

Contraportada  
en español

THE FIRST CASUALTY OF WAR IS TRUTH

# WAR TIMES

## Tiempo de Guerras

LA PRIMERA VÍCTIMA DE LA GUERRA ES LA VERDAD

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### ¿Quién tiene mas seguridad después del 9/11?

Después del 11 de Septiembre, el presidente Bush prometió dar seguridad a la nación lanzando una "guerra contra el terrorismo" mundial. En vez de eso, sus políticas han polarizado al Medio Oriente, convirtiéndolo en campo de matanzas. En lugar de sentirse más seguros, los mundos árabes y musulmanes se sienten ahora enardecidos y llenos de rabia contra Estados Unidos.

Contraportada en español

### Notes of a Palestinian Bishop

## 'War Without Boundaries'

BY THE RIGHT REVEREND RIAH H. ABU EL-ASSAL

*Bishop Riah is Episcopal Bishop of the Diocese of Jerusalem, which includes Palestine, Israel, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria. Christians are a tiny fraction of the people of these countries, but deep rooted and enduring. What follows are excerpts from the Bishop's letters.*

#### JULY 26

For the past forty years we [Palestinians] have been largely alone on this desert fighting a predator that not only has robbed us of all but a small piece of our historic homeland, but also



The Right Reverend Riah H. Abu El-Assal, Episcopal Bishop of the Diocese of Jerusalem.

threatens our traditions and holy sites. We are tired, weary, sick and wounded. We need your help.

Little more than a week ago, we were focused on the plight of the Palestinian people. In Gaza, four and five generations have been victims of Israeli racism, hate crimes, terror, violence and murder. Garbage and sewage have created a likely outbreak of cholera as Israeli strategies create the collapse of infrastructures. There is no milk. Drinking water, food, and medicine are in serious short supply. Innocents are being killed and dying from lack of available emergency care. Children are paying the ultimate price.

This week, war broke out on the Lebanon-Israeli border (near Banyas where Jesus gave St. Peter the keys to heaven and earth). The Israeli government's disproportionate reaction to provocation was consistent with their opportunistic responses in which they destroy their perceived enemy. The "situation" as it has come to be called, has deteriorated into a war without boundaries or limitations.

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#### AUGUST 2

When I wrote to you last Friday, I could not have imagined that a second Qana Massacre in a decade would be carried out by the State of Israel, crushing at least [28] people. They suffocated under dirt and debris, virtually buried alive in the make-shift bomb shelter where they had had little water and food and no toilet.

And [in Gaza,...] according to an Associated Press count, in the past one-month period, Israeli troops have killed 159 Palestinians since they started their relentless attacks on the Gaza Strip in response to the capture of Cpl. Gilad Shalit. I have seen the Caterpillar bulldozers and the orchards of

'War Without Boundaries' continued on page 2

### Five Years After September 11

## Is Anybody Safer?



A bomb blast in the heart of Baghdad destroyed this young boy's home. The Pentagon reports that Iraqi deaths are at an all-time high, nearly 120 per month. The most recent poll found that 92 percent of Iraqis favor U.S. withdrawal.

BY REBECCA GORDON

After the vicious September 11 attacks, President Bush vowed to make the nation safe by launching a global "war on terror."

His administration has prioritized military muscle and forcible regime change over diplomacy. It has justified torture and illegal spying to defeat "evil."

Iraqi civilian casualties soared by more than 50 percent to nearly 120 per day in recent months. Well over 40,000 civilians have been killed since the U.S. invasion, and it is estimated that 200,000 more have died from war-related causes.

A University of Michigan poll in August showed that 91.7 percent of Iraqis want an end to the U.S. occupation—and nearly half approve of attacks on U.S. soldiers.

tries have also greatly heightened the dangers of nuclear war. To deter threatened U.S. attacks many countries are looking into acquiring nuclear weaponry.

Yet the Bush Administration "stays the course" and paints anyone who opposes the U.S. or Israeli policies in the region as a terrorist or an "appeaser of fascism." This approach "will reverberate in the region for decades, directly strengthening the hand of extremists of all stripes," says Robert Scheer of the San Francisco Chronicle.

#### U.S. NO SAFER

The U.S. public feels no safer. In a recent survey by the Quinnipiac University Polling Institute, 62 percent of respondents worried that terrorists would strike the nation in the next few months.

In airports all over the country, the daily theater of passenger screening plays

Is Anybody Safer? continued on page 2

**'We're making new enemies faster than we can kill the old ones!'**

—Rural Massachusetts bumper sticker.

Five years later it is evident that these policies have been a dangerous failure.

"Glance at any television screen...and chances are that the screen will be showing mayhem in Lebanon, Baghdad or Gaza. It usually takes a minute or so to decipher which Arab city is burning," observed the New York Times.

These policies, often supported by Congressional Democrats, have polarized the Middle East, turning it into an ever-worsening killing field. The entire Arab and Muslim worlds are now aflame with anti-U.S. rage.

#### WHY DO THEY HATE US?

Hassan Dirani lost three children when Israel bombed his Beirut neighborhood. But he blames the United States. "Thank you, George Bush," he told the Christian Science Monitor, "for those 'smart' bombs."

"That's how they create terrorists," said a restaurant owner, who watched as his neighbors dug out their shattered homes. "And they ask: 'Why do they hate us?'"

On Sept. 2 the Pentagon reported that

Since the U.S. invasion Afghanistan has become the world's largest producer of opium. An all-time high harvest was reported on Sept. 3.

"Beneath the surface [Afghanistan] is boiling," says Ahmad Fahim Hakim, deputy chairman of the Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission. In August 2006, he told the New York Times that the government is corrupt and controls little territory outside the capital, Kabul.

The U.S., NATO and the Afghan military have not been able to eradicate the Taliban.

The White House policies that justify forcible regime change and even nuclear first strikes on "evil" coun-



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# WAR WATCH

BY BOB WING AND ELIZABETH MARTÍNEZ

## MOST U.S. SOLDIERS OPPOSE WAR

The most recent poll of U.S. soldiers in Iraq, conducted by Le Moyne College/Zogby International, concluded that 72 percent think the U.S. should exit the country within the next year.

On June 22, 2006, U.S. Army First Lieutenant Ehren Watada became the first commissioned officer to publicly refuse deployment to Iraq.

Watada, an Asian American from Hawaii, explained, "It is my conclusion as an officer of the Armed Forces that the war in Iraq is not only morally wrong but a horrible breach of American law. As the order to take part in an illegal act is ultimately unlawful as well, I must, as an officer of honor and integrity refuse that order."

Lt. Watada needs our help now. Visit <http://www.thankyou.org>.

## KATRINA DISASTER CONTINUES

Bush's neglect of the now one-year old Katrina disaster mirrors his bungled "reconstruction" effort in Iraq. A pitiful \$110 billion was approved for Katrina recovery, but only \$4 billion has actually been spent. The government estimates that \$1.4 billion of these payments went to improper or fraudulent claimants.

Minor Sinclair of the aid group Oxfam America says, "The people who need it the most are not getting the assistance they deserve." Homeowners from outside the flood zone who had homeowners insurance have received earmarked HUD money, while owners inside the flood zone, renters and the poor are neglected.

Juvenile, a New Orleans rapper, sings, "We starvin', we livin' like Haiti without no government."

## WHITE HOUSE PRIVATIZES THE BORDER

The historic immigrant rights marches that swept the U.S. this Spring succeeded in stalling the anti-immigrant Sensenbrenner bill now before Congress. However, in the name of the "war on terrorism," President Bush has deployed 6,000 National Guard troops to the U.S.-Mexico border and green lighted a 700-mile prison-like wall on the border.

The government has solicited bids from private military contractors for a multibillion-dollar contract to build a "virtual fence" of unmanned aircraft, ground surveillance satellites and motion-detection video equipment along the border.

Halliburton, formerly led by Vice President Cheney, has been contracted to oversee the expansion of the federal government's prisons to detain immigrants. And Blackwater Inc., a private security firm that employs mercenaries in Iraq and New Orleans, is negotiating a contract to train U.S. Border Patrol officers.

Throughout September, immigrant rights community groups and coalitions will mobilize throughout the country to pressure Congress to stop the pending anti-immigrant legislation (H.R. 4437 and S 2611). They are calling for legalization for undocumented workers that restores and protects civil and labor rights, ends detention and deportations, demilitarizes the border and keeps families together.

The newly formed National Alliance for Immigrant Rights is calling for a massive National Day of Protest on September 30.

## NEO-NAZIS IN THE U.S. MILITARY? YES SIR!

"Recruiters are knowingly allowing neo-Nazis and white supremacists to join the armed forces, and commanders don't remove them even after we positively identify them," reports Scott Barfield, a Defense Dept. investigator stationed at Fort Lewis, Wash.

At Fort Lewis alone, he says, 320 soldiers are involved in extremist activity, but just two have been discharged.

Chilling evidence compiled by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC) in Montgomery, Ala., which monitors racist and rightwing militia groups, estimates that the numbers could run into the thousands. See [www.splc.org/rumsfeld](http://www.splc.org/rumsfeld).

The reason? Intense pressure, the SPLC report affirmed, to meet recruitment quotas despite the growing unpopularity of the Iraq war. Barfield says, "We've got Aryan Nations graffiti in Baghdad. That's a problem."

Neo-Nazi groups like the National Alliance urge supporters to join the Army. "Hone your warrior skills," they say, for "the coming race war." They tell followers to insist on a light infantry assignment "where the training is in house-to-house, neighborhood-by-neighborhood searches until...the alien races are driven into the countryside where they can be hunted down."

## BUSH v. CIVIL LIBERTIES

The White House has been exposed for committing numerous illegal acts that undermine human rights and civil liberties.

■ In June the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional the president's military tribunal system. The White House has now asked Congress to approve new rules that would allow accused terrorists to be convicted based on coerced statements and secret evidence.

■ On Aug. 17 District Judge Anna Diggs Taylor ruled that President Bush's warrantless eavesdropping program "blatantly disregards the parameters clearly enumerated in the Bill of Rights."

■ The European Parliament condemned the C.I.A. for kidnapping and illegally detaining alleged terrorists in Europe, as well for extraordinary renditions to third countries.

■ Amnesty International issued a report accusing the U.S. of committing widespread torture in Iraq and detaining thousands of prisoners without charge or trial.

■ United Nations investigators issued a report saying that the U.S. is practicing torture at Guantánamo Bay and concluded that the facilities there should be closed "without delay." ■

## Is Anybody Safer?

From page 1

to packed houses. This ritual seeks to convince the public that the government is actually doing something to protect them. Meanwhile much of the luggage and commercial cargo routinely carried on passenger flights goes unscreened.

People, including U.S. citizens, who are perceived as Muslim or Arab are singled out, searched and detained—or even denied entry to their own country.

Fears of terrorism have also fueled new anti-immigrant legislation. A prison-style wall is being built on the U.S. border with Mexico and 6,000 National Guard troops are being sent to "secure the border from terrorists," as if Mexico were the only gateway to the U.S.

The one time when the country really did need the government to protect our homeland—the Hurricane Katrina disaster—the administration failed spectacularly.

One year after Katrina, Sen. Mary Landrieu (D-La.) lamented, "We're seeing the same thing going on with the recovery as we did with the immediate response. We're going through another unfolding disaster."

While the Bush administration touts its efforts to spread freedom abroad, it has implemented illegal wiretap programs and asserted unprecedented executive power.

The great U.S. historian Howard Zinn warns us to prepare "for the next barrage of lies that will accompany the next proposal to inflict our power on some other part of the world."

He says we must "create a different history for ourselves by rejecting nationalist arrogance, so that we can join people around the world in the common cause of peace and justice." ■

Rebecca Gordon teaches ethics at the University of San Francisco.

## 'War Without Boundaries'

From page 1

oranges uprooted by them. I saw an apartment building where forty families were given forty minutes to leave before it was demolished into a pile of rubble.

And I have seen children playing near mountains of garbage which are the breeding ground to rats and the threat of cholera, a disease that I watched devastate India when I lived there.

*Children are paying the ultimate price.*

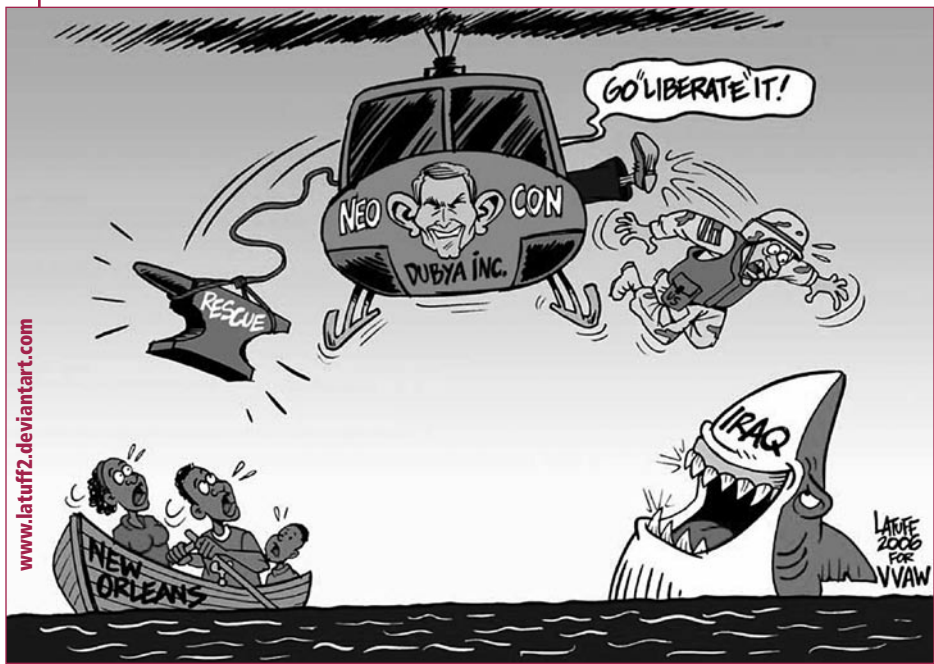
## AUGUST 7, 2006

I was scheduled to leave Tel Aviv on Swiss Air this afternoon. After asking me both relevant and non-relevant security questions, the young woman security officer concluded by questioning why I did not have an Israeli visa even though I was carrying an Israeli passport!

I saw her rushing to a supervisor. Approaching me he asked, "English or Hebrew?" I responded, "Please, Arabic." Arabic is one of two official languages of the State of Israel and I knew that it was my right in this "oasis of democracy" to make that official request.

Because I refused to speak other than Arabic, because I informed them that I am an Arab-Palestinian-Christian, and because down deep I knew that their behavior was designed to humiliate me, I insisted in conversing with them in the language I master which is Arabic, my mother tongue. Mr. Vardi turned his back and turned toward me only to say, "You will not fly today!"

This happened to me, an Anglican Bishop with special identification.... What do you imagine happens to others? ■



## The Costs of the Iraq War

COMPILED BY SHEILAGH POLK

- 92 Percent of Iraqis who want U.S. troops to leave Iraq
- 72 Percent of U.S. soldiers in Iraq who think the U.S. should withdraw
- 41,639–46,307 Number of Iraqi civilians killed by military action since the invasion
- 200,000 Estimate of Iraqis who have died from all war-related causes
- 120 Pentagon report of Iraqi civilians killed per day since May 2006, the highest since the war began
- 2,661 Official number of U.S. soldiers who have died in the Iraq war as of 9/7/06
- 19,773 Official count of U.S. soldiers wounded in Iraq as of 9/7/06
- \$50 billion Official pre-war White House estimate of the cost of the Iraq war
- \$319 billion Official cost of the War in Iraq as of 9/30/06
- \$1.25 trillion Estimated cost of the war, including lifetime care for wounded soldiers, replacement of equipment and munitions, etc.

Sources: Official government sources plus [icasualties.org](http://icasualties.org), [globalsecurity.org](http://globalsecurity.org), [iraqbodycount.org](http://iraqbodycount.org).

## WAR TIMES

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# Israel and the U.S.: Time for a Change

BY BOB WING

The dead children wrenched from the bombed-out apartment building in the Lebanese town of Qana on July 30 are grim symbols of Israel's war on Lebanon.

Amnesty International has documented "a pattern of Israeli war crimes" that killed more than 1,000 civilians, displaced more than a million people and reduced the country to rubble.

Washington played a major role in the destruction.

It rushed delivery to Israel of jet fuel and high-tech missiles. It armed Israel with cluster bombs, which spew hundreds of munitions across a wide swath of territory. And it blocked all attempts to negotiate a cease-fire until Israel gave it the green light.

Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist Seymour Hersh reports that the Israeli attack on Lebanon was planned far in advance in conjunction with the White House. Washington considered it a dress rehearsal for a possible U.S. attack on Iran and as part of their joint strategy in the oil-rich Middle East.

Israel was hit with thousands of missiles, causing about 40 civilian deaths and great disarray. Israelis have besieged Prime Minister Ehud Olmert for their country's dismal war performance.

Lebanese economist Nadim Shehadi, writing for the mainstream Israeli newspaper Haaretz, reflected Arab anger: "If Israel can exist only by destroying the neighborhood, then it's time to declare it a failed state. The prospects are for more destruction, fanaticism and hatred. No unilateral separation can isolate Israel from this, nor can the region or the world live with its consequences."

## AN UNJUST ALLIANCE

Since 1967 the U.S. has granted Israel an average of \$14 million per day, almost as much as it has given to the rest of the world combined. The U.S. guarantees Israel's existence, even allowing it to build an illegal nuclear arsenal. Israel acts as the U.S.'s spearhead in the region.

This alliance has caused decades of war and occupation. There are religious and ethnic differences between Jews and Arabs. But at root it is a conflict between occupied and occupier: Israel is founded on the seizure and occupation of Palestinian land, as well as some of Syria, Jordan and Lebanon.

The famed first prime minister of Israel, David Ben-Gurion, privately admitted: "If I were an Arab leader I would never make terms with Israel. We have taken their country. Sure, God promised it to us, but what does that matter to them? Our God is not theirs. We came from Israel, it's true, but two



A Palestinian child displays a placard as another holds up a drawing of the Lebanese flag to protest the Israeli blitzing of Lebanon and the Gaza Strip in front of the offices of the United Nations in Gaza City on July 31.

thousand years ago, and what is that to them? There has been anti-Semitism, the Nazis, Hitler, Auschwitz, but was that their fault? They only see one thing: we have come here and stolen their country. Why should they accept that?"

**Since 1967 the U.S. has granted Israel an average of \$14 million per day.**

In addition Israel is an explicitly Jewish state that legally inscribes inequality of rights, jobs and housing between Jews and Palestinians.

The U.S.-Israeli alliance has become more aggressive under President Bush's "war on terrorism."

Israeli antiwar activist Michel Warshawski explains that in the "wars on terrorism" not only are the lives of civilians "of very limited value" but civilians are considered "as a legitimate target, as actively or passively guilty of supporting terrorism....Fear is the starting point of the new era, hatred is its finality."

Josh Ruebner of the U.S. Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation says: "It's up to the people of the United States to challenge U.S.-Israeli policy. We need an entirely new premise for our foreign policy toward the region, one that is based on human rights, international law, equality and self-determination. This is the only way forward toward peace and justice." ■

Bob Wing is managing editor of War Times.

## Searching for 'My America'

# An Iraqi Muses the Post 9-11 World

BY RAED JARRAR

I was sitting with my grandfather in Baghdad, watching television, when the second airplane hit the World Trade Center in 2001. Both of us were totally shocked because until that moment we thought the first plane crash was an accident; we quickly realized it was not.

A year-and-a-half later I woke up at four in the morning while sirens in Baghdad announced the beginning of the U.S. invasion. My two brothers, my parents and I gathered to have breakfast and watched on our small kitchen TV as President Bush declared war.

**When airport security asked me to change my t-shirt because it bore Arabic script, I responded, 'Not In My America.'**

Less than three weeks later, I remember fleeing our house with the rest of my family while U.S. jet fighters bombed our neighborhood, a day before the big battle for the Baghdad airport. We ran while ambulances transported scores of Iraqi civilians killed and injured in the bombing.

Four years after the September 11 attacks, I entered the U.S. as a new immigrant, an immigrant who had lost his home and country because of war.

Many people back in Iraq were not sure I was making the right decision by moving to the U.S. "They don't like us there," I was told. But based on my political and cultural beliefs, I insisted that the U.S. was not the enemy. U.S. foreign policy may be an enemy, but the U.S. seemed a good, immigrant-friendly choice for me.

"I will find my America," I told my friends, the place where new immigrants have their rights protected by the Constitution; the place where working for a new foreign policy will make the entire world a better place.

When I was stopped by four officers this month in JFK airport and asked to change my t-shirt because it had some Arabic script on it, "not in my America" was the first thing that popped into my head. Not In My America.

I know the games of oppression played by authoritarian regimes. I spent all my life living in Saudi Arabia, Jordan and Iraq, so I know what a dictatorship looks like.

I was told by one of the airport security officers, "Wearing a t-shirt with Arabic letters and coming to an airport is like visiting a bank with a t-shirt that reads, 'I am a robber.'"

Was I shocked because of this treatment? Yes, but not because it happened to me. I am used to such things happening to me. I was shocked because this happened to me in New York. I was intimidated and threatened at JFK because I am an Arab.

One week before this incident, I was shouted at in Syria and Jordan for being a "U.S. taxpayer who supports sending bombs to Israel." I was kicked out of one of the Lebanese refugee camps in Syria when people

found out I live in the U.S., because they said I paid for the bombs that destroyed their homes and killed their loved ones.

Welcome to the post 9-11 world: the world of fundamentalists. The world where people like me, who are supposed to be bridges connecting different cultures, get attacked by everyone.

An African proverb says: "When elephants fight, grass gets trampled." ■



Iraqi author Raed Jarrar.

# 'Stay the Course' Means Endless Violence



Krisanne Johnson/Getty Images

Israel's attacks on Lebanon killed 1,183 civilians, displaced nearly a million, destroyed 30,000 houses and crippled the infrastructure. Israel has also re-occupied the Gaza Strip, killing at least 225 civilians.

BY MAX ELBAUM

President Bush claims that "staying the course" is vital to defeating terrorism and bringing peace and democracy to the Middle East. But so far "the course" has produced only escalating violence and destruction.

Iraq is on the verge of exploding. Israel keeps threatening Lebanon with more assaults. Washington is building another lie-filled case for attacking Iran. The danger of engulfing the entire region—perhaps the planet—in uncontrollable violence looms ahead if we don't change course.

## Iraq Violence Stems from Occupation

Even pro-war New York Times columnist Thomas Friedman admitted in early August that the Iraq mission he championed "is not happening" and that Washington must prepare to withdraw.

At least 3,438 Iraqi civilians were killed in July, the highest monthly toll since the U.S. invasion. Top U.S. generals testifying before Congress spoke the forbidden words: "civil war."

Attacks against U.S. troops and U.S.-led Iraqi troops have doubled since January. A senior Defense Department official admitted in early August that "the insurgency has more public support and is more capable in numbers of people active and in its ability to direct violence than at any point in time."

The most recent poll found that 92 percent of Iraqis want the U.S. to withdraw. An Aug.

of the Bush administration—starting with their 'shock and awe' bombing campaign... [Second] there are suicide car bomb attacks on restaurants, markets and mosques where large numbers of Shia congregate. These became common when a tiny proportion of the Sunni resistance movement became convinced that the Shia were the main domestic support for occupation.

"[Third], in 2005, *Newsweek* broke the story that the U.S. was establishing [Shia] 'death squads' within the Iraqi Ministry of Interior. These death squads have now become a fixture in Baghdad, where thousands of corpses have been found with signs of torture."

We have reached or are fast approaching the point when the collapse of government legitimacy, the destruction wrought by the war and the horror of terrorist violence become self-sustaining.

## Lebanon—Interlude Between Wars?

Lebanon is still tallying the damage from more than 30 days of Israeli attacks. At least 1,183 Lebanese have been killed, one-third of them children. One million people were displaced from their homes. Thirty thousand houses were destroyed.

Amnesty International charges Israel with deliberately targeting civilian infrastructure and committing war crimes during its assaults.

The U.S. supplied much of the weaponry used by Israel, including cluster bombs that are still

But Israel's campaign failed to destroy Hezbollah's military capacity. It also failed to bully Lebanese Sunnis and Christians into turning against the Shiite-based Hezbollah. So Israel and Washington are already laying the groundwork for another war.

They never mention Israel's 1982 invasion of Lebanon (which killed 14,000 civilians) or its bloody, 18-year illegal occupation of Lebanese territory. Instead the public is bombarded with stories about the alleged mortal danger that "Iran- and Syria-backed" Hezbollah poses to Israel and the U.S.

Israeli leaders threaten to launch a new war almost daily. A former top U.S. intelligence official told Hersh: "When the smoke clears Rumsfeld and Cheney will say it was a success, and they'll draw reinforcement for their plan to attack Iran."

## Palestine is the Pivot of Conflict

Israel invaded the Palestinian Gaza Strip two weeks before it invaded Lebanon—and never left. Israeli war hero and peace activist Uri Avnery points out that this invasion, too, "had been prepared for a long time" and that its real aim "is to destroy the Palestinian government."

Israeli forces have kidnapped and imprisoned one-quarter of the members of Palestine's democratically elected government. According to the Israeli human rights group B'Tselem, since June 28 Israel has killed at least 225 civilians, including 46 children and 10 women.

Israel is punishing the Palestinians for resisting Israel's unilateral plan to turn its "Separation Wall" into a permanent border. This would mean annexing to Israel huge swaths of the West Bank, including its main water supply.

Israeli Prime Minister Olmert never mentions that his annexation "solution" violates international law. U.N. Resolution 242 calls for Israeli withdrawal from all lands taken in the 1967 war.

The World Court has ruled the "Separation Wall" illegal. And U.N. Resolution 194, which Israel agreed to when it first joined the U.N., affirms the right of Palestinians displaced in 1948 to return to their homes.

Israel's U.S.-backed dispossession of the Palestinians is the "open wound" (Avnery's words) at the pivot of conflict and anti-U.S. sentiment throughout the Middle East. Until a just resolution is achieved, the region will remain explosive.

## Iran in U.S. Gunsights

The biggest immediate danger is a U.S. attack on Iran. Though Washington's militaristic strategy has resulted in one disaster after another, right-wingers are pushing for more war.

Unlike Israel, Iran is a signatory to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty and consistently says it does not plan to build nuclear weapons. Iran allows U.N. inspections of its nuclear facilities. And U.S. military experts say it would take years for Iran to produce nuclear weapons even if they decided to do so.

Most of the world—including 21 retired U.S. generals and security experts—supports negotiation to resolve differences over Iran's nuclear enrichment program. Top U.S. military leaders agree that a war with Iran would court catastrophe.

Such an attack would potentially kill tens of thousands of innocent Iranians and unleash full-scale regional war. The life of every U.S. soldier in Iraq, the Middle East and the Muslim world would be jeopardized.

Terrorism could spread drastically. It could also drive oil prices over \$100 a barrel, wreaking havoc on the world economy.

But Washington blames Iran for every problem from Lebanon to Iraq and keeps "all options on the table." Seymour Hersh is pessimistic: "I don't think this president is going

**A U.S. attack on Iran could be catastrophic.**

to leave office with Iran being, as he sees it, a nuclear threat."

That Iraq was just a prelude to more war ought to scare the entire world. A sensible definition of insanity is continuing to do the same thing and expecting a different result. ■

Max Elbaum has been active in antiwar and antiracist movements since the 1960s and is the author of *Revolution in the Air*.

**More than 100 Iraqi civilians die each day from violence.**

17 survey of Iraqis published by *U.S. News & World Report* found that 76 percent said the main reason the U.S. invaded Iraq was "to control Iraqi oil." Less than 2 percent said it was "to bring democracy to Iraq."

The occupation lies at the root of Iraq's miseries. "There are three distinct types of terrorism in Iraq, all directly or indirectly connected to the occupation," writes Michael Schwartz of Stony Brook University.

"The original terrorists were the officials

maiming Lebanese civilians.

Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter Seymour Hersh has revealed that the capture of two Israeli soldiers by Hezbollah was used as a pretext for Israel's attack. He says the assault was planned ahead of time in consultation with Washington, which saw the Israeli attack as "a demo for Iran."



Joseph Barak/AP/Getty Images

# Mobilizing the Antiwar Majority

BY ANDREA BUFFA

Public opinion polls show a majority of Americans oppose the Iraq war and want U.S. troops to be withdrawn within the year.

Consequently many antiwar groups are targeting the 2006 mid-term elections. "We want to ensure that peace is the defining issue in the 2006 elections. And we want to use the elections to continue building the antiwar movement," said Hany Khalil of the national coalition United for Peace and Justice (UFPJ).

Voters for Peace (<http://www.votersforpeace.us/>) is a major effort to leverage the power of the peace majority in the election. Hundreds of peace groups are working to collect millions of signatures of people who pledge to support and vote for candidates who call for a speedy end to the Iraq war and oppose future wars of aggression.

Other groups like the Progressive Democrats of America and the Daily Kos are supporting anti-Iraq war candidates. They helped Ned Lamont defeat pro-war Sen. Joseph Lieberman in Connecticut's Democratic Senatorial primary.

In August activists from UFPJ, CodePink, Global Exchange and Iraq Veterans Against War traveled to Jordan for a first-ever meeting with officials of the Iraqi government. The latter included official representatives of the ruling Shiite coalition, the minority Sunni bloc, the Muslim Scholars Association, parliamentarians and torture victims from Abu Ghraib.

"The most consistent message we heard from every Iraqi representative, from every party and tribe, was 'We want the Americans out of our country,'" said Jeeni Criscenzo, a California Congressional candidate who was part of the delegation.

The meeting resulted in an agreement by the Iraqis and Americans to promote a specific timetable for U.S. withdrawal from Iraq, as well as efforts to "fix the problems" of the occupation as the withdrawal proceeds.

Several of the participating groups plan to bring Iraqi parliamentarians to tour the U.S. to speak against the U.S. occupation. These groups will also lobby the United Nations Security Council to formally end its authorization of the occupation when it meets this December.

**'Every Iraqi party and tribe told us, "We want the Americans out of our country."'**



Iraq Veterans Against the War is growing rapidly, especially since the recent involuntary recall of Marine reservists. The most recent poll found that 72 percent of U.S. soldiers in Iraq believe the U.S. should withdraw.

The next major coordinated antiwar actions will be from Sept. 21–28, organized by a campaign called the Declaration of Peace ([declarationofpeace.org](http://declarationofpeace.org)). Hundreds of groups throughout the United States will be staging local antiwar actions and lobbying visits in that week.

At the end of October, Iraq Veterans Against War (IVAW) will hold a march from Dover, Delaware, where coffins from Iraq initially arrive, to Washington, D.C. "We are getting seven or eight new members a week since the recent involuntary recall of Marine reservists," said Salih Watts of IVAW.

Historians Against the War is sponsoring National Teach-In Days from Oct. 17–19. To join in, send an email to [teachin@historiansagainstawar.org](mailto:teachin@historiansagainstawar.org).

On Dec. 2–3, U.S. Labor Against War is holding a national

labor conference against the Iraq war in Cleveland.

Regarding the conflicts in Lebanon and Palestine, the U.S. Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation ([endtheoccupation.org](http://endtheoccupation.org)) is building an "anti-apartheid" movement to end U.S. aid to Israel. They are supporting a Palestinian call for boycott, divestment and sanctions against Israel.

Caterpillar Corporation, whose equipment Israel uses to demolish Palestinian homes and to construct the Separation Wall, is their main target.

The World Can't Wait has set global justice demonstrations for Oct. 5. And International Act Now to Stop War and End Racism is planning mobilizations on Oct. 28 in New York, San Francisco and Los Angeles to end occupation from Iraq to Palestine.

Relief groups working in Lebanon include Samidoun, comprised of activists from Lebanese social and human rights groups, and the International Red Cross/Red Crescent Societies. ■

Andrea Buffa is the communications director at Global Exchange.

## Voices for Peace and Justice

BY GERALD LENOIR

The Bush administration's unwavering support for the failed "war on terror" has reinvigorated progressive social movements in the U.S. Here are a few of their voices:



**SAMINA FAHEEM SUNDRAS**  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR,  
AMERICAN MUSLIM VOICE,  
NEWARK, CALIF.

The PATRIOT Act is an invisible sword that is hanging over the heads of Muslims, Arabs and South Asians. It has silenced my whole community, created a culture of mistrust, anger, hate and hopelessness, and divided our nation.

Hate crimes against Muslims and Arabs have reached a record high. I personally have received hate messages and threats.

If we truly want to make our country safe and secure, we must work together to achieve that goal, where we create a culture of understanding, mutual respect, fair policies, due process, equality and justice for all.

**NANCY WOHLFORTH**  
CO-CONVENER OF U.S. LABOR AGAINST THE WAR (USLAW) AND SECRETARY TREASURER OF OFFICE AND PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYEES INTERNATIONAL UNION, WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Bush administration is driving an anti-worker agenda that erodes the social safety net, undermines our right to organize, assaults the rights of immigrants and nullifies our civil

rights and our ability to elect candidates that support labor's agenda.

Labor cannot succeed at home without challenging the government's foreign policy.

We need to create a vision of a just foreign policy based on our movement's highest ideals, a vision that is an integral part of labor's struggle for fair trade and workers' rights at home and abroad.

**ISABEL GARCÍA**  
CO-CHAIR, COALICIÓN DE DERECHOS HUMANOS (HUMAN RIGHTS COALITION), TUCSON, ARIZ.

We have not seen this level of militarization, violence and death on the U.S.-Mexico border in over 100 years. In the U.S. government's pursuit of undocumented migrants, many people are being harassed and arrested.

Latino people, citizen and non-citizen are suffering abuse—beatings, shootings, rape. There is wholesale, legalized discrimination and racism along the border.

Many jurisdictions in the interior are passing discriminatory laws and obligating police officers to become immigration police. Through the media, lawsuits and demonstrations, we are working to expose and stop the gross violations of human rights that are occurring throughout the country.

**MICHAEL RATNER**  
PRESIDENT, CENTER FOR CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS, NEW YORK, N.Y.

The Bush administration, along with Congress, has undermined fundamental rights in this country since 9/11.



Isabel García

Dan Pantke

**LATOSHA BROWN**  
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR,  
SAVING OUR SELVES (SOS) AFTER KATRINA,  
ATLANTA, GA.

On the Gulf Coast a year after Katrina, the displacement continues. They're shutting public housing down in New Orleans to build "mixed income" housing.

In Mississippi, they're trying to privatize three public housing units which will displace 2,000 people. The closest affordable housing is 100 miles away.

The U.S. government does not recognize the human rights of people to housing, jobs and services. We are working to build a human rights movement by connecting social justice to the larger human rights struggle. ■



LaTosha Brown

Nunu Kidane

Gerald Lenoir is coordinator of the Black Alliance for Just Immigration.