

Contraportada
en español

THE FIRST CASUALTY OF WAR IS TRUTH WARTIMES

Tiempo de Guerras

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Soldados, familias se oponen a Bush

La guerra de Bush en Irak enfrenta una creciente oposición entre soldados, sus familias y veteranos, incluyendo a oficiales de alto rango. Una encuesta bi-partidaria publicada por la revista Business Week en diciembre mostró una aprobación para el presidente de un simple 36 por ciento entre personas relacionadas con los militares.

Contraportada en español

Remembering Martin Luther King Beyond Vietnam

BY REV. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

In recognition of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Day, below are excerpts from his famous speech of April 4, 1967 at Riverside Church in New York City. Many of his insights about the war in Vietnam are relevant to the U.S. war in Iraq.—Ed.

It occurs to me that what we are submitting [our troops] to in Vietnam is not simply the brutalizing process that goes on in any war where armies face each other and seek to destroy. We are adding cynicism to the process of death, for they must know after a short period there that none of the things we claim to be fighting for are really involved. Before long they must know that

their government has sent them into a struggle among Vietnamese, and the more sophisticated surely realize that we are on the side of the wealthy and the secure while we create hell for the poor. Somehow this madness must cease. If we continue, there will be no doubt in my mind and in the mind of the world that we have no honorable intentions in Vietnam.

It will become clear that our minimal expectation is to occupy it as an American colony.

[The world] demands that we admit that we have been wrong from the beginning of our adventure in Vietnam. Meanwhile we in the churches and synagogues have a continuing task while we urge our government to disengage itself from a disgraceful commitment. We must continue to raise our voices if our nation persists in its perverse ways in Vietnam. We must be prepared to match actions with words by seeking out every creative means of protest possible.

The war in Vietnam is but a symptom of a far deeper malady within the American spirit. Such thoughts take us beyond Vietnam.

I am convinced that if we are to get on the right side of the world revolution, we as a nation must undergo a radical revolution of values. We must rapidly begin the shift from a "thing-oriented" society to a "person-oriented" society.

A true revolution of values will soon cause us to question

Martin Luther King: continued on page 2

Soldiers, Families Oppose Bush

Casualties Grow Post Saddam

BY KERRY TAYLOR

President Bush's war in Iraq faces growing opposition from those who are on the front lines: soldiers, their families and veterans, including high-ranking officers.

A bipartisan poll published by Business Week in December showed approval for the president at a mere 36 percent among soldiers, their families and veterans.

"I think the American people were conned into this [war]," said retired Marine Corps Gen. Anthony Zinni, a Bush supporter in 2000. Zinni, who was chief of U.S. operations in the Middle East until three years ago, also charged the administration with failing to plan an occupation that would rebuild Iraq, provide internal stability and advance democracy.

Despite the capture of Saddam Hussein, there has been no let-up in U.S. casualties. As of mid-January, 500 U.S. soldiers have been killed—more than died in the first four years of the Vietnam War. Up to 22,000 more have been evacuated from Iraq for medical reasons. Twenty-one have committed suicide.

LOW TROOP MORALE

The high casualty rate may help explain the low troop morale reported in October by Stars and Stripes, the military newspaper. Nearly one in three of the 2,000 military personnel it surveyed reported that they believed the war had "no value" or "little or no value" at all.

Nearly 50 percent of National Guard



Hundreds of veterans and military families joined the 75,000-strong Oct. 26, 2003 antiwar protest in Washington, D.C. Venus-val Hammack (left) is a disabled veteran of Desert Storm whose son, Logan, is currently in the Air Force. Jari Sheese (right) has a soldier-husband in Iraq.

A bipartisan poll showed approval for Bush at a mere 36 percent among vets, soldiers and military families.

"I think it's terrible that the Americans will not let you in to see your beloved daughter.... This is the way they treat their own people! Imagine how they treat us.... We were better off before [the U.S. entered]."

Soldiers, Families: continued on page 2

personnel and reservists reported low morale. "Reserve members can't possibly keep this pace up," warned Master Sgt. C.J. Nouse, who has spent just four months with his family since Sept. 11, 2001. "With deployments to Bosnia and for homeland defense, our families are continuing to suffer. Does anyone care? This is totally unacceptable. Bring us home or suffer mass exits soon."

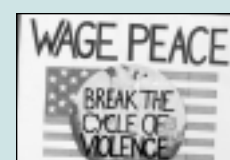
MILITARY FAMILIES ORGANIZE

It is this concern that led the Pentagon to announce "stop loss" measures prohibiting troops returning from Iraq and Afghanistan from leaving the service for up to 90 days after arriving at their home bases. The military can then decide to keep them in service indefinitely "if needed."

The opposition from those in the military is amplified by the voices of military family members and veterans who oppose the war.

Larry Syverson, the father of two sons still fighting in Iraq, recently completed his 100th antiwar protest in front of the federal courthouse in Richmond, Va.

Anabel Valencia of Tucson had not seen her soldier-daughter in three years, so in December she decided to visit her in Tikrit, Iraq. The U.S. military denied her entrance to the base, but she won sympathy from Iraqi police Capt. Hussein, who was assigned to stand guard over her. According to the Los Angeles Times, Capt. Hussein said:



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WAR WATCH

BY ELLEN KAISER

DETAINEES ABUSED AND REFUSED

Hundreds of prison videotapes confirm that immigrants detained after the Sept. 11 attacks suffered serious physical and verbal abuse, according to a report issued by the Department of Justice's Inspector General (Dec. 18). Nearly a thousand foreign nationals, mostly Arab and Muslim men, were jailed after Sept. 11, and not one was ever charged with a terrorism-related crime.

Tapes from the Metropolitan Detention Center in Brooklyn, N.Y. showed "some officers slammed and bounced detainees against the wall, twisted their arms and hands in painful ways, stepped on their leg restraint chains and punished them by keeping them restrained for long periods of time." The videotapes were not turned over by prison officials during an earlier investigation.

On Jan. 12, the Supreme Court turned down an appeal challenging the secrecy that surrounded these detentions. The Supreme Court let stand an appeals court ruling that found reasonable the administration's claim that terrorist networks could reap advantage from disclosure of information about the circumstances of the arrests or even the names of those arrested.

WORLDWIDE ANTIWAR PROTESTS SET FOR MARCH 20

"Not one more day, Not one more death, Not one more dollar." Protests of the Iraq war and occupation are set for March 20 in New York, San Francisco, Chicago and other cities around the world to mark the first anniversary of the invasion and occupation of Iraq.

The Global Day of Action Against War and Occupation should be a massive event that shows that popular opinion is as strongly against the war in Iraq today as it was when massive numbers demonstrated all over the world last Feb. 15. Don't let the election season go by without reminding every presidential candidate that an international majority is opposed to the U.S. occupation of Iraq. Help organize. Contact www.unitedforpeace.com and www.internationalanswer.org.

WILLIE NELSON'S ANTIWAR SONG

Veteran country music singer Willie Nelson, who is up for five Grammy awards this year, is playing a new tune:

"What Ever Happened to Peace on Earth." It starts: "There's so many things going on in the world/Babies dying/ Mothers crying/ How much oil is one human life worth/ And what ever happened to peace on earth?" This is Nelson's second protest song. The first was his 1991 reflection on the Vietnam-era, "Jimmy's Road."

FBI SPIES ON ANTIWAR ACTIVISTS

An FBI bulletin leaked to The New York Times revealed that the agency is systematically collecting intelligence on the U.S. antiwar movement. The memorandum directs agents to report on everything from demonstrations to Internet organizing. Anthony Romero, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union, said that the document shows that, "The FBI is dangerously targeting Americans who are engaged in nothing more than lawful protest and dissent."

GOVERNMENT FAILED TO PREVENT 9-11

In an interview with CBS on Dec. 17, Thomas Kean, the Republican chairman of the commission investigating the Sept. 11 attacks, said he believes the strikes could have been prevented. "This was not something that had to happen." Kean added, "There are people that, if I was doing the job, would certainly not be in the position they were in at that time because they failed. They simply failed."

U.S. SPIED ON U.N. DELEGATES

Katharine Gun, a former British intelligence employee, leaked a National Security Agency memo revealing that the U.S. spied on Security Council delegates when it was seeking U.N. approval for an Iraq invasion. The memo indicated that the U.S. used wiretaps and read private e-mails to find "information that could give U.S. policy-makers an edge in obtaining results favorable to U.S. goals."

Gun said she acted "to prevent an illegal war in which thousands of Iraqi civilians and British soldiers would be killed or maimed." For leaking this information, Gun is facing charges under the Official Secrets Act. (Baltimore Sun, Dec. 14)

BUSH AND BLAIR CAN'T FIND WMD

On Jan. 8, The New York Times reported that the Bush administration has withdrawn from Iraq a 400-member military team whose job was to search for and destroy weapons of mass destruction. "The step was described by some military officials as a sign that the administration might have lowered its sights and no longer expected to uncover the caches of chemical and biological weapons that the White House cited as a principal reason for going to war last March," according to The Times.

On Jan. 11, British Prime Minister Tony Blair said he did not know whether any weapons of mass destruction would ever be found in Iraq. Blair told BBC television the weapons had not been at sites where military chiefs expected to find them and they might never be found.

Soldiers, Families *From page 1*

But resistance can come at a cost to GIs and their families. After Jari Sheese of Indianapolis participated in several peace demonstrations and a Paris television program, her antiwar activities were noted in a general's report. Then her soldier-husband in Iraq was transferred on two hours' notice to a remote base with restricted access to the Internet and telephone. Yet he supports Sheese's continued vocal opposition to the occupation as the only way to end the war and bring him home.

Military family organizations and veterans groups have banded together to launch the Bring Them Home Now campaign, led by Military Families Speak Out (MFSO) and Veterans for Peace. Founded in November 2002, MFSO provides a forum for GI families to express their opposition to the war through press conferences, demonstrations at military bases and peace delegations to Iraq.

The organization also sued the administration for taking the country to war without a congressional declaration. (See www.mfso.org.)

Co-founder Nancy Lessin says more than 1,000 families have joined MFSO. There are also several unofficial military unit websites advocating peace and the return of the troops. (See www.bringhomethe142.org and www.129supportingoursoldiers.com.)

MFSO member Jessica Salamon of Cleveland, whose husband was recently deployed to Iraq, defended her protest work as "the best way that I can think of to show that I do support the troops; I support each and every one of them coming home now. I can't just sit back and make care packages." ■

Kerry Taylor is a graduate student at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and a member of United Electrical Workers Local 150A.

Martin Luther King *From page 1*

the fairness and justice of many of our past and present policies. A nation that continues year after year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death.

America, the richest and most powerful nation in the world, can well lead the way in this revolution of values. There is nothing, except a tragic death wish, to prevent us from reorder-

A nation that spends more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death.

ing our priorities, so that the pursuit of peace will take precedence over the pursuit of war.

Our only hope today lies in our ability to recapture the revolutionary spirit and go out into a sometimes hostile world declaring eternal hostility to poverty, racism and militarism. With this powerful commitment we shall boldly challenge the status quo and unjust mores and thereby speed the day when "every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain and hill shall be made low, and the crooked shall be made straight and the rough places plain." ■



Bennett, The Christian Science Monitor

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ART EDITOR: Gerald Lenoir

COPY EDITORS: John Hammett, Karen Lenoir, Pat Soberanis, Kerry Taylor

TRANSLATION: Mariana Bustamante, Ruth Warner Carrillo, Maria Eraná, Marielena Hincapie, Hilary Klein, Graciela Orozco, Ricardo Ortega

DISTRIBUTION: Jan Adams, Scott Burgwin, Louise Dunlap, Felicia Gustin, Hany Khalil, Ed Lee, Kerry Levenberg, Burton Li, Sushawn Robb, Ellen Schwartz

BUSINESS: Linda Burnham, Rebecca Gordon

DESIGN & PRODUCTION: Lisa Roth

PRINT MANAGEMENT: Denise Granger

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NEXT ISSUE
MARCH 2004

Communities Defend Civil Liberties

BY SHENNA BELLOWES

More than 235 communities have now passed measures urging a rollback of the liberty-threatening policies and laws put in place by the Bush administration since Sept. 11. Numerous Bill of Rights defense committees, unions, immigrant rights and other grassroots groups have sprung up to fight Bush's curbs on civil liberties as well.

This growing movement has bolstered the resolve of the courts and Congress to preserve our freedoms. And it has forced the administration to shelve some of its most outrageous proposals, such as "Operation TIPS" (Terrorist Information and Prevention System)—a program to organize people to spy on their neighbors.

This popular resistance has also so far prevented the White House from placing its pernicious USA Patriot Act II before Congress.

Washington claims that these resolutions are passing only in "liberal college towns." But the states, cities, towns and counties that make up this movement include large urban areas such as Broward County, Florida and remote rural outposts like Castle Valley, Utah. The cities of Detroit, Denver, Chicago, Philadelphia, Las Vegas, Baltimore, Seattle and most recently, Atlanta have also passed similar measures.

Members of Congress are feeling the heat of this grassroots movement, as became clear last fall when they debated the 2004 intelligence authorization bill.

The bill contained a provision permitting the FBI and other government agencies to issue their own "national security letters"—essentially, their own subpoenas to demand confidential records from businesses.

Spending bills like this one normally pass easily and almost unanimously. But this time, under pressure from a national grassroots movement, more than a third of the House of Representatives voted against it.

BUSH BACKS DOWN

Although the bill passed, the movement has forced the administration to soft-pedal or even abandon other plans to limit civil liberties. In December 2003, the administration suspended its "Special Registration" program, which required men from certain Arab or Muslim countries to register annually with the government.

Many groups have mounted campaigns against surveillance programs like the Total Information Awareness system, which would have enabled the government to keep an electronic file on every American filled with the details of their lives. Public outcry forced the administration to back off of this plan.



"Special registration tears families apart," said Suman Raghunathan of the New York Immigration Coalition at a protest in New York City. Special registration is the program that required men from most Arab and/or Muslim countries to register annually with the government.

Another movement target is the administration's designation of U.S. citizens as "enemy combatants," that allows

A growing movement helped force Bush to drop proposals that erode our freedoms.

the government to detain such people indefinitely without access to a lawyer, without charge and without trial.

A federal appeals court this fall issued a stinging rebuke to

the federal government in the case of José Padilla. The government has been holding Padilla incommunicado and without charges, based on allegations that he had planned to explode a "dirty bomb."

In January 2004, the Supreme Court agreed to hear the case of Yaser Esam Hamdi, another U.S. citizen who was labeled an "enemy combatant," and may take on the Padilla case as well.

The high court also agreed to hear a case challenging the U.S.'s inhumane treatment of prisoners at Guantanamo Bay.

Further challenges to civil liberties will undoubtedly continue. In January, for example, the Department of Homeland Security began fingerprinting and photographing most non-Europeans who enter this country with a visa. In response, we can expect to see more communities and organizations joining the fight to protect civil liberties. ■

Shenna Bellows works with the American Civil Liberties Union in Washington, D.C.

Elites Blast President

BY BOB WING

Three establishment heavyweights struck sharp blows to President Bush's policies and credibility in early January.

Former Bush Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill, the Army War College and the Carnegie Endowment, acting separately, accused the president of purposely misrepresenting the reasons for the war on Iraq. And they forcefully argued that the war would backfire on the U.S.

The plan to oust Saddam Hussein, according to O'Neill, was underway long before Sept. 11. O'Neill said that from the first day the president took office he tasked the National Security Agency (NSA) with "building the case against Hussein and looking at how we could take him out and change Iraq into a new country."

O'Neill, who was a member of the NSA, said the discussions included how to divvy up Iraq's oil.

Publicly, the president has stated that the Iraq war was part of the "war on terrorism" that began on Sept. 11. According to O'Neill, the White House instead used the opportunity presented by Sept. 11 to implement its predetermined war on Iraq.

O'Neill, long praised by Bush as a "straight shooter," said that the president was also dishonest about his economic policies. He said the president was acutely aware that his tax cuts benefited the rich, but publicly promoted them as helping the middle class.

WAR COLLEGE FAULTS BUSH STRATEGY

On January 12, The Washington Post reported that a "scathing" new report issued by the U.S. Army War College "broadly criticizes the Bush administration's handling of the war on terrorism, accusing it of taking a detour into an 'unnecessary' war in Iraq and pursuing an 'unrealistic' quest against terrorism that may lead to U.S. wars with states that pose no serious threat."

The War College is the Army's premier academic institution.

The report, written by Jeffrey Record, criticizes the White House for "insisting on co-conspiratorial links between the Saddam Hussein regime and al-Qaeda, repeatedly rais[ing] the specter of the dictator's transfer of weapons of mass destruction to al-Qaeda; and encourag[ing] the view that Saddam Hussein had a direct hand in the 9/11 attacks."

It says the White House perpetrated this falsehood in order to "unnecessarily expand the war on terror against a state that was not at war with the U.S. and that posed no direct or imminent threat."

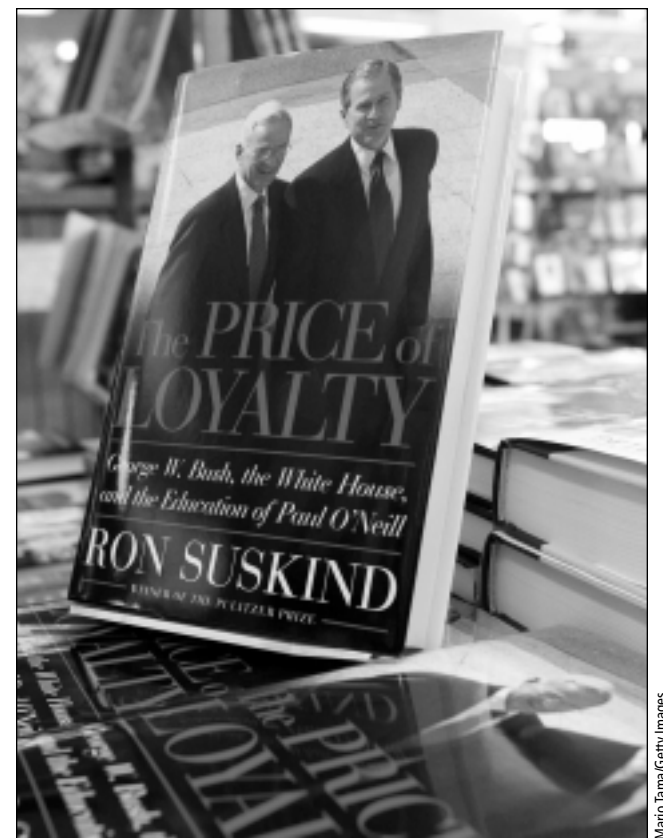
Consequently, the report concludes, the president's war on terror "is strategically unfocused, promises much more than it can deliver, and threatens to dissipate U.S. military and other resources in an endless and hopeless search for absolute security."

The War College report also faults the White House for an "absence of significant international participation" in Iraq and says the chaos will "continue as long as the U.S. is unwilling to share authority over Iraq's future with the U.N."

In the same week, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace issued a comprehensive report by four weapons experts showing that the administration purposely overstated and misrepresented pre-war claims about the "imminent threat" of Iraqi biological, chemical and nuclear weapons.

Contrary to the president's claims, the Carnegie report concludes that, following the first Gulf War, "Iraq's nuclear pro-

A U.S. Army War College report says Bush's "war on terror" is "an endless and hopeless search for absolute security."



Former Bush Treasury Secretary Paul O'Neill blasted President Bush in the press and in the new book, *The Price of Loyalty*, by Ron Suskind. The administration has launched an investigation into O'Neill's use of secret documents.

gram had been dismantled and there was no convincing evidence of its reconstitution....Operations Desert Storm and Desert Fox, and UN inspections and sanctions effectively destroyed Iraq's large-scale chemical weapon production capabilities."

It concludes that the "U.S. strategy should be revised to eliminate the policy of unilateral preventive war." ■

Bob Wing is managing editor of War Times.

Iraqi Unemployed Mount Protests

U.S. Arrests Unionists

BY DAVID BACON

Iraq's vast unemployed took to the streets throughout the country in early January to protest joblessness. As many as seven million people, 70 percent of the workforce, have no jobs. Many more go hungry or are homeless.

Six protesters were killed in Amarah alone on Jan. 11. Representatives of the unemployed were also promised 8,000 new jobs. However, the Associated Press reports that 28,000 were recently laid off, and that an equal number stand to lose their jobs soon.

The mass protests followed attacks on Iraq's new labor unions in the past two months. On Dec. 6, an army convoy descended on the Baghdad office of the Iraqi Workers Federation of Trade Unions (IWFTU). Soldiers handcuffed eight members of the IWFTU's executive board, and took them into detention.

Qasim Hadi, general secretary of the Union of the Unemployed, and Adil Salih, another leader of that organization, were arrested by the occupation forces on Nov. 23.

All were released after one day of detention.

The \$60 a month received by most employees is the same salary paid under Saddam Hussein. But the U.S. has cut off the substantial bonuses, profit-sharing payments and subsidies for food and housing that they formerly received. "The U.S. controls the finances and our wages," says Detrala Beshab, president of Al Daura oil refinery's new union.

NEW WAVE OF ORGANIZING

Although the U.S. has banned unions at government-owned companies like Al Daura, the IWFTU helped the refinery's workers organize a union and has done the same in other industries. In Basra workers have formed a central labor council, and have mounted

protest demonstrations. The Workers Unions and Councils group has helped workers elect committees in the State Leather Industry plant, the largest shoe factory in the Middle East, and the Mamoun Vegetable Oil enterprise, among others.

The U.S.'s Coalition Provisional Author-

ity (CPA) has issued an order that threatens anyone who "incites civil disorder" with detention as a prisoner of war under the Geneva Convention. The recent arrests of union leaders are the latest efforts by the occupation authorities to suppress wages and unions. The U.S. is trying to keep the occupation's costs down and to make the country attractive to foreign investors.

Indeed, in October Thomas Foley, the U.S. director for Iraq's private sector development, announced a list of the first Iraqi state enterprises to be sold off. It included cement and fertilizer plants, phosphate and sulfur mines, pharmaceutical factories and the country's airline. This followed the CPA's

Order No. 39, which permits 100 percent foreign ownership of businesses, except for the oil industry, and allows the transfer of profits outside the country.

Iraqi workers fear the privatization of their workplaces will bring massive layoffs. The manager of the Al Daura oil refinery, Dathar Al-Kashab, predicts that with privatization, "I'll have to fire 1,500 [of the refinery's 3,000] workers. If I dismiss employees now, I'm killing them and their families."

IWFTU leader Jassim Mashkoul laments that, "at the beginning, we thought our situation might get better, since we got rid of Saddam Hussein. But it hasn't improved." Muhsen Mull Ali, who spent two long stints in prison for organizing unions, says: "Our responsibility is to oppose privatization as much as possible, and fight for the welfare of our workers."

But to the Bush administration and the occupation authority, this activity is a crime. ■

David Bacon, a journalist and photographer who recently traveled to Iraq, is author of the newly published *The Children of NAFTA*.

'Our responsibility is to oppose privatization and fight for the welfare of our workers.'—Iraqi unionist.

Maxim Marmur/Getty Images



U.S. soldiers clash with protesters during a demonstration by the Iraqi Union of the Unemployed in front of the U.S. headquarters in Baghdad.

Sharon's Plan Decoded

BY URI AVNER

Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's speech on Dec. 19, 2003 called for the unilateral disengagement of Israel from Palestine. The speech caused much confusion in the U.S. as to its meaning. A few days later, Uri Avnery, a former member of the Israeli parliament and a co-founder of the Israeli peace bloc, wrote a clarify-

ing interpretation of Sharon's speech.

An excerpt from Avnery's interpretation is offered below. The full article is at www.gush-shalom.org/archives/article282.html.

SHARON'S PLAN

The name of the game is Hitnatkut ("cutting ourselves off"). Meaning: Most of the West Bank area will become de facto a part of Israel, and the rest we shall leave to the Palestinians, who will be enclosed in isolated enclaves. From these enclaves, the settlements will be removed.

Stage One: The army will have to occupy and fortify new lines, while "relocating" dozens of isolated settlements. We shall finish the "separation fence," and it will play a major part in the new deployment. We shall develop the "settlement blocs," to which we shall transfer the settlers who will be relocated.

While we quietly prepare the big operation, we shall

continue to flatter President Bush and praise his idiotic Road Map. At the same time we shall pretend to seek negotiations with the Palestinians. When we are ready to go, we shall terminate the contacts, declare the Road Map dead and state sorrowfully that all our efforts to start peace negotiations have failed because of Arafat.

Stage Two: By then, the "separation wall" will be ready. The Palestinians will be surrounded on all sides. In practice there will be about a dozen isolated pockets. The army will withdraw gradually to the separation barrier and redeploy in the territories that will be annexed to Israel. Altogether, more than half the West Bank. In line with the American proposal, we shall call the Palestinian enclaves "a Palestinian State with Temporary Borders." But, of course, the "separation wall" will be the final border.

AVNER'S COMMENTARY

Beneath the road to the implementation of the Sharon Plan there lie two big landmines: the settlers and the Palestinians.

The inhabitants of the settlements that are supposed to be "relocated" include some of the most extreme elements of the settlement movement. They will have to be removed by force.

Sharon's plan: Most of the West Bank will become de facto a part of Israel, and the rest will be enclosed in isolated enclaves.

The Palestinians will see the execution of a plan that they believe, quite rightly, to be a device for the destruction of the national aims of the Palestinian people. Clearly there will be no place in the Palestinian enclaves for returning refugees (not to mention any return of refugees to Israel itself). To call this structure a "Palestinian State" is a joke in bad taste.

Therefore, the Palestinians will fight against this plan, and their struggle will intensify the more it progresses. Probably, the violent fight will spill over into many other countries around the world, both on the ground and in the air. There will be no peace, no security. ■



Palestinian children in Qalqilya flee a tear gas grenade thrown by Israeli soldiers on Dec. 27, 2003 at the "security wall" that Israel is building to enclose the entire West Bank.

Why We Must Bring The Troops Home Now

BY BOB WING

THE OCCUPATION OF IRAQ IS UNJUSTIFIED, IMMORAL AND ILLEGAL.

Iraq posed no threat to the U.S., had no weapons of mass destruction and no ties to Al Qaeda. Even many Bush supporters (and the U.S. Army War College) admit this was a “war of choice” and not one of “self-defense.” To use modern weapons to kill and destroy mostly innocent people and to take over Iraq was therefore unconscionable. It was a violation of Iraqi sovereignty and international law.

THE DEATH TOLL ON ALL SIDES IS MOUNTING.

Forty thousand or more Iraqis have been killed or injured, and many more have lost their homes and property. More than 500 U.S. soldiers have died in Iraq as of mid-January—more than died in the first four years of the Vietnam War. Up to 20,000 more have been evacuated for medical reasons.

Continuing occupation means growing Iraqi opposition and increasing death, misery and costs.

THE OCCUPATION IS MAKING LIFE MISERABLE FOR ORDINARY IRAQIS.

Public safety, especially for women and children, is almost non-existent. Unemployment is more than 50 percent. Wages have fallen from pre-war levels. Water and electricity are scarce. An end to the constant conflict, destruction and costs of the occupation is necessary for these conditions to improve.

THERE IS NO END IN SIGHT TO THE CONFLICT.

Even the CIA admits that Iraqi public opposition to the U.S. is growing, not diminishing. Armed attacks have not let up and non-violent protests are constant. Washington is currently planning to keep the troops there until at least 2007.

Prolonging the occupation means compounding the death, misery and costs each day.

THE COST OF THE IRAQ WAR AND OCCUPATION IS SOARING: \$166 BILLION AND COUNTING.

Instead of spending this money on the occupation, these billions should be used to help both Iraq and the U.S. create jobs and safety, relieve poverty, and improve health and education.

THE PROPOSED TRANSITION TO IRAQI POWER IS A SHAM.

As long as the U.S. troops remain en masse, the U.S. will be the true power and all others will be mere figureheads who serve at the U.S.'s pleasure. Iraqis are loudly demanding direct elections, but the U.S. refuses for fear of not being able to control the outcome.

THE WAR AND OCCUPATION HAVE EXPANDED AND INFLAMED THE RANKS OF TERRORISTS, MAKING OUR LIVES MORE DANGEROUS AND INSECURE.

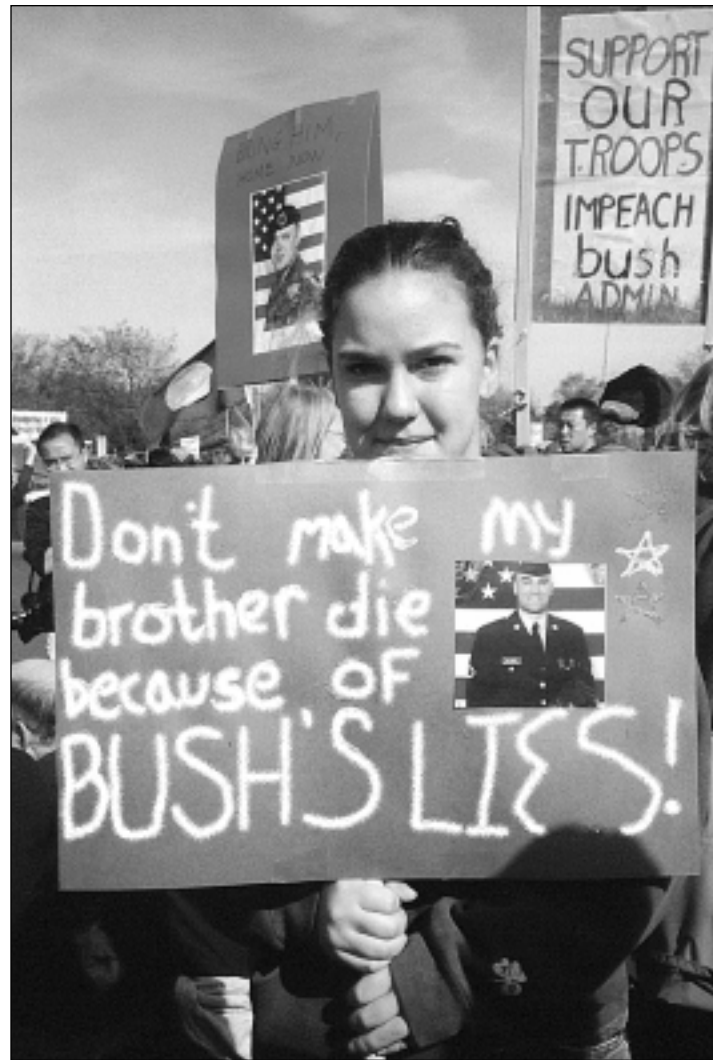
The war has turned more and more people against the U.S. and has further legitimized the use of armed force. By rejecting the legitimacy of all aggressive wars and occupations we would be in a much better position to convince others that war and terrorism are wrong.

THE WAR AND OCCUPATION ARE ISOLATING THE U.S. FROM THE COUNTRIES AND PEOPLES OF THE WORLD.

The U.N. refused to endorse the war and public opinion polls show that the overwhelming majority of people in other countries oppose the occupation. To rebuild goodwill, the government must admit it was wrong, reject the idea that might makes right and abide by international law.

IF THE U.S. LEAVES, THE IRAQI PEOPLE CAN REASSERT CONTROL OVER THEIR OWN COUNTRY.

The Iraqis whom the U.S. has handpicked and armed to serve Washington's interests should not be given control of the country. The U.N. must not participate in the U.S. occu-



But, once the U.S. agrees to leave, if important sectors of Iraqis request it, international bodies like the U.N. and/or the Arab League should help the Iraqis set up mechanisms through which the Iraqi people themselves choose their leaders and control their own country. The U.S. should then pour billions into rebuilding the country it has spent so much to destroy. ■

Bob Wing is the managing editor of War Times.

Ten Good Things About 2003

BY MEDEA BENJAMIN

As we greet the new year, let's celebrate some of our hard-fought victories in a time of adversity.

1 We organized the most massive, global protests against war the world has ever seen. On February 15 alone, over 12 million people came out on the streets in over 700 cities in 60 countries and on every continent. The New York Times claimed there were now two superpowers: the U.S. and global public opinion.

2 Over the last few months, mainstream Americans have been buying progressive books by the millions. Authors such as Michael Moore, Al Franken, Molly Ivins, Paul Krugman and David Corn have seen their books soar to The New York Times best-sellers list. With humor and biting exposes of the Bush administration, these authors helped our movement gain legions of new converts.

3 When the World Trade Organization met in Cancun in September to give even greater power to transnational corporations, they were met by well-coordinated opposition from countries in the global South, hundreds of non-governmental organizations, and thousands of activists, who forced the talks to collapse.

4 The poorest country in South America, Bolivia, proved that people power is alive and well. Sparked by the Bolivian president's plan to privatize and export the nation's natural gas, an astounding grassroots movement of peasants, miners, workers and indigenous people forced the resignation of President Sanchez de Lozada.

5 The silver lining in the budget crisis affecting the states throughout this nation is that state governments are cutting prison budgets by releasing non-violent drug offenders. The year has been marked by a steady move



Half a million people participated in the historic “The World Says No to War” rally on Feb. 15, 2003 in New York City organized by United for Peace and Justice. About 12 million people in more than 700 cities around the world joined the unprecedented worldwide peace rallies.

toward treatment instead of incarceration.

6 This year witnessed a “coming out” of all types of celebrities on progressive issues. Jay-Z and Mariah Carey railed against the racist Rockefeller drug laws; Bono and Beyonce Knowles called for the world to fight AIDS; and a host of celebs courageously took a stand against the invasion of Iraq.

7 E-activism through venues such as MoveOn.org, Working Assets and Meetup.com has allowed ordinary people to challenge big money and powerful institutions. We've raised millions of dollars to run ads; confronted corporate-dominated institutions; and allowed an antiwar candidate, Howard Dean, to become a frontrunner in the 2004 elections.

8 In unprecedented opposition to the assault on our civil liberties, over 200 cities, towns, counties, and states have passed resolutions against the Patriot Act. The outcry has been so profound that plans for Patriot Act II have been scaled back.

9 While eclipsed by the war in Iraq, the Enron, WorldCom and accounting scandals produced some positive legislation against corporate crime. And anti-corporate crusaders joined with peace activists to expose the obscene war profiteering of Halliburton and Bechtel—with more exposes to come in 2004!

10 Despite the conservative takeover of the courts, the Supreme Court upheld affirmative action and struck down sodomy laws criminalizing gay sex. The Massachusetts Supreme Court ruled that gays should be able to marry. The U.S. Appeals Court ruled that the U.S. military could not detain American citizen Jose Padilla as an “enemy combatant,” and found that all 600 detainees at Guantanamo Bay should be granted access to lawyers.

Even in the gloomiest days of 2003, we kept slugging away—and sometimes even winning. Now let's move on to score the BIG victory in 2004 by sending George Bush back to Crawford. ■

Medea Benjamin is co-founder of Global Exchange and CodePink: Women for Peace.