

Session 6, Part II

B. Appropriate, Humanitarian Foreign Aid

- Central Asia Institute
- Peace Corps
- Heifer International
- If Rich Countries Would Boost Aid

FOCUS ON THE UNITED STATES

- Overview: Terror, Love, and the State of the World
- Where Your Income Tax Money Really Goes
- What Our Money Could Fund
- Afghanistan: 8,000 Children Under Arms Look for a Future
- Tajikistan: Population Explosion Threatens Economy

PARADE

Date: 2/29/04 Author: David Oliver Rellin

With Your Help, He's Fighting on

Last April, PARADE featured the story of Greg Mortenson, an American who fights terror by building schools in Pakistan. Now he's taking his mission to the former stronghold of the Taliban.

Can one person truly change the world? If his name is Greg Mortenson, and he has the power of thousands of PARADE readers behind him, there's no mountain that can't be moved.

Last April 6, we told the story of this modest American hero who argues that, to truly defeat terrorism, the United States must not only use force but also begin to build bridges of peace between Islam and America.

Mortenson, 46, a mountain climber and former Army medic from Bozeman, Mont., has dedicated the last 11 years to building secular schools for the children of northern Pakistan. Working in a war zone at the heart of extremist Islam, he has put himself at great risk, surviving a kidnapping and enduring condemnations heaped on him by hardened Islamic mullahs who resist his efforts to educate girls.

"Ignorance breeds hatred, and hatred leads to terrorism," Mortenson says. "To fight ignorance, we have to do everything in our power to give all children access to a balanced, nonextremist education."

Last summer, his Central Asia Institute (CAI) completed five schools in Pakistan and began construction on 14 more. (The CAI asks residents in the villages where Mortenson agrees to build schools to take a stake in each project by donating land and labor.) By next summer, the CAI will operate 38 schools, educating more than 12,000 boys and girls. One school - Ganyal Elementary, near the front lines of the ongoing conflict between India and Pakistan in Kashmir - has even been carved out of a cliff, to shelter its students from the artillery shells that have killed many in their village.

One of the victims was Amina Batool, 16. "Nothing can bring back my sister from where she rests in paradise," says Fatima Batool, 12. "But we are grateful to you Americans for building us such a wonderful school"

He Stirred Our Hearts

After reading Mortenson's story, more than 14,000 of our readers - from all 50 states and of all ages, faiths and political persuasions - opened their hearts, writing to support the mission of the Central Asia Institute. Many also opened their wallets, donating more than \$800,000 to help transform the lives of Pakistan's poorest children.

Among those who sent letters and e-mails were a U.S. Air Force general, anti-war activists, Muslims, Jews, Hindus, Christian church groups and children.

Jake Greenberg, a 13-year-old from Pennsylvania, was so inspired by Mortenson's work that he donated a portion of his bar mitzvah money. "Reading Greg's story, I realized that, unlike me, children in the Muslim world might not have educational opportunities," Greenberg says. "It makes no difference that I'm a Jew sending money to help Muslims. We all need to work together to plant the seeds of peace."

A woman who identified herself as Sufiya e-mailed: "As a Muslim woman, born in America, I am showered with God's blessings, unlike my sisters around the world who endure oppression. Arab nations should look at your tremendous work and wallow in shame for never helping their own people. With sincere respect and admiration, I thank you."

Patsy Collins, an 84-year-old philanthropist from Seattle, donated \$120,000 just days before she died of lung cancer. She also presented Mortenson with books to bring to his female students. In one Dr. Seuss book, she inscribed: "This is the last thing I will ever write. My dear little girls, study hard, learn to read and write, and be forever free."

Next month, Mortenson will travel to Washington, D.C., where he will be named the 2003 winner of the prestigious Al Neuharth Free Spirit of the Year Award, given by the Freedom Forum. The winner for 2002 was the Burmese Nobel Laureate Aung San Suu Kyi. The annual award goes to "the person in the news who has stirred our hearts by demonstrating the human capacity to dare, dream and do."

A New Mission In Afghanistan

Mortenson is about to embark on his biggest challenge in a decade - building schools for the girls of Afghanistan. He has moved his office out of the basement of his home in Bozeman and doubled his staff of two.

"Afghans are still grateful to America for banishing the Taliban," he says, "but we're in danger of losing that goodwill. We need to keep the promises we made to the people who need us most - the girls who were confined to their homes during the time of the Taliban, dreaming of the day they could go to school."

This spring, Mortenson plans to break ground on two all-girls high schools in rural northern Afghanistan - far from urban centers like Kabul, where most of what little foreign aid entering the country is spent. Together, these schools will offer more than 5000 Afghan girls something that has been in short supply during the decades of war their nation has endured: hope.

"The decisions we make as a nation now will affect relations between Islam and the West for generations," Mortenson argues.

"People ask me how I can leave my wife and two small children for months at a time and risk my life to do my work," he says. "It's because, when I look into my kids' eyes, I know that I owe it to them to make the world they'll inherit a better, more peaceful place."



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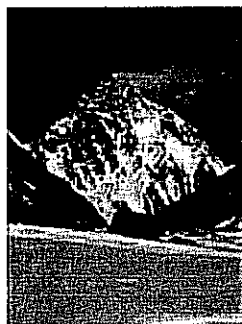
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Central Asia Institute

About CAI

CAI Mission: To promote and provide community-based education and literacy programs, especially for girls, in remote mountain regions of Central Asia.



Places: Remote Underserved Mountain Communities

Central Asia Institute community projects are in remote mountain villages of northern Pakistan, Afghanistan, Kyrgyzstan and the steppes of Mongolia. The terrain varies from the highest consolidation of high peaks in the world to miles of high desert plateau. Most of our community-based projects are in the Karakoram Mountains of Pakistan, and the Pamir and Hindu Kush Mountains of Afghanistan. Very few organizations serve the remote areas where we work.

People: Ancient Silk Road Cultures and Customs

The people and cultures of Central Asia are as varied and diverse as the landscape, blending to create a tapestry of customs, languages and cultures that have flourished for thousands of years. The shared commonality between these proud people is their Islamic faith, which accents strong family unity and community spirit.



Self-Sustainability: The Key to Long-Term Success

We believe in the parable: "Give a man a fish and he will eat for a day. Teach him to fish and he will eat for a lifetime." Over the last decade, we have developed innovative techniques that encourage people to take responsibility for their own well-being and vitality.



Collaborative Efforts: Through Community Partnerships

Each one of Central Asia Institute's projects is locally initiated and involves community participation. A committee of elders guides each selected project. Before a project starts, the community matches project funds with equal amounts of local resources and labor. This commitment ensures a project's viability and long term success. Local NGO's (Non-Government Organizations) and village communities are selected for their dedication,

initiative, and accountability to facilitate our community partnerships. We take great care to cooperate with the various governmental, political, and religious groups of this complex region. We meet this cross-cultural challenge without affiliation to any particular group.



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Central Asia Institute Projects

Overseas

Central Asia Institute supports community-based education programs, especially for girls, in remote mountain regions of Central Asia, Pakistan and Afghanistan. Each project involves local people in all phases of projects: to plan, implement and evaluate. A committee of elders and experts guides each selected project. Before a project starts, the community matches Central Asia Institute project funds with equal amounts of local resources and labor. Such commitment ensures the project's viability and long term success. By 2005, this cooperative effort has produced, and provided, the following:

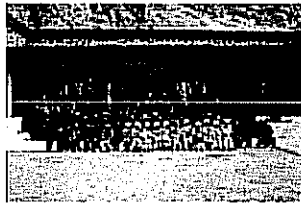
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Photo Album

Education



- 53 schools fully or partially supported
- 520+ fully or partially supported teachers
- School library projects
- 824 graduates from Porter Training Program
- Teacher Training Workshops
- 15,000+ current students, including 9,300 girls supported

Women's Education



- 11 Women's Vocational Centers
- Women's NGO assistance and training
- Infant Oral Rehydration Training
- Rural Women's Vocational Fund
- Maternal health care scholarships
- Eye technician scholarships

Public Health and Conservation



- 24+ potable water projects
- Water Filtration System
- 3,000+ cataract eye surgery patients
- Sanitation and Latrine Projects
- Rural Health Care Camps

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Seattle Post Intelligencer

Wednesday, October 12, 2005

Pakistan Earthquake: Tremors ahead

Seattle Post-Intelligencer Editorial Board

Many of Pakistan's stricken villages are a long way from the capital of Islamabad, much less America. But when it comes to America's vital interests, even the most remote settlements are neighbors.

The size, scope and speed of U.S. assistance will be important. The earthquake survivors, the friendly Pakistani leadership and relief groups need all the help that America can provide.

President Bush made an initial commitment of eight helicopters and \$50 million. U.S.-based relief organizations and large Pakistani communities in the Seattle area already are engaged in impressive efforts to gather help. But, at a time when Cuba's Fidel Castro is offering 200 doctors, the U.S. government must provide leadership even as it looks to its own people's needs and its budget challenges.

Pakistan's long friendship with the United States argues for a big U.S. "payback," according to Greg Mortenson of the Montana-based Central Asia Institute and a leader in efforts to provide schools in Pakistan and Afghanistan, especially for girls.

Writing on MountEverest.net, Mortenson said, "It was Pakistan that first helped broker détente between USA and China during the Nixon years, helped USA funnel personnel and arms into Afghanistan ... to overthrow the Russians, and Pakistan who has been America's closest ally in the 'war on terror.' "

Remember that Pakistan already possesses nuclear arms and even in the post-Katrina weariness, it is important to remember that governments rise and fall on their response to disasters. In the modern world, instability within Pakistan's government could have earthshaking consequences here.

http://seattlepi.nwsourc.com/opinion/244203_paked.asp

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K2climb.net

October 11, 2005

Greg Mortenson on Pakistan Earthquake: Important to not rely on media wires

By Greg Mortenson

Among the earthquake victims, Pakistan authorities fear there will be a huge number of children: Most were at school when the earthquake struck, turning the buildings into rubble. "We have lost an entire generation," army sources said.

Few westerners know the area more intimately than Greg Mortenson. Since his 1993 climb on K2, Greg has established the Central Asia Institute and done over 30 trips to set up schools in remote mountain villages of Pakistan and Afghanistan. Greg is a no nonsense, hands on man. Little has been known about his work, compared to more famous establishments such as the Hillary fund in Nepal.

Greg just wrote up a first hand report on the current situation in Pakistan, and an urgent plea for help to the nation.

Pakistan Earthquake

By Greg Mortenson

"Pakistan's 7.6 Richter scale earthquake is one of the largest, most catastrophic in the last century in SW Asia.

I talked with over a dozen people in different parts of northern Pakistan, and the first hand reports sound much disastrous than any media reports. Just an hour ago, I spoke with a friend, Abdul, who went through the Kohistan area over the weekend. Kohistan is the volatile tribal region in the Diamir region southwest of Nanga Parbat. He said the 9 a.m. earthquake rocked the whole valley, and 'kakas' (old men) says it's the worst earthquake they remember.

10 Katrinas

Abdul told me that the worst damage in Kohistan were landslides, which followed the earthquake and wiped out entire villages.

I've heard that in the epi-center of Azad Kashmir, hundreds of thousands of mountain villagers are homeless, out in the rain, and cold, without blankets, food or shelter, and thousands of children who used to be in school, don't know if they will ever get that chance again, as it will take a decade to get impoverished areas back to where they were. From what I've heard, the fatalities and consequences of this disaster add up to about 10 Katrinas.

Mudslides and rock falls

Ghulam Parvi, our Pakistan manager, based in Skardu, told me there are hundreds of remote mountain villages not accessed yet - and the first few helicopters on site report dozens of entire villages wiped out, but in Baltistan's K2 area, only reports about five people killed so far.

Sarfraz Khan, one of our field managers who works in the Wakhan corridor or Afghanistan, and extreme northern Pakistan's remote villages, told me via satellite phone that just as bad as the earthquake damage were all the subsequent mudslides and rock falls which came tumbling down from the mountains, unleashed by the earthquake.

Although significant telecommunications are out, the verbal messages coming in from Hushe, Braldu - Askole, Shegar valley etc. are that there are - so far - only a handful of deaths in the Baltistan area, which is the K2 Karakoram area.

Far from over

So far, no reports of any of our Pakistani friends who are porters, guides and affiliated with climbers or tourism that are killed, or any Central Asia Institute (CAI) schools destroyed.

Generally, an earthquake in the remote Karakoram / Hindu Kush villages do not level the earthen houses as much as urban concrete and rebar buildings, but the later mudslides, and subsequent rockslides can be devastating.

Earthquakes also make for precarious later rockslides - example Khanday (Hushe valley) - where earlier 1990's earthquakes probably weakened the slopes about Khanday, which broke with snowmelt and rainfall and subsequent massive 1999 landslide. I learned about this in a 2001 conference with FOCUS humanitarian that helps to predict landslides etc.

"I'm afraid this will soon be forgotten"

In Pakistan, the worst hit area is in Balakot, near Abbottabad, around 80-100 miles north of Islamabad, in the Azad Kashmir foothills where whole villages and towns have been destroyed. At one girls' school near Balakot more than 250 girls are either dead or trapped inside a school (earthquake struck just before 9 AM), where they have so far rescued 40 girls.

But there also is significant damage in Kohistan, Peshawar, Islamabad, Jhelum and just about everywhere. The damage, destruction and deaths are catastrophic, and I'm afraid with all the issues in Iraq and Katrina, this will soon be forgotten.

The Pakistan Army and Red Crescent most reliable

It's important to get first hand field reports, and not rely on media wires. Last year, and in 2003, there were earthquakes in the Nanga Parbat, Diamir and Kohistan area, the media only reported a few deaths, and later we found out it was in the hundreds and thousands of villagers displaced etc. Since last winter 2004-2005 was the highest snowfall in 40 + years in the Karakoram / Hindu Kush, this also contributed to the devastation now.

The most effective, reliable, on the ground agency ready to deal with this is the Pakistan Army, and in a smaller capacity the Red Crescent Society, the Islamic equivalent of the Red Cross.

Our finest hour: This month of the Ramadhan

As far as I am concerned, its payback time for USA to support Pakistan in a big way. I would encourage everyone to contact their government leaders and demand that hundreds of millions of dollars of humanitarian aid be sent immediately to Pakistan, which can render assistance through their military.

The U.S. government puts over \$ 90 billion annually in Iraq for our military expenditures, and about \$ 12 billion in Afghanistan, so our government could easily cut a check for \$ 1 billion and give it to the Pakistan, which has a population of 149 million, and help their military immediately get relief on the ground.

The impact would be huge, during this month is the Muslim season of Ramadhan, the holiest of Islamic times, when people fast from about 4 a.m. to 7 p.m. with no food or water, and also a time for prayer, charity and forgiveness.

This could be our finest hour to begin healing and mend America's faltering credibility and reputation overseas.

Pakistan one of America's closest ally

What I am afraid of, is with the tsunami, Katrina, and Iraq, this disaster, one of the biggest in the last century, will be forgotten within a week or two, and in the wake, terrorist groups will use that to their advantage.

Pakistan has been one of America's closest ally in the 'war on terror'. Last November, against public demand, President Musharraf deployed 70,000 troops into Waziristan to flush out insurgents, and lost 468 soldiers in that campaign.

This year, Pakistan's Supreme Court ruled on August 29th that madrassa certificates (called 'sanas') are invalid. Even though USA is dealing with the Katrina disaster, I am aware of huge stockpiles of blankets, medicine etc. at Ramstein Air base in Germany, and in Qattar and Kuwait that could immediately get to Pakistan.

Media stays at five star hotels

Most of the western media stays at five star hotels in Islamabad, and go out for an hour or two for a dispatch and back to the hotel, or uses stringers to get information, which is not a reliable, accurate depiction of the true scale of this.

I have great admiration and respect for the people of Pakistan. Although media reports suggest it is increasingly more extremist, that view only represents less than 5% of the people. The great majority of moderate Muslims in this country of 149 million are greatest allies in a region of fragmented peace.

Pakistan and USA have a decades long relationship, it was Pakistan that first helped broker détente between USA and China during the Nixon years, helped USA funnel personnel and arms into Afghanistan in the 1980's to overthrow the Russians, and Pakistan who has been America's closest ally in the 'war on terror'.

President Musharraf has had two assassination attempts by al Qaeda

Pakistan has given tens of thousands of troops and police to the United Nations peacekeeping forces to be deployed in some of the world's most volatile hotspots like Congo, Burundi, Sri Lanka, and Zaire.

Pakistan President Musharraf is often accused of giving terrorists refuge, but that is not a fair statement as one could say the same about President Bush, since there are an estimated 200 plus al Qaeda residing and hiding in USA, which he can't seem to round up.

Pakistan has killed or captured more al Qaeda and Taliban-types than any other country except USA, and in the last year lost 453 troops in fighting terrorists. Last year, with only a week's request, Pakistan deployed 70,000 troops into the very rugged mountains of Waziristan, part of the Northwest Frontier Province, NWFP, where Osama is currently believed to be hiding.

President Musharraf has had two assassination attempts by al Qaeda, and personally taken a huge risk to crack down on extremists."

Greg Mortenson, founder and Executive Director of Bozeman-based Central Asia Institute (www.ikat.org) has worked for 12 years in remote regions of Pakistan and Afghanistan to set up schools and education, especially for girls.

In the last decade, Mortenson has spent more than 60 months over 30 trips to northern Pakistan and Afghanistan, and has spent more time in the region than any other American.

Mortenson's effort to build schools, that began with a 1993 climb on K2, are profiled by Mark Jenkins, writer for OUTSIDE magazine, who recently visited Afghanistan's remote Wakhan corridor with alpinist and avalanche expert Doug Chabot, in the current November 2005 OUTSIDE magazine ("A Short Walk In The Wakhan").

For more information about the Central Asia Institute is available at their website, www.ikat.org, write Central Asia Institute, P.O. Box 7209, Bozeman, MT, 59771, or call (406) 585-7841.

<http://www.k2climb.net/news.php?id=831>

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Peace Corps

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About the Peace Corps

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RESOURCES for

The Peace Corps traces its roots and mission to 1960, when then-Senator John F. Kennedy challenged students at the University of Michigan to serve their country in the cause of peace by living and working in developing countries. From that inspiration grew an agency of the federal government devoted to world peace and friendship.

Since that time, more than 178,000 Peace Corps Volunteers have been invited by 138 host countries to work on issues ranging from AIDS education, information technology, and environmental preservation.

Today's Peace Corps is more vital than ever, stepping into new countries like East Timor, working in emerging and essential areas such as information technology and business development, and committing more than 1,000 new Volunteers as a part of President Bush's HIV/AIDS Act of 2003. Peace Corps Volunteers continue to help countless individuals who want to build a better life for themselves, their children, and their communities.

There's quite a bit to learn about the Peace Corps—explore the following sections to get to know its mission, history, and current endeavors in depth:

Mission

Learn about the Peace Corps' three goals.

Fast Facts

Stats, facts, figures and other Peace Corps information.

APPLY NOW



If you think you're ready to join, you can click here to apply now.

FIND LOCAL EVENTS

Peace Corps recruiters appear at information sessions, campus and community events, and career fairs. Pick your state and find a Peace Corps event near you.

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What is the Peace Corps?

Mission:

In 1961, President John F. Kennedy established the Peace Corps to promote world peace and friendship.

Three simple goals comprise the Peace Corps' mission:

1. Helping the people of interested countries in meeting their needs for trained men and women.
2. Helping promote a better understanding of Americans on the part of the peoples served.
3. Helping promote a better understanding of other peoples on the part of all Americans.

APPLY NOW



If you think you're ready to join, you can click here to apply now.

FIND LOCAL EVENTS

Peace Corps recruiters appear at information sessions, campus and community events, and career fairs. Pick your state and find a Peace Corps event near you.

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OUR WORK

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From the Field

Our Initiatives

A Different Kind of Exchange Program

Our Successes

by Jill Bayles

In Africa

In Asia-South
Pacific

In Central &
Eastern Europe

In Latin America &
The Caribbean

In North America

Other

Our Projects

Our Approach

Shaban Haskocela didn't hesitate for long when he learned he could turn in the illegal weapons he'd acquired during a period of civil unrest and looting in his country and exchange them for Heifer International livestock.

His trade-off was part of a collaborative "Guns for Cows" project among Heifer International, the United Nations Development Program and officials in war-torn Albania, a country that underwent a deadly period of civil unrest and social upheaval in 1997. Through the project, Albanian villagers receive one pregnant Holstein or Jersey dairy heifer for every three weapons they hand over to the government. The weapons are then either destroyed or turned into shovels, pickaxes and other agricultural implements.

From Looting to Livestock

The reasoning behind this innovative program is that people who live in violence-ridden societies are often willing to give up their weapons if they believe there is a credible guarantee of security and a chance to improve their livelihoods.

And it's proving to be true: Many other villagers in Orikum and nearby Shengjergji have joined Haskocela, realizing that the reward of livestock to help their struggling farms is much greater than their need for the small arms, which they had obtained during the country's civil unrest in 1997.

Officials estimate that 550,000 weapons, 839 million rounds of ammunition and 16 million explosive devices vanished during the widespread looting that year, which was triggered by the collapse of the communist regime and the ultimate fall of pyramid

schemes.

This loss of their life savings devastated Albania's farmers, who depend on livestock as the major source of their income. Lacking the money they needed to improve the quality of their animals, many families angrily raided the country's arsenal of weapons while others fled the rural areas to seek work in Tirana, Albania's capital. But they found few opportunities, and some even faced starvation.

Heifer first stepped in to help two years ago with its Dairy Goats for the Unemployed Project. Heifer staff in Albania worked with staff in France to bring in Alpine goats, a French breed well-suited to Albania's mountainous environment. Today the project is helping 60 families create their own small-scale dairy goat farms in the Paskugani community.

Arming Themselves with True Security

Meanwhile, Albania's government was attempting to disarm the area that has long been known as "Europe's Powder Keg." They often resorted to house-to-house weapons checks that subjected citizens in possession of illegal weapons or ammunition to prosecution and up to seven years' imprisonment if convicted.

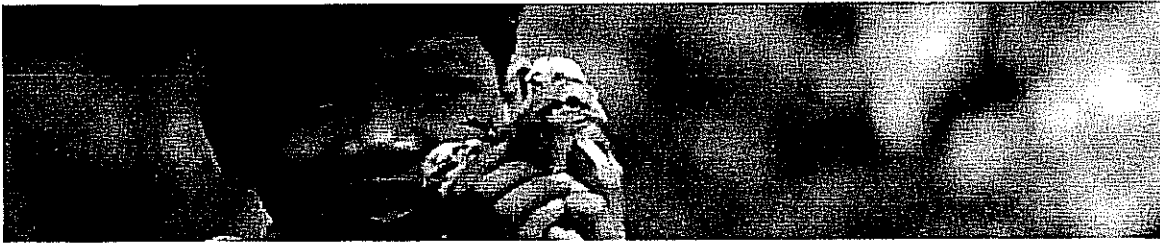
Todi Grahdani, who oversaw the nationwide weapons-collection effort, told the Associated Press at the time that the police crackdowns weren't working. "One can hardly imprison 200,000 Albanians with weapons," he said.

That's when the U.N. Development Program came up with the idea of offering development incentives in return for citizen disarmament – a project that was an easy fit with the work Heifer Albania staff members were already doing.

When a Heifer Study Tour group visited Albania last year, Shaban Haskocela and his family greeted the participants warmly and proudly introduced them to their new addition: a six-week-old calf. With Heifer's help, the family built a cement block shelter for the cows, and they've also received feed concentrate and other farming supplies to improve the production of forage. Now their plot of 12.5 acres produces corn, maize, beans and other vegetables.

In exchanging death from weapons for a better life from livestock, Albanians can look forward to the future with optimism, real security and, most importantly, the hope of peace.

Jill Bayles is the Internet Content Coordinator for Heifer International.



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The Buzz About Bees

From India to the Dominican Republic, bees from Heifer International help struggling families earn income through the sale of honey, beeswax and pollen.

Beehives require almost no space, and once established, are inexpensive to maintain. As bees search for nectar, they pollinate plants. Placed strategically, beehives can as much as double some fruit and vegetable yields. In this way, a beehive can be a boon to a whole village.

Although most Heifer partners keep bees as a supplement to family income, beekeeping can be a family's livelihood. Your gift provides a family with a package of bees, the box and hive, and training in beekeeping.

Give Honey Bees

Honey Bees (+\$30.00)

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The prices in this catalog represent the complete livestock gift of a quality animal, technical assistance and training. Each purchase is symbolic and a contribution to the entire mission of Heifer International. Donations will be used where needed most to help struggling people.



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Chicks: A Good Choice

Chickens are a real value. Starting at six months, they can lay up to 200 eggs a year — a reliable source of protein for children who otherwise subsist mostly on starches. Extra eggs can be sold to pay for school, clothes and medicine. And in the vegetable garden, chickens peck at bugs and weeds, scratch up the soil and enrich it with droppings.

Chicks are an elegant solution to improving a family's crops and their diet — and to the dilemma of what to give your socially aware friends this season.

In Zimbabwe, Mrs. Ndagurwa is a leader in her women's agricultural club. She grows impressive vegetables in soil scratched up and fertilized by her Heifer chickens; their eggs add protein to her family's diet and generate cash to help market her produce.

Give Chicks

Chicks (+\$20.00)

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The Register-Guard

TUESDAY, JANUARY 18, 2005

If rich countries would boost aid, U.N. report says poverty would end

By EDITH LEDERER
The Associated Press

UNITED NATIONS — Global poverty can be cut in half by 2015 and eliminated by 2025 if the world's richest countries — including the United States, Japan and Germany — more than double aid to the poorest countries, hundreds of development experts concluded Monday.

At stake is life or death for tens of millions of impoverished people, the report said.

The report spells out the investments needed to meet the U.N. goals

adopted by world leaders at the Millennium Summit in 2000. The goals aim to tackle poverty, hunger and disease, and to promote education and development, mainly in African and Asian countries.

"What we're proposing is a strategy of investment to help empower the lives of very poor people that lack the tools and sometimes even the basic means to stay alive, much less be productive members of a fast-paced world economy," said professor Jeffrey Sachs, head of the U.N.

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THE REGISTER-GUARD • TUESDAY, JANUARY 18, 2005

Poverty: U.S. far short of target

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anti-poverty effort and lead author of the report.

The investments range from schools, clinics, safe water and sanitation to fertilizer, roads, electricity and transport to get goods to market.

"The system is not working right now — let's be clear," he said. "There's a tremendous imbalance of focus on the issues of war and peace, and less on the dying and suffering of the poor who have no voice."

According to the report, one billion people live on a dollar a day or less, many of them going to bed hungry every night; life expectancy in the poorest countries is half that in high-income countries.

Every month, for example, 150,000 African children die of malaria because they don't have bed nets to keep out mosquitoes, a tragedy Sachs called the "silent tsunami."

In 1970, the world's nations agreed to provide 0.7 percent of their gross national income for development assistance, and that figure was reaffirmed in 2002 by the U.N. conference on

financing development in Monterey, Mexico.

So far, only five countries have met or surpassed the target: Denmark, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway and Sweden. Six others have committed to hit the target by 2015: Belgium, Finland, France, Ireland, Spain and Britain.

But 11 of the 22 richest donors, according to the Paris-based Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, are far from the target and have not set timetables to reach it — including the United States, Japan and Germany.

If all 22 rich countries come up with the money, more than 500 million people could escape poverty and tens of millions could avoid certain death in the next decade, the report said.

If the countries kept up the 0.7 percent level of aid-giving for another decade, it said, "by 2025 extreme poverty can be substantially eliminated" for the remaining 500 million people surviving on a dollar a day.

But trying to get the United States and the other rich nations to double or triple the

amount of development assistance they give is expected to be an uphill struggle — and the target of major lobbying.

The resources to meet the U.N. goals are definitely within the means of the world's 22 richest nations, Sachs said.

"The required doubling of annual official development assistance to \$135 billion in 2006, rising to \$195 billion by 2015, pales beside the wealth of high income countries — and the world's military budget of \$900 billion a year," the report said.

The United States now spends only about 0.15 percent of its GDP on development aid, well below the 0.7 percent figure, Sachs said.

President Bush's administration has pledged \$22.3 billion in aid for 2006, or 0.18 percent of gross national income. If it were to meet the report's target for 2006, Washington would have to contribute more than double — \$54.5 billion.

Unless rich countries come up with the money, the report warned that the "already dwindling faith in international commitments to reduce poverty will likely vanish."

FOCUS ON THE UNITED STATES

Terror, Love, and the State of the World

John Robbins is the author of many bestsellers, including Diet For A New America and his recently released The Food Revolution. The son of the founder of the Baskin-Robbins ice cream empire, Robbins walked away from a life of immense wealth to "pursue the deeper American Dream, the dream of a society at peace with its conscience because it respects and lives in harmony with all life forms. A dream of a society that is truly healthy, practicing a wise and compassionate stewardship of a balanced ecosystem."

If we are serious about stopping terrorism, then our goal must be to reduce the level of fear, injustice, and poverty in the world.

Approximately 3,000 people perished in the September 11th attacks. Our nation still reels from such despicable brutality. But those who died from the attacks on that tragic day were not alone. On September 11th, 35,000 children worldwide died of hunger. A similar number of children died on September 12th, and again on the 13th, and on every single day since.

In today's world, made transparent by television and other telecommunications, any country that attains prosperity unshared by its fellow nations can expect

to attract resentment and hatred. In a time when a handful of desperate and suicidal people can devastate the most militarily powerful nation in the history of humankind, any effort dedicated to defeating terrorism must also be dedicated to the goal of bringing justice and prosperity to the poor and dispossessed.

To advance human security and control terrorism, we must not find only the brutality of the September 11th attacks to be totally intolerable. We must also find intolerable that one billion people worldwide struggle to survive on \$1 a day, that more than one billion people lack access to safe drinking water, and that 3 billion people have inadequate access to sanitation. We have not hesitated

Might the United States remember that we have a deep and paramount interdependence with the well-being of all of the world's peoples?



to build an international coalition and to spend hundreds of billions of dollars to defeat those who launched the attacks of September 11th. What if we were equally as dedicated to building an international coalition to eradicate hunger, to provide clean water, to curb infectious disease, to provide adequate jobs, to combat illiteracy, and to end homelessness?

This goal is too costly, many say. But this is not true.

The cost of our initial military response in Afghanistan will top \$100 billion beyond our already enormous annual defense budget of \$342 billion. What could we accomplish if we spent even a small fraction of that on programs to alleviate human suffering? In 1998, the United Nations Development Program estimated that it would cost an additional \$9 billion (above current expenditures) to provide clean water and sanitation for everyone on Earth. It would cost an additional \$12 billion, they said, to cover reproductive health services for all women worldwide. Another \$13 billion would be enough not only to give every person on Earth enough food to eat but also basic health care. An additional \$6 billion could

provide basic education for all. These are large numbers, but combined they add up to \$40 billion—only one fifth as much as the \$200 billion the U.S. government agreed in October 2001 to pay Lockheed to build new F-35 Joint Strike Fighter (JSF) jets.

Might the United States remember in all of this that we have a deep and paramount interdependence with the well-being of all of the world's peoples? Will the day come when the United States fulfills our true national purpose and achieves lasting national security? If this is truly our goal, and if we devote our actions and resources to its accomplishment, the support for the bin Ladens of the world will begin to diminish. We'll know we've begun to create a world where terrorism can't find a foothold when we commit ourselves and our resources to the building of a peaceful world with as much dedication as we've committed ourselves to war.

We'll know we've begun to defeat terrorism when we see the connection between the \$5 trillion the U.S. has spent on nuclear weapons since World

continued on next page

War II and the homeless children shivering in the cold, the battered women who have no shelter, and the families broken by grinding poverty; when we see the connection between the \$1 billion a day we've spent every day for decades

on the military and the hungry people who have no hope, the children dying from preventable diseases, and the families who sell their daughters into sexual slavery because they see no other way to survive. We'll know we've begun to create true national security when we define the greatness of our civilization not by our military capabilities, but by

our ability to bring out the best in ourselves and others, and by the quality of life we leave our children.

We'll know we're on the right track when we begin producing and eating food that is healthy for our bodies and healthy for the Earth, and we no longer find acceptable the existence of human hunger anywhere on the planet.

We'll know we're building security when we give up our dependency on oil, and develop an economy based instead

on hydrogen, wind power, solar power, and other nonpolluting, safe, and renewable sources of energy.

We'll know we've begun to create a safer world when we design our public policies and personal lifestyles not just for individual advantage, but for the greater good of the whole Earth community. Then our religious and spiritual lives will make us more human, more humble, and more able to live with respect for all beings. We'll know we're upholding the human spirit when the power we seek is the ability to nurture and befriend, and when the success we pursue is one in which all beings share because it is founded on reverence for life.

In times of fear, most people step back and wait to see what others are going to do and what's going to happen. Some people, though, see the situation as an opportunity to step forward and take a stand. The more of us who in our hearts and lives take a stand for the creation of a thriving, just, and sustainable way of life for all, the less likely it is that the bin Ladens of the world will accomplish their purposes, and the greater the chance that it will be love and not fear that will prevail.

It is to the planting, nurturing, and harvesting of fruits worthy of all that is good and beautiful in us that we must now, as never before, dedicate our lives. Now, as never before, the world needs our wisdom, our cooperation, and our understanding that all humanity is connected. □

We'll know we've begun to create a world where terrorism can't find a foothold when we commit ourselves and our resources to the building of a peaceful world with as much dedication as we've committed ourselves to war.

WHERE YOUR INCOME TAX

The United States Federal Budget for Fiscal Year 2003

MONEY REALLY GOES

Total Federal Funds Outlays \$1,696 Billion

\$540 Billion

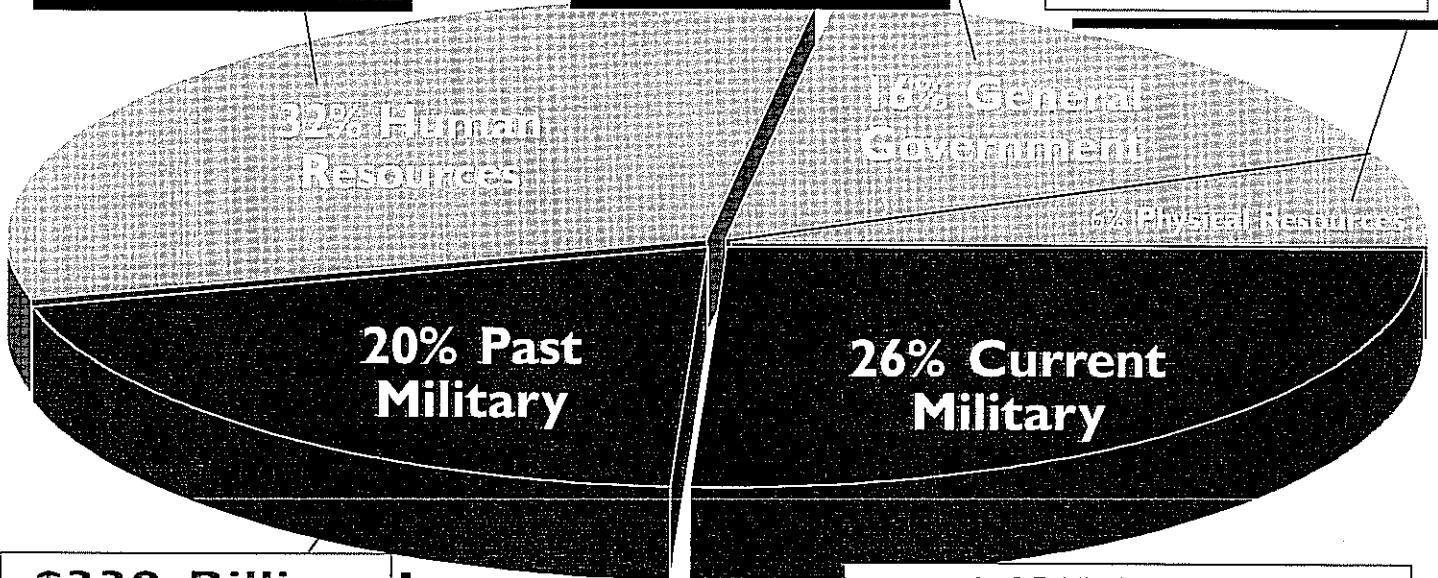
Education, Health/Human Services, HUD, Food Stamps, Labor Department, Soc. Sec. Admin.

\$278 Billion

Legislative, Justice Dept., State Dept., International Affairs, Treasury, Gov't. Personnel, 20% interest on national debt, 50% of NASA, Bipart. Econ. Plan

\$102 Billion

Agriculture, Commerce, Energy, Interior Dept., Transportation, Environmental Protection, Army Corps Engineers, FCC, 50% FEMA



\$339 Billion

Veterans' Benefits \$57B; Interest on National Debt (80% estimated to be created by military spending) \$282B

\$437 Billion

Military Personnel \$93B, Operation and Maintenance \$144B, Family Housing \$4B, Procurement \$62B, Research and Development \$51B, Construction \$6B, Misc. \$2B, Retired Pay \$39B, DoE Nuclear Weapons \$15B, 50% NASA \$7B, Coast Guard \$6.7B, Internat'l Security \$6.7B, 50% FEMA \$3.5B, FBI/CIA \$.7B

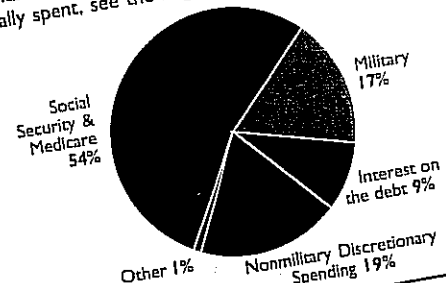
HOW THESE FIGURES WERE DETERMINED

War Resisters League creates this leaflet each year after the President releases a proposed budget. The figures here are from a line-by-line analysis of projected figures in the "Analytical Perspectives" book of the *Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 2003*. The percentages are federal funds, which do not include trust funds such as Social Security that are raised and spent separately from income taxes. What you pay (or don't pay) by April 15, 2002, goes only to the federal funds portion of the budget. The government practice of combining trust and federal funds (the so-called "Unified Budget") began in the 1960s during the Vietnam War. The government presentation makes the human needs portion of the budget seem larger and the military portion smaller.

"Current military" spending adds together money allocated for the Dept. of Defense (\$362 billion) plus the military portion from other parts of the budget. Spending on nuclear weapons (without their delivery systems) amounts to about 1% of the total budget. "Past military" represents veterans' benefits plus 80% of the interest on the debt. Analysts differ on how much of the debt stems from the military; other groups estimate 50% to 60%. We use 80% because we believe if there had been no military spending most (if not all) of the national debt would have been eliminated. The government willingly borrows for war, but finds nothing extra for crises in human needs.

The Government Deception

The pie chart below is the government view of the budget. This is a distortion of how our income tax dollars are spent because it includes Trust Funds (e.g., Social Security), and the expenses of past military spending are not distinguished from nonmilitary spending. For a more accurate representation of how your Federal income tax dollar is really spent, see the large chart.



Source: New York Times, February 5, 2002, p. 18

WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE

339 Lafayette Street • NY, NY 10012 • 800-975-9688 • www.warresisters.org

WHAT OUR MONEY COULD FUND

The standard budget for the United States Military
was
\$585.5 billion in 2002.

Just 25% of the United States Standard* Military Budget could buy:

- Eliminate starvation and malnutrition world wide \$19 billion
- Provide shelter \$21 billion
- Provide clean, safe drinking water \$10 billion
- Provide health care and AIDS control \$21 billion
- Refugee relief \$5 billion
- Eliminate illiteracy \$5 billion
- Build democracy \$3 billion
- Stabilize human population \$10.5 billion

The 2002 Military Budget increase of \$40 billion could fund:

- Remove most land mines \$5 billion
- Eliminate nuclear weapons \$7 billion
- Retire developing nations' debt \$30 billion

OR this \$40 billion could be spent to double the amount of aid that the First World gives to the Third World annually (\$40 billion).

The United Nations recommends that developed nations contribute .7% of their gross domestic product (gdp). Some nations including Norway and Denmark exceed this amount. The United States (as of 2002) has given 1.7 % in foreign aid, most of which goes to Israel and Egypt.

* This amount does not include the money spent on military engagements with Afghanistan and Iraq--this is information compiled by Oregon Physicians for Social Responsibility in 2002.

IRIN Web Special on child soldiers

AFGHANISTAN: Eight thousand children under arms look for a future



Kids aboard an abandoned APC

Credit: IRIN

Kandahar, 4 December 2003 (IRIN) - Standing at a security checkpoint dressed in a battered combat jacket and leaking boots, Zaralam said he had joined the "army" because he had to earn some money for his family. "It's tough working day and night, but I earn 2,000 afghanis [US \$40] a month and get some food too," the 14-year old military policeman told IRIN in the Daman district of the southern city of Kandahar.

Zaralam is one of thousands of children in Afghanistan who, according to the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), gain an income or other

material support as members of armed groups. A field assessment conducted by UNICEF earlier this year throughout Afghanistan indicated that there were at least 8,000 children currently under arms. Many remain in the pay of regional warlords, who still dominate Afghan life outside the capital, Kabul.

The ousted Taliban, the US-backed Northern Alliance (NA) and other armed factions have all been accused of using child soldiers as young as 14, according to rights groups. The reasons are obvious: children are cheaper to employ, slow to question authority and often quick to prove themselves in Afghanistan's gun-dominated macho society. Some are lured into armed factions by promises of education and proper jobs. Most are carrying guns simply for lack of any viable alternative.

These children, mainly boys but some girls too, are part of an estimated 100,000 combatants who need to be found alternative livelihoods if peace is to stand a chance in volatile Afghanistan. The country's UN-backed Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (DDR) programme, that began at pilot level in October this year, is designed to help significantly reduce the strength of the myriad armed factions.

Six pilot projects are currently underway before the main phase early next summer. "Six thousand people will be disarmed in the pilot projects in six provinces including Konduz, Gardez, Mazar-e Sharif, Parvan (Kabul), Kandahar and Bamyan provinces," Paul Cruick, an operations manager with the Afghanistan New Beginning Programme (ANBP), NGO said.

The DDR process is voluntary and the ANBP will be providing an incentive package to enable those disarmed to support their families during the transitional phase until they have found alternative means. "The ex-combatant receives a compensation/severance package including US \$200 cash and a clothing and food package [130 kg of

different types of food]," Cruick said, adding that this was merely to ensure that the transition was easier and simpler. "This is not a cash for weapons programme," he stressed.

Some observers say the DDR process, if it takes off, will significantly reduce the number of children under arms.

But the UN, aid agencies and the Afghan government want a more specific framework for the demobilisation and reintegration of child soldiers to meet their special needs. "There is still from time to time recruitment by some factions that also includes children;

this is one problem that I think we all have to help the government of Afghanistan to deal with," Lakhdar Brahimi, the UN Special Envoy for Afghanistan, said recently.



Child soldiers in Kabul

Credit: CCA

"UNICEF's role within the general DDR programme is to focus on the special needs of children," Edward Carwardine, a UNICEF spokesman, told IRIN in Kabul. According to the UN agency, the child soldier initiative is not part of the DDR programme, "Obviously, UNICEF is working closely with partners in UNAMA [United Nations Assistance Mission in Afghanistan] to ensure that the child soldier programme sits comfortably alongside the more general DDR process," Carwardine stated.

Most children currently under arms in Afghanistan have become used to the lifestyle. Many know no other, and ending the relationship of dependency between child and faction leader or paymaster will be very difficult, observers say. "One of the biggest challenges is to find a way of adequately replacing those factors through a rehabilitation programme," Carwardine remarked, noting that new skills-based training programmes needed to be developed and that support for literacy, and numeracy and other life skills was required, especially for children who had missed out on formal education.

But depriving young people of the only living they know, observers say, will not be easy. According to the ministry of labour and social affairs, the poor economic situation has transformed most children bearing arms into the primary financial supporters of their families, and unless there are viable alternatives they will have no choice but to remain combatants.

"There are over 2 million child-headed households and widows struggling to earn a daily livelihood," Ghaus Rashid, the deputy minister of labour and social affairs, told IRIN, noting that over 60 percent of young Afghans were jobless with no viable future and had no option but to join or remain members of armed groups if they were paid.

Some progress is being made. In May this year, Kabul outlawed the recruitment and use of child soldiers in the new Afghan National Army. Interior Minister Ali Ahmad Jalali told IRIN recently that police reform, currently in progress, would also result in young people under 17 being weeded out of the new force. Law and order in Kabul, for example, is currently enforced by former combatants from the victorious NA, who swept the Taliban from power with US support almost two years ago.



Child soldier working as policeman,
Kandahar

Credit: IRIN

Driving round the capital it is evident that many law enforcers are little more than boys in adult uniforms. "I came to Kabul when my brothers removed the Taliban. Before I was in a camp, but now I'm a policeman and proud," Ahmad, a 13-year-old ethnic Tajik boy, told IRIN while leaning on a rusting Kalashnikov nonchalantly directing traffic at one the city's busier roundabouts.

UNICEF is currently supporting the establishment of a number of projects throughout Afghanistan, which will assist the reintegration of child soldiers, along with other young people who have been affected by conflict. The projects include helping former child soldiers enrol in school, informal education including life skills and vocational training, and psychosocial support. Some material assistance to enable older children to learn new skills to better prepare themselves for a constructive role in society is also being offered.

These programmes, delivered through partner agencies such as Save the Children, require long-term donor commitment if they are to have any impact of on the large number of children forced to be soldiers in Afghanistan. "Sure I want to do something else, something like a teacher or even a doctor, but right now this is all I have," Zaralam said, pointing to his weapon.

[Ends]

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Things are not that different in all other republics of Central Asia and Afghanistan. This could be Kyrgyzstan as well.

1111

The Times of Central Asia
August 8, 2002

Tajikistan: population explosion threatens economy

By Natalia Davlatova*

DUSHANBE (VPR). Tajikistan is wrestling with a population explosion that threatens to devastate the already impoverished country.

In light of the current economic crisis, the old Tajik proverb «a big family is a rich family» has been turned on its head. «Until citizens can consciously practice birth control, there will be no economic prosperity», warned Shamsiddin Kurbanov, director of the Center for Reproductive Health and Family Planning (CRHFP). He was speaking at a July 11 press conference held by the local office of the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) to mark International Population Day.

The crisis is so acute that the Tajik parliament passed a new law on reproductive health on June 19 in an attempt to stem the rise. The legislation outlined a policy aimed at encouraging the use of contraception.

Earlier this year, President Emomali Rakhmonov, speaking at a family planning conference, said demographic problems were especially critical for third world countries such as Tajikistan. He stressed that the population was growing at a time when the economy was shrinking and contributing to the impoverishment of the country.

The facts speak for themselves. Over the last decade, the population has risen from 5.5 to 6.25 million. Growth has been fastest among the rural poor, where numbers have ballooned from 3.8 to 4.6 million. At the same time, the country's gross revenue has roughly halved to 1.9 billion somoni, or \$674 million.

While the problem of excessively large families partly stems from the conservative Islamic tradition which promotes the former, it was exacerbated in the Soviet era, when women were rewarded for giving birth—10,000 receiving the Hero Mother Order for having ten or more children.

Now international organizations say the demographic crisis is partly responsible for the fact that around a third of population is suffering from acute malnutrition and 80% of people live below the poverty line.

According to Russia's ambassador to Tajikistan, Maxim Peshkov, around two million of the youngest and most able-bodied Tajiks were in Russia, working to feed their large families back home.

The UNFPA's Tajik office claims the rate of population growth has slowed from 31.3 to 27 live births per thousand from 1998 to 2000.

However, UNFPA officials and

even the president admit these figures do not reflect reality. In May, family planning officials working with the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) and government experts from Italy investigated more than 2,000 villages in 27 regions. The results have not yet been released, but Kurbanov says preliminary estimates suggest the reproduction rate is higher than the official statistics.

The explanation for the official «drop» in population growth lies in the fact that children are only given birth certificates upon school enrollment. Many parents in rural areas cannot afford to educate their families, so their children go unrecorded.

President Rakhmonov says the population may reach eight million by 2010, which means today's average of 0.1 hectare of irrigated land per inhabitant will fall to 0.08, which is inadequate for even subsistence farming. Because of the country's mountainous geographical location, an increase in the total area under agricultural cultivation is not feasible.

The situation has deteriorated in the past five months. In the south of the country, torrential rain, hail and flooding this spring washed away much of the fertile topsoil on the best irrigated land. To make matters worse, this was followed by an unprecedented plague of locusts.

Tajikistan, now the poorest country in the CIS, cannot feed its people and the only solution is the continued migration of working-age males to Russia, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan.

However, this generates other problems. According to Kurbanov, the general health of the population is declining partly as a result of sexually transmitted diseases brought home by Tajiks who have been working elsewhere. The CRHFP says 34% of women of childbearing age in the southern Khatlon Oblast suffer from venereal disease.

Around four to five per cent of the children in this area are born with congenital syphilis. As the men do not protect themselves from sexually transmitted diseases, many children are born with physical defects, damaging the gene pool as a whole.

Specialists from the CRHFP are trying to educate the population about birth control, and special attention is given to villagers who not only cannot afford contraception, but don't even know what it is. Even among the urban population, the primary method of birth control is abortion.

*Natalia Davlatova is a journalist with Telecom Technology in Dushanbe.

**OPTIONAL
READING
FOR
SESSION 6**

Reading List for Session 6, Continued

Optional Reading

A. Nonviolent Conflict Resolution Processes

- Terry Gross Interviews former diplomat Keisling
- Push Too Hard and Iran Will Fight Back

B. Appropriate, Humanitarian Foreign Aid

- Afghan Elders Say al-Qaeda Protected Along Border (Taliban "aid")
- Muslim Youth

Terry Gross Interviews Kiesling

After the U.S./British invasion of Iraq, Kiesling appeared on Terry Gross' Fresh Air radio program. In the interview, Kiesling made it clear that he thinks the war was a mistake, that it was a political not a military problem, and that the political problem is now as bad as, or worse than, he had expected. After outlining the difficulties he sees with the Kurds, the Shiites, religious fundamentalists, the inherent hostility towards and suspicion of the United States, and many others, the interview turned toward the reasons for Kiesling's resignation. Here are excerpts:

I saw that over time, starting with the new Bush administration, the traditional role of the State Department was getting much less appetizing. The policies that we were being called to represent were policies that were basically ugly. We were telling the world that America is too weak, too vulnerable, to accept any kind of international law, like the International Criminal Court. In the past we had believed the ICC was something that the world needed so the United States would not have to try war criminals; rather the ICC would be a legitimate international body that would do the dirty work. We knew this was in our best interests. Then suddenly we lost our nerve and said, Oh my God, they'll drag Henry Kissinger away and throw him in jail. This was nonsense. But for populist reasons the U.S. Congress passed the American Serviceman's Protective Act which said that no American person will ever be subject to the ICC.

There is a vein of paranoia in American politics. It's a dangerous vein. It's usually kept under control. But this time I saw

that vein of paranoia had risen to the fore. We had a president who was too weak and too uninformed to serve as a meaningful check, so we were drifting into a really unnecessarily bad foreign policy. This made me angry. The State Department people—who are much more effective than I am at balancing their ideals with practical politics—were being cut out by totally ideological people, and the trend was getting worse. I saw an American president who was willing to stand up and tell half-truths that were then interpreted by others into lies. For example, the role of Saddam with al-Queda in September 11. There was no role. We knew there was no role, but for political reasons it helped win the mid-term elections.

I had loyally defended American policy on Iraq. I had made all of the arguments why the only way that we could disarm Saddam was by being ready to go to war if he did not disarm. It's a powerful argument. I loyally called up old Greek friends who said stupid things about American policy, and I chewed them out

and I said, look, our policy on Iraq is about the security of the United States and the security of the world, and we're not going to do any of these bad things that you're saying. We have a reasonable policy.

I did that over and over again. I could not persuade anyone in Greece. We (the U.S.) could not persuade anyone in Europe. World opinion was overwhelmingly convinced that we were lying, which is a very bad thing to do. You can get away with lying to the world occasionally, but if you do it as a matter of practice you have no credibility, no legitimacy. Everything you try to do afterwards costs you much more and becomes more difficult and dangerous.

I came to the conclusion, as I saw what happened in the United Nations, that in fact the decision for war had been made months ago. I felt I had been used. I felt the system was so badly undercutting America's long-term interests that I couldn't be part of it, that diplomacy had been marginalized, that we'd been asked to do things that were essentially impossible.

I spent a lot of time in September drafting something which is called a Dissent Channel Message, laying out my views that our coming war would really hurt our interests. I never sent it because the State Department was not the decision-maker in this. We had already been rolled by the Defense Department and some of the ideologues in the White House. Secretary Powell was not the

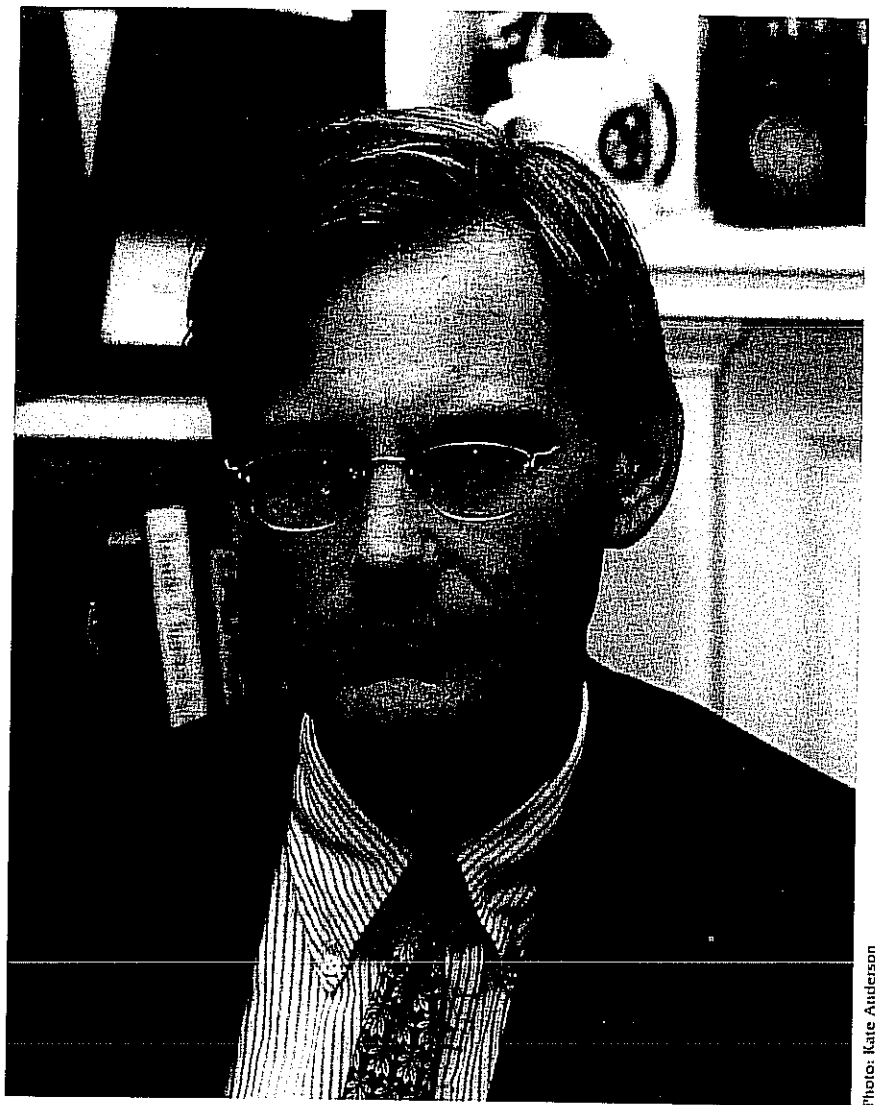


Photo: Kate Anderson

problem. He unfortunately could not be part of the solution, either.

The State Department, to its credit, took the high road. They said, We regret that Mr. Kiesling chose this. We regret that he resigned. We don't agree with his views, but we respect his right to make those views public. A lot of my colleagues came up to me and expressed their full agreement with my letter, expressed their dismay at the way the policy was going. Many were ambivalent about the war but knew that we were unnecessarily harming our interests by damaging the NATO alliance, by weakening the United Nations, by alienating European and Middle Eastern and Asian public opinion, and by generally telling the world that international law doesn't apply to us. So I had a lot of support, a lot of friendly e-mails. I heard from people I hadn't heard from in years.

continued on next page

There was a huge amount of respect at least for my moral courage in doing what I did. That felt good; it was a real help to me.

This letter came out of me much faster and more easily than I expected. I wrote

it one night. I came back the next day because I realized I had written something that was really cold and foreign-policy oriented. I needed to put myself into this to say, Here is an American who believes in America, who thinks that America has ideals, who believes that America's ideals are fantastic, who thinks America is

the greatest country in the world, who suddenly sees himself, and his colleagues, and his country being asked to behave as if we're a bunch of frightened, defensive, surly bullies in the international world when we have such a position of strength and dominance that we don't have to behave badly. We have the luxury of behaving well, and behaving well serves our interests. But no.

This was for me a source of anger and anguish that we have a choice to do good. We, the United States, have power, we have money, we have leisure. We even

have good intentions. There is no limit to the good that we can do in the world if we try, if we believe in ourselves, if we live up to our own ideals. And we're not.

The message I've gotten from the rest of the world outside the United States is, Thank God: We were losing faith in America. We had always seen America as a place that actually believed in things even if they didn't always behave well. You've confirmed that there still is this good America, this America of vision and idealism. In a way, it's pretty frightening when I personally am elevated to this pedestal of being someone speaking for the good America. Obviously there are tens and hundreds of millions of good Americans who, offered a chance, would speak for the good America. Unfortunately not many of them are visible publicly right now.

Until last year, attitudes towards the United States in Europe were, say, 70 percent positive, 30 percent negative. In a year, they have crashed down to 70-80 percent negative, 5 percent positive. This is terrible. We and the Europeans share so much. All of our values are held in common. If they think we've sort of gone off the reservation, it's sad and it's unnecessary.

There used to be an alliance of realism and idealism in foreign policy. We have to go back to that. I would like to help the traditional foreign policy players reestablish some control of the game and take it away from the ideologues. □

***We, the United States,
have power, we have money,
we have leisure. We even
have good intentions.
There is no limit to the good
that we can do in the world
if we try.***

OPINION

GUEST VIEWPOINT

NICHOLAS KRISTOF

Push too hard and Iran will fight back

There is one force that could rescue Iran's hard-line ayatollahs from the dustbin of history: us.

Iran seems to be pushing for nuclear warheads and missiles to carry them. It could take its first weapon in two years, and it could eventually produce enough enriched uranium at Natanz for 25 weapons a year.

Iran's leaders have regularly gotten away with murder. They apparently helped bomb U.S. Marines in Lebanon in 1983, a Jewish center in Argentina in 1994 and U.S. military barracks in Saudi Arabia in 1996. So it's easy to understand why President Bush declared recently that it's "intolerable" for Iran to be on the road toward nuclear weapons, adding, "Otherwise they will be dealt with, starting through the United Nations."

To Bush, not unreasonably, Iran conjures up a frightening combination: nuts with nukes. The push for a tougher approach toward Iran isn't partisan, and a President Kerry might also pursue a more confrontational, albeit more multilateral, approach to Iran.

But that would be a mistake.

First, it won't work. If we haul Iran before the Security Council, it will restart its programs (it has suspended at least some) and kick out inspectors. Iran will respond to more pressure by accelerating its nuclear program.

Second, we'll create a nationalistic backlash in Iran that will keep hard-liners in power. Our sanctions and isolation have kept dinosaurs in power in Cuba, North Korea and Burma; I fear we'll do the same in Iran.

What I fear is this: Over the next year or two, the West will press Iran harder, Iran will halt its nuclear cooperation and evict inspectors, Israel will bomb a couple of Iran's nuclear sites (a possibility widely discussed in security circles, although it would slow Iran's nuclear progress without ending it), and Iran's ayatollahs will benefit from a nationalistic surge to stay in power and rule more rabidly than ever.

"We love America," began Mansour Jahanbakhsha, a businessman, in a typical comment, but he added that Iran should develop nuclear weapons. "Iranians would become angry at meddling by America," he said, and his demeanor changed. "We are an old country with an ancient civilization, and we are proud of it. How come Israel can have them and we can't? It makes me angry."

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Maryan Nazeri, complained about the regime but said she would support it in a confrontation over nuclear weapons. "We're going to have them," she said. "Maybe we do already. It's our right. We're Iranians, so what do you expect? Just as you want America to be strong, we want Iran to be strong."

Then Massoud Taheri scolded: "Your president calling us a rogue nation and disrespecting our 5,000 years of civilization is offensive. How many years of civilization do you have?"

Our goal should be regime change in Tehran. But if Bush (or Kerry) pushes Tehran too hard over nukes, we'll fail to get rid of either the nuclear program or this regime.

The only alternative is engagement — the precise opposite of the sanctions and isolation that have been U.S. policy under both Presidents Clinton and Bush. Sanctions are even less effective against Iran than against, say, North Korea, because Iran oozes petroleum and is independently wealthy.

So we should vigorously pursue a "grand bargain" in which, among other elements, Iran maintains its freeze on uranium enrichment and we establish diplomatic relations and encourage business investment, tourists and education exchanges.

"What would destroy the conservatives (in Iran) would be a money flood" of American investment, says Hooshang Amirahmadi, the president of the American Iranian Council. "In just a few years, the conservatives would be finished."

The bottom line is that we could soon have a pro-American Islamic democracy as a beacon for hope in the Middle East — in Tehran, not Baghdad. The risk is that we'll blow it.

Nicholas Kristof (nicholas@nytimes.com) is a columnist for *The New York Times*.

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Afghan elders say al-Qaeda protected along border

Religious pressure and money buys the silence of local residents

By NOOR KHAN
The Associated Press

SHKIN, Afghanistan — From a mosque high on an Afghan peak, tribal elder Mohammed Safai pointed to what he said was an al-Qaeda training camp on the mountain of Salor Gai — just across the frontier in Pakistan.

One by one, fellow Afghan tribal leaders around him ticked off the names of surrounding Pakistani villages that they say are sheltering al-Qaeda and Taliban: Bahna, Shakul, Mangadthai.

Across the poorly marked and little-headed border, Pakistani forces on Sunday were searching homes in South Waziristan province in a six-day hunt for suspected al-Qaeda that has seen dozens of people killed and more than 100 people arrested.

The Afghan Pashtuns say their Pakistani Pashtun brothers know the terrorist camps and hiding places. But the tribal elders in Pakistan will likely never tell — silenced by a code of honor, by al-Qaeda money, and by a fierce distrust of the far-off Pakistani government, Pashtun leaders said.

"The tribal area people, they are sympathizers with al-Qaeda and Taliban," Safai said. "They are not showing the exact location where al-Qaeda is hiding."

In South Waziristan, Pakistani officials and residents said they had no idea whether there was an al-Qaeda camp on Salor Gai, as the Afghans charge. But the Afghans, who cross the border at will, say the Pakistanis are playing dumb.

"The al-Qaeda people, they are so rich — they are giving so much money to the people who are giving shelter to al-Qaeda and Taliban," said Mirowgain Khan, like Safai, an Afghan elder of the Pashtun Kharoti tribe.

Pakistan's anti-American Jamaat-e-Islami religious party is helping seal the silence, circulating among Pakistani



SHAKIL ADIL / The Associated Press

A rally in Karachi, Pakistan, condemns the government for launching anti-al-Qaeda operations in tribal areas.

border villages to encourage the Pashtun there to be faithful hosts to their al-Qaeda and Taliban guests, the Afghans say.

Pakistan military leaders said they believed a "high-value" suspect might be at the center of last week's fighting — perhaps Osama bin Laden's deputy, Ayman al-Zawahri, or Tahir Yuldash, the leader of an Uzbek terror group allied with al-Qaeda.

On Thursday, Safai said, six al-Qaeda fighters seeking escape from the Pakistani operation fled over the border to villages around a U.S. military outpost at Shkin, 100 miles south of Kabul, the Afghan capital.

Safai sent tribal gunmen, chasing off five of the men and capturing a sixth, he said.

The man was al-Qaeda, a Chechen who spoke a little Pashto and Dari, the two leading languages in Afghanistan, Safai said.

Tribal men took an AK-47 assault rifle and seven grenades off the fugitive, and turned the Chechen over to the U.S. military at Shkin.

Around Shkin, tribal elders were worried Sunday after they were warned in an anonymous letter that their villages would be rocketed if they failed to release the Chechen.

The elders repeat a common complaint of Afghans here in Paktika province — that neither side, Pakistani or Afghan, does anything to close the

frontier.

In two days in the mountains of Paktika, an Associated Press reporter saw no Afghan troops in the countryside, and only a few American soldiers. But the U.S. ambassador to Afghanistan, Zalmay Khalilzad, said U.S. forces are still keeping a close eye on the border.

"We know several key Taliban figures are there and there is some sense that some of the remaining al-Qaeda leaders are in the border area on the other side," Khalilzad said.

He said they included Mullah Dadullah and Mullah Brader, Taliban commanders believed to be orchestrating attacks in southern Afghan provinces including the former Taliban stronghold of Kandahar.

Afghans in Shkin insist they welcome the U.S. forces, seeing them as the promise of reconstruction, aid and security. But they said the Americans have not sought help from locals who know the hundreds of cross-border trails.

"If they want to stop al-Qaeda, they have to get support of the local people living and belonging to this area. They know all the ways," Safai said.

Pakistan, meanwhile, says it is confident that its paramilitary and soldiers can track down militants.

Looking at Salor Gai mountain, Safai scoffed. "If you wanted to, you could walk from there to Kabul, and not hit a single checkpoint," he said.

Regarding the following article about Muslim Youth:

What would happen if sufficient, high quality education were available to these youth? (This could involve appropriate humanitarian foreign aid.)

What if their inventive talents were fostered and trained?

What if, in schools sufficiently supplied and designed (as Greg Mortensen does through the Central Asia Institute) in collaboration with the village elders, these youth were asked about their dreams for their countries and were sufficiently supported in pursuing these dreams?

What if these young men could be challenged to be creative, life-affirming, constructive in their involvement in building their futures and the futures of their countries? What if this challenge could be issued in a culturally appropriate way that contained the same wisdom that motivated the Pashtun Pacifists?

What if these youths were trained in nonviolent conflict resolution strategies which included problem solving strategies and constructive thinking? What if some resources were provided to pursue these strategies?

Creating such schools and providing such resources could cost very much less than supplying armies to fight and subdue these young people.



MUSLIM YOUTH

A growing population of young Muslims is coming into its own in the next few decades. How will these millions of young Muslim men and women perceive the world and their part in it? In general, it is young people who engage in activism, whether pacifistic, terroristic, or something in between.

Alan Richards, a political economist with more than 30 years experience in the Middle East, professor of environmental studies at the University of California at Santa Cruz, and frequent consultant to the U.S. government on Middle Eastern affairs, made these observations recently in the San Francisco Chronicle:

“**T**he most important fact to remember about the Muslim Middle East is that most people there are young: 66 percent are younger than thirty, 50 percent are younger than twenty, and 40 percent have not yet reached their 15th birthday.

“For the first time in history, many of these youths have received some education. Although they have enough education to make the old, difficult, dirty jobs unsatisfying, they have not acquired

the skills to perform successfully in the modern, hypercompetitive global economy. Their governments have failed in nearly every aspect of economic policy, with the result that unemployment has soared and living standards have plummeted for more than a decade.

“Why do so many of these youths turn to radical Islamism? This is a hugely complex question, but here are a few of the pieces of the puzzle. Governments are overwhelmingly unelected and violently

repressive; they provide no legitimate outlet for discontent. Governments and old ideologies, largely variations of nationalism, have failed to deliver either material goods or a sense of dignity, whether at home or abroad. Foreign policy failures, from Palestine to Kashmir to Bosnia, have further corroded states' legitimacy. Nationalist rhetoric has been translated into the language of political Islam, a language which resonates not only with peoples' religious sentiments, but also with their sense of national humiliation.

"As fiscally strapped governments cut funding for public services, privately funded Islamic schools, clinics, hospitals, and welfare agencies filled the breach, lending credence to the Islamists' claim that 'Islam is the solution!' Such activities have been generously funded for decades by both private and public sources from the Persian Gulf.

"During the next fifteen years, another 100 million young people will be born, governmental policies are unlikely to improve dramatically, and the rising tide of despairing, angry, humiliated young men and women will continue to swell.

"Simple solutions are not at hand; obviously, doing everything possible to improve the economies of the region (including making governments more accountable) while moderating our addiction...would be prudent. The future is unlikely to be pleasant and 'quick fixes,' particularly of the military type, will do little to enhance our own security. Only the emergence of a life of dignity for all those angry young men and women will do that. Until then, expect the witches' brew to bubble over—repeatedly."

New York Times columnist Nicholas Kristoff says "humiliation, economic isolation, and U.S. foreign policy (principally American military bases in Saudi Arabia and Palestinian rights) are the three most important factors in inflaming Muslim youth to anger and terrorism."

And Thomas Friedman, also a columnist for the *New York Times* adds: "If there is

one thing I learned from [my recent] trip to Israel, Jordan, Dubai, and Indonesia, it's this: Thanks to the Internet and satellite TV, the world is being wired together technologically, but not socially.

"At its best, the Internet can educate more people faster than any media tool we've ever had. At its worst, it can make people dumber faster than any media tool we've ever had....Because the Internet has an aura of 'technology' surrounding it, the uneducated believe in information from it even more. They don't realize that the Internet, at its ugliest, is just an open sewer—an electronic conduit for untreated, unfiltered information. Worse, just when you thought you were alone with your extreme views, the Internet puts you together with a community of people from around the world who hate all the things and people you do... call it the 'I Hate You' virus. It's spread on the Internet and by satellite TV. It infects people's minds. [This] can be reversed only with education, exchanges, diplomacy, and human interaction—stuff you have to upload the old fashioned way, one on one. Let's hope it's not too late."

With all this in mind, it is obvious that an important front in the U.S. "war on terrorism" should be intervention of the soft variety—aimed at mitigating these factors through respectful official and citizen diplomacy, aid, education, and exchanges. It will take an enormous effort to convince Muslim youth that we know we are all in this precarious world together. That we mean well. That we are willing to share wealth. That we care about the fate of Muslim people and of their nations. And it won't work if we don't mean it.

—Sandra Mardigian

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