

THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT  
WAGING PEACE  
ON THE BRINK OF WAR

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Worldwide, the role of civil society has been increasing at rapid speed. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have become significant and influential players and generate much interest. Created in 1986, the Programme on Non-Governmental Organizations and Civil Society aims at contributing towards a better understanding of NGOs and the solutions of complex and conflictive societal problems involving NGOs.

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## **INTRODUCTION**

On February 15<sup>th</sup>, 2003, millions of people in hundreds of cities around the world gathered in the streets, shouting and chanting anti-war slogans, expressing their collective rejection of war in a global cry of defiance. What had only previously erupted in localized protests in selected cities emerged for the first time as a veritable political force with a truly global character: the global Anti-War Movement.

Given the size, diversity, and global reach of the Anti-War Movement, it is difficult to trace its history or predict its future. And, as we creep closer to a seemingly inevitable war, it becomes increasingly difficult to follow the movement. Consequently, this paper is not meant to serve as an exhaustive survey of the movement or its affiliates, but rather it aims to illuminate some of the currently active coalitions and individuals and describe their objectives and activities. This paper will also track some of the major developments in the Anti-War Movement, beginning with the October 26<sup>th</sup> 2002 protests in Washington and San Francisco and ending with preparations for the international candlelight vigil in March 2003.

## **BACKGROUND**

Since September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001, and especially in light of the growing tension over war in Iraq, a wave of dissent has been growing around the world. In most instances, it has taken the form of peace vigils, Internet petitions, anti-war advertising, street theatre, and teach-ins; but on several occasions, hordes of people, sometimes with numbers reaching into the millions, have taken to the street, surprising their governments and shocking the media.

Whether referring to themselves as “anti-war protesters” or “peace activists”, a diverse alliance of individuals has formed, ranging from liberal environmentalists to mainstream labour activists, business people, students, members of the ‘radical fringe’, protesters of the Vietnam War, war veterans, human rights activists, anti-globalisation activists, anti-capitalists, religious groups, women’s groups, and thousands of ‘ordinary’, non-affiliated, concerned citizens.

Following the call for anti-war action that emanated from the European Social Forum in Florence, November 2002 (which was later echoed at the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre), many of these disparate organizations and individuals combined their efforts in an unprecedented, global outpouring of anti-war sentiment. Baffling the media with its spontaneity and decentralized organization, many failed to realize its significance. However, one reporter for the Guardian noted:

“It’s not just that people have begun to gather in great numbers even before a shot has been fired. It’s not just that they are doing so without the inducement of conscription or any other direct threat to their welfare. It’s not just that there have already been meetings or demonstrations on nearly every nation on Earth. It’s also that the campaign is being coordinated globally with an unprecedented precision. And the people partly responsible for this are the members of a movement which, even within the past few weeks, the mainstream media pronounced extinct.”

## COALITIONS

Amidst the multitudes of non-affiliated individuals are several significant coalitions. Within the US, most anti-war organizing has taken place under either the Win Without War coalition (formerly known as Artists United to Win Without War) or the United for Peace and Justice Coalition. In the UK, most actions have been organized or somehow linked with the Stop the War Coalition, and, internationally, the Act Now to Stop War and End Racism coalition (ANSWER International) and Not in My Name coalitions are particularly significant.

The **Win Without War coalition** (WWW), led by former US Congressman Tom Andrews, was organized with the goal of avoiding the “destabilizing of the Middle East which would increase the chances of future terrorist attacks and expose US military and Iraqi civilians and soldiers to the retaliation with biological and chemical weapons that an invasion of Iraq may well provoke.” The idea behind the coalition is, in essence, to “keep America safe” by advocating alternatives to a pre-emptive war in Iraq. Outlining the WWW coalition’s objectives and priorities, its political statement is as follows:

“We are patriotic Americans who share the belief that Saddam Hussein cannot be allowed to possess weapons of mass destruction. We support rigorous UN weapons inspections to assure Iraq’s effective disarmament. We believe that a pre-emptive military invasion of Iraq will harm American national interests. Unprovoked war will increase human suffering, arouse animosity toward our country, increase the likelihood of terrorist attacks, damage the economy, and undermine our moral standing in the world. It will make us less, not more, secure. We reject the doctrine—a reversal of long-held American tradition—that our country, alone, has the right to launch first-strike attacks. America is not that kind of country. We can achieve the valid US and UN objective of disarming Saddam Hussein through legal diplomatic means. There is no need for war. Let us instead devote our resources to improving the security and well-being of people here at home and around the world.”

Considered America’s largest mainstream coalition of organisations opposed to pre-emptive war, the WWW coalition draws its support from a number of organisations, as well as a broad range of Hollywood celebrities, including Jessica Lange, Anjelica Huston, Janeane Garafolo, James Cromwell, Mike Farrell and cast members of the American television show, *The West Wing*. Martin Sheen, who plays the President of the US on the show, has been one of the more outspoken critics of war, claiming “Our message to Washington will be clear. Don’t invade Iraq! We can contain Saddam Hussein without killing innocent people, diverting us from the war on terrorism, and putting us all at risk.” For a complete list of WWW coalition members, please see Appendix A.

The WWW has been involved in several well-publicised events. Most notably, the WWW coalition held a “Virtual March on Washington” in collaboration with MoveOn.org, one of the most active Internet organisations, the National Council of Churches, and the National Organisation of Women. On February 26<sup>th</sup>, 2003, Reverend Brenda Girton Mitchell issued the call for a “national day of prayer and faxing” aimed at bombarding the White House with anti-war messages by phone, fax,

and email. More recently, the coalition has organised a global candlelight vigil to take place on March 16<sup>th</sup>, 2003, in thousands of communities around the world.

Other members of the **celebrity movement** against war, not necessarily affiliated with the WWW coalition include Sean Penn, Bonnie Raitt, Joan Baez, Ramsey Clark (former US Attorney General), Noam Chomsky, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Martin Luther King III, Danny Glover, Elton John, Judi Dench, Ethan Hawke, Steve Buscemi, Harry Belafonte, Tariq Ali, Luis Inacio da Silva, and a diverse grouping of anti-coalition artists known as the “Glamericans”, most known for their drag queen parades and humorous placards (“Baby, *I am* the bomb”), among the many others.

The **United for Peace and Justice Coalition** brings together a broad range of organizations throughout the United States to help coordinate the anti-war effort. At its first meeting in Washington, DC on October 25, 2002, more than 70 peace and justice organizations agreed to form the United for Peace & Justice coalition and signed on to the following statement:

The demand placed on us by world events is to deal with the Iraq crisis and to work to stop the war that is being planned. This is unfolding in a global context where other crises can and will erupt in connection to the Iraq crisis and they too will demand our action. In addition, we will oppose new repressive measures at home. We can and will work together now, focused on stopping this war, and as we go forward we will discuss other issues and the larger context. Unite for Peace & Justice and say NO! to war.

Since its founding, the United for Peace and Justice coalition has endorsed, organised, and/or promoted several events. On November 20<sup>th</sup>, the coalition endorsed a national day of student and youth protest in conjunction with the Not In Our Name campaign. During the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial weekend, January 18<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup>, 2003, the United for Peace and Justice coalition supported several anti-war activities. The coalition also took part in the February 15<sup>th</sup> marches in various cities around the country, most notably in New York City, and endorsed the Women’s Peace Vigil on March 8<sup>th</sup>, International Women’s Day. For a partial listing of United for Peace and Justice members, please see Appendix B.

In the UK, the **Stop the War Coalition** (STWC) is the best known conglomeration of anti-war supporters, especially for its organisation and participation in the February 15<sup>th</sup> protests. The coalition involves a diverse grouping of organisations and individuals, with supporters ranging from the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (the CND) to the Muslim Association of Britain, socialists, communists, the left wing of the Labour party, pacifistic church groups, pro-Palestinian Muslims, anti-globalisation activists, the Arab Organisation of Human Rights, the Black Racial Attack Independent Network, Globalise Resistance, the London Council of Mosques, and various Roman Catholic and Church of England Groups. (For a complete listing, please see Appendix C). Accused of leaning left politically, critics blame the STWC for alienating more ‘mainstream protesters’ and ‘moderate opponents of the war’.

The STWC claims its aims are very ‘simple’—to stop the war currently declared by the US and its allies against ‘terrorism’. As such, their statement of purpose is as follows:

“We condemn the attacks on New York and we feel the greatest compassion for those who lost their life on the 11<sup>th</sup> of September. But any war will simply add to the numbers of innocent dead, cause untold suffering, political and economic instability on a global scale, increase racism and result in attacks on civil liberties. The aims of the campaign would be best expressed in the name Stop the War Coalition...We call on all peace activists and organizations to join with us in building a mass movement that can stop the drive to war...We are committed to opposing any racist backlash generated by this war. We will fight to stop the erosion of civil rights.”

John Rees, one of the coalition’s key organisers, is pleased with the way the campaign has come together. He says that, “people have, for the most part, organised themselves through email, text messaging, professionally designed adverts, and the like”, underlining the importance of information technology in these new social movements.

The International Act Now to Stop War and End Racism campaign, or **International ANSWER**, like many other coalitions, is also built of a broad spectrum of players including traditional peace groups, students, global justice and anti-racist activists, and mainstream labour, environmental, civil rights, and women’s organisations. For a list of International ANSWER coalition members, please see Appendix D.

The International Action Centre, established after the 1991 Iraq conflict as an anti-sanctions campaign, launched its anti-war coalition, ANSWER, in the days following the September 11<sup>th</sup> terrorist attacks to oppose war, support global justice and self-determination, stop racist attacks on Arabs, Muslims, South Asians, and all people of colour, and to defend civil rights and civil liberties.

International ANSWER organized the first post-September 11th national anti-war demonstration on September 29, 2001, drawing over 25,000 protesters to Washington, D.C. to protest and “warn that the Bush Administration's war policies were a risk to world peace”. This was a difficult time to be outspoken, and many other progressive and peace groups were unwilling to engage in dissent, but thousands of New Yorkers joined with tens of thousands of others in Washington, D.C. to say "Our grief is not a cry for war." On October 26, 2002, ANSWER organised the National March on Washington to ‘Stop the War on Iraq Before It Starts’, with an important sister action in San Francisco. Over 200,000 attended the two protests. ANSWER’s January 18, 2003 National March on Washington to ‘Stop the War in Iraq’ marked a turning point in the anti-war movement, as over half a million people marched in Washington, and over 200,000 in San Francisco, and mass media conceded that the popular movement against the war had become a “critical political factor”. ANSWER also played a large part in the organisation of the February 15<sup>th</sup> global anti-war protests in which hundreds of thousands took to the streets in a wave of protest that spanned the entire world. Working in conjunction with the Not in Our Name coalition and the Coalition for World Peace, the coalition was able to put forth a massive

showing of support for peace. As Preston Wood, one ANSWER organiser, remarked, the protests demonstrated that the “consensus in favour of war is a myth, and that’s the message we would like to convey to the Bush administration. There is real opposition to war in this country.”

The ANSWER campaign is also affiliated with the **Vote No War** organisation, a petition campaign rejecting war as a solution to the Iraq crisis. Thousands of people have signed the Internet declaration “I vote no to war!” which states the following:

“The U.S. Congress did not represent me when it voted to authorize George W. Bush to carry out an illegal war against Iraq. Thousands will die needlessly unless the people stop this war drive. I join with millions of people who believe that the \$200 billion planned for war against Iraq should be spent instead to fund jobs, education, housing, health care, child care, assistance to the elderly and to meet people’s needs.”

Part of International ANSWER’s success is attributable to its ability to maintain a diverse platform of support while allowing each group to preserve its autonomy. As one ANSWER member stated, “Students, anti-globalisation street activists, and old-time peaceniks alike appreciate ANSWER’s knack for mobilizing the unaffiliated and turning out the Arab-American community”. Indeed, groups such as the Anti-Capitalist Convergence, typically averse to joining coalitions or participating under an umbrella organization are even devising strategies to join forces with ANSWER. Such a broad base of support, however, has some critics worried that ANSWER holds a ‘monopoly’ on protest action and are looking to end the dominance of the organization.

The **Not in My Name coalition**, considered an ‘alternative’ to International ANSWER, picked up the slack left by Peace Action, one of the largest peace organizations in the US. When Peace Action found itself unable to organize to meet the global demand for anti-war action, Not in My Name stepped in, organizing its own protests, petitions, and peace pledges. On September 11, 2002, Not in My Name issued its Statement of Conscience, outlining their rejection of the current war mentality pushed by their government: “Let it not be said that people in the US did nothing when their government declared a war without limit and instituted stark new measures of repression. The signers of this statement call on the people of the US to resist the policies and overall political direction that have emerged since September 11, 2001, and which pose grave dangers to the people of the world.” The Not in My Name pledge is as follows:

We believe that as people living  
In the United States it is our  
Responsibility to resist the injustices  
Done by our government, in our names

Not in our name  
Will you wage endless war  
There can be no more deaths  
No more transfusions of blood for oil

Not in our name  
 Will you invade countries  
 Bomb civilians, kill more children  
 Letting history take its course  
 Over the graves of the nameless

Not in our name  
 Will you erode the very freedoms  
 You have claimed to fight for

Not by our hands  
 Will we supply weapons and funding  
 For the annihilation of families  
 On foreign soil

Not by our mouths  
 Will we let fear silence us  
 Not by our hearts  
 Will we allow whole peoples  
 Or countries to be deemed evil  
 Not by our will  
 And Not in our name

We pledge resistance  
 We pledge alliance with those  
 Who have come under attack  
 For voicing opposition to the war  
 Or for their religion or ethnicity

We pledge to make common cause  
 With the people of the world  
 To bring about justice and freedom and peace  
 Another world is possible  
 And we pledge to make it real.

The coalition, which now has chapters in various countries around the world, has had most success with its petition campaign. At one signing in Birmingham, organisers found that there were so many people signing on to the petitions, that they could not keep up—signatures were accumulating at a rate of over one thousand an hour—and group meetings and anti-war information sessions were gathering unmanageable numbers of concerned citizens.

## OTHER ANTI-WAR ORGANISATIONS

In addition to large coalitions, and often within the coalitions themselves, are assorted other groups—women’s groups, church groups, youth and student groups, etc., some of which are worth mentioning individually.

**Women’s groups**, for instance, have used their affiliation with larger coalitions to rally masses for several events. Global Exchange, within both the Win Without War coalition and the United for Peace and Justice campaign, helped to launch Code Pink, a “gendered spin on militarism and unilateralism”, which holds a daily White House vigil with the aim of attracting “feminist troops” to the anti-war

movement. Additionally, Code Pink organised the annual global women's strike to coincide with International Women's Day on March 8<sup>th</sup>. The organisation, with support of the US National Organisation of Women (NOW) condemns the "opportunistic use of fighting terrorism as an excuse for massive imperial expansion" and both are calling for increased investment in 'caring work' rather than military budgets.

**Student and youth groups** have also joined in the Anti-War Movement, advocating a youth-based opposition to war in Iraq. In the US, the Student Environmental Action Coalition, the United Students Against Sweatshops group, and the National Youth and Student Peace Coalition (NYSPC) initiated the International Student Day of Strike and Action against War in Iraq which took place on March 5<sup>th</sup>, 2003, with groups participating in the US, Canada, Mexico, England, France, Spain, Italy, Greece, Australia, and elsewhere. The event, co-organised with Students Against Sanctions and War in Iraq (SASWI), included teach-ins, die-ins, mass leafletings, rallies, marches, demonstrations, occupations of administration offices, mass walkouts, class speeches, debates, anti-war forums, and strikes. On strike day, the group issued the following statement:

"As students and youth, the future of this country, we are disturbed by the lack of attention paid to the real needs of Americans, especially education. Financial aid opportunities and family income are rapidly losing ground to the rising cost of higher education. Low-income families are facing decreasing access to education. Student debt is increasing. All the while, the US military budget steadily increases. We say no to this war of terror to increase American power and take control of oil supplies. We demand: end the drive for military action and economic sanctions that target the people of Iraq; fund education to ensure that everyone in the US has access to higher education; re-allocate military funds to eliminating poverty and building peace at home and abroad; and, campus administrators declare their opposition to the war, disclose and eliminate military research contracts, and freeze or lower tuition fees."

Despite the appearance of a united and active youth movement, however, many are concerned that "today's peace marches have individual youth participants but no generational presence". According to Jesse Alejandro Cottrell, the author of youth magazine *WireTap*, "the scene stealers [at anti-war marches in the past] are older, like the Code Pink feminists or the greying Mothers Against War... Young people could be seen wandering around half-heartedly shouting the 30-year old chants left over from the 1960's." Some argue that this distance between youth and the anti-war movement is a result of younger generations having no direct relationship with war, unlike their predecessors who lived through two World Wars, the Korean War, the Cold War, and the Vietnam War.

On the **environmental** front, one of the most active opponents of war in Iraq has been Greenpeace International. In addition to blockading military ships at port, boarding ships in hope of preventing their departure to the Persian Gulf, and spray-painting anti-war slogans across the hulls of military tankers, Greenpeace International has also initiated an internet campaign including several petitions to UN Security Council members and heads of state as part of its Cyber Activist website.

In vehement opposition to any country possessing nuclear weapons, one spokesperson stated, “War is the wrong way to stop the spread of nuclear and chemical weapons. The only safe way to get rid of these weapons of mass destruction is through peaceful, global agreements. This means not just singling out Iraq, but all states, including the US and Britain.” Greenpeace also calls the US and the UK on their ulterior motives, arguing that the “same forces that are backing the war are supporting the US administration’s refusal to sign the Kyoto Protocol which would begin to combat climate change. The British government has recently announced that one of the top five priorities for foreign policy is securing access to energy supplies. Yet Blair still denies that an attack on Iraq has anything to do with oil”.

Jan Vande Putte outlines in further detail Greenpeace’s stance on the pending conflict:

“This proposed war is illegal, ill-conceived, and illegitimate. It is illegal under the UN Charter to launch any war unless it’s in retaliation. If this war does go ahead, it would be disastrous for the people of Iraq, for the environment, and for international security. And it is not only morally wrong, but will not solve the problem of weapons of mass destruction.”...The US and the UK’s attitudes towards weapons of mass destruction are hypocritical and inconsistent. While talking about the dangers of Iraq possessing such weapons, the US and the UK, along with three other members of the UN Security Council—France, China, and Russia—control the world’s largest arsenals of these weapons.”... “The people of the world do not want this war, do not believe the rhetoric and are demanding a peaceful solution....Bush and Blair and their allies ignore the growing tide of dissent at their peril.”

**Religious and other faith-based groups** have also participated alongside major anti-war coalitions. Last November, clergy members around the world issued an interfaith call for “fasting and reflection on the dangers of war” which was published simultaneously in Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, and Muslim papers. Subsequently, many church groups affiliated themselves with larger organisations or organised their own activities. One such campaign is the “Emissary of Light” campaign which is hoping to gain one million signatures requesting the Pope and the Dalai Lama to travel to Baghdad to serve as human shields in the event of a bombing attack on the city.

Within Iraq, an alliance of **human shield volunteers** is forming, in the hope that, if enough westerners are in the country, the US and Britain will be reluctant to start bombing Iraqi cities. Ken O’Keefe, a former US Marine now leading the Truth Peace, and Justice movement, agrees: “They [ the US and Britain ] don’t want western body parts flying everywhere.” Another former Marine, Ken Nichols, now the leader of We the People, and Kathy Kelly of Voices in the Wilderness US also share this hope and have submitted copies of their passports to the Iraqi officials and a list of cities they hope to protect. Another group participating in the human shield campaign is the Families for Peaceful Tomorrows, a group comprised of American relatives of September 11 victims.

The various groups are hoping that, before the war begins, they will have 10 000 volunteers in place, the figure deemed the ‘critical mass’ to prevent a bombing.

While human shields believe they can prevent a bombing campaign, critics argue that they are “naively playing into Saddam Hussein’s hands”. US Secretary of Defence argued that it would be a “war crime” to allow human shields in Iraq while Iraqi officials maintain that it is a “practical Arab and international reaction to the hostile build-up of troops in the Gulf and neighbouring countries”.

As the volunteers prepare themselves for war, many have issued statements to western media. One shield said, “I ask American troops headed here not come. They have no business being here. They do not make good ambassadors. They are here to kill, murder, and devastate the civilian population of Iraq. That is not an American thing to do.” Another, a relative of a September 11<sup>th</sup> victim, adds, “My hope is that all people will come to realise that loss of more human life will not solve the problems of the world”.

## THE INTERNET

Widely recognised as the indispensable tool of anti-war activists, the Internet has indeed revolutionised the organisation of social movements in general. As a low cost, global tool for communicating and disseminating information, the Internet works *below the radar of the mainstream media*, providing a wide variety of information websites, on-line petitions, and up-to-date schedules of events.

**MoveOn** exemplifies the modern activist organisation, skilled at Internet communication for the purposes of petition-signing, on-line fundraising, and gathering the masses for street protests. Founded to promote civic action and democracy, MoveOn has rapidly become one of the best known Internet-based organisations involved in the Anti-War Movement. Wes Boyd, MoveOn founder, said his organisation was designed to “connect with those who do not support the war but who aren’t always comfortable with showing their feelings by taking to the streets”. Following the October 2002 protests, MoveOn decided that the anti-war rally was “all over the map politically and not very appealing to a mainstream perspective”, so they discussed forming a more ‘mainstream, patriotic coalition’ that would be more “welcoming to mainstream constituencies”.

Since then, MoveOn has leveraged the Internet to create a new kind of organisation with the ability to raise hundreds of thousands of dollars and move tens of thousands of people to action within hours. On March 11, 2003, MoveOn delivered a petition to the fifteen members of the United Nations Security Council with more than one million signatures collected from around the world in less than five days. In another effort, MoveOn collected more than \$400 000 US to finance anti-war television advertisements. The money funded a re-made version of the “Daisy” ad, originally aired in the 1960s, which shows a girl plucking petals from a daisy, contrasted with a missile launch countdown and nuclear mushroom clouds. MoveOn’s most recent activities include the organisation of a global candlelight vigil (vigils were organised in more than seven thousand communities around the world), as well as petitioning, emailing policy makers, raising and distributing money, as well as other forms of direct activism and grassroots media buying.

The organisation currently has more than 750 000 members in the US alone, and is both active and supported worldwide. One of MoveOn's organisers, Eli Pariser, suggests reasons for MoveOn's success: "In a sense, part of MoveOn's attraction is that it aims for normal people, not just activists, and it engages them successfully...Part of its appeal is that it serves as a 'direct line to god'. There is no big bureaucracy. You make a contribution, you sign something, and you get immediate action." MoveOn is also a member of the Win Without War coalition.

## THE PROTESTS

On **October 26<sup>th</sup>, 2002**, protesters gathered in cities around the world to express their concern and rejection of a possible war in Iraq. More than 100 000 protesters gathered in Washington and 50 000 demonstrated in San Francisco. Most consider this protest to be the 'starting point' of the current global Anti-War Movement.

On **January 18<sup>th</sup>, 2003**, protests were scheduled around the world to coincide with the birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr., the prominent African-American who was assassinated in 1968. This marked the second mass demonstration against a war in Iraq. While protesters gathered in countries around the world, US troops gathered in the Persian Gulf and UN arms inspectors headed to Baghdad to push for cooperation over alleged banned weapons. Protest organisers attribute the success of the day in part to the deployment of US troops and to widespread speculation that the Jan. 27<sup>th</sup> report from the UN arms inspectors could serve as a trigger for war for galvanising peace movements. Many of the protests were organised by International ANSWER following an international call for solidarity at the European Social Forum in Florence which was later echoed at the Cairo conference in mid-December and the Asian Peace Forum. For a partial list of participating countries, please see Appendix E).

**February 15<sup>th</sup>, 2003**, however, marked a historic, unprecedented, global peace protest. In more than 600 cities around the world and in more than 60 countries, millions of people took part in marches and vigils in national capitals and small towns, in the heartland of middle America and in small Pacific islands, on the ice of Antarctica to the heat of Australia. Performers did skits, radical cheerleaders danced to anti-war chants, students and grey haired veterans, punks and hippies, street people, and hordes of ordinary citizens took part in the largest ever street party against war that the world has ever witnessed.

Calls to action were issued to "freaks, puppetistas, drummers, musicians, singers and loud hummers, samba bands, jugglers, fire eaters, ravers, Vikings, critical massers, radical rockettes, those united for peace and justice and anybody and everybody who thinks that this war is absurd" in preparation to "mock the axis of oil"—and they were answered in what many describe as a vibrant, electric, festive, celebration of peace with one serious demand: no war in Iraq.

In London, protesters listened to London mayor Ken Livingstone blast the Bush administration and challenge his own government: “Let everyone recognise what has happened here today. Britain does not support this war for oil. The British people will not tolerate being used to prop up the most corrupt and racist American administration in over eighty years.” Liberal Democrat leader Charles Kennedy spoke to the crowds gathered outside the meeting hall in Glasgow where Tony Blair restated his “moral case for removing Saddam” and Reverend Jesse Jackson urged protesters not to stop marching “until there is peace and reconciliation”.

In hundreds of cities, the protests featured rare coalitions—vastly different from those typically formed by self-interested sectional groups—both pluralistic and altruistic in character. One reporter described that “those opposing a war included not only lifelong dissenters and those who view American foreign policy as the root of all terrorism, but also deeply un-radical adults and children of all colours, faiths, and ages.” In his words, the protest symbolised the “mother of all focus groups”.

Though the number of marches remains uncountable and the total number of protesters worldwide ranges wildly from eight to thirty million, a partial list of countries with estimated turnouts can be found in Appendix F. Turnouts tended to be highest in countries where governments support the Bush administration—Italy, Britain, Spain, and the US all had massive protests. In London, Euan Ferguson of the Observer reported that “the ground shook...it was an ocean, a perfect storm of people. Bing cherry blossom of banners, covered every inch back to the Circus and for miles beyond...” In Berlin, members of Chancellor Gerhard Schroder’s government joined the other 500 000 protesters. And in Rome, more than three million Italians registered their disagreement with Silvio Berlusconi’s support for a US war on Iraq. The coalition of more than 450 organisations, including leftist groups, political parties, Catholic associations, NGOs, and even the odd representative from the ruling centre-right coalition marked the growing rejection of Italy’s foreign policy, as well as the resurgence of a well-organised and ready segment to rally Italian civil society. More than three million people gathered in Spain—nearly five percent of the total population—to voice their opposition to the strong pro-US stance of Prime Minister Jose Maria Aznar.

Meanwhile, in Baghdad, tens of thousands of Iraqi’s marched in what Saddam Hussein called “World Anger Day”—their opportunity to participate in demonstrations and show their “solidarity with the world community”. During the protests, citizens burned US flags, carried large posters of Saddam, and pledged their allegiance to their leader. Iraqi officials say anti-war demonstrations in dozens of countries around the world “signal a victory for Iraq” and the “defeat of America”. Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz warned the US to listen to international opinion. “My message to the US is that it should hear the voice of the international public opinion”, he said. He also warned Christian countries in Europe against supporting the US in a “war of aggression” that would be seen as a “crusade against Arabs and Islam.”

Summarizing their view of the protest, a United for Peace spokesperson stated:

“For most demonstrators, President Bush was the chief villain, a casualty of what some called an obsession with his father’s Persian

Gulf War in 1991 and its failure to oust Saddam Hussein. Other targets were US Secretary of Defence, Donald Rumsfeld and US Secretary of State Colin Powell....Beyond criticizing Mr. Bush and his administration, many protesters offered nuanced arguments about the conflict, agreeing that Saddam Hussein should not be allowed to possess weapons of mass destruction, but insisting that pre-emptive military strikes were morally bankrupt and would harm the economy, deepen the divisions between America and the Arab world, and undermine the US' alliances with Europe and Asia.”

Others noted that the main body of demonstrators was “sceptical of Bush’s war plans” and “frustrated by the seemingly implacable move toward conflict, the mobilization and movement of naval flotillas, aircraft and thousands of troops into the Persian Gulf region in recent weeks, and daily pronouncements from Washington about war preparations and the urgency of invading Iraq.”

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**POINTS OF VIEW FROM THE PROTEST**

- “I’m a Quaker who’s violently against any kind of war. But I’m also glad to see that protesters are looking at other issues like Palestine. This is not just about the war, it’s about all the terrible injustices we wreak with our foreign policies.” Rob Comfort, Maryland
- “I am here to voice my opinion against the murder of innocent Iraqi citizens. We cannot continue to deal with political issues with violence. The bottom line is that innocent people will pay. And that’s what I’m against.” Elaine Brandt, Toronto, Canada
- “Our people prefer peace to war. They yearn for peace because they know from their experience that without peace there can be no development. Without peace, we will fail in the effort in which we are engaged, to transform ours into a country of hope...” South African President Thabo Mbeki
- “It’s a really serious statement this time. Those who are in disagreement have built up to this. I’m standing here because of the war, but it’s symptomatic of how authoritarian and centralized this administration has become.” Judy Powers, Maine, US.
- “The man (Saddam Hussein) is grotesque and I don’t innately have a problem with using military means to remove him. But I’m alarmed at the way that we as a country are behaving. I would be far happier if Tony Blair had the guts to say ‘We disapprove of Bush and America’s record but are standing with him because we are concerned by Saddam’. Instead, he seems to be genuflecting in front of Bush.” Paul Sussman, London.
- “I’ve never been on a march in my life and never had any intention. But something’s happening recently, to me and so many friends—we just know there’s something going wrong in this country. No one’s being consulted, and it’s starting to feel worrying—more worrying than the scaremongering we’ve been getting about the terrorist threat. I simply don’t see how war can be the answer and I don’t know anyone who does. And, apart from anything else, as a black woman in London, it feels dangerous to spread racial tension after all that’s been done.” Alvina Desir, London
- “We will lose this war. It will be the best recruiting campaign for terrorists that there could be. They will hate us even more.” British politician Mo Mowlam at the London protest

## IMPACT OF THE PROTESTS

Despite enormous public optimism following the February 15<sup>th</sup> protests, many supporters of the Bush administration claimed that the mass demonstrations would have no effect on their decision-making. Condoleeza Rice, the US National Security Advisor, dismissed the protests, stating that they would “not affect their determination to confront Saddam Hussein and help the Iraqi people”. She argued from a ‘human rights perspective’, simultaneously justifying a US-led strike, claiming, “They’re not stating what they think in Baghdad, because that’s a regime that cuts people’s tongues out if they say what they think.”

British Prime Minister Tony Blair also shrugged off the protests, arguing that the protesters are advocating the status quo which would have “consequences, paid in blood”. British ministers and officials insisted that the protests would have no effect. One source said, “It changes nothing at all. The quicker it is done, the better. To back down now would be the worst result possible. We would have no credibility if Saddam Hussein was still in place.”

Australian Prime Minister John Howard was likewise unimpressed by the protests. “I don’t know that you can measure public opinion just by the number of people that turn up at demonstrations,” he said.

Though many politicians dismissed the protests, analysts argue that the Anti-War Movement represents a significant shift in international politics. Some are going so far as to say that there are currently two major superpowers: the United States and the international protest movement. Though this risks overstating the impact of the Anti-War Movement, many may agree. As one United for Peace and Justice spokesperson stated, “The internationalism of the opposition is the most powerful weapon the people have. It’s all we have. We think that Bush and Blair are well aware that global opposition is mounting fast and that they are now desperate to start the war before they are completely isolated by world opinion.” A member of Attac Germany echoes this: “Opposition is broader than at any time in the past. This is the largest peace march in 20 years. The peace movement is getting older now, but a new generation of young people is deeply concerned. The churches and unions have linked to make the coalition far broader than even the anti-nuclear missile marches in the 1980s.”

Others still argue that the protests signify proof that globalisation is about “more than free trade”. Some are saying that the movement represents the birth of a “global grassroots democracy”. In the words of Stephen Zunes, Chair of the Peace and Justice Studies programme at the University of San Francisco, “It puts political figures on notice of the breadth and depth of public opposition, it inspires participants to become more active politically in organising against the war, and it legitimises dissent at a time when governments wish to display a united country behind their politics.”

In fact, representatives of the global justice movement, now merged with the Anti-War Movement, claim that street level politics “provide the only major channel through which we can engage with the most critical issues: climate change,

international debt, poverty, the hegemony of G8 nations, the IMF and the World Bank, the depletion of natural resources, nuclear proliferation, and low level conflict, which are the major themes in the lives of most of the world's peoples." Eric Hobsbawm, renowned writer and historian, agrees. These protests, he argues, go "very much against the theory that people are not interested in politics anymore. Of course you cannot expect the march to achieve anything such as a change of policy, but with such a large turnout, most people are very encouraged. It shows them that popular protest is very much alive."

## CHALLENGES & THE FUTURE OF THE MOVEMENT

Summarising recent events, a United for Peace and Justice representative stated:

"The demonstrations were the culmination of a global campaign that has been building for months in opposition to the growing threat of war, with thousands marching, rallying, signing petitions, raising funds, publishing articles, and using the Internet to enlist a diverse coalition of citizens and celebrities. Unlike the stereotypical scruffy, pot-smoking, flag-burning anarchists of the Vietnam era, today's protesters were joined by a wide segment of the political spectrum: college students, middle-aged couples, families, older people who had marched for civil rights, and groups respecting labour and the environment, as well as religious, business, and civic organisations."

Despite its strong appearance, however, some analysts are concerned over the future of the movement. Some worry that, once war is declared, anti-war activists will lose hope and retreat from the movement. Others are concerned because, in the words of one analyst, "most of the opposition [ to war ] is to a unilateral, pre-emptive war. If there's a clear cut provocation by Iraq and strong international backing, all of that evaporates....and even if there's a feeble excuse for war, trumped up by the Bush administration and lukewarm international backing", the movement may not survive.

Still others point to issues of race as the potentially explosive issue. Peace movements have, for the most part, been traditionally dominated by white and middle class citizens. If the movement fails to adequately deal with racial issues, some predict it will fail.

On the issue of Palestine, some urge avoiding the issue for fear of alienating Jewish organisations while others demand that the movement take a stance on the issue. To this, protest organisers have typically responded that, instead of dividing the movement into sub-groups, the "front needs to include anyone who is in opposition to this war", emphasising the need to respect political differences within the movement and encouraging the growth of a broad base of support.

In the long-term, Bill Fletcher, President of the TransAfrica Forum, argues that the largest challenge facing the movement is how to "bring together the traditional peace organisations with the two most dynamic social movements in recent years: the global justice coalition that emerged from Seattle and the urban racial

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justice movement...If these groups could converge, it would provide lasting infrastructure for an anti-war movement.”

Unaware of the debate surrounding the sustainability of its structure, the Anti-War movement already has a plan of action for the days following the official declaration of war. On the day war begins, anti-war activists are preparing a display of mass direct action designed to bring things to a standstill. Protests in London are expected to ‘shut the country down’, with wildcat strikes, mass sit-ins, and a wave of civil disobedience. A Stop the War Coalition organiser warned, “We do think there will be a whole wave of civil disobedience if war breaks out. People want to be peaceful and are quite slow to anger, but they will be very angry if Tony Blair refuses to listen.” Around the world, citizens are preparing for action. Whether or not their campaign to “wage peace” has a lasting impact on global politics stands to be seen in the coming days.

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**APPENDICES A-F****APPENDIX A****Win Without War Coalition Members**

- American Friends Service Committee (AFSC)
- Business Leaders for Sensible Priorities
- Campaign for UN Reform
- Council for a Livable World
- Conference of Major Superiors of Men
- Evangelical Lutheran Church in America
- Fourth Freedom Forum
- Global Exchange
- Greenpeace
- Leadership Conference of Women Religious
- MoveOn
- NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Coloured Peoples)
- National Council of Churches
- National Gay and Lesbian Task Force
- National Organisation of Women (NOW)
- NETWORK (A National Catholic Social Justice Lobby)
- Oxfam America
- Pax Christi USA
- Peace Action
- Physicians for Social Responsibility
- Rainbow/Push Coalition
- Sierra Club
- Sojourners
- Soulforce
- The Tikkun Community
- TrueMajority
- Unitarian Universalist Association of Congregations
- United Methodist Church General Board of Church and Society
- Us Foundation, Veterans for Common Sense
- Women's Action for New Directions
- Working Assets

## APPENDIX B

### **Partial List of United for Peace and Justice Coalition Members**

- Aaron Patterson Defense Committee
- Academics For Justice
- African-American Women’s Clergy Association
- American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee
- American Friends Service Committee
- American Muslims for Jerusalem
- American Renaissance
- Americans for Social Justice
- An Absurd Response to an Absurd War
- Anti-Capitalist Convergence
- AntiWar Video Fund
- Antiwar.com
- The Arab-American Forum
- Arab Student Union, University of Michigan-Dearborn
- Arizona Green Party
- Asian American Movement E-zine
- Attorneys Against the War
- Bay Area United Against War
- Black Radical Congress
- Black Voices for Peace
- Brockport Students Against War (BSAW)
- Brooklyn Parents for Peace
- CAAAV Organizing Asian Communities
- Campus Greens
- Center for Community Change
- Center for Constitutional Rights
- Center for Immigrant Families (CIF)
- Center for Religion, Ethics, and Social Policy at Cornell University
- Center on Race, Poverty & the Environment
- Central Nebraska Peace Workers
- Change the Game
- Church Women United
- Citizens for Participation in Political Action (CPPAX)
- Citizen Works
- Coalition Against Global Exploitation (CAGE)
- Coalition Against the War on Civil Liberties
- Coalition for World Peace
- Code Pink for Peace
- Colorado Coalition Against the War on Iraq
- Committee on Women, Population and the Environment (CWPE)
- Committee to Free Pedro Pacheco

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- Committees of Correspondence for Democracy and Socialism
  - Concerned Families of Westchester
  - Concerned Students and Faculty of St. Augustine Prep
  - The Connected Collective
  - Council of Churches of the City of New York
  - Democracy Rising
  - Democratic Socialists of America
  - Disarm
  - East End Women in Black
  - Ecological Options Network (EON)
  - Education for Peace in Iraq Center (EPIC)
  - Ella Baker Center for Human Rights
  - Feminist Peace Network
  - Food Not Bombs, San Francisco and East Bay
  - FootPrints for Peace
  - Forum for Human Rights
  - Frontlines Newspaper
  - Georgetown Peace Action
  - Global Exchange
  - Grassroots International
  - The Greater New York Labor-Religion Coalition
  - Green Alliance
  - Green Party of New Jersey
  - Green Party of NYS
  - Green Party of the United States
  - Greenpeace
  - Heartwood
  - House of The Goddess Center for Pagan Wombyn
  - Houston Coalition for Justice Not War
  - Hudson County Coalition for Peace and Justice
  - Idaho Green Party
  - Independent Progressive Politics Network
  - International Socialist Organization
  - Institute for Policy Studies, Peace Working Group
  - Iraq Pledge of Resistance
  - A Jewish Voice for Peace
  - Jews for Peace in Palestine and Israel
  - Jews for Racial & Economic Justice
  - KhaYUMbia
  - Konscious Media
  - Lamorinda Peace and Justice Group
  - Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy
  - Left Party
  - Left Turn
  - LOKOJ – Bangladesh
  - Long Beach Area Peace Network (LBAPN)

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- Long Island Alliance for Peaceful Alternatives
  - Maryknoll Mission Association of the Faithful
  - Middle East Children's Alliance
  - Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP)
  - Military Families Speak Out (MFSO)
  - Mobilize New York
  - Mothers Acting Up
  - National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression
  - National Coalition for Peace and Justice
  - National Council of Churches
  - National Lawyers Guild, NYC Chapter
  - Network in Solidarity with the People of the Philippines (NISPOP)
  - National Network to End the War Against Iraq
  - NETWORK, A National Catholic Social Justice Lobby
  - New York City Labor Against the War (NYCLAW)
  - Nukewatch
  - Not In My Name
  - Not In Our Name
  - Nowar Collective
  - Occidental Anti-War Coalition
  - Palestine Right to Return Coalition
  - Pax Christi USA
  - Peace 2000 Institute
  - Peace Action
  - Peace and Justice Committee of Capital District Greens
  - Peace and Justice Task Force, Rocky Mountain Conference, United Church of Christ
  - The PeaceMongers Society
  - PeaceNoWar
  - PeaceRoots Alliance
  - PeaceWorks
  - Peninsula Peace and Justice Center
  - Pennsylvania Lesbian and Gay Task Force
  - People Against Oppression and War
  - People for a Gasoline-Free Day
  - Peoples NonViolent Response Coalition (PNVRC)
  - People's Organization for Progress
  - Pride At Work, AFL-CIO
  - Progressive Business Network
  - Psychologists for Social Responsibility
  - Queers For Racial & Economic Justice
  - Raging Grannies (Peninsula, CA chapter)
  - Rice For Peace
  - Rouge Forum
  - Ruckus Society
  - St. Francis Xavier Peace & Justice Committee

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- St. Luke's Evangelical Fellowship
  - San Mateo County League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC)
  - San Miguel Peacewalkers
  - September 11 Families for Peaceful Tomorrows
  - Shalom Center
  - Shepherd College Green Party
  - Shobak.Org (Outsider Asian Voices)
  - School of the Americas Watch
  - Socialist Action
  - Socialist Party USA
  - Sojourners
  - Speak Out
  - Speak Truth to Power Tour: Generation Hip Hop Says No to War
  - Strategic Pastoral Action
  - Students Against Social Injustice (SASI), McKendree College
  - Student Environmental Action Coalition (SEAC)
  - Student Peace Action Network (SPAN)
  - Students Take Action for New Directions (STAND)
  - Students Transforming and Resisting Corporations (STARC)
  - Taking Aim
  - Texans for Peace
  - Thomas Merton Center
  - The Thomas Paine Project
  - Tikkun Community
  - TransAfrica Forum
  - TrueMajority
  - Undisputed Truth
  - United for Justice with Peace
  - United People 4 Peace
  - US Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation
  - United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS)
  - University of Maryland, College Park Peace Forum (UMCP Peace Forum)
  - Unitarian Universalist Service Committee
  - US Peace Council
  - United Students Against Sweatshops
  - Veterans for Peace
  - Vietnam Veterans Against the War
  - Vukani Mawethu
  - War Resisters League
  - War Times
  - Washington Peace Center
  - West Sonoma County Women's Peace Group
  - Women's Action for New Directions (WAND)
  - Western States Legal Foundation
  - Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, U.S. Section
  - Vanguard Public Foundation Working Assets

- Z Magazine and ZNET

## APPENDIX C

### **Stop the War Coalition Members**

- UNISON
- CWU
- NUJ
- FBU
- RMT
- ASLEF
- TSSA
- PCS
- NATFHE
- NAPO
- NUM
- GLATUC (Greater London Association of Trades Councils)
- Torfaen Trades Council
- ACTS 1/372 Branch
- Islington UNISON
- London Fire Authority UNISON
- Liverpool Dockers Shop Stewards Committee
- Dundee Local Authority Shop Stewards Liaison Committee
- Keele University AUT
- Al-Furook
- Al-Khoei Foundation
- Arab Organisation of Human Rights
- Artists Against the War
- Bangla 2000
- Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation
- Black Racial Attack Independent Network (BRAIN)
- British Humanist Association
- Campaign Against Criminalising Communities
- Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND)
- Campaign for Palestinian Rights
- Campaign Against Racism and Fascism (CARF)
- Colombia Solidarity Campaign
- Communist Party of Britain
- Daymer
- Eve's Back (Manchester Women's magazine)
- Federation of Kurdish Community Organisations
- Federation of Student Islamic Studies Societies in UK and Eire (FOSIS)
- Fire Brigades Union
- Globalise Resistance
- Green Party

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- Housman’s Peace Bookshop
  - Iraqi Network for Human Rights
  - Islamic Centre England
  - Islamic Human Rights Commission
  - Morning Star
  - Labour Against the War
  - Labour Left Briefing
  - Lawyers Against the War
  - Liberation
  - London Council of Mosques
  - London Labour Left
  - Mayfair Islamic Centre
  - Media Workers Against the War
  - Muslim Association of Britain
  - Muslim Council of Britain (MCB)
  - Muslim Cultural Heritage Centre
  - Muslim Parliament
  - Muslims for JustPeace
  - Muslims for Justice
  - Muslim Student Society
  - National Civil Rights Movement
  - Network of Socialist Campaign Groups
  - New York City Labour Against the War
  - Newham Monitoring Project
  - North England Medical Arab Society
  - Red Pepper
  - Palestinian Community
  - Palestinian Return Centre
  - Palestinian Forum
  - Palestinian Solidarity Campaign
  - Partizans (People Against Rio Tinto)
  - Peace People (Northern Ireland)
  - Plaid Cymru
  - Sefton and West Lancashire Green Party
  - Socialist Alliance
  - Socialist Campaign of Labour MPs
  - Socialist Labour Party
  - Socialist Party
  - Socialist Worker’s Party
  - Socialist Union
  - Women’s Coalition for Peace and Development (New Delhi)
  - Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (UK Section)
  - World Ahlu Albayt Islamic League (WABIL)
  - World Assembly of Muslim Youth
  - Young Muslim Organisation UK

## **APPENDIX D**

### **International ANSWER Coalition Members**

#### **Steering Committee:**

- Bayan - USA/International
- Free Palestine Alliance - U.S.
- IFCO/Pastors for Peace
- International Action Center
- Kensington Welfare Rights Union
- Korea Truth Commission
- Mexico Solidarity Network
- Middle East Children's Alliance
- Muslim Student Association of the U.S./Canada
- Nicaragua Network
- Partnership for Civil Justice – LDEF

#### **Partial List of Coalition Co-Signers:**

- Ramsey Clark - former U.S. Attorney General
- Bishop Thomas Gumbleton - Auxiliary Bishop, Catholic Archdiocese of Detroit, Michigan
- American Muslims for Global Peace
- Al-Awda Palestine Right of Return Coalition, NY & NJ
- Barbara Lubin - Executive Director, Middle East Children's Alliance
- Jews Against the Occupation
- Rev. Lucius Walker - Pastors for Peace
- Robert Meeropol - Executive Director, Rosenberg Fund for Children\*
- Teresa Gutierrez - Co-Director, International Action Center, NYC
- Karen Talbot - International Center for Peace & Justice
- Committee for a Democratic Palestine
- Ismael Guadalupe - Committee for Rescue & Development in Vieques, Puerto Rico
- Green Party USA
- Howard Zinn - historian and author
- Michael Parenti Ph.D. - author of 'America Besieged'
- Dick Gregory - comedian
- David Clennon - actor
- Ben DuPuy - former Deputy Ambassador-at-Large, Haiti
- School Of the Americas Watch
- Al-Awda Palestine Right of Return Coalition of New York and New Jersey
- Hoshikawa Jun - Director, Yakushima Institute, Kagoshima-ken, Japan
- Ajmal Pashtooniar - President, Afghan Youth Organization (AYO), St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada

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- Muslims Against Racism and War
  - Rev. Phil Wheaton - Committee for Indigenous Solidarity (CIS), Washington, DC
  - Nania Kaur Dhingra - Sikh Student Organization, George Washington University, Washington, DC
  - Martín Espada - poet
  - Sakhi for South Asian Women
  - Women for Afghan Women
  - Stephanie Simard - Co-president, Simmons College Feminist Union, Women's Fightback Network, Boston, Massachusetts
  - Pam Africa - International Family & Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
  - Michel Collon - author and journalist, Belgium
  - Left Turn
  - Heidelberg Forum Against Militarism and War, Germany
  - Italian Tribunal on NATO Crimes in Yugoslavia, Italy
  - Wolfgang Richter - President, European Peace Forum, Germany
  - Eric Easton - Vice President, National Action Network, Baltimore, Maryland
  - Baltimore Coalition Against the War, Maryland
  - Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Baltimore and Cantonsville Chapters, Maryland
  - Nino Pasti Foundation, Rome, Italy
  - New Communist Party of the Netherlands, Netherlands
  - African Immigrant and Refugee Coalition of North America
  - Dominican Workers Party, NYC
  - Chuck Kaufman - National Co-Coordinator, Nicaragua Network
  - NISGUA - the Network in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala
  - Heidi Boghosian - Executive Director, National Lawyers Guild
  - Tom Hansen - Mexico Solidarity Network, Washington, DC
  - Leonora Foerstaal - Women for Mutual Security
  - Asha A. Samad - Human Rights Center
  - April 25 Movement of the Dominican Republic
  - Njeri Shakur - Texas Death Penalty Abolition Movement
  - Emmanunel M. Hizon - National Student Coordinator, Movement for the Advancement of Student Power, Quezon City, Manila, Philippines
  - Kadouri Al Kaysi - Committee in Support of Iraqi People, New York City
  - Aisha Sabadia - Muslim Student Union, Amnesty\*, Ann Arbor, Michigan
  - Minnie Bruce Pratt - writer and anti-racist activist
  - Vieques Support Campaign, NYC
  - All Peoples Congress, Baltimore, Maryland
  - Unity for Action, Baltimore, Maryland
  - Carlos Eden - Raweshrar Project for Indigenous People, Chile
  - Jamie York - Cuba Advocate Newsletter\*, Montana
  - Brian Barraza - Association of Mexican Workers, NYC
  - John Kim - Veterans for Peace, NYC Chapter, NYC
  - Korea Truth Commission
  - Congress for Korean Reunification

- Struggle Against War Coalition, Italy
- Trades Union International of Building and Wood Workers, Finland

## **APPENDIX E:**

### Partial List of Countries Participating in January 18<sup>th</sup> Protests

- Belgium
- Britain
- Canada (40 cities: Montreal, Quebec City, Windsor, Halifax, Ottawa, Toronto, etc.)
- Egypt (Cairo)
- England (London)
- France (Paris)
- Germany (Bonn, Cologne)
- Holland
- Ireland
- Italy
- Japan
- Lebanon (Beirut)
- Mexico
- Netherlands
- Pakistan (Rawalpindi)
- Philippines
- Russia (Moscow)
- South Korea
- Spain
- Sweden (Goteborg)
- Syria (Damascus)
- Turkey (Istanbul)
- US (500 000 in Washington, 150 000 in San Francisco)

**APPENDIX F:**Partial List of Countries, Cities, and Estimated Turnouts for February 15<sup>th</sup> Protest

- Antarctica
- Argentina
  - Buenos Aires—50 000
- Australia
  - Melbourne—160 000
  - Sydney—300 000
  - Canberra
  - Brisbane—50 000
  - Adelaide—50 000
- Austria
  - Vienna—15 000
- Bahrain
- Bangladesh
  - Dhaka—2 000
- Belgium
  - Brussels—60 000
- Bosnia
  - Sarajevo—500
- Brazil
  - Sao Paulo—8 000
  - Rio de Janeiro—20 000
- Bulgaria
- Canada
  - Montreal—100 000
  - Vancouver—20 000
  - Toronto—75 000
  - Halifax
  - Windsor
  - Fredericton
  - Edmonton
  - Victoria
- China
- Cuba
  - Havana—5 000
- Denmark
  - Copenhagen—30 000
- Ecuador
- Egypt
- England

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- London—2 million
  - Finland
    - Helsinki
  - France
    - Paris—200 000
    - Lyon—15 000
    - Toulouse—7 000
    - Strasbourg—5 000
    - Rennes—5 000
    - Marseilles—5 000
    - Bordeaux
    - Nantes
  - Germany
    - Berlin—500 000
  - Greece
    - Athens—100 000—the only violent protest—skirmishes with police
  - Holland
    - Amsterdam—70 000
  - Hong Kong—1 000
  - Iceland
  - India
    - Calcutta—10 000
    - Delhi
  - Indonesia
    - Jakarta—500
  - Iraq
  - Ireland
    - Dublin—100 000
    - Belfast—10 000
  - Israel
    - Jerusalem—3 000
    - Tel Aviv—1 500
  - Italy
    - Milan
    - Rome—3 million
  - Japan
    - Tokyo—6 000
  - Jordan
  - Kashmir
  - Kenya
    - Nairobi—5 000
  - Malaysia
    - Kuala Lumpur—1 500
  - Mexico
    - Mexico City—30 000
  - New Zealand
    - Auckland—14 000
  - Nigeria

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- Norway
    - Oslo—60 000
  - Oman
  - Pakistan
    - Lahore
    - Karachi—300
    - Rawalpindi
    - Islamabad—3 000
  - Philippines
    - Manila
  - Portugal
    - Lisbon—90 000
  - Russia
    - Moscow—400
  - Scotland
    - Glasgow—90 000
  - Singapore
  - South Africa
    - Capetown—5 000
    - Johannesburg—4 000
  - South Korea
  - Spain—3 million
    - Barcelona—1 300 000
    - Seville—200 000
    - Madrid—800 000
    - Valencia
    - Bilbao—200 000
    - Zaragoza
  - Sweden
    - Stockholm—50 000
  - Switzerland
    - Berne—40 000
  - Syria
    - Damascus—200 000
  - Thailand
    - Bangkok
  - Turkey
    - Istanbul—5 000
  - Ukraine
    - Kyiv—2 000
  - Uruguay
    - Montevideo—50 000
  - United States
    - NYC—1 million
    - Minneapolis
    - Los Angeles—100 000
    - San Francisco—250 000
    - Sacramento

- Seattle—50 000
- Chicago
- Detroit
- Austin
- Buffalo
- Raleigh
- Columbus
- Huntsville
- San Diego
- Athens
- Yemen

## **CASIN Mission Statement**

The Centre for Applied Studies in International Negotiations (CASIN), established in 1979 as a Swiss non-profit independent foundation, aims at:

- **Training** leaders from governments, business and civil society in governance, diplomacy, negotiation and conflict management, as well as in development and trade issues;
- **Problem Solving and facilitation** through dialogues in areas such as national and international governance, sustainable development, international trade and globalisation along with good offices in case of conflict;
- **Research and coaching** to assist policy-makers, negotiators and senior managers in their search for policy options aiming at improve the governance of national societies and the international system.

CASIN strives to develop new approaches to governance such as a capacity to anticipate and identify long-term implications, to grasp complex and widening contexts, to perceive and understand the points of view of other parties, and to develop innovative policies and strategies for mutual gain. In other words, CASIN seeks to sharpen negotiators' and decision-makers' analytical, interactive, and joint problem solving skills, as well as to broaden their comprehension of the global environment in which they operate and their understanding of the increasingly complex and inter-related issues on the international agenda.

In pursuit of these aims CASIN organises: professional programmes, issue and policy dialogues, informal negotiation sessions, conflict management related activities and carries on studies and applied research under four thematic programmes:

- **Programme on Governance**  
(Negotiation, Conflict Management and Diplomacy)
- **Programme on the Management of Interdependence**
- **Programme on the Management of the Global Commons**
  - **Programme on NGOs and Civil Society**

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