and Community Reconciliation Commission. On Human Rights Day (December 10) **Portland's** Women in Black distributed copies of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to people in authority — judges; the mayor; city, county and metro commissioners; legislators; and police.

DID YOU REMEMBER?

Make your reservation for Congress, page 21
Pledge for peace in WILPF's 90th Year, back page



WILPF In Washington

Vicki Lynn Ferguson, Legislative Program Consultant
Gillian Gilhool, Program Coordinator

WILPF's ADVICE AND DISSENT

An important part of WILPF's advocacy in the 109th U.S. Congress will be grounded in the Senate's "advise and consent" power granted by the Constitution. With Republican majorities in both chambers, legislative victories to change the course of United States policy in Iraq and stop assaults on constitutional protections may be few in the next two years. One avenue of legislative work open to oppose further decline of our democratic rights and constitutional freedoms is lobbying to encourage senators to filibuster to defeat confirmation of administration nominees.

WILPF's first letters and meetings on Capitol Hill with staffs in the new Congress opposed confirmation of President Bush's second-term Cabinet nominees. The first letter urged members of the Senate Judiciary Committee and the Senate as a whole to vote against confirmation of Alberto Gonzales as attorney general, to stop the severe abuse of human rights by our government under the current administration. WILPF wrote, "[Gonzales'] record as legal advisor to President Bush discloses blatant disregard for civil rights, the judicial process and the rule of law. . . [N]o position in the Cabinet is more vulnerable to politicization by someone who puts ideology and politics above the law. . . Mr. Gonzales as attorney general or, predictably, soon a Bush nominee to the United States Supreme Court, threatens the fundamental structure of our democracy . . ." A copy of the letter and the alert WILPF sent members can be found at www.wilpf.org/legislative/default.htm.

WILPF's second letter thanked eight members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and 13 senators who voted against confirmation of Condoleezza Rice as secretary of state. WILPF wrote, "Thank you for your efforts to hold her, and through her, the Bush Administration, accountable for their lies and misinformation in precipitating this war against Iraq."

ENDURING APPOINTMENTS: THE FEDERAL JUDICIARY

The federal courts decide issues of executive power, and international and constitutional law. Unless citizens can stop the worst of Bush's judicial appointments during his second term, the courts will not be an arena where we

can undo the damage of the radical right, which has included constricting civil liberties and expanding the national security state.

While Supreme Court nominations will surely galvanize proponents and opponents, it's important to remember that judges appointed to the 13 U.S. Courts of Appeals (and 89 District Courts) also wield judicial powers for life. As well, decisions made by the U.S. Courts of Appeals are final in the overwhelming majority of cases.

According to an advisory by People for the American Way, Senate Democrats assented to 95 percent of Bush judicial nominees during his first term, filibustering to prevent only 10 from taking the bench. (The filibuster rule requires 60 votes to close floor argument in order to force votes on bills and nominations then decided by majority vote.) President Bush has already appointed 23 percent of all current active federal judges, and 20 percent of the federal appellate-level judges. In contrast, fully one-third of President Clinton's appeals court nominees from 1995 through 2000

were blocked by Republicans, many through closed-door procedures such as secret holds.

In January, the Bush administration's immediate action on judicial appointments was to re-nominate 12 unqualified, extreme ideologues for judgeships in lower courts. These nominations had been successfully halted, some by filibuster, in previous Congresses.



SAVE THE FILIBUSTER

Senate Majority Leader Bill Frist (R-TN) and former Judiciary Committee Chair Orrin Hatch (R-UT) have laid the groundwork for a Senate putsch to eliminate the filibuster rule for judicial nominations, in order to force floor votes that would confirm these and Supreme Court nominees by majority vote. Conjuring yet another false crisis, Frist wants to ban filibustering of judicial nominations by a rule change passed by a simple majority vote. (Read Frist's disturbing arguments about what has been dubbed "the nuclear option" by both parties at www.freedomworks.org/informed/issues_template.php?issue_id=2129.)

Ironically, for those who remember the struggle to pass civil rights legislation in the 1960s, the 200-year-old filibuster plays an important role in protecting the separation of powers and the checks and balances framework of the Constitution. It sustains the deliberative

integrity of the Senate and shields from a majority lock its constitutional assignment under Article Two, Section 2 to prevent confirmation of judges and appointees who threaten the Constitution itself.

ACTION: Help save the filibuster! Knowledge is power: Please visit www.pfaw.org to find talking points and other action steps. Visit www.independentjudiciary.org for updates and information on all judicial nominees. Visit judiciary.senate.gov to obtain Senate Judiciary Committee information and hearings schedules, or call (202) 224-5225. Call or write your Congresspeople! For individual contact information, please visit www.senate.gov.

CONGRESS AND IRAQ: MORE CO-SPONSORS FOR H. CON. RES. 35 NEEDED

With trenchant “Whereas” clauses baring the facts and falsehoods of the war on Iraq, a resolution introduced by Congresswoman Lynn Woolsey (D-6th CA) on January 26, 2005, with 24 co-sponsors, calls on the president to: “(1) develop and implement a plan to begin the immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq; (2) develop and implement a plan for the reconstruction of Iraq’s civil and economic infra-structure; (3) convene an emergency meeting of Iraq’s leadership, Iraq’s neighbors, the United Nations, and the Arab League to create an international peacekeeping force in Iraq and to replace U.S. military forces with Iraqi police and National Guard forces to ensure Iraq’s security; and (4) take all necessary steps to provide Iraqi people opportunity to completely control their internal affairs.”

ACTION: If your representative is a resolution co-sponsor, thank him or her, sending along a copy of WILPF’s February statement on Iraq. If not, ask your representative to sign on! You can find a current list of co-sponsors at www.thomas.loc.gov under “Bill Summary and Status.” The site also contains printable text of the resolution itself.

BRIGHTER VISION: SMART SECURITY AND SUPPORT FOR NPT

DISARM! Campaign members Carol Reilley Urner, Ellen Barfield, and Vicki Ferguson visited the House office buildings on Capitol Hill in February to press for early reintroduction of two other Woolsey-sponsored resolutions from the 108th Congress, and to urge more co-sponsors. One, H. Con. Res. 392, called for “Adoption of a Sensible, Multilateral American Response to Terrorism (SMART) security platform for the 21st century.” It had 50 co-sponsors in the previous session. The other, H. Res. 291, contrasted the Pentagon’s 2002 Nuclear Posture Review (which projects indefinite reten-

tion of thousands of large, modern nuclear forces and calls for new ones) with United States obligations under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Citing the dangerous direction and immorality of current U.S. policy, it called on the president to

“implement and observe all NPT obligations and commitments and to revise national policies on nuclear weapons accordingly.”

DISARM! eagerly anticipates Woolsey’s acceptance of WILPF’s invitation to lead, along with Rep. Barbara Lee (D-9th CA), a WILPF U.S. NGO panel on “Working with the U.S. Congress on Non-proliferation Issues.” The panel will be held at the United Nations during the first week of May at the NPT Review Conference; the date and a list of participants will be posted on the WILPF website. Woolsey and Lee (the new U.S. WILPF sponsor) are the elected co-chairs of the Progressive Caucus for the 109th Congress. Extensive information about the NPT and Review Conference is available at www.reachingcriticalwill.org.

ACTION: Persuade your representative to sponsor the SMART Security and NPT resolutions! Please get involved in the “Make Peace a Reality, Write Now” postcard action (*see above*); kits were mailed in March.

90TH ANNIVERSARY MAKE PEACE A REALITY WRITE NOW POSTCARDS

Our goal = 10,000 postcards bundled to deliver to Washington, DC in 2005

Handsome new “Make Peace a Reality” postcards should by now have arrived for your branch, along with alert information for writing the first messages. Please write the postcards at branch meetings, bundle them into a large envelope, and mail them to the DC office! We’ll deliver them, making connections and reinforcing the legislative work you do at home.

If your branch hasn’t identified a specific person to introduce this exciting initiative and shepherd it along each month, please contact Vicki Ferguson at the DC office, (202) 546-6727.

2005 CONGRESSIONAL RECESS CALENDAR

Meet with your representative and senators while they're at home:

March 21-April 3

May 30-June 5

July 2-10

August 1-September 5

Scheduled adjournment September 30



PeaceEducation

WILPF Branches Strengthen Connection to JAPA Children's Books

.....
Linda Belle, JAPA Executive Director
.....

In October 2001, WILPF Milwaukee branch leaders Sandra Brown and Jean Woodmansee sent a letter to their membership and friends telling them about their plans to distribute the winning volumes of the Jane Addams Children's Book Award.

Their letter said, in part: "Since the events of September 11, 2001, we all ask ourselves, what can we do to preserve the principles of teaching peace and non-violence?" The answer: "Please join us in a local action of the purchasing and distribution of the Jane Addams Children's Award Books." The branch raised \$884, which was put into a credit account via the JAPA office, and have been ordering the books ever since.

From Maine to Hawaii, branches large and small consider this activity one of the best ways to introduce and publicize the JAPA and WILPF to a larger audience.

The Sacramento branch sends books for older children to the McClatchy High School in memory of May de Marie, who was the school's librarian for many years. Other branches raise funds in memory of WILPF members to purchase books for their public library and/or public schools. The Portland branch usually orders six sets, and the Seattle branch, three, to distribute to their many public libraries and public schools. Several individual members have purchased books to donate to their grandchildren's public school library. Many members report that donating the books is their only WILPF project due to their health or to financial considerations. Some branches solicit book donations from their community, which allows branches that cannot afford the books an opportunity to order and donate them while connecting the work of WILPF to their local community.

The nine winning books for 2004 have been featured in the Winter 2004 issue of *Peace and Freedom*, and can also be found on our website: www.janeaddamspeace.org.

To place an order for the 2004 books, follow order-

ing instructions below. (Only for donation in WILPF's name, please; otherwise, visit your neighborhood bookstore.) This year's award-winners will be announced April 28, 2005, WILPF's 90th anniversary; the books will be available for purchase in 2006.

Special thanks to Millee Livingston and the Auburn, CA, branch for once again handling these book orders.

Children's Book Award Ordering Information

WILPF branches may purchase sets of 2004 Jane Addams Children's Book Awards books for donation to schools and libraries at a special price.

The nine volumes (the winner in each category, two honor books in each category, plus three Special Commendation books) are offered for \$90 plus \$10 shipping and insurance, a total of just \$100 for these amazing children's books.

Each set includes: *Harvesting Hope: The Story of Cesar Chavez* by Kathleen Krull, illustrated by Yuyi Morales (Harcourt Children's Books), winner, Picture Book category; *Out of Bounds: Seven Stories of Conflict and Hope* by Beverley Naidoo (HarperCollins Children's Books), winner, Books for Older Children; *Girl Wonder: A Baseball Story in Nine Innings* by Deborah Hopkinson, illustrated by Terry Widener (Atheneum Books for Young Readers) and *Luba: The Angel of Bergen-Belsen* by Michelle R. McCann, illustrated by Ann Marshall (Tricycle Press), honor books, Picture Book category; *Getting Away with Murder: The True Story of the Emmett Till Case* by Chris Crowe (Phyllis Fogelman Books/Penguin Books for Young Readers) and *Shutting Out the Sky: Life in the Tenements of New York 1880-1924* by Deborah Hopkinson (Orchard Books), honor books, Books for Older Children category; and the trilogy *The Breadwinner*, *Parvana's Journey*, and *Mud City* by Deborah Ellis (Groundwood Books/Douglas & McIntyre), Special Commendation.

To order, write to: Award Book Orders, c/o Millee Livingston, 11251 Tahoe Street, Auburn, CA 95602-9235. Include a check for \$100 per set payable to: JAPA. Questions? Email Millee at milleelivingston@hotmail.com



This Peace Education section is funded by the Jane Addams Peace Association.

Cape Cod WILPF Starts Joan Patchen Fund

The Cape Cod Branch is pleased to announce its intention to accept applications for funds in the name of longtime WILPF member, activist, and artist Joan Patchen.

This fund, set up with the Jane Addams Peace Association, will award grants twice yearly for projects that include fine arts, drama, and/or music. Any WILPF member, branch, or section may apply. The proposed project must be an event or program sponsored by a WILPF branch or section.

For grant guidelines, please contact:

Linda Belle, Executive Director
Jane Addams Peace Association
777 UN Plaza, 6th floor
New York, NY 10017
(212) 682-8830; japa@igc.org
www.janeaddamspeace.org

WILPF (AND MORE) ON THE WEB

U.S. WILPF: www.wilpf.org

INTERNATIONAL WILPF: www.wilpf.int.ch/

REACHING CRITICAL WILL: www.reachingcriticalwill.org

PEACE CAMPS: www.peacecamps.org

PEACEWOMEN: www.peacewomen.org

SOURCES OF IN-DEPTH INFORMATION ABOUT AFGHANISTAN AND IRAQ

EPIC: EDUCATION FOR PEACE IN IRAQ CENTER
www.epic-usa.org • (202) 543-6176

MADRE
www.madre.org • (212) 627-0444

MILITARY FAMILIES SPEAK OUT
www.mfso.org • (617) 522-9323

RAWA: REVOLUTIONARY ASSOCIATION
OF THE WOMEN OF AFGHANISTAN
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Only When Women Sing

Carole Fontaine

Editor's Note: This poem was written in honor of the women of Afghanistan and Iraq and offered as testimony at the Women's World Court War Crimes Tribunal in 2003.

Do not show me tiny crowds of handpicked men;
do not regale me with films of gunfire in the air —
these mean nothing.

Show me instead the mothers,
pictures of long-dead sons at their breast;
show me their sisters, whose brothers
and husbands never came home;
let me see their joy, if they have it.

Show me battalions of little girls, if you can —
healthy and learned, with futures and names.
Show me their mothers, with homes all arrayed
in abundance and peace, with color and song.

Do not pronounce victories, missions accomplished,
when tyrants go skulking from palace to hole:
show me the women, show me the old,
wreathed now in hope, with a sense of 'it's over,'
formerly broken, now a little more whole.

It will only be victory when women sing in the streets,
their veils firmly chosen and anchored in place,
or off and waving, if they have the taste,
but both equally safe — to choose, to live, to learn, to love.
It will only be victory when the women sing.

Carole Fontaine is the John Taylor Professor of Biblical Theology and History and Resident Artist at Andover Newton Theological School; she is also the Boston WUNRN workshop director.

The 2004 Presidential Election: What Happened in Ohio?

Judy Gallo

Some election activists in Ohio, the state whose electoral votes handed President G.W. Bush a second term, will tell you that the November 2004 election was stolen. Bush is not a legitimately elected president, in their opinion, and should be removed. Or, the election should be held again, or at least recounted fairly — this time, without any foul play.

The nonpartisan Greater Cleveland Voter Registration Coalition, an alliance of 53 affiliated organizations and hundreds of volunteers, which I help lead, takes the position that who really won is not our main concern. We are disturbed that so many things went wrong in Ohio, and see an urgent need to fix a broken electoral system — especially if major elections are to be decided by a tiny percentage of voters.

Our focus now is on that fix. Election reform is needed at the county, state, and federal levels and, if it is to be done right, requires the energy and commitment of as many people as were needed before the election. This will be a long process, and we can't afford to wait till 2008 to begin.

Every electoral system has problems, many say. It seemed like these elections went pretty smoothly. Not so, we say, not if you saw the problems we saw in our own backyard.

Our coalition itemized 27 issues that need to be addressed. On the top of our list were: a registration and voting system that unfairly disenfranchised poor and less-educated citizens; vote suppression and intimidation in communities of color; wrong information or no information given to voters by Boards of Elections; poorly trained poll workers; registered voters' names entered incorrectly or missing altogether on the rolls, while other voters' names had mysteriously disappeared; provisional ballots rejected when voters were at the wrong precinct table in the same room as the cor-

rect table. Not to mention long lines, lack of enough working machines, misinformation given to former felons about their voting rights, lack of sufficient help for those for whom English is a second language and those with disabilities — the list goes on.

Indeed, the problems in Ohio that came to light in the hearings convened in January by Rep. John Conyers (D-MI), Rep. Stephanie Tubbs Jones (D-OH), and Sen. Barbara Boxer, (D-CA) were enough to warrant holding up the Electoral College vote until they could be aired in a two-hour debate.

A nation that promotes itself as a bastion of democracy should make elections very easy for its citizens, and yet they seem to be getting more and more difficult.

There are a number of ways people can take action. Citizen advocacy groups can be formed in every county to monitor the actions of local boards of elections. Boards may be willing to meet with such groups to discuss voting-related issues. Statewide networks can be formed to see what changes need to be made at the state level, and what type of legislation is necessary to implement them. (Some friendly lawyers will be needed.)

Changes are also required at the federal level. Rep. Conyers has asked for citizen input on HAVA (the Help America Vote Act); for more information, visit

www.house.gov/conyers. And organizing work needs to continue in the unions (which did an unprecedented job of registering and educating their members and getting them out to vote.)

We need to be ready for the next elections with a fully registered, educated, and mobilized electorate that knows its rights. This can happen, but only if we set to work now.

Judy Gallo is a member of Women Speak Out for Peace and Justice, the Cleveland Branch of WILPF.



WILPF's fall-winter interns, clockwise from left: Florentina Mulaj, leadership and outreach; Elena DiGiovanna, program; Harini Viswanathan, web; Lauren Lim, development.

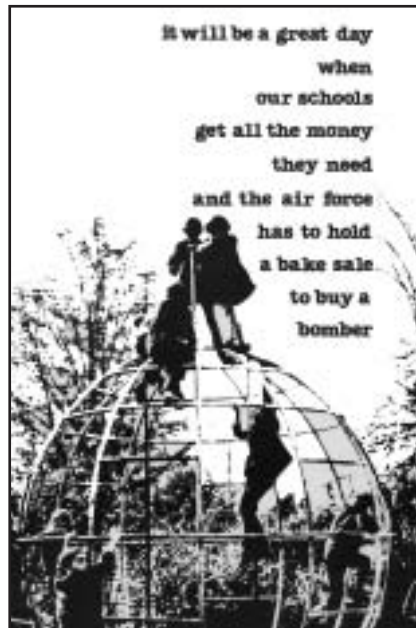
Women's International League for Peace & Freedom

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