



If War Is Not the Answer... What Is?

In the past six years, FCNL has distributed more than 400,000 War is Not the Answer yard signs, window signs, and bumper stickers around the United States. The signs have helped individuals make a statement of their belief, introduced people to their neighbors, and brought together a community of people who recognize and draw strength from every sighting of the blue signs.

In many places, the signs have also started a conversation: "I put up a War is Not the Answer sign and now everyone's asking me what is the answer," explained one troubled caller to the FCNL office. "Maybe I should put up a different sign?"

This caller, like tens of thousands of other people, started off making a simple statement about her personal belief, found in the process that she was part of a broader community of people around the country, and ultimately discovered that the signs are not an end, but rather the beginning of a conversation.

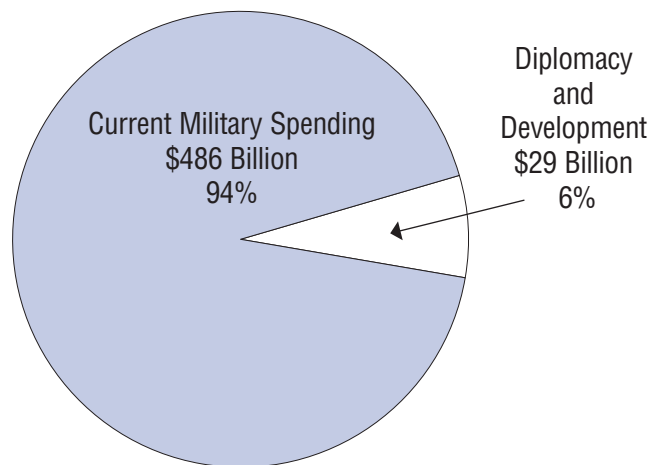
The answer to war, as FCNL has been saying for several years, is prevention, or the pursuit of peaceful prevention of deadly conflict. This newsletter is one part of the ongoing process of answering the question "If War is Not the Answer, What Is?" The U.S. spends hundreds of billions of dollars each

year on the military and war, including \$2 billion a week on the war and occupation of Iraq. Yet programs to prevent future deadly conflict and efforts to stop other countries from falling into war and crisis receive next to nothing. It doesn't have to be like this.

This newsletter outlines the current funding problem and lays out a long-term change strategy that

we believe can create a saner, more effective U.S. foreign relations infrastructure that would help make the world a safer place for all.

U.S. Engagement in the World: Military Budget vs. Diplomacy and Development —FY08



Source: White House Office of Management and Budget

We've also tried to identify several short term steps Congress can take to begin building the tools for peaceful prevention of deadly conflict. We hope you'll read the newsletter, then consider joining this effort. One place to begin would be to sign up for our specialized monthly email list called "prevent war." You can also find our more on our website at www.fcnl.org ■

"What is clear to me is that there is a need for a dramatic increase in spending on the civilian instruments of national security – diplomacy, strategic communications, foreign assistance, civic action, and economic reconstruction and development." – Secretary of Defense Robert Gates, November 2007

The FRIENDS COMMITTEE ON NATIONAL LEGISLATION (FCNL), a nonpartisan Quaker lobby in the public interest, seeks to follow the leadings of the Spirit as it speaks for itself and for like-minded Friends. Views expressed in FCNL's *Washington Newsletter* are guided by the Statement of Legislative Policy which is prepared and approved by FCNL's General Committee. FCNL includes Friends appointed by 26 Friends' yearly meetings and by nine other Friends' organizations in the United States.

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Can Civilians Build Peace? A Civilian Peacebuilders Corps

Since the end of the Cold War, the U.S. has engaged in reconstruction and stabilization operations in more than 17 countries. The majority of these interventions have occurred in states in Africa and the Middle East with weak political institutions. In many weak states, such as Iraq, Sudan, Somalia, Liberia, Afghanistan, Central African Republic, and Lebanon, deadly conflict is still widely prevalent or bubbling just beneath the surface.

Weak states pose threats to U.S. national security and to the quality of life for more than a billion people around the globe. Problems such as armed violence, lopsided distribution of resources, and the lack of a functioning, legitimate government can't be solved by the military. Yet U.S. policy-makers have consistently sent the military to such states in the hope of "establishing peace" because the U.S. lacks a civilian alternative or a civilian "peacebuilders corps."

"It's like sending police to guard a ruined neighborhood, but not sending the carpenters and the electricians and the plumbers to help residents rebuild it," one U.S. official said regarding the current U.S. response to stabilization and reconstruction operations.

To address this gap in the U.S. response to post-conflict societies, members of Congress in both the Senate and the House have introduced bills (S. 613 and H.R. 1084) that would authorize a corps of "civilian peacebuilders" skilled in finance, agriculture, health care, education, and civilian policing. In crisis situations, these teams would be sent quickly to the affected state or region to collaborate with local governments in rebuilding civilian institutions, revitalizing financial markets and supporting a legitimate police force to provide security and protect civilians.

By using civilian peacebuilders in war-torn countries, the U.S. would not only provide a more effective response to deadly conflict, but save lives and resources by helping these states move toward a sustainable peace. ■

Friends Help to Choose Legislative Priorities

Every two years FCNL seeks the help of Friends churches and meetings around the country in selecting the legislative priorities on which it will work in the upcoming Congress.

We hope to increase participation by Friends in this process in 2008 as we set priorities for the 111th Congress which convenes in January 2009.

In January look for materials from FCNL on how Friends in your meeting or church can offer their thoughts on the issues they feel FCNL should focus on during the 111th Congress.

A Strategy For Funding Peacebuilding

By Ann Vaughan, FCNL Legislative Representative for Peaceful Prevention of Deadly Conflict

Many in Congress recognize that the conflicts in the world today in fragile or failing states such as Afghanistan, Iraq, and Sudan cannot be solved by military means alone.

The collapse of the state in Iraq combined with growing resentment of U.S. power worldwide has also persuaded some within the U.S. military to begin calling on the federal to invest more in efforts to preserve the peace before wars break out and to promote efforts to build peace after wars have ended.

Though policymakers acknowledge that the U.S. needs to put more money into peaceful prevention of deadly conflict, little gets done. The government spends hundreds of billions of dollars each year to pay for current and future wars, but devotes only a very small portion of the budget to diplomacy, development assistance, and support for institutions that could prevent future wars before they break out and halt the spread of armed conflict.

The appropriations bills that fund U.S. international engagement—the DOD and State Department appropriations bills—show how skewed our federal

priorities are. Using figures from the White House Office of Management and Budget for fiscal year 2008 (FY08), FCNL estimates that 94 percent of funds requested for international engagement are for the military and 6 percent for non-military activities like diplomacy and development.

Is this because people don't care, or a majority in Congress doesn't believe that a million dollars spent to prevent a conflict breaking out now could prevent the U.S. from spending billions five years from now when conflicts are raging? I don't think so.

As a former staff person on Capitol Hill, I can tell you that members of Congress are looking for, even searching for, effective strategies to prevent war and avoid conflicts. But the combination of short-term horizons driven by elections every two years in the House, tight budget priorities, and in many cases a lack of actual experience with successful examples of programs that prevent conflicts has stymied much action.

Long-Term Effort Needed

Changing budget priorities within the cumbersome federal budget will not happen quickly. This is work

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A Smart Security Budget: 7 Actions Congress Could Take Now to Fund Peace

Shifting federal dollars out of the military budget and into programs that promote peace and foster long-term development is a long-term process. FCNL has compiled a list of seven actions Congress could take now that would be steps in the right direction. For more details, go to www.fcnl.org/ppdc

1. Fully support the UN by appropriating the full U.S. dues assessment and pay arrears;
2. Support the new UN Peacebuilding Commission by providing additional funding;
3. Authorize, fund, and monitor a federal civilian Active Response Corps, Civilian Reserve Corps, and Conflict Response Fund;
4. Require and provide additional resources to train foreign service staff, embassy personnel, USAID, and military personnel in conflict prevention;
5. Increase efforts to reduce the availability of small arms and light weapons;
6. Support foreign assistance and grants to local civil society movements peacefully working to enhance open government and human rights protection; and
7. Raise core development assistance funding by \$2 billion in order to meet Millennium Development Goals.

Funding Strategy (continued from page 3)

that might take five or ten years. And I have some friends who think it will take longer than that or that changing the current paradigm is next to impossible and even a bit crazy to try! Yet funding programs that support peace over war, conflict resolution over weapons systems, is a campaign that's worth pursuing.

When I worked on the Hill, lobbyists from development groups, peace lobbies, and faith-based organizations regularly came into our office to talk about the need to increase funding for conflict resolution programs and development assistance to the world's poorest people.

"The U.S. is spending \$2 billion a week on the war in Iraq. There's obviously money for war, why can't

there be money for peace?" constituents would ask us. Legislators and staff were supportive of these requests and we knew they would be good investments. But members of Congress are limited in how much funding they can obtain. Why? Because the budget process is structured in a way that makes it very difficult to move money out of the budget pot devoted to military spending and into the budget pot devoted to diplomacy, foreign assistance, and support for international organizations.

Budget Rules Make Change Difficult

To make a difference, advocates need to understand the process—and the jargon.

The chance for big, strategic adjustment in budget priorities occurs when the House and Senate Budget Committees develop a Congressional Budget Resolution (which doesn't go to the president for signature, but instead governs how much the House and Senate Committees can spend in different "areas," like war and peace). It simply lists categories of spending, like defense, international development, Medicare, etc., and gives each category a dollar number—for example, a cap of \$514 billion for defense in the coming fiscal year.

Once the House and Senate pass identical versions of the budget resolution, changing the next year's broad spending priorities is almost impossible. If the resolution says \$514 billion for defense and \$34 billion for the Department of State and foreign aid, it is pretty much unheard of later in the year to move money from the Defense Department to the State Department. In other words, the general outline of the budget for the next year is basically set in concrete between mid-February and the end of May.

To make a long-term strategic change in spending, to shift billions from war to peace, we need to do more to work with the Budget Committees early in the year—and that means meeting with the members when they are home in the winter! If we wait to talk to them in the spring, they are often too busy, too hassled, to give us the attention these priorities need.

Once the budget resolution process is done, we need to lobby the Appropriations Committee members to make sure that the money spent in each broad category is spent most effectively. The bill that funds

International Cooperation

UN peacekeeping operations are both cost effective and a highly efficient means of facilitating a sustainable peace in post-conflict states, a study by the Rand Corporation shows. When the U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO) compared costs for a UN peacekeeping operation in Haiti to anticipated costs for a similar U.S. operation, the GAO found that a U.S. peacekeeping operation would be twice as expensive as the UN's operation. In short, UN peacekeeping is a bargain for the U.S. in terms of saving lives and resources.

The U.S. government continues to vote to support peacekeeping operations, while not providing sufficient funds for UN peacekeeping and key humanitarian and development agencies like the International Atomic Energy Agency.

The U.S. is the leading debtor to the UN. As we enter 2008, the U.S. debt to the UN may surpass \$2 billion dollars. Nearly \$1.8 billion dollars of U.S. arrears is owed towards UN peacekeeping operations endorsed by the U.S., such as the missions in Sudan, Haiti, and Kosovo.

Congress should reject the failed, unilateral model of world engagement and demonstrate the U.S. commitment to multilateral cooperation by paying the U.S. debt to the UN and providing generous funding for this integral institution.

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most of the foreign assistance programs and the State Department is called the “Foreign Operations and State Department Appropriations bill.” This bill for fiscal year 2008 (FY08) totals approximately \$34 billion (and includes some military funding). By way of comparison, the bill that funds the Defense Department for FY08 contains \$459 billion (not including the vast majority of costs associated with the Iraq war). Within the appropriations process, it is at least possible to take money from the budget for the Peace Corps and invest those funds in international immunization programs (i.e. robbing Peter to pay Paul).

Shifting Funding Priorities

But the budget process is just a part of the problem. Many members of Congress would be willing to provide more financial support for diplomacy and development if they had evidence that these programs had been successful in the past. But even after the spectacular failure of the U.S. military invasion and occupation of Iraq, military force often appears to members of Congress to be the easy answer to controlling any conflict, stopping any genocide, or preventing a conflict from breaking out.

Members of Congress need to learn both from the testimony of others and from first-hand experience that investing in peace can pay bigger dividends than continuing to dump hundreds of billions of dollars into war.

Step 1: Develop Congressional Support. Developing congressional support for the smaller, successful diplomatic and development projects that demonstrate the benefits of diplomacy and development is a first step.

FCNL has long supported the key elements of a SMART (Sensible Multilateral American Response to Terrorism) budget which realigns federal spending priorities in line with a more thoughtful and effective budget. Specifically, the SMART budget recommends cutting about \$60 billion of funding from the military that currently goes towards outdated programs and weapons systems that were meant for the Cold War—not the challenges of the 21st century.

Cutting \$60 billion out of the military budget will not happen overnight. But what the SMART Security

budget does is begin to frame the issue in terms of the goal of creating long-term stability for the U.S. and the international community.

Step 2: Talk to Congress—Especially the Budget Committees. The president’s budget is presented to Congress every year on the first Monday in February, but it’s not too early to begin talking with your representatives’ and senators’ offices to express your concerns about the failure of U.S. budget policy.

The House and Senate Budget Committees are a good place to start. These committees look at the total amount of money available for U.S. government spending and then begin to set funding caps. Lobbying Congressional Budget Committees and requesting that the budget resolution reflect peaceful priorities is a major long-term effort of FCNL.

Lobbying requires knowing one’s audience. Many of the representatives and senators on the Budget Committees are fiscal conservatives and want to know what the costs and benefits are for shifting funding from the military to programs such as international

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A Gift Idea to Prevent the Next War

Give friends and relatives a gift that brings a monthly message of hope and action for a world at peace, a just community, and an earth restored. Send them the monthly *FCNL Washington Newsletter* and periodic *Indian Report* for a year by making a donation in their name to FCNL. (These publications are sent free upon request. A donation of \$35 or more is appreciated!)

A card will be sent to the person informing her or him that the newsletters will be coming as a gift from you.

Mail your check to FCNL, 245 Second Street, NE, Washington, DC, 20002. Enclose a list of names and addresses of persons you want to honor with this gift.

Charge your donation to your credit card by calling 800-630-1330, ext. 2503.

Donate online securely by going to FCNL’s website at www.fcnl.org and click on “donate.” In the “comment” box include the names and addresses of persons you want to honor.

Diplomacy, Development as Alternatives to Military Force

In many of the most conflict-ridden parts of the world, the only person representing the U.S. wears combat fatigues. U.S. military personnel often do their jobs very well and their jobs do not always involve violent intervention, but their skills and experience are best used to look for military or security solutions to conflicts. If the U.S. doesn't assign diplomats and peacemakers to a region, then the impression given to the world is that the only options the U.S. is looking for are military solutions.

The U.S. approach to the conflict in Somalia on the Horn of Africa provides a good illustration of this problem. Since September 11, 2001, U.S. military aid to Africa has nearly quadrupled. In Djibouti, a small coastal country tucked into the corner of East Africa, 1,800 U.S. military personnel collaborate with the French military to monitor a region that has been wracked with violence for decades. Off the coast, an international flotilla of 15 warships monitors the coast of Somalia.

While the U.S. has had a substantial military presence in the Horn of Africa, from 1991 to 2006, only one U.S. diplomat in Africa monitored political developments in Somalia from the embassy in Nairobi, Kenya. During this period, Somalia witnessed multiple coup d'états, and eventually became a safe haven for violent extremists.

A major cause for this gap in U.S. civilian engagement is that the State Department and the U.S. Agency for International Development have too few personnel to address or even monitor many of the problems in the rest of the world. The budget account that funds State Department personnel, called the Diplomatic and Counselor Program, is not sufficiently funded to provide enough diplomats and state department personnel to adequately cover global "hot spots."

The remedy? "See "Smart Security Budgets" p. 3

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development. We need to work to educate members on the Budget Committees that investing in peace and preventing war is much more cost effective than investing in the tools of war.

Step Three: Work the Appropriations Cycle. While the budget resolution lays out the broad framework of the budget, work still needs to be done every year to make sure that within the specific appropriations bills the programs that support peaceful prevention priorities receive enough funding.

Specifically, FCNL will support programs within the Foreign Operation and State Department appropriations bills that prevent conflict. For example, we'll try to increase funding for accounts like "Transition Initiatives" that provide funds to community-based groups in countries that are in transition from conflict and help to move countries from instability to peace. We'll lobby for paying UN dues (see box p. 4) and funding international conflict mitigation and management programs.

FCNL will also work on publishing the success stories of programs that prevent war that are funded

within the Foreign Operations bill. Deadly conflict and war sell newspapers, and members of Congress often are not aware of successful conflict prevention programs. Highlighting the benefits and success stories of peaceful prevention of deadly conflict and building a case for investing more in these programs will be a major long-term aspect of our program.

Step Four: Get Candidates on Board. During every campaign cycle, FCNL will be asking candidates to commit to increasing funds for development assistance and diplomacy and following up on candidates' commitments to these promises.

Working all of these steps concurrently will help build, month by month and year by year, the necessary support for shifting U.S. budget priorities to more accurately reflect the moral values that promote peace and to support long-term goals of international peace.

Here at FCNL we believe that if we make these changes, in the not too distant future when citizen lobbyists comes in to speak to their member of Congress about preventing deadly conflict and war, that representative or senator will be able to say that "yes, we can finally fund peace." ■

Iraq Policy (continued from page 8)

Recognize that Iraq, Iran, and the Arab-Israeli conflict have become parts of an integrated conflict system: Improved diplomatic relations between the U.S. and Iran, for example, could not only result in stronger Iranian support for an end to the violence in Iraq but it would also likely result in Iranian pressure on Hizbullah in Lebanon and Hamas in Palestine to end violent attacks on Israel.

Issue an unequivocal declaration that the U.S. intends to withdraw all of its military forces from Iraq: Withdrawal from Iraq begins with announcement of the intent to withdraw. Although Congress has passed legislation declaring there should be “no permanent bases” in Iraq, many, including leading presidential candidates in both parties, still talk of the long-term presence of U.S. troops on Iraqi soil.

Raise the level and intensity of diplomatic engagement with Iraq’s internal factions and with all of Iraq’s neighbors, including Iran and Syria: The administration has begun multiparty talks with Iraqi factions and the neighboring countries, but negotiations have stalled in part because of the U.S. refusal to address inter-related issues.

Bring a timetable for the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Iraq to the negotiations with Iraqi factions and neighbors: This is the key to progress. Without it there is no incentive to negotiate and compromise. The U.S. could declare a strong intention to keep to the timetable but allow for room to respond to the views of those around the negotiating table.

Begin bilateral negotiations with Iran without pre-conditions: Iran is an important state in the region and a major component of the Middle East conflict system. If U.S.-Iran relations don’t improve, regional conflicts will not be resolved.

Press forward with talks to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict: In the past Syria and Israel have been close to an agreement on Syrian recognition of Israel and return of the Golan Heights to Syria. With U.S. support a Syrian-Israeli accord is within reach. So is an Israeli-Palestinian agreement. It would entail Israeli withdrawal from most of the West Bank with equal acreage of Israeli territory given to the Palestinian state in exchange for West Bank land permanently retained by Israel.

All of these specific requirements for a fundamental shift in U.S. policy toward Iraq, Iran and the entire Middle East are included either explicitly or implicitly in the Baker-Hamilton Iraq Study Group Report (ISG) issued in December 2006.

This ISG prescription for the Middle East is a point where Quaker concern meets a constructive conception of the vital national interest of the U.S.

Congress can promote or fatally impede a U.S. shift from the present unilateral military policies to these decent and hopeful alternatives. Despite our frustration and dismay at the failure of Congress to insist on significant changes in U.S. policy, the stakes are too enormous and the possibilities too real to disengage. The work to find and seize legislative openings to push policy in this new direction in this administration and the next is an essential part of the work of faith in the world. ■

***Tell a College Senior!
FCNL Intern Deadline Is March 10***

FCNL is now accepting applications for its 2008-2009 internship program. Prospective interns should read instructions for applying on our website at www.fcnl.org. Click on “For Young Adults” and print out an application.

FCNL offers several paid internships each year. Internships run for 11 months, beginning in September. Candidates should have a bachelor’s degree or equivalent experience. Interns receive full health care and dental coverage, sick leave and vacation time, and a public transportation stipend.

Interns serve as program assistants to senior staff, working on newsletters and the website, mobilizing our constituents, and researching and writing about such issues as peace, civil liberties, Native American rights, foreign policy, and nuclear disarmament.

Applications are due March 10, 2008.



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INSIDE: IF WAR IS NOT THE ANSWER . . . WHAT IS?

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A New U.S. Policy in Iraq Means a New Policy in the Middle East

"I have written about torture, Iraq... and indeed all the troublesome problems we have... I have phoned... I have signed petitions... to no avail. We have been betrayed by our government, ignored by our representatives and failed by our press. Please tell me... what would you have us do now?"

-letter published by the *New York Times*.

A survey of what Congress has accomplished on Iraq and related Middle East issues since January 2007 could understandably lead to frustration and dismay. Some 40,000 more troops are in Iraq today than were there in November 2006 when voters sent a clear anti-war message to Congress. As we write this, Congress was preparing to vote approval for another \$200 billion in funding for the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Misguided Steps on Iran

Additionally, Congress has aided and abetted the Bush administration's demonization of Iran and done nothing to discourage a U.S. military attack. The Senate voted 76 to 22 in September to urge the president to designate Iran's Republican Guard as a terrorist organization. And back in May, only 136 House members voted for a resolution requiring congressional consent for any military action against Iran, while 288, including some opponents of the Iraq war, voted against, saying in effect that the president could do as he wished on Iran.

Congress needs to change course. But changing U.S. policy in Iraq will require more than action by Congress. The combination of events in Iraq, public education, protests, and steady work to change public attitudes will be needed to change policy.

This work to change policy will have to begin with a general reorientation of U.S. foreign policy away from the reliance on military force and unilateral action and toward multilateral cooperation and efforts at peacebuilding.

An Agenda for Change

That general reorientation of U.S. foreign policy needs to be reflected in some very specific ways with a U.S. agenda in the Middle East that includes:

Prevent war with Iran: Any U.S. military attack on Iran, either a massive bombing campaign against Iranian nuclear and defense installations or a more limited strike against Iran's Republican Guards is not likely to go unanswered. *The Economist* listed the possible consequences recently: "Iran could fire hundreds of missiles at Israel, attack American forces in Iraq and Afghanistan, organize terrorist attacks in the West or choke off tanker traffic through the Strait of Hormuz, the world's oil windpipe."

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