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# Constructing a Participatory Citizenship: Rhetoric and Agency of the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan

Lauren M. Connolly

University of Texas at El Paso, lmbc@mac.com

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CONSTRUCTING A PARTICIPATORY CITIZENSHIP: RHETORIC AND  
AGENCY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ASSOCIATION  
OF THE WOMEN OF AFGHANISTAN

by

LAUREN MARIE BOSTROM CONNOLLY, B.A., M.A.

APPROVED:

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Kate Mangelsdorf, Ph.D., Chair

---

Beth Brunk-Chavez, Ph.D.

---

Maggy Smith, Ph.D.

---

Brenda Risch, Ph.D.

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Bess Sirmon-Taylor, Ph.D.  
Interim Dean of the Graduate School

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## **DEDICATION**

To Hugo and Tersila

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AGENCY OF THE REVOLUTIONARY ASSOCIATION  
OF THE WOMEN OF AFGHANISTAN

by

LAUREN MARIE BOSTROM CONNOLLY, B.A., M.A.

DISSERTATION

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of  
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in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements  
for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of English  
THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT EL PASO

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## **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

It is appropriate that feminist response in the days and weeks following September 11 are brought together and documented, so there may be no mistake as to the fact that women's voices were raised, publicly and massively across the world. But they were not listened to. Even those women on whose behalf Bush's war was supposedly waged—Afghan—were not listened to (Hawthorne & Winter, 2002, p. xix-xx)

### **1.1 Background of Problem**

Within rhetoric and writing studies (RWS) the term “citizen(ship)” is used, but it is infrequently analyzed directly and/or critically. Much of the scholarship which uses the term glosses over the powerful meanings that it entails, and as such, there is an opportunity for a more critical look at the potential for how citizenship may be considered through a transnational-feminist-rhetorical lens. This project addresses the various constructions of citizenship and considers an alternative perspective: a citizenship that utilizes women's rhetorical practices, and asserts their citizenship through active participation in society.

A strong rhetorical history of notable women has been established through the research of feminist rhetors such as Cheryl Glenn (1997), Jacqueline Jones Royster (2000), Shirley Wilson Logan (1995, 2008), Andrea Lunsford (1995), as well as Joy Ritchie and Kate Ronald (2001) as they provide a foundation of scholarship for the consideration of the rhetorical stances used by outsiders to frame Afghan women, as well as how Afghan women have refuted the frame in order to negotiate their citizenship. The history of Afghanistan is one fraught with violence, war, and the apartheid and persecution of Afghan women. The United States' involvement in Afghanistan during both the Soviet invasion, as well as the post-9-11 war, has brought attention to the burqa-clad image of Afghan women, which has been translated as weak, silent, and

without the ability to advocate for themselves. What has been ignored by the global community, and particularly the United States and European governments and media, are the voices of the women who speak out on behalf of Afghan women, as well as on behalf of their fellow citizens.

As a result of these issues, this project looks at how the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA), an organization that was founded almost 40 years ago, in 1977, advocates for the rights of women through their agency. While RAWA does not articulate a definition of citizenship, the actions of the members place their work within the context of a participatory citizenship. I discuss RAWA's actions in contrast with the misplaced focus that entities in the United States government have placed on Afghan women in a desire to go to war, which in effect work to silence women by speaking for them instead of responding to their<sup>1</sup> requests for humanitarian aid.

In this project, I consider how a transnational feminist organization such as RAWA demonstrates and defines Afghan women's citizenship, as well as develops their agency for a participatory citizenship through their online texts/publications. The themes that I analyze include how citizenship is constructed through the tropes of veiling, resistance and freedom. I assert that RAWA is able to advocate for citizenship. While the established groups, both domestic and foreign, indirectly silence Afghan women RAWA demonstrates how the women in the organization resist the narrow frame of perceived silence.

## **1.2 What does it mean to be a citizen?**

Historically in the United States and Europe, the definitions of citizenship have been illustrated through Greek and Roman laws. These constructions influence how citizenship is

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<sup>1</sup> I am choosing to refer to RAWA as "they/their" instead of "it," as a way to humanize the work that the members of RAWA are doing. While the organization speaks with one voice, as is typical of institutions/organizations, it is to protect the identities of the women involved. The organization provides cover for multiple women's voices to be shared, under the protection of anonymity. This is for more than political conflict; women's lives are in danger when they are aligned with RAWA or speak out for women's rights.

thought of today as they determined citizenship to be for “native free men who were the legitimate sons of other native free men” (Bellamy, 2008, chapter 2, section 4). As the Roman Empire expanded, citizenship took on another perspective as governments allowed conquered citizens to maintain a dual-citizenship as both a citizen of their community, as well as claim legal Roman citizenship with the caveat that they did not have the right of the vote (Bellamy, 2008, chapter 2, section 4). What this means is that citizens were allowed to maintain their community rituals, provided that they were integrated with the Roman society. With over 2000 years of scholarship, philosophers, political leaders, and scholars such as Aristotle, Machiavelli, Rousseau, Hobbes, Locke, as well as American republicans Jefferson and Madison have debated the historical constructions of citizenship, influencing the implementation of it in countries around the world today.

In the United States, while Jefferson and Madison philosophized about the definition of citizenship, the legal definitions have been framed through a myriad of laws that are addressed in the Civil Rights Act of 1866, the Fourteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution, and currently through the work of the United States Citizenship and Immigration Services (USCIS)<sup>2</sup>. Influenced by English Common Law during the early colonial times, the United States has assumed a birthright citizenship since its inception. Birthright citizenship asserts that children born in the United States or born to at least one parent who is United States citizen instantly receive citizenship, but there are many other ways that people may become citizens<sup>3</sup>. Citizenship is generally framed through a seemingly neutral, equal, and objective process; however the issues of race and class impact those who are eligible to become citizens. Alternatives to

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<sup>2</sup> Prior to September 11 and the formation of the Department of Homeland Security, the USCIS was formally known as the Immigration and Naturalization Service/INS

<sup>3</sup> Obtaining citizenship is different from becoming a Permanent Resident, which is obtained through the Green Card program.

citizenship status in the United States include options to apply for refugee status, with the eventual option to apply for citizenship, based on violence and persecution in his/her home country; wealthy individuals may enter through an “Entrepreneur Initiative,” in which investment of capital into a United States-based business, will entitle individual investor and his/her family to a fast-track of citizenship through naturalization (United States Citizenship and Immigration Services, n.d.). These examples contradict how immigration is presented, as a simple process of waiting one’s turn for the appropriate visa. Instead, the process creates a hierarchy of those who are permitted citizenship and those who are not. There is also great debate over undocumented people who live in the United States and their ability to obtain either a permanent residence or citizenship status<sup>4</sup>. These varied processes of eligibility fuel the debate over immigration and what citizenship means for all people living in the United States. In contrast to a birthright-constructed citizenship, the concept of a participatory citizenship as demonstrated through RAWA’s texts and actions provides an opportunity to consider an alternate definition of citizenship, one that is achieved through advocacy and action.

### **1.2.1 Constructions of Afghan Citizenship**

The construction of citizenship in Afghanistan is a multifaceted one, as the Afghan people and foreign governments are actively defining it in multiple ways. These multiple perspectives include definitions created by the nation-state of Afghanistan, Afghan tribal groups, the United States government, and even the vision of citizenship for Afghan women developed by RAWA. All are working to construct a vision of citizenship for Afghans, but these perspectives have overlapping and conflicting views. The nation-state identity is defined by the Afghan constitution, which asserts some equal rights for men and women, whereas tribal-

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<sup>4</sup> The Dream Act in particular, is under increased discussion, as children who were born outside the United States, but raised in the United States and consider themselves “American” have changed some of the debate.

community identities, especially in rural areas, informally supersede the national identity. Thus citizenship for Afghan women is conflicted through the nation-state and tribal identities and further complicated by the United States' intervention in creating a new Afghan government in 2001-2002. In addition, RAWA has been working since its founding to define women's citizenship in contrast to how the political-social construction manifests itself. It is important to consider not only how the Afghan nation-state defines citizenship in contrast to the citizens, but also how the United States and its allies frame Afghan women's citizenship in both formal and informal ways.

### **1.2.2 Afghan and United States Constructions of Afghan Citizenship**

Afghan laws provide women with equal citizenship and access to government services and protections under the law. Afghanistan's Laws of Citizenship documents, from 1965 and 2000, as well as the 1936 and 2004 constitutions, all assert birthright citizenship, provide equal access to education, and state that men and women have "equal rights under the law" (Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, 2004). While women's rights are overtly addressed in Afghanistan's current and historical constitutions, as well as its laws of citizenship documents, how women's rights have manifested themselves in day-to-day life looks quite different, depending on who was in power and where the women lived. For example, in the capital of Kabul, which at times was a very contemporary, metropolitan place, women had access to education and employment. This is in contrast to rural women, who were living in a more tribal/ethnic system in their region, and did not have access to education or a contemporary way of life. It should be noted that Afghan women from both rural and urban regions have advocated and worked to further women's rights and to provide an education for their children. National citizenship does not address the informal tribal/ethnic citizenships that arise in the different regions of Afghanistan, and the construction of

citizenship may vary greatly in a country that is physically hard to navigate due to the rough terrain and lack of infrastructure. The different regions of Afghanistan have strong ties among tribal groups, and as such, place more value on the informal citizenship of ethnic/regional groups than on national identity.

Documents produced by the United States Army, as well as academic researchers, address the issue of citizenship, but in very different ways. From the United States Army's perspective, the concept is problematic, as the Army views the tribal areas with a very specific lens in order to create allies. Such allies would help the United States Army overcome conflict, provide a less-violent situation for the soldiers in the short term, and create long-term stability for Afghanistan's government. The United States Army frames many of the issues through the concept of tribalism, reinforcing informal citizenship. Summarizing many of the Afghan people as people whose "loyalty is first to their local leaders and their tribe" before the national identity, the Army also notes that "tribal affiliation is still the most significant organizing principle in parts of rural Afghan society" (Army Training Support Center, n.d.). This frames the Afghan people as not being able or willing to unite under a common nation-state, leaning on the informal notions of citizenship. This is in direct contrast to the mythology of the United States as an undivided nation. As the Pledge of Allegiance states "one nation, under God, indivisible..." in which the common value supported is that those who are citizens of the United States are identified as "Americans." The United States Army is positioned as needed support and leadership to help the Afghan people create a stable unified nation. This is the Army's way of working with the people, restructures or reinforces power structures based on United States priorities and takes the agency of citizenship away from the Afghan people.

Anthropologists (Simonsen 2004, Tavakolian 1984, Tapper 2008) address the issues of



tribalism and ethnicity as these issues manifest themselves in Afghanistan. Afghans, connected either by ethnicity, language, or family are viewed as fixed entities, with historical alliances and conflicts with other cultures and countries (such as in Pakistan where there is an overlap of ethnic groups). In addition, Afghan identities may come from outsiders such as the United States and European governments, academic researchers, and news media all of whom have placed their own opinions and/or support on the alliances between groups of Afghan people. It is important to note that the connections and identities of Afghans are complex. Simonsen (2004) points out that there are identities that may be more important to the Afghan people, as “tribe, region, and sub-groups within the ‘ethnic’ groups... [as well as] rural-urban... literate (educated)-illiterate are also highly important dichotomies” (p. 708), and these provide important considerations when addressing issues with the Afghan people and how they articulate their identities. In addition, as relationship and resources shift within and among those multiple layers of identity, the meaning and importance of those layers change over time. Consequently, these divisions created both inside and outside Afghanistan assert varied constructions of citizenship.

Identity is a complex issue: however, an Orientalist identity that was framed by Middle Eastern and Asian classical texts, as asserted by Edward Said in 1978, created a binary space identifying “the other” in contrast to dominating powers, particularly the United States and Europe. This binary is reinforced by the United States and European governments’ work in identifying people from the Orient (which historically covers the Middle East and Asia). In Afghanistan, this concept of “the other” continues to replicate itself through Said’s version of this colonial lens. For Said colonialism is comparable to Orientalist scholarship which takes “a fixed, more or less total geographical position towards a wide variety of social, linguistic, political, and historical realities” (Said, 2002, p. 16). This is demonstrated when researchers ask

an Afghan subject about his or her family, ethnic or tribal connections, the interviewer/interrogator “may receive different answers from the same person, varying according to who is asking the questions, for what purpose, in what situation, and who is listening to the answer” (Tapper, 2008, p. 100-1). As a result, discussing how citizenship is addressed and when it is addressed by tribal associations causes complex issues to arise in who is asking about one’s identity and why. This narrow construction of citizenship in connection with tribal associations ignores the potential for fluidity with how an individual or group frames identity and how that identity manifests itself in the assertion of citizenship.

Other groups that are frequently discussed in respect to Afghan alliances or tribal connections are framed as creating an ethnic issue where none exists, as “there is no real ethnic conflict... [Afghan] politics... is ethnicised—and has been consciously manipulated to become so by political leaders” (Simonsen, 2004, p. 207-8). As a result, political groups such as the Taliban, who are mostly identified as the ethnic Pashtun, create a conflict between those who identify as Pashtun, but are not a part of the Taliban and those of other ethnic groups. These oversimplifications of tribal identities and alliances by the United States (which build on the Orientalist history of reductionism by Europe of the Middle East and Asia regions articulated by Said) ignore the complexities of how to address the issues going on in Afghanistan. This minimization of the complexities in Afghan identity by external parties is what allowed for the Afghan war 5 to commence without much debate in the United States.

Parallel to how Edward Said’s (1978) *Orientalism* produces binary categories, Afghan culture has also been reduced to oversimplified identities for both men and women. While Afghan women have legal rights, as outlined in the Constitution for Afghanistan, the central

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<sup>5</sup> United States led, Operation Enduring Freedom, commenced on October 7, 2001.

government not only lacks the ability to enforce these rights consistently countrywide, but also lacks the will to address issues of violence against women and to build a national infrastructure that can support women (and men) through education, job training, and economic growth. For women, this Orientalist framing has been particularly harsh. Postcolonial feminist scholar Chandra Mohanty (2004), in her book *Feminism Without Borders*, states that through a colonial frame the “average Third World woman leads an essentially truncated life based on her feminine gender (read: sexually constrained) and her being ‘Third World’ (read: ignorant, poor, uneducated, tradition-bound, domestic, family oriented, victimized)” (p. 22). As a result, Afghan women are viewed as in need of “saving” by an outside force and colonized women are marginalized, not only by the United States government, but also by the global news media. Some feminist and human rights organizations overlook Afghan women’s ability to assert their knowledge on issues such as education, healthcare, and raising families in safe communities. This contributes to the flattening of not only Afghan identities, but also of the concepts that Afghan women possess varied and complex identities, in that not all Afghan women are silent, weak and lacking the ability to advocate for themselves and others. Positioning Afghan women as Mohanty’s disempowered “Third World” women, prevents outside entities from recognizing the ability of Afghan women to resolve community issues and reduces the likelihood of outside financial support for women’s citizenship activities. Afghan women’s identities and their constructions of citizenship can be addressed through a feminist lens provided by a variety of scholars in order to develop a more nuanced view of identity and citizenship.

### **1.2.3 Feminist definitions of citizenship**

Founded in 1997, the journal *Citizenship Studies* brought the discussion of citizenship into contemporary study, as sociology scholars reconsidered definitions of citizenship (Lister,

2003, p. 3). Feminists, including political scientist Iris Marion Young and sociologist Ruth Lister, began to reconsider the concept of citizenship directly through their respective disciplinary lenses. These two feminist scholars developed a critical lens to address the issue of citizenship so that the definition of citizenship “can be reformulated so as to satisfactorily include (and not simply append)” women (Lister, 2003, p. 4). In other words, women are not an afterthought in the construction of citizenship; women are an integral part of what it means to define citizenship. This assertion is important as it means that women have to be a part of the discussion; women must participate and be included when looking at what it means to be a citizen and establishing the rights that accompany that status. For the women of RAWA, this means that they have an opportunity to voice their opinion when addressing women’s rights and responsibilities as citizens of Afghanistan. While her lens is focused on the United States, Iris Marion Young (1989) provides an opportunity to draw parallels between the issues that arise with women and citizenship and allows for specific issues on Afghan women’s rights to be addressed. To help consider the postcolonial perspective, the work of feminist anthropologist Aihwa Ong (1999) in her text *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality* interrogates postcolonial concepts in her focus of constructing citizenships. While this text in itself does not focus on women’s issues, it explores the conflict of change that is happening in South Asia as it pertains to emigration and the global economy.

Indirectly supporting Lister, Young, and Ong’s critiques, feminist-rhetorical scholars Jacqueline Jones Royster (2003) and Jessica Enoch (2008) demonstrate how women in the United States have resisted the restrictions on their citizenship and provide a model of how to look at other women’s rhetorical work. Citizenship is indirectly discussed through the context of women’s participation in the public sphere, particularly as women work to speak and advocate

publicly for themselves and others. Jacqueline Jones Royster (2003) addresses the historical context of women advocates in the public sphere, as women rhetors provide opportunities for the expansion of what are considered the traditional activities of citizenship, such as voting. This construction also provides a voice not only for women, but also for other marginalized groups throughout history. Historically, the recovery of women's texts have provided a window into how women's issues and actions have been brought to light because of their efforts to enter the public sphere and assert their rights as fully-participating and empowered citizens of their communities. We can draw upon the works of historically notable women's rights speakers, such as abolitionist Maria Stewart to provide a framework for public advocacy. For example, Stewart demonstrates how a woman places herself in the public eye, with the goal of advocating for women's right to speak in the public sphere, much as RAWA is doing today. While Stewart was in the public eye for only a year, based on her first and last public speech, the influence of her work reverberates through the speeches of women who come later, developing a foundation for other rhetors to build on.

#### **1.2.4 Action Oriented Literacies as Participatory Citizenship**

Discussed in depth in Chapter 2: Literature Review, there are important connections between citizenship and literary. Surveying the historical landscape of oppressed people's literacy is frequently discussed historically by rhetors Shirley Wilson Logan (2008), Jacqueline Jones Royster (2000), as well as in contemporary terms by Victor Villanueva (1993), Gloria Anzaldúa (1987), Richard Rodriguez (2005), and Morris Young (2004) in which they discuss the intersection of race, language, and rhetoric. These rhetors provide a lens in which to consider what it means to be literate, and what privileges are provided for those literacies.

In the texts, Shirley Wilson Logan's (2008) *Liberating Language: Sites of Rhetorical*

*Education in Nineteenth-Century Black America*, and Jacqueline Jones Royster's (2000) *Traces of the Stream: Literacy and Social Change among African American Women* offer detailed examples of the historical development of literacies and ways in which literacy can be defined, particularly for African-American communities. Logan (2008) asserts that Deborah Brandt's definition of literacy in which the "underlying language abilities that may be common to both reading and writing" (p. 392), allows for an inclusive interpretation, including reading, writing and rhetoric, and enabling scholars to "admit the experiences of such rhetors as Sojourner Truth into consideration though conventional definitions would classify her as illiterate" (p. 4). This provides an opportunity for scholars to consider how to define literacy and its connections to citizenship. Royster (2000) asserts that the "ability to gain access to information and to use this information variously to articulate lives and experiences and also to identify, think through, refine, and solve problems, sometimes complex problems over time" (p. 45) in order to have access to and to use information. This concept is identified by Logan (2008) as "action-oriented" where individuals are able to actively pursue their literacy and as a result provides the opportunity for groups and individuals to assert their citizenships through these literacies. Utilizing the concept of "action-oriented" literacies provides an opportunity to consider the formal and informal educational work of RAWA in teaching women to advocate for themselves and other women.

Considering the construction of "action-oriented" literacies, I examine the ways women's rhetorical agency is "action-oriented" for citizenship by RAWA as members perform their citizenship work engaging with both local and international communities. In order to consider the intersections of citizenship on a global level, I want to utilize aspects of transnational feminist theories of citizenship. Transnational issues transcend a single nation-state model as it

considers global economic and social policies in the formation of a global citizen (Lister, 1997, p. 56). For RAWA, while it is an organization by and for Afghan women, their issues go far beyond the country's borders. With refugee camps in Pakistan, historical ties with Iran, the 1980s war with the Soviet Union, and current war with the United States and allied forces, RAWA is addressing more than the Afghan government; they are also negotiating Afghan women's place in the world. While RAWA's texts do not articulate citizenship specifically, we can see the term defined indirectly. This analysis will demonstrate how a participatory citizenship is implied and how external sources respond to their texts.

### **1.3 Why the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan?: The Rationale for Investigation**

I am choosing the established organization of the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA) because of the complicated way that RAWA has both been selected to be a part of the conversation in the United States, as well as have their assertions ignored by the United States government, media and non-governmental organizations. Founded in 1977, they have been working for women's rights and developing a history of subverting the traditional frame of Afghan women as victims of circumstance and without any collective or individual agency. RAWA's work appears to have retained a grassroots-style organization despite the violence permeating Afghanistan and Pakistan for much of twentieth and twenty-first centuries. In the years since the start of the United States war in Afghanistan, RAWA has expanded their presence on the Internet, utilizing their website ([www.rawa.org](http://www.rawa.org)), YouTube, and social media outlets (such as Facebook and Twitter) to get their message to the international community. Their website is primarily in English, but also a variety of European languages and Japanese demonstrating the desire to reach a wider community of support.

RAWA identifies as an "independent social organization" (2014c), as their work focuses

on providing social services to women, children and their community, advocating for women's rights and asserting the need for a secular government in Afghanistan. One of their early goals as a group was "agitation for women's rights and democracy" (2014c), but RAWA's goals transformed from only using agitation and they started to develop social programs to help the community.

While there is global interest in Afghan women's issues, women's advocacy within Afghanistan is frequently framed through the perspective that the United States is needed to save Afghan women, while marginalizing the work that is being done by the local women. The lack of attention on RAWA's work (as well as that of other active Afghan women), reduces Afghan women's issues to a mere stump-speech.

Questioning the United States government's motivation, Leila Abu-Lughod (2002) articulates why the United States would advocate for the saving of Afghan women from their culture, instead of addressing the opposition of the regime in power (p. 784). Abu-Lughod expresses many of the concerns that started in postcolonial theory, such as why the United States and Europe are so insistent on framing people as other and ignoring the nuances of life for Afghan women and relying instead on their media representations. Abu-Lughod's assertion is derived from the United States and Britain's claims that an invasion of Afghanistan was necessary, in order to "save" Afghan women from their men, their government, their culture, and their religion.

RAWA provides support to the women of Afghanistan by advocating for their rights. As mentioned, the texts they produce include a website in English, as well as in local and other European languages, as mentioned earlier. They also create printed texts in English and Pashto for public dissemination, including a journal *Payam-e-Zan* (Woman's Message), as well as



pamphlets outlining their issues. Their sister-organization, the Afghan Women's Mission, is a fund-raising and awareness-building arm of RAWA in the United States. The Afghan Women's Mission helps disseminate information to the American public as well as raise funds for RAWA's cause. In one such text, RAWA provides its mission statement:

RAWA's objective was to involve an increasing number of Afghan women in social and political activities aimed at acquiring women's human rights and contributing to the struggle for the establishment of a government based on democratic and secular values in Afghanistan. Despite the suffocating political atmosphere, RAWA very soon became involved in widespread activities in different socio-political arenas including education, health and income generation as well as political agitation (Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan, 2011).

This statement summarizes RAWA's focus for action in both the political and social realm. In this instance, Afghan women are working to fill in the gaps of understanding and provide awareness of their work to the governments, news media, and non-governmental organizations in the United States and Europe, yet in this instance, no one is listening. RAWA is negotiating how governments and organizations are not listening to their needs, essentially silencing Afghan women.

### **1.3 Review of research questions**

This project examines how the organization of RAWA asserts Afghan women's rights on a global stage and how the United States government and non-governmental entities have responded to and/or ignored their claims. RAWA's work in letting the world know about the atrocities happening against Afghan women is rooted in the concept that if the world knew, then international pressure to improve women's lives would happen, starting with ending the occupation by foreigners (in other words the United States and their allies). This is a complicated

notion of requesting international assistance, while also dictating the terms of the assistance. However, RAWA believes that Afghan women understand the problem and can provide solutions to the problem, if they have the support and resources available to them. The problem has arisen with the international community in that the message that RAWA sends to the world and the message the world hears is lost in (figurative) translation. RAWA is very explicit about the assistance they need, but as outsiders' action seem to state that they know what to do better than Afghan women, thus creating a parent-child relationship with the women of Afghanistan. Through the analysis of texts produced by RAWA, as well as United States governmental and non-governmental texts, this project attempts to fill in the gaps of critical commentary on both how Afghan women define their citizenship through their own agency and how the world interprets their work in asserting their right to citizenship.

I consider the following questions as part of this project.

- How does a transnational feminist organization such as RAWA demonstrate and define their citizenship, as well as develop their agency for a participatory citizenship through their online texts/publications?
- How do outside forces, such as the United States government, media, and non-governmental organizations frame the citizenship practices of Afghan women?
- How do the tropes of the veil, resistance, and freedom manifest themselves in the words and actions of RAWA, the United States government, and non-governmental organizations?
- How are the texts of RAWA changed for reinterpretation by these outside forces?

These questions help consider the rhetorical devices used in order to address the issues of citizenship through the very specific tropes of the veil, resistance and freedom. These terms are

used frequently and generally without much context. The issue of the veil is complex and entails many different social, political, cultural, religious and legal reasons why women wear the veil, as it is contextual to the location, class and culture of the women who wear it<sup>6</sup>. Resistance and freedom are political rally cries for multiple social, political and cultural viewpoints, and they have varied historical significance for multiple groups of people. In order to analyze the use of these terms, I am using feminist critical discourse analysis method for this project as it is an effective means by which to answer these questions. The written texts that have been chosen for this project include:

- CNN documentary, *Beneath the Veil: The Taliban's Harsh Rule of Afghanistan*, transcript
- United States Congressional Hearing, *Afghan People vs. The Taliban: The Struggle for Freedom Intensifies*, transcript
- 2002 State of the Union Address, transcript
- Four short documents from RAWA's website including: "RAWA's Education Policy;" interpretation of their slogan, "Freedom, Democracy and Social Justice"; the booklet *Afghanistan, World's Largest Forgotten Tragedy*; and "RAWA's Standpoints," an outline of their stances on women's rights, the veil, and goals for the Afghan government.

I have chosen to focus on the written transcripts of these events, rather than the videos of the events themselves, in order to emphasize the textual aspects representing the events. While there are limitations to only looking at the text, in that I will not be addressing the important aspects of body language and the visual rhetoric of the videos, the textual analysis provides an opportunity to create a deeper understanding of the specific words and phrases used to construct a narrow

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<sup>6</sup> See Appendix G for a detailed explanation of the veil.

image of Afghan women and their ability to refute the frame. This project interrogates the rhetorical situation of Afghan women as they assert their rights for public participation and develop a transnational rhetoric in order to change the oppression by both the local as well as foreign entities.

#### **1.4 Limitations of study**

While my study is limited to English-language texts produced by RAWA that are available over the Internet, as web-based documents, it provides an opportunity for rhetorical scholars to consider how citizenship is not only constructed through language, but also how women's rhetorical agency manifests itself as a form of resistance to local, national, and international pressures. Analyzing documents that were produced and/or translated into English presents an occasion in which I can consider the outreach that RAWA is making to the international community in order to make their policies and ideology known.

In addition to the limitations of analyzing only texts mentioned above, other limitations include the lack of translators available in order to translate RAWA's documents which are available in Persian/Pashto and Urdu. This makes it difficult to assess all of the texts they produce. In addition, the geo-political climate makes on-site research impossible, due to the volatility of travel in the region, in both Afghanistan and Pakistan where RAWA primarily works.

#### **1.5 Overview of Chapters**

While I briefly reviewed my literature and methods in this chapter, I expand on these ideas in Chapter 2 with my literature review. I provide an overview of theories and research from within rhetoric and writing studies, as well as other disciplines, which provide insight to this study. This discussion begins with considerations of what is a citizen, briefly acknowledging

Ancient Greek and Roman philosophies, as well as American republican value of citizenship ideals, but I quickly move forward toward modern discussions of citizenship through a feminist and critical race lens. I utilize scholars including political scientist Iris Marion Young and sociologist Ruth Lister, as they question the concepts of citizenship through a feminist lens. Arguing against the perception that citizenship is applied universally, I use Young's (1989) argument that those living outside the norms of society are not given the same privileges and as such I assert that organizations such as RAWA need to fill in those gaps in the system. I bring in critical race theory through the work of Victor Villanueva, Morris Young, and Gloria Anzaldúa as they consider the intersections of language and race. With Afghanistan divided among languages and cultures, I want to recognize how these issues impact how citizenship is viewed socially and politically, as well as through formal government policy in which again, RAWA is addressing how to navigate between these roadblocks while at the same time moving forward with their agenda of advocating for women's rights, providing job training to women, and education to women, boys, and girls.

In Chapter 3, I describe the methodology and theoretical background for this project. I use feminist critical discourse analysis as my method in order to outline my critical approach. I am using Norman Fairclough (2010) as a foundational aspect to critical discourse analysis (CDA), Ruth Wodak's (2008, 2009) work on the intersections of gender in the analysis, and Michelle Lazar (2005, 2007) who proposes the concept of a feminist CDA. Critical discourse analysis addresses social justice, hegemony, and the oppressive nature of how language is used, especially by those in power, from governments to the media. In critical discourse analysis, it "is claimed that cultural rather than merely economic dimensions are significant in the creation and maintenance of power relations... [and] there is no strict separation between infrastructure and

superstructure” (Jenner & Titscher, 2000, p. 145). One debate is how does feminist CDA differ from a traditional definition of CDA, in light of the fact that both address oppression. Instead of using women as simply an additive to CDA, I want to assert that more needs to be considered beyond the simple addition of gender to the issues of politics and economics. In this aspect, feminist CDA provides the tools and feminist theory provides a specific political stance for analysis. For this project, I assert that incorporating postcolonial and intersectional feminist theory will help develop a feminist lens within CDA and also help explain the problems for women in Afghanistan as they have been colonized for centuries from different invaders. Applying the work of Chandra Mohanty (2004) and Leila Ahmed (1999) in post-colonial feminist theorists and the work of Patricia Hill Collins (2002), bell hooks (1989) and Audre Lorde (2007) as scholars in intersectional feminist theory, I have created a lens in which to use CDA in articulating feminist methodology for analysis.

Chapter 4 highlights the work of the genre chain and how it manifests itself in this project. I provide a discussion of how genre theory works through the texts, and I explain the texts and how in each of the texts there are many voices found. This chapter is important as it provides an opportunity to only the relationship between the texts and demonstrate the need for analysis. Here I present the concept of a Norman Fairclough’s “genre chain” as a mode for connecting the texts together, starting with a video produced by RAWA titled Zarmeena’s Execution. While this video is not a part of the analysis, as there is no narration of the events that happened, it provides a foundational piece, as it demonstrates how the video of an action is transformed into words, and later in to actions of war in the name of Afghan women.

Chapter 5 addresses the use of the tropes as presented in the CNN documentary *Beneath the Veil* transcript. Using excerpts of the Zarmeena execution video, news correspondent Saria

Shah provides detailed commentary on her version of events on both the execution and overlaps that experience with the experience with other Afghan women. This documentary is important as it demonstrates that the words used by the news media forecasts how outsiders can interpret the events and actions by Afghan women. As a result, actions such as the war in Afghanistan was used as a tool for the concept of freedom through violence.

In Chapter 6, I review the transcripts of the United States Congressional Hearing Afghan People vs. The Taliban: The Struggle for Freedom Intensifies held on October 31, 2001, which addresses the issues for Afghanistan, but particularly focuses the issues for Afghan women. This particular hearing is very informative as it not only gives a sense of the attitude of the United States government, but also of the various groups that provided testimony at the hearing. Testimony was provided by representatives from Amnesty International, Feminist Majority, the Central Asia Research and Development Center at George Washington University, the United Front/Northern Alliance (an Afghan military/political group), and a representative from RAWA.

In Chapter 7, I analyze the transcript from the 2002 State of the Union address, given three months after September 11th, which is soon after the start of the United States war in Afghanistan and the establishment of a new Afghan national government in December of 2001. While President Bush's address to the Congress and the nation, is frequently known as the "axis of evil" speech, what has been forgotten is the perception that this war was waged to save Afghan women from the other Afghans. In this speech, President Bush asserts that Afghan women's agency is lost and is in need of being saved, thus reinforcing the need for continued military action. Considering this State of the Union speech in full provides an opportunity to engage with the text critically and in a way the moves beyond the reductive sound-bites that lingered long after the speech itself.

In Chapter 8, I review four online texts produced by RAWA in an effort to counter the frame that their citizenship is in need of saving by innovation of a foreign power. RAWA's publications, produced in English, provide a detailed look into the work that they are doing for the Afghan people. These texts, working to reach an international audience, alert people to not only the atrocities that are happening to women, but also how international help, in the way of humanitarian aid, can go far at helping women and children assert their citizenship and rebuild Afghanistan. I present my findings as a way to argue for a participatory-based citizenship. I focus on multiple short texts including a booklet titled *Afghanistan, World's Largest Forgotten Tragedy* which provides a history of RAWA, outlines their services in Afghanistan and Pakistan, and provides a brief statement about the problems in Afghanistan. This booklet gives a thorough outline of their philosophy, their advocacy and the day-to-day work of the organization. While an image heavy document, the booklet provides an overview of their work. The other documents analyzed were created for the web and include: a statement in order to explicate their slogan of "Freedom, Democracy and Social Justice"; RAWA's "Educational Policy," where they outline the goals and outcomes in their educational programs; and "RAWA's Standpoints," a position statement which present their stance on women's rights, the veil, and the future governance of Afghanistan.

I present these texts from governmental, non-governmental, and RAWA sources as a way to demonstrate how text has the power to assert social and political influence over how citizenship is imposed, acted upon, and resisted by Afghan women.



## **CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW**

As was addressed in the introduction, the constructions of citizenship are typically defined in very general terms, such as a nationalistic identification connecting an individual to a specific nation-state. Other ways that the concept of citizenship is addressed is through education, in that public education is seen as a way to develop citizens based on the values developed through a formal system. However the term citizen(ship) has not been interrogated in depth within rhetoric and writing studies. When considered, rhetoric scholars address the issue of multiple identities including, language, ethnicity, gender, class, as well as literacy. Drawing upon works that have addressed these issues in the United States provides a way to turn the lens outward towards a broader construction of citizenship.

Feminist analysis of citizenship, particularly through an intersectional and postcolonial lens, provides a way to consider how the issues of race, class, gender, ethnicity, as well as language and literacy overlap and work to define citizenship outside of a national identity. While feminist theory and methods will be addressed in-depth in Chapter 3, I want to introduce these concepts for additional depth of understanding.

### **2.1 Citizenship: A Feminist Analysis**

Developing a feminist construction of citizenship provides an opportunity to consider the impact of gender, in addition to race and class. I consider how political scientist Iris Marion Young and sociologist Ruth Lister use a feminist lens to explore the construction of citizenship. This includes how citizenship is then applied to individuals and their possibilities for initiating change. Much of their work reflects complicated and critiqued notions of citizenship as it relates to more than a nationality and instead develops into the construction of a member of a community, particularly for women. As feminists reconsider the concept of citizenship, it

requires a critical lens to address the issues to that the ideas “can be reformulated so as satisfactorily include (and not simply append)” women (Lister, 2003, pg. 4). In exploring the research of these two scholars, I want to keep in mind the issues of colonial-based oppression, which has worked to define citizenship through a non-inclusive lens.

### **2.1.1 Iris Marion Young’s Critique of Citizenship**

Young’s work addresses the issue of who should be a citizen in the United States through her analysis of a “universal” citizenship, which is created to bring together individuals for larger cause. The contemporary view of citizenship is frequently connected with a national identity, specifically identifying who is allowed to live in the United States and who is not. However, the many definitions of citizenship are finite and more contested than whether someone is simply a United States citizen. Early in American history many of the rights that are identified with citizenship, including the right to vote, were limited to land-holding males of European origin. The goal was to create a system in order to avoid divisiveness amongst the citizens and hence, detrimental to the country. This “universality of citizenship, in the sense of the inclusion and participation of everyone, stands in tension with the other two meanings of universality embedded in modern political ideas: universality as generality, and universality as equal treatment” (Young, 1989, p. 253). While sounding ideal on the surface, a desire for a unifying citizenry asserts a parental-like guardianship over the nation, suggesting that citizens do not know what is best for their community. The universal idea of citizenship assumes shared values among all of the citizenry. In order to promote the inclusion of all persons involved in citizenship activities, society requires that a homogenization of ideas become normalized. Based on the notions of

citizenship as expressing the universality of humanity, they [nation’s leadership]

consciously excluded some people from citizenship on the grounds that they could not adopt the general point of view, or that their inclusion would disperse and divide the public. The idea of a common good, a general will, a shared public life leads to pressures for a homogeneous citizenry” (Young, 1989, p. 253).

Universality does not consider participants living contrary to the norm—which results in member of a society not having opportunities to participate legally, socially, or economically and ultimately are unable to participate fully in the rights and responsibilities of being a citizen. Young presents an argument that provides a theoretical foundation on how people may be marginalized from their community, as well as address the benefits of citizenship within a community.

Young discusses an alternative to the frame of citizenship in recognizing that “citizenship can properly be differentiated among groups who choose to cluster but recognize that they are together with differentiated other in a common polity” (Young, 1989, p. 237). These clusters of people provide opportunities to recognize groups outside of traditional institutions in society. These groups could include women’s organizations formed out of social, political, or economic necessity in order to change the status quo of society.

These considerations are needed in that “defining citizenship as generality avoids and obscures this requirement that all experiences, needs, and perspectives on social events have a voice and are respected” (Young, 1989, p. 262) and as a result, marginalizes those who do not fit into society’s framework for a citizen. Young proposes a solution for active citizenry through a “rainbow coalition, by contrast, each of the constituent groups affirms the presence of the others and affirms the specificity of its experience and perspective on social issues” (Young, 1989, p. 264). This coalition is more than a group’s ability to tolerate each other’s needs instead groups

work together to achieve the goals of the others' movements in coalition with each other.

A rainbow coalition affirms the presence and supports the claims of each of the oppressed groups or political movements constituting it, and it arrives at a political program not by voicing some "principles of unity" that hide differences but rather by allowing each constituency to analyze economic and social issues from the perspective of its experience (Young, 1989, p. 265).

These "principles of unity" include recognizing and respecting the needs of the members to be able to negotiate their differences as well as their similarities. "Cultural assimilation should not be a condition of full social participation, because it requires a person to transform his or her sense of identity, and when it is realized on a group level it means altering or annihilating the group's identity" (Young, 1989, p. 272-3). Maintaining groups' identity would include the "the right [for the group] to maintain their language and culture and at the same time be entitled to all the benefits of citizenship, as well as valuable education and career opportunities" (Young, 1989, p. 272). Young (1989) also addresses the issues surrounding the requirements for citizenship. Historically, masculinity has frequently defined the requirements for citizenship since the times of ancient Greece. Honored values include "militarist norms of honor and homoerotic camaraderie; respectful competition and bargaining among independent agents; discourse framed in unemotional tones of dispassionate reason" (Young, 1989, p. 253). Considering this perspective on masculinity, the inverse would discount women's citizenship as they are perceived as using emotions to frame their decision-making processes, which would be considered detrimental to the larger community. Hence, the option for women to be included in the citizenship process is hindered because of biology. It is because of the perceived biological differences that have also kept many marginalized groups out of participating as a citizen.

As long as political ideology and practice persisted in defining some groups as unworthy of equal citizenship status because of supposedly natural [read biological] differences from white male citizens, it was important for emancipatory movements to insist that all people are the same in respect of their moral worth and deserve equal citizenship (Young, 1989, p. 267).

In attempting to define who should be a citizen and who should be left out, scholars routinely looked toward “human nature” as a measuring tool. “Early bourgeois liberalism explicitly excluded from citizenship all those whose reason was questionable or not fully developed and all those not independent” (Young, 1990, pg. 54). This provides a wide definition of who is allowed to participate and receive benefits of the citizenry and leaves out anyone who is dependent on society for their survival. Historically, arguments for a biological division among people was commonly used during slavery and the eugenics movements in the United States.

Connected to the concept of rationality is the concept of logic, as it is considered “one construction of the meaning and operations of reason: an urge to think things together, to reduce them to unity... [something] that can be identified, counted, measured” (Young, 1990, p. 98). As a result of this identifying, counting, and measuring, people’s differences are not considered and alternative ways of viewing the world is not measured. Those who are not able to conform to the standards of “reason” are left with a marginalized identity. Rousseau views that “normative reason reveals an impartial point of view... that all rational persons can adopt” (Young, 1990, p. 109) and this normative reason is viewed in contrast to emotion, creating a binary of rational and emotional and as such is applied to the binary between the genders.

The United States creates layers of restrictions on citizenship and the boundaries of rationality are not a part of the current discussions, but the constructions of difference are a

foundational part of the arguments. Frequently claims are made that “they” are not like “us,” reinforcing the argument for only accepting normative markers, such as behavior and ethnicity, as a pathway to citizenship. This reinforces the historical arguments made by “theorists and politicians [who] extol the virtues of citizenship because through public participation persons are called on to transcend merely self-centered motivation and acknowledge their dependence on and responsibility to others” (Young, 1989, p. 262). In other words, difference is identified as selfish and those who do not fit into the societal norm are expected to do so, otherwise they are marginalized from society. This frame is decided on by the majority of society, which citizens can take advantage of for their own benefit. “Acknowledging group difference in capacities, needs, culture, and cognitive styles poses a problem for those seeking to eliminate oppression only if difference is understood as deviance or deficiency” (Young, 1989, p. 268). For example, people who are dependent on the public welfare programs in the United States are framed as deficient and subject to additional laws proving their need for assistance. Hence, the view of people who are deemed deficient by either the formal (e. g. government) or informal (e.g. community) entities, may result in the questioning of people’s legitimate citizenship, no matter how they choose to participate in society.

By addressing the issues of some of the more difficult to accept members of society, such as people who are deemed as deficient, Young provides a frame in which to consider individuals who are actually considered citizens, what rights and privileges are they entitled to and which ones are actually put into practice. This is effectively developing a method for recognizing the most vulnerable citizens and asserting what they have a right to expect from their community and nation. Constructing citizenship requires looking at the intersectional aspects of oppression and providing solutions.

One of the gaps in Iris Marion Young's work is that it is theoretical in nature and lacks specific examples of how these issues manifest themselves in society. Even so, by using her work, I am able to demonstrate the core issues, which are reflected in the work of rhetoric and writing studies scholars. Iris Marion Young provides an opening to be able to discuss various constructions of citizenship with a feminist lens.

### **2.2.1 Feminist Socialist, Ruth Lister**

Lister's text *Citizenship: Feminist Perspectives* (2003) provides a survey of scholarship in sociology and political science, reviewing many constructions of citizenship through a feminist lens. While citizenship is "ostensibly gender-neutral concept [it] is, in fact, deeply gendered" (Lister, 2003, p.1). The results need to be looked at more closely to bring this to light. When identifying nationality "culture and identity are seen as pivotal to processes of 'nation-building,' in which national and citizenship identity all too easily become conflated" (Lister, 2003, p. 14). This conflation of identity and citizenship creates problems in the discussions surrounding the issues and concerns connected to immigration, the rights of people without appropriate documentation, people's access to public services, and the debate over how public education is taught. Lister asserts that the changing of national boundaries, the movement of people across national borders, claims of indigenous peoples, and the constructions presented by the forming of the European Union with the "desire to foster a stronger European identity" (2003, p.2) works in contrast with the identities that people hold in their pre-EU communities. Lister considers how globalization, climate or ecological change, as well as "new formulations are emerging such as cultural, sexual, intimate and ecological citizenship[s]" (2003, p. 4) change how citizenship is constructed and discussed. Lister provides a foundation for my discussion about a participatory citizenship, as she brings in the debates and presents the gaps in

“recognising women’s agency and achievements as citizens, both individually and collectively, without losing sight of the deep-seated inequalities that still undermine many of their citizenship rights and particularly those of ‘minority group’ women” (2003, p. 6). While Lister’s arguments specifically address events in Europe, her arguments can be used to help develop critiques and arguments for women in other countries, particularly when using constructions of citizenship in conjunction with postcolonial and intersectional feminist theory. The concept of nation building and what that means for women as citizens creates a problem in that “culture and identity are seen as pivotal to processes of ‘nation-building’, in which national and citizenship identity all too easily become conflated” (Lister, 2003, p. 14). As a result of this conflation, women who are identified as citizens by the nation-state are seen as responsible for raising future citizens. In contrast, women who are not identified as citizens are framed as having a negative impact on society by raising non-citizen children.

Other debates that arise when discussing citizenship within feminist theory are the issues of paid and unpaid labor and the citizenship rights that are provided for each group (2003, p. 19). Lister counters the debate about active citizenship, as the focus of paid labor versus unpaid labor creates a privileged citizenship, which “has prompted feminist criticism of the contemporary preoccupation with paid work obligations and a more fundamental critique of dominant constructions of obligation, rooted in individualistic and legalistic notions of contract” (2003, p. 23). This privileged hierarchy of citizenship discounts the unpaid labor that many women do in raising children or in service to their community. This issue offers an opportunity to examine what “participatory democracy” looks like when the social and the political are intertwined. For Lister, the intersections between the social and political have also been defined as the intersection between the private and public. “Although their main focus has been workplace



democracy, some have broadened the case for democratic participation,” which also includes those who are contributing to society in other ways (Lister, 2003, p. 26). Broadening of what is considered workplace democracy, as Lister defines it, can also apply to student participation in their communities, as is articulated by Juan Guerra (2008), which is discussed at length later in the chapter.

Lister (2003) asserts that “politics is about power; that is about the capacity of social agents, agencies and institutions to maintain or transform their environment, social or physical” (p. 27). However, she also asserts that those outside the system can have agency in order to resist governmental power. Actions have the ability to “take place outside formal political and institutional channels” as well as the use of political propaganda in art and literature (Lister, 2003, p. 27). Her arguments about a participatory democracy provide a framework for my own articulation of a participatory citizenship with RAWA. Also supporting the wide range of definitions from Lister, Aihwa Ong provides a postcolonial frame for citizenship, helping expand perspectives on the issue.

### **2.1.3 Postcolonial critique**

Feminist anthropologist, Aihwa Ong’s (1999) text *Flexible Citizenship: The Cultural Logics of Transnationality* addresses the issues of citizenship through a global, postcolonial perspective. While Ong does not focus on gender in this text, she provides an alternative perspective on the developing transnational issues of emigration and the influence of a global economy on the populace. Her focus on Asia and South Asia does not detract from the important issues and critiques of how people construct their identity and their citizenship. Her book works to demonstrate “how our cultural insights and our attention to everyday practice and the relations of power can illuminate how the operations of globalization are translated into cultural logics

that inform behavior, identities, and relationships (Ong, 1999, p. 22). This can illustrate how culture and power can also influence how citizenship is constructed, based on behavior and identity.

Ong heavily critiques the use of postcolonial theory, as it maintains the binary frame of the West othering the East (1999, p. 34). However she does acknowledge that postcolonial theory may have a role in places where colonialism is still an issue, as she wants to

move beyond an analysis based on colonial nostalgia or colonial legacies to appreciate how economic and ideological modes of domination have been transformed in excolonial countries, as well as how those countries' positioning in relation to the global political economy has also been transformed (Ong, 1999, p. 35).

This critique may have a role in Asia and parts of South Asia, where their economies have grown and the governments are redefining their global positionality. However in countries such as Afghanistan, exterior influences are still defining social and political roles of the government and citizens of the country. As part of her critique, Ong glosses over Edward Said's (1977) work in postcolonialism, contrasting how he portrayed the "objects of orientalism as silent participants in Western hegemonic projects" (1999, p. 112). She instead focuses on Samuel Huntington's (1993) essay "The Clash of Civilizations?" and asserts that Huntington does not see a "convergence of countries in the process of modernization but rather divergences caused by profound cultural differences" (Ong, 1999, p. 187). With the focus on Huntington's framing of the other instead of Said's, the concept of citizenship is redirected in how to think about conflict and framing of people from the industrial and wealthy countries to those countries that are poor and do not have a global economic development, such as Afghanistan. Huntington asserts that global conflict will not be based on ideological or economic issues, but instead it will be based

on cultural and religious identities (p. 22-25). While the framing maybe appropriate for Ong's study on Asia, this construct does not address the contemporary network of the global economic reliance that countries have with each other, as well as issues of access to natural resources and the coming impact of climate change on countries around the world.

While Ong's work is focused on the economic issues of citizenship in Asia when used in conjunction with the work of Young and Lister, it provides a foundation into the construction of postcolonial-intersectional feminist citizenship, helping to build additional definitions.

## **2.2 Rhetoric and Writing Studies: Working to Identify the Issues**

Citizenship is not frequently deconstructed in rhetoric and writing studies. Scholars writing inside the field and those who have been appropriated by the field, discuss issues which can be attributed to citizenship, including linguistic, cultural, and ethnic identity. The connections between citizenship and language are articulated by Victor Villanueva (1993), Gloria Anzaldúa (1987), and Richard Rodriguez (2005), but their connections are opaque and the concept of citizenship is not explicitly defined. Citizenship is also connected to issues of ethnic and racial identity, which is argued by Morris Young (2004) and Ellen Cushman (2008) as they address the issues of who belongs within a community based on birthright and/or race. However, language and identity issues are not the only issues connected to citizenship. Commonly discussed within composition studies is the concept of the writing classroom as a place to create citizens, which is discussed by Kathleen Blake Yancey (2009) and Amy J. Wan (2011). Overtly addressing the issues of citizenship and literacy is Juan Guerra (2008, 2012), who presents additional ways of looking at the issue.

While citizenship is not overtly discussed in their work, Villanueva (1993), Anzaldúa (1987), and Rodriguez (2005) work to insert themselves in society through the construction of

how to use the standard and dominant language. These scholars use their personal experiences with language in order to develop their place in society, while also articulating the social and political issues on language and belonging. Victor Villanueva's (1993) memoir *Bootstraps: From an American Academic of Color* addresses the issue of citizenship opaquely through the lenses of language and race. He asserts that "language is also race in America" (Villanueva, 1993, p. xii). In other words, language creates markers on people just as race does; it can change the perception of one's citizenship within society and as a result other someone from their local and national community by questioning their citizenship based on language usage.

Anzaldúa (1987) also critiques her own experiences with language, as it is constructed through community. This provides an opportunity to consider Anzaldúa's complex construction of what constitutes a citizen in her text *Borderlands / La Frontera: The New Mestiza*. Anzaldúa advocates for a broader acceptance of the many languages that people speak, asserting that bridges need to be crossed in both directions for understanding. She asserts that some languages are created for reasons other than their simple proximity to each other and instead as a way to communicate needs that are not simply located on one side of the border or the other (Anzaldúa, 1987, p. 77). Anzaldúa reinforces the connections between language and citizenship, as she advocates for multilingual people to be able to have full linguistic participation in their communities.

Rodriguez's (2005) memoir *Hunger for Memory* implies that his citizenship would be in question if he did not master the dominant language of English. He asserts that "as a socially disadvantaged child, I considered Spanish to be a private language. What I needed to learn in school was that I had the right—and the obligation—to speak the public language of los gringos" (Rodriguez, 2005, p. 18). As a result of negating his home language in favor of the "public"

language he “accepted and internalized the tenets of a racist, classist society that deemed everything about him... wrong, unacceptable, and un-American” (Castañeda, 2004, p. 67). In other words, Rodriguez viewed that his citizenship was dependent on learning English, otherwise he would endanger his citizenship within society.

In contrast, Morris Young (2004) and Ellen Cushman (2008) take a look at citizenship and its connection to race and culture. Morris Young’s (2004) book, *Minor Re/Visions: Asian American Literacy Narratives as a Rhetoric of Citizenship* addresses the rhetoric of citizenship through the lens of cultural citizenship. Quoting Renato Rosaldo, Young states that citizenship is tied “‘not only to dominant exclusions and marginalizations, but also to subordinate aspirations for and definitions of enfranchisement’ (37)” (2004, p. 7). This definition positions the issue of culture as a method of othering people, in order to deny them legal and informal citizenship within communities of the dominant culture. Similar to Villanueva and Anzaldúa, Young asserts his construction of citizenship through the issues of adapting to dominant norms of literacy, race, and language in the United States.

Ellen Cushman’s (2008) article “Toward a Rhetoric of Self-Representation: Identity Politics in Indian Country and Rhetoric and Composition” focuses on the issue of Native American rights in relation to identity and the ability for individuals to assert citizenship within the Native American community. She frames this concept through a traditional definition of citizenship that focuses on the benefits to individuals who claim their citizenship within the Native American community. She claims that “the stakes can include the rights that citizenship provides, such as access to health care, land ownership, and the right to vote; while for nations, deciding who counts as a citizen is a practice central to the maintenance of sovereignty itself” (Cushman, 2008, p. 323). Cushman (2008) addresses the issue that indigenous tribal citizenship

is based on the evidence of biological parentage to identify the members of the tribe, maintaining a strictly birthright citizenship in order to reinforce a privilege-based citizenship that protects Native American tribal sovereignty. Similarly to the constructions of language, culture, and ethnicity that are demonstrated in the United States, the people of Afghanistan also struggle to develop a national identity and construction of citizenship as they work to bring together the many tribal groups and languages of the region.

### **2.2.1 Use of Citizenship in Composition Studies**

In composition studies, the rhetorical use of citizen(ship) is developed from a broad range of specialties. This includes the work of writing teachers ranging from adult literacy programs, K-12 education, and first-year writing programs. Scholar Kathleen Blake Yancey's (2009) report "Writing in the 21st Century" calls for "citizen writers" in order to provide a "new kind of citizenship" (p. 7). She advocates for literacies inside and outside the classroom and claims that writing to others in the community is a "new kind of citizenship" (Yancy, 2009, p. 7). Yancey's assertion for the creating of citizens does not provide an in-depth look at what it means to be a citizen, what the literacies that need to be included, nor articulates the reasoning for writing teachers to shoulder the responsibility in the creation of citizens.

More recently critiques are developing surrounding the issues of citizenship. Amy J. Wan's (2011) article "In the Name of Citizenship: The Writing Classroom and the Promise of Citizenship" provides a critique of Yancey's assertions in creating citizen writers. Wan asks critical questions regarding about the "assumptions and implications" (2011, p. 29) about the use of the term citizenship and how it translates in the classroom. Wan wants to critique the assertion that particular pedagogies develop citizens and asserts that scholars must look at the ideological implications when using the term citizen(ship) (2011, p. 29). Wan considers what the concept of

citizenship means as a pedagogical stance through the “cultivation of habits of citizenship” (2011, p. 30). She relies on classical notions of citizenship, which includes a democratic, active (voting) person (Wan, 2011, p. 29) in order to define “citizenship” and articulates how students can participate in citizenship habits through the lens of literacy.

Juan Guerra (2008, 2012) overtly intersects the concepts of citizenship and literacy in his work, as he articulates a transcultural citizenship where “educators must signal and privilege our students’ local communities as forcefully as they signal and privilege the influences of globalization on them” (2008b, p. 299). Transcultural citizenship considers the culture in which students come from as they negotiate the cultures of their home, community, and institutions, such as school. Guerra also asserts that writing across the curriculum provides a “view of students as citizens of multiple spheres” (2008b, p. 299), supporting a transcultural citizenship as students who participate in the curriculum in order to actively contribute to their citizenship.

These specific classroom constructions of citizenship provide an opportunity to consider what it means for students to be active in their own construction of citizenship inside and outside the classroom.

### **2.2.2 Constructions of Literacy and Citizenship in Rhetoric and Writing Studies**

Originally published in 1970, Paulo Freire’s seminal essay “The Adult Literacy Process as Cultural Action for Freedom and Education and *Conscientização*” reflects his experience teaching in adult literacy programs in Brazil. His essay outlines the problems with standard literacy texts that do not reflect the students’ lives and how traditional literacy programs remove the agency of learning from the students, leaving the responsibility with the instructors. He critiques how both literacy students are perceived, as well as the lessons that students are given, as they do not reflect the students’ reality outside the classroom. According to Freire, students

are considered deficient and literacy education is seen as a fix for the “‘eradication’ of illiteracy” (Freire, 2001, p. 617). He asserts that it is “the teacher who chooses the words and proposes them to the learner” (Freire, 2001, p. 618 ). The authors of the texts used by the teachers do not recognize adult students’ ability to develop their own curriculum, creating a “difficult apprenticeship in naming the world” (Freire, 2001, p. 619 ). In other words, students become unable to comment and critique the communities in which they live. Freire sees the

[e]ducator’s role is fundamentally to enter into dialogue with the illiterate about concrete situations and simply to offer him the instruments with which he can teach himself to read and write. This teaching cannot be done from the top down, but only from the inside out, but the illiterate himself, with the collaboration of the educator (2001, p. 621).

He notes that the responsibility for education should be placed with the students, with the teacher serving as their guide. Students should be given the tools to be able to make connections themselves, so that they can develop what is important. Freire emphasizes “that in educating adults, to avoid a rote, mechanical process one must make it possible for them to achieve critical consciousness so that they can teach themselves to read and write” (2001, p. 622). When students have a say in their curriculum development, they can create their education with their own words.

Freire’s methods were experiential and contained no empirical data to draw from. There were quotes from some of the students and anecdotal evidence. The problems with this method are that it is hard to ascertain the length and breadth of the study and its overall effectiveness. The future potential of this work is to expand Freire’s experience into a more ethnographic study, in addition to gathering data in order to compare the success of students’ ability to develop their own curriculum and navigate their literacy into their discourse communities.



Deborah Brandt's articles "Accumulating Literacy: Writing and Learning to Write in the Twentieth Century" (1995) and "Drafting U.S. Literacy" (2004), discusses the issues that frame literacy in the United States. Brandt addresses the different views of literacy, how both economics and war influenced the perception of literacy and the national imperative to educate the "illiterate." The problem that Brandt asserts in these two essays is that there is a simplistic view of the socio-economic issues that influence how literacy is viewed today. In the transition from nineteenth to twentieth century America, the literacy imperative has changed. Historically, "literacy marked the end of formal schooling," whereas in the twenty-first century basic literacy is seen as the beginning of formal schooling (Brandt, 1995, p. 650). The value of literacy and what literacy has meant has changed over the decades, as Brandt explains that

World War II changed the rationale for mass literacy. Literacy was irrevocably transformed from a nineteenth-century moral imperative into a twentieth-century production imperative-transformed from an attribute of a "good" individual into an individual "good," a resource or raw material vital to national security and global competition (2004, p. 485).

The transition from a moralistic value to an economic value is connected with wartime; Brandt demonstrates how contemporary perceptions of literacy are intertwined with the historical definitions. Through interviews and historical research, Brandt guides the reader through the history of not only how literacy was constructed, but also how individuals themselves constructed their own literacy, in order for literacy to construct a "good" citizen.

### **2.2.3 Bridging the Gaps Between the Institution and Community**

The gaps between formal education and community are difficult to bridge according to Ellen Cushman and Mike Rose. In their texts they assert the inherent problems that arise with the

intersection of the institution and those whose race, class, gender, and language conflict with dominant society. Ellen Cushman's article "The Rhetorician as an Agent of Social Change" (1986) addresses the discussion about what it means for academics to position themselves as the authority on oppressed/ colonized people, with whom they have little or no contact. Quoting Freire she asserts that

[t]hrough dialogue, the teacher of the students and the students of the teacher cease to exist and a new term emerges: teacher-student with students-teachers. The teacher is no longer the one who teaches, but the one who himself is taught in dialogue with the students, who in turn while being taught also teach (Cushman, 1986, p.18-19).

This is in contrast to the hierarchical top-down structure of institutionalized education, where knowledge is evaluated, responded to, and graded. I interpret Cushman as implementing new ideas about what is considered a valid means of knowledge production and what classifies as education. This has the potential to provide a variety of options for teacher-researcher-activists and their ability to expand and develop a more personal and effective framework for action as they respond to the needs of the community that they are working within. Helping individuals with alternative forms of knowledge production may result in bridging gaps of understanding between the academic and local communities, eventually allowing for more effective use of researchers' resources in the community, instead of the researchers solely benefiting from the resources provided by the community.

Cushman demonstrates the lack of connections between university and community as she attempts to use feminist action research, ethnographic research, and interviews to bridge gaps in her own understanding of community she is working within. She realizes that inserting herself in a community is not as easy as simply going in and "helping" community without creating a

relationship with that community first (Cushman, 1986). Cushman realized that she must stop seeing those in the community as deficient and instead she needed to see them with the ability to contribute to both her and their learning processes. Cushman's essay wants academia to consider their positions within the university and how it relates to the communities who are impacted by the research. In addition, academics need to consider what is done with the knowledge they produce, who it is for, how it is gathered, and how academics situate themselves in the community, both inside and outside of the university (Cushman, 1986). Cushman (1986) asserts that scholars should consider their responsibility to the communities that they use for research. While her essay provides ethnographic evidence, there is no quantitative data to support how researchers can help the communities in which they work.

In *Lives on the Boundary* (1989), Mike Rose provides an autoethnographic look at how class, race, and language influence students' education. Using his own experiences as a student growing up in a working-class, immigrant neighborhood, Rose shows how his own academic progress was diverted by the school's perception of his ability, as he was placed on a track for trade school. Once he was recognized for his academic ability, Rose moved into the college prep program. He found out later that a shift between the academic and trade tracks "is virtually impossible. Kids at that level rarely cross tracks" (Rose, 1989, p. 30). Rose integrates his own story with the assertions about how other students perform, particularly as he connects his experiences with students in the "so-called remedial classes" (1989, p. 31). Students' negative reflection about themselves "attribute their difficulties to something inborn, organic: 'That part of my brain just doesn't work'" (Rose, 1989, p. 31). Rose demonstrates the failure of institutionalized education to communicate with students on a level that is meaningful. Rose expresses his "uncomfortable waver between a celebration of the individual potential and a

despair over the crushing power of the environment: the children's literate affirmations versus the economic assault and psychological injury" (1989, p. 114) which impacts students in low-income communities and/or those from unsupportive home lives. He critiques the English curriculum with textbooks "almost entirely oriented toward grammatical analysis" (Rose, 1989, p. 109). For Rose, the combination of living in the margins and an educational system that could not manage students' individual needs created a situation in which students were not able to negotiate their community and academics effectively. It is difficult for students to see that they are able to negotiate a participatory citizenship, understand that their abilities have value, and have knowledge to contribute to their community.

#### **2.2.4: Race, gender as it relates literacy & Citizenship**

Using a feminist framework, Shirley Wilson Logan (1995, 1999, 2005) and Jacqueline Jones Royster (2000) present issues of race and gender for nineteenth-century African-American women. Logan's argues in her book *With Pen and Voice: A Critical Anthology of Nineteenth-Century African-American Women* that "women needed to gain the right to speak before they would be allowed to address other issues" (Logan, 1995, p. 3). Here women were asserting their right to public citizenship, supporting women's right to speak in the public sphere. Women who were able to gain access to the public sphere, worked to not only negotiate their right to be there, but used the pulpit to advocate for other issues, such as abolition of slavery, alcohol prohibition, and women's and African-American's suffrage.

Jacqueline Jones Royster (2003) also argues for women's agency through language. "Women have used their language resources to construct public identities, to define and solve socio-political problems, to exert influence on social and political forces, and to garner respect and consideration as agents of change" (Royster, 2003, p. 157-8). Through this definition, she is

arguing for a public, participatory citizenship for women. As women become part of the conversation, they can help shape the field of rhetoric for “when we shift the view to a more deliberate commitment to inclusiveness... the landscape of rhetorical performance changes” (Royster, 2003, p. 158). Purposeful inclusion of women’s citizenship activities in the public sphere provides an opportunity for women to be able to advocate for themselves and others, assuring that a more balanced voices are heard from the citizenry.

### **2.3 Previous Research on The Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan**

The United States government has accepted the view that Afghan women lacked agency, continuing the dependent status of foreign women on the United States and Europe for assistance. Women in many Islamic states (ranging from North African states such as Morocco to Saudi Arabia on the Arabian peninsula) continue to be considered minors or dependents of a male in the family, whether it is a father, husband, brother, or even a son. This overt demonstration of patriarchal domination is one that needs to be addressed, but should not be superseding other needs and other definitions of feminism articulated by women living in these countries. News media and feminist organizations provide a contrary view in that “third-world women” need to be “saved” from the men in their society. As a result, women living in the Middle East and North Africa are deemed unable and/or unwilling to advocate for their own citizenship, and as a result without violence against the men in their community ensuing.

Scholar Leila Abu-Lughod (2002) addresses this issue directly in her article “Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving? Anthropological Reflections on Cultural Relativism and Its Others,” which looks specifically at the United States “war on terror” that is going on in Afghanistan and asks questions about the United States claims that Afghan women do not have agency. Abu-Lughod asserts that feminist organizations in the United States have worked to

frame Afghan women through the lens of Western feminism, instead of addressing the issues discussed by Afghan women. She questions why reporters and the United States government have frequently looked at the history of culture and religion, while ignoring the current issues of colonization and occupation. She notes that when considering the invasion of Afghanistan, “religious beliefs and treatment of women, was more urgent than exploring the history of the development of repressive regimes in the region and the U.S. role in this history” (Abu-Lughod, 2002, p. 784). This kind framing reduces women’s roles to victims of history, culture, and religion, instead of acting as agents of change, ignoring women who are willing and able to work with others to ensure a positive future for themselves and their families<sup>7</sup>.

One of the reasons to focus on RAWA for this project is because of the lack of research on both RAWA specifically and Afghan women in general. Much has been written about the plight of Afghan women, which is certainly very dire and in need of assistance. However, what kinds of assistance are being provided? What is the basis for the determinations on what needs to be done for women in Afghanistan and women in similar situations? An important text, which offers the most in-depth look at RAWA from an outsider’s perspective, is from community psychology scholar Ann Brodsky, titled *With All Our Strength: The Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan*. Researched before and post-9-11, Brodsky, whose research focuses on community psychology, addresses the history of RAWA through on-site interviews with women who identify as members of RAWA. Because of the decentralized nature of the organization and the need for secrecy amongst members, many women meet behind closed doors

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<sup>7</sup> While it is true that Afghanistan is an extremely patriarchal country, with many issues that need to be addressed, many women activists frequently receive support for their activities by their fathers and/or their husbands. Prominent Afghan, feminist women, such as former Afghan Parliament member Malalai Joya, whose father encouraged her into politics, have male bodyguards who support their work in promoting women’s rights. Much of this is not discussed when considering the role of women and their ability to work against oppression within the patriarchal system. While this is not the focus of this research, this provides an opportune moment to explore how men have influenced the feminist movement in patriarchal systems.

and members may not know of other members outside their small network. Many of the women use pseudonyms and claim that even their families do not know of their membership in RAWA, in order to protect them<sup>8</sup>. For Brodsky, the main aim of the book is to share how RAWA forms a community for the women, providing support and training for the women and their families, while focusing “in particular on understanding how the resilience and resistance of RAWA as an organization, and of the individuals who are a part of it, are developed, fostered, and maintained” (2004, p. 8). This goal helps provide a framework for how to view RAWA’s efforts through their participatory citizenship work.

One scholar in rhetoric and writing studies addresses the work of RAWA. Mary Queen’s (2008) essay “Transnational Feminist Rhetorics in a Digital World” examines the “digital circulations of representations” of RAWA in order to “demonstrate the importance of a global and digital field for feminist rhetorical analysis” (p. 471). Queen looks at how the circulation of Afghan women’s images are “fixed” in time and othered through the frameworks of terms such as “democracy” and “women’s rights.” (2008, p. 471). She addresses how non-profit organizations, which identify as feminist, provide narrow interpretations to these women’s lives, and how their digital presence was not fully considered when addressing the issues for women in that space. Queen provides a foundation in showing how the framing of Afghan women presents a hurdle for them achieving a participatory citizenship when there is foreign intervention and that the outsiders (namely the United States and United Kingdom) are presented with a narrow and incomplete view of Afghan women.

This dissertation examines how the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan asserts their agency in the face of an othered status within the United States even as

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<sup>8</sup> The founder of RAWA, Meena, was assassinated for her work and is revered by the women in RAWA. Also, note that men may be involved with RAWA and support their work, but they cannot be members of the organization.

many Westerners claim to want to help Afghan women. This project works to dispel the myths perpetuated by the news media and offers an alternative definition of citizenship to the discussion, a definition that works to create the concept of participatory citizenship, one that is defined based on participation and activism, instead of only on nationality. The analyses in the following chapters examine the frame that was placed upon Afghan women by the United States government, United States-based non-governmental organizations, and the news media. This project also shows how RAWA refutes these frames and provides a foundation of support, training, and education for Afghan women and men, effectively demonstrating what participatory citizenship could look like.



### CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this research is to understand how Afghan women, who appear to have little ability to socially advocate for their own rights in modern day Afghanistan, negotiate their citizenship through their online texts. My concern is with the relationship between gender and power as it has been portrayed both through the news media, as well as through the United States and Afghan government policies since it is through these lenses that Afghan women's assertion of their citizenship has been disregarded. The actions of governments, the news media, and non-profit organizations have imposed a narrow view on Afghan women, resulting in a diminished perception of Afghan women's agency within Afghanistan. The United States and its allies' war in Afghanistan was justified for the retaliation for the events on September 11, 2001, but also was asserted as a way to help the women of Afghanistan.

Since their founding in 1977, the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA) has looked for ways to get the message out to a global, (mostly) English-speaking audience about the treatment of women in Afghanistan, by the Afghan government, by local groups such as the Taliban, and by foreign governments. While utilizing a unique and rhetorical performance in the late twentieth century, RAWA has moved from printed books and a journal *Payam-e-Zan* (Women's Message) to digital press releases and videos posted on the Internet. However, their message has not been addressed, as multiple wars have taken place within the past forty years, which were initiated by foreign powers, resulting in a marginalization of Afghan women's concerns. The history recorded by RAWA, which includes press releases, print and online publications, and announcements sent through social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter, have been received with mixed and inappropriate responses. RAWA posts YouTube videos, as well as maintains a log of the articles produced by multiple news media

outlets about the issues concerning women in Afghanistan. While not directly dialoging with the international audience, RAWA addresses many of the concerns that they feel have been ignored by the global community, particularly the United States and Europe.

The texts created by RAWA provide an insight into how they work in asserting their agency. Not only has RAWA demonstrated that women around the world can speak for themselves, but this work can be used to help other women in their own communities to have a voice against the oppression that comes with foreign occupations and regional regimes. In 1999, RAWA started using video as a departure point for dialogue for the first time, when they filmed the execution of Zarmeena by the Taliban regime. This video provides a starting point in a genre chain in which their initial video provided a connection (or misconnection) to future events. A genre chain, as defined by Fairclough (2010), is where “genres which are regularly and predictably chained together such that meanings are moved and transformed along the chain, and recontextualised and transformed in regular ways” (p. 76). In using RAWA’s first video, it creates a beginning of a genre chain, to which governments, news media outlets, and feminist activists reacted, sometimes without full knowledge or understanding of the situation. As the beginning of a genre chain, RAWA’s first video makes available an opportunity to analyze the direct and indirect reactions to the video, thus demonstrating how a specific rhetorical event could morph and change based on social and political angling.

While many rhetoricians have examined the intersections between texts, society, and culture, little has been done to demonstrate how critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 2010; Wodak 1997, 2008, 2009) can be viewed through an intersectional and postcolonial feminist lens (Collins 1990; Mohanty 2004; Spivak 1988; hooks 1986, 1989, Lorde 2007, Ahmed 1999). In this research, I have used a feminist lens in order to develop a critical perspective for analyzing

the texts. Using intersectional and postcolonial feminist theory and critical discourse analysis as my method, I was able to critique issues from multiple perspectives, addressing how the tension between the powerful and powerless affects the nature of discourse and as such requires that texts be read and responded to outside of a vacuum. Keeping this in mind, my goal is to look at the texts produced by RAWA, as well as the direct and indirect responses by the government and the news media in the United States in order to develop a critical understanding of the implications in these narrow and colonial framings.

Addison and McGee's (1999) definition of feminist empirical research in which the researcher not only considers his or her political position, but also considers one of the goals of research to be "social and individual change" (pg. 3) allows for me to recognize my position and goals for this research. The need to consider the goal of change is an important part of feminist research, in that the researcher works to acknowledge not only what is observed or studied, but that the results of that work have a possibility to help those who were the subject of the research. It should also be noted that "research conducted by feminist-oriented women should by no means be equated with either research conducted by women or research on women" (Wodak, 1997, p. 7), which means that it is more than the gender of the researcher or of the subject matter that makes research feminist; it is the theory and methods employed in the research process that define feminist research.

In using feminist research methods, I acknowledge where I position myself with the issues of gender, race, and class within the study. I am mindful of bell hooks (1989) on the ethical issues of research as part of feminist scholarship. She states that "[w]hen we write about the experiences of a group to which we do not belong, we should think about the ethics of our action, considering whether or not our work will be used to reinforce and perpetuate domination"

(p. 43). I consider the colonial attitudes towards Afghan women and assert that my project is not intended to be an authoritative text on the issues of colonized, Middle Eastern or Afghan women. Rather it is intended as a contribution to a larger dialogue on the issues of women's abilities for agency in controlling their representation and identity within the context of asserting their citizenship and demonstrates how women can be agents for change.

### **3.1 Feminist Theory**

The foundational lens in which I view critical discourse analysis is through an intersectional, postcolonial feminist frame, which address the interconnections between systems of power, privilege and oppression. This would include issues such as racism, classism, sexism, patriarchy, ageism, heterosexism, colonialism, and neo-liberal globalization/capitalism, in addition to others.

Built on the work of feminist rhetorical scholars such as Royster (2000, 2003), Logan (1995), Schell and Rawson (2010), and Glenn (1997), I look at re-envisioning how to interpret the works that women are currently producing. Adrienne Rich (1972) argues that "Re-vision—the act of looking back, of seeing with fresh eyes, of entering an old text from a new critical direction—is for us more than a chapter in cultural history: it is an act of survival." (p. 18-19). This re-vision is one in which I examine how Afghan women have been framed by many sources, which has been perpetuated through the creation of official public policies on Afghanistan and how to help Afghan women. Revision involves considering the resistance to multiple and intersecting oppressions and how re-vision can be applied to textual analysis through the use of multiple feminist theories.

Intersectional feminism developed out of Black Feminist Thought as articulated by Patricia Hill Collins. She states,

as opposed to examining gender, race, class, and nation, as separate systems of oppression, intersectionality explores how these systems mutually construct one another, or, in the words of Black British sociologist Stuart Hall, how they “articulate” with one another (Slack 1996). Current scholarship deploying intersectional analyses suggests that certain ideas and practices surface repeatedly across multiple systems of oppression and serve as focal points or privileged social locations for these intersecting systems (Collins, 2003, p. 63).

These initial explorations into the intersectionality of oppression have developed into a language in which feminist scholars look at how all oppressions ultimately result in poor policies and misguided versions of citizenship.

Postcolonial feminism works to counter the frame of the “average third-world woman” (Mohanty, 2004) that is reproduced, constructed, and represented within Western discourse. It counters the construction between the relationship of knowledge production and ways of knowing and the ongoing process of imperialization through Western neo-capitalism. Mohanty (2004) asserts that “[t]his average Third World woman leads an essentially truncated life based on her feminine gender (read: sexually constrained) and her being “Third World” (read: ignorant, poor, uneducated, tradition-bound, domestic, family oriented, victimized, etc.)” (p. 22). This narrow perspective on colonized women demonstrates how Afghan women have been marginalized as they assert their knowledge and work to improve their own communities.

Postcolonial feminism was derived from postcolonial theory articulated in Edward Said’s 1978 book *Orientalism* which created an impetus to start a dialogue on postcolonial issues and developing theory. He addresses the Western perspective of the “Orient” through the lens of classical texts and the need to look at how entire regions have been collectively grouped and

viewed as one “Orientalist” identity. Said critiques how Orientalist scholars created a binary, through an imaginative geography which was viewed as a conflict between “our land versus barbarian land” (2002, p. 20). This simplistic view creates an othering of the “Orientals” and asserts a position that the differences amongst outsiders does not require a specific distinction between cultures and identities. And while there are critiques of Said’s work, Leila Ahmed (1999) describes Said’s Orientalism as a theory that

gave us... a language with which to begin to talk of some aspects of the experience of being Arab. Most particularly it gave us a way to speak of being Arab in the West and of what it was to live embattled in a sea of prejudices... that come at us as ‘knowledge,’ and as ‘objective,’ ‘neutral,’ ‘transcendent,’ ‘unbiased,’ ‘truths’ (p. 240).

And in turn, Said provides feminists with a language to bring postcolonial ideas into feminist theory for development.

### **3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis**

Critical discourse analysis (CDA) considers some of the key issues, such as social and political power structures, that are found in feminist theory, especially when considering hegemony as it “cuts across and integrates economy, politics and ideology” (Fairclough, 2010, p. 61). In using critical discourse analysis, I used the work of Ruth Wodak and Norman Fairclough, as well as recent scholarship on feminist CDA by Michelle M. Lazar. CDA addresses the issues of social justice, hegemony, and the oppressive nature of how language is used, especially by those in power, including governments and the news media. Critical discourse analysis claims that “cultural rather than merely economic dimensions are significant in the creation and maintenance of power relations...[and] there is no strict separation between infrastructure and superstructure” (Jenner & Titscher, 2000, p. 145). One current debate is over how feminist CDA

differs from a traditional definition of CDA, in light of the fact that both address oppression.

Lazar (2005) asserts that feminist CDA needs “to theorize and analyse the particularly insidious and oppressive nature of gender as an omni-relevant category in most social practices” (p. 3). One of the reasons that Lazar (2005) asserts a feminist form of CDA was that the foundational scholars were “straight white men” and that the women who were conducting feminist CDA research were not “sufficiently organized” (p. 3-4). However, under these definitions women are simply an additive to CDA and a more critical foundation needs to be considered beyond the simple addition of gender to the issues of politics and economics. In this respect, CDA provides the tools and postcolonial and intersectional feminist theories provide a specific political stance for analysis. For this project, I assert that incorporating postcolonial and intersectional feminist theories helps develop a feminist lens within CDA in order to examine the problems for women in Afghanistan, as they have been colonized for centuries from different occupying forces.

Articulating a feminist form of critical discourse analysis through the incorporation of intersectional and postcolonial feminist arguments, I consider Audre Lorde’s (2007) argument that “the master’s tools will not dismantle the master’s house” (112). In other words, those resisting oppression cannot use the language or methods of the oppressor in order to be free. While CDA works against oppression on economic and political terms in Western countries, it does not overtly address the intersections of race, class, gender, sexuality and other aspects of oppression that have been imposed on societies. Developing a critical and intersectional form of feminist CDA expands how this method can be used to consider colonized women’s citizenship work.

Using feminist CDA to address the texts by RAWA as well as the United States

government's and the news media's responses to women's issues in Afghanistan provides a lens into how power structures work to inform, detract, and/or manipulate messages between those who are viewed without agency and those who have the power to appropriate RAWA's work for their own political agendas.

### **3.3 Selecting the Texts**

The rationale for selecting the texts for analysis is based both on practicality and appropriateness of how the sources address the topic of citizenship. Since the events on September 11, 2001 and the subsequent United States' war in Afghanistan, the volume of discourse has grown exponentially on a global level by governments, news media outlets, and by international non-governmental organizations. As a result, I focus both on the locations in which the texts were produced and on the timeframe in which they were produced.

In this project, I review texts focusing on the years immediately surrounding 9-11, from 2001-2002. I analyze transcripts from four specific sources: a CNN documentary, a United States Congressional hearing on human rights in Afghanistan, the 2002 State of the Union address, and policy statements from RAWA. The transcripts have been selected based on how well they frame citizenship through either Afghan women's actions or how their agency has been denied.

Also, texts have been selected based on how broad an impact they could potentially have because of frequency of appearance or importance of the event. For example, the State of the Union address is viewed as a text with broad impact as it is broadcast nationally, with much focus brought on from the national news media. The CNN documentary is important because of the national audience, particularly with a show that was rebroadcast multiple times, expanding the number of people it reached. As was mentioned in Chapter 1, I only look at the transcripts of the events in order to focus on specific words and phrases being used by the speakers. In order to



look at the power of the discourse in both empowering and hegemonic ways, I focus on how forms of citizenship are constructed through the tropes of the veil, resistance, and freedom.

Using Wodak and Reisigl (2008), I recursively categorize the analysis and consider the political problems which provided the motivation for RAWA to create their first video. I focus on specific tropes (veiling, resistance and freedom), taking into account the social, historical and political context; and formulate a critique considering the “opaque, contradictory and manipulative relations among power, language and social structures” as well as keeping in mind the issues of gender as it has been played out through patriarchal hegemony.

In addition to looking at what is said, I also look for what is not being said in the texts. I identify which aspects of the tropes are missing, especially considering which parts of the whole are not being expressed. Borrowing from Stuart Hall (1985) Huckin has noted, “‘Positively marked terms “signify” because of their position in relation to what is absent, unmarked, the unspoken, the unsayable. Meaning is relational within an ideological system of presences and absences’” (2002, p. 398). Considering the silences or what was absent will help me reflect on how the absence of information changes the frame of the texts.

### **3.4 Data Analysis**

The primary source for the analyses comes from the transcripts for the CNN documentary, the United States Congressional Hearing, and the 2002 State of the Union address. For each text, I created a table in which I noted specific words and phrases that pertained to an aspect of participatory citizenship, which included phrases outlining activities conducting by citizens and terms such as veiling, freedom, and resistance. The charts are provided in Appendix C, D, E, and F. To begin the analysis, I first separated the text into paragraphs. I then reviewed each text three times. For the first review, I sorted the information in to preliminary categories. I

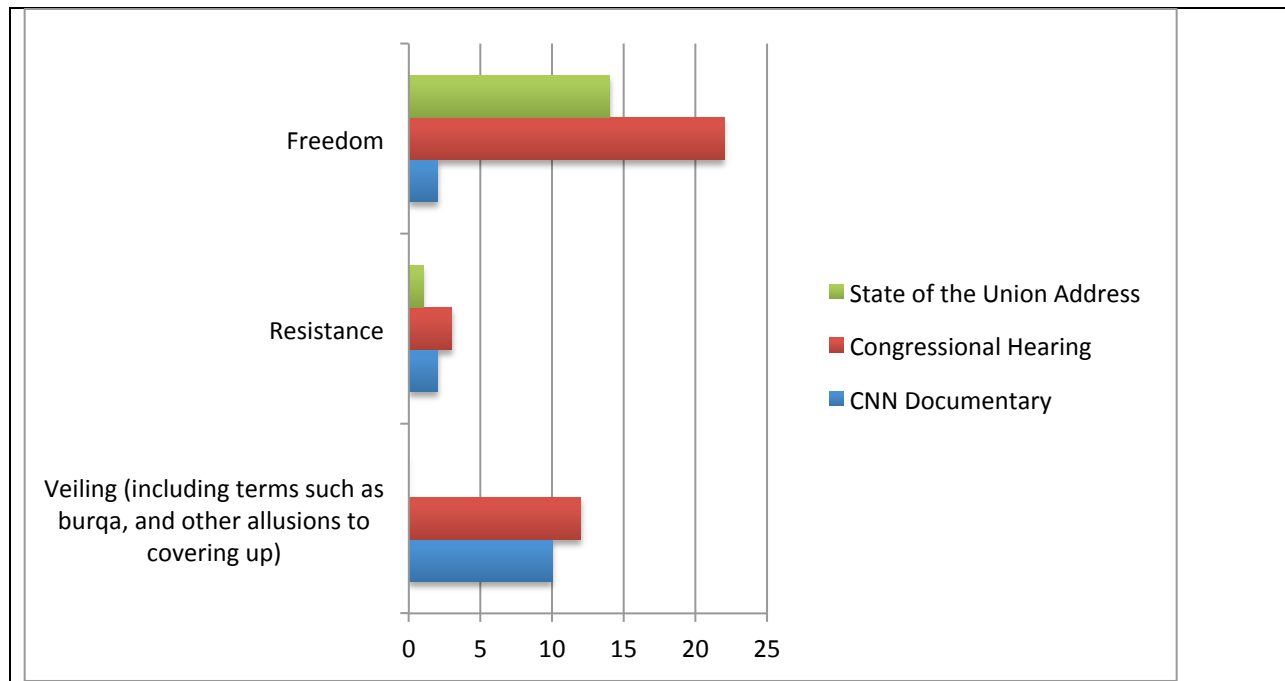
then reviewed the material again to eliminate redundant categories and clarify the content in each category. Finally, I reviewed the text and the categories a third time and made final decisions about which pieces of textual evidence fit into each category. During the review of information I considered two questions:

- What does this text say about citizenship in general?
- What does this text say about citizenship for Afghan women?

In each of the texts I considered what language and rhetorical strategies were being used to answer these two questions. I looked at how the intersections of identity, agency and citizenship are being demonstrated in the texts. I highlighted smaller sections of the texts that have the potential for addressing citizenship and on each chart noted how the words and/or phrases address the construction of participatory citizenship.

As I worked through the transcripts, I also looked to find recurring tropes within the texts. The tropes of veiling, resistance, and freedom come up repeatedly. Figure 3.1 contains a simple sum of the mentions of the three tropes. The concept of freedom comes up frequently, especially in the State of the Union address and the Congressional Hearing. Also, veiling shows up frequently in the Congressional Hearing and the CNN documentary, but does not show up in the State of the Union address. The trope that came up the least in the three transcripts was resistance. While the trope of resistance appeared less frequently, it is still significant enough to be worthy of analysis as it is an important aspect of RAWA's citizenship work.

FIGURE 3.1 FREQUENCY OF TROPES



It is important to note that the frequency of the terms coincided with how Afghan women's agency was being framed. Many of these tropes were used in order to justify the war in Afghanistan and to save Afghan women from the Taliban. Repeated through the texts, these terms provided an opportunity for analysis and comparison to RAWA's stance.

After analyzing the transcripts for both the constructions of a participatory citizenship and the tropes of veiling, resistance, and freedom, I reviewed multiple texts from RAWA in order to find which documents responded to the tropes and constructions of citizenship. The RAWA documents chosen for the analysis were:

- "RAWA's Education Policy"
- Interpretation of the slogan "Freedom, Democracy and Social Justice"
- Afghanistan, World's Largest Forgotten Tragedy
- "RAWA's Standpoints"

I chose these documents because they concisely state RAWA's position on the tropes of veiling, freedom, and resistance and are able to address the question of participatory citizenship. The

texts are written in English and available on their website, which provided me with both access to the documents and demonstrated the desire for RAWA to reach a global, English-speaking audience.

The texts produced by RAWA provided detailed explanations of their position on the tropes, suggesting that these issues have been a constant debate for Afghan women. They provided precise examples of the tropes and they were reviewed and analyzed in the same process used with the other transcripts. These texts were read with the goal to find a response to the texts produced by CNN, the Congressional Hearing, and the State of the Union address. RAWA's texts were then re-read in order to refine the interpretation and clarify the connections between what was said about Afghan women and what RAWA was stating. The third re-reading was to help ensure that the RAWA's texts did respond to the transcripts, even though some were written prior to the events of the transcripts. This analysis provides an opportunity to make connections between the imagined vision of Afghan women and how RAWA has resisted colonial frames by outsiders.

## CHAPTER 4: TRACING THE GENRE CHAIN

As was mentioned in Chapter 1, the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA) started using video in 1999 in order to bring attention to the plight of women under the Taliban. A woman's execution in a soccer stadium exemplifies that the destruction of women had become a national sport. By creating this video, RAWA creates a visual record of events for the world. This action makes Afghan women more visible through the use of an article of clothing that is most condemned as making women invisible, the burqa. While the world denounces the mandatory use of veiling, especially in reference to the use of the burqa, RAWA used the burqa as a tool of subterfuge in order to smuggle a video camera into the stadium and record the execution of a woman through the eye-mesh<sup>9</sup>.

This video provides an opportunity to begin a genre chain, as articulated by Norman Fairclough (2010), who suggests that the connections between the genres allow for alterations in the context of the source (p. 76). Genre chains "are among the semiotic conditions of possibility of 'globalisation' as 'action at a distance', and intensification and shifts in globalisation are conditional upon changes in this semiotic resource" (Fairclough, 2010, p. 76). In other words, RAWA's initial video has the opportunity to transform how the world reacts to the situation for Afghan women. The Zarmeena video fundamentally changed how RAWA got their message out to the international community. RAWA did not have to rely on foreign governments or media outlets to provide the visuals of their stories. (Initially, they did have to rely on news media agencies to show their videos; however, the increase in the availability of the Internet has changed their outreach to the public.) RAWA's production of their own images gave them the ability to tell the story from their perspective, demonstrating what RAWA wants the world to

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<sup>9</sup> As is discussed in Chapter 8, RAWA simultaneously condemns the Taliban's mandatory veiling laws.

see. However, sending information into world does not mean that the creator has control over how images or the message is used—whether it is contorted or kept true to the creator’s intent. Fairclough’s articulation of genre chains provides an opportunity to make connections that “are removed from each other in time and space” (2001, p. 76). The Zarmeena video provides an opportunity to make broader connections between the actions of the United States government, in asserting the need for war in the name of Afghan women and RAWA’s ability to assert their citizenship against the power structure in the Taliban-dominated Afghanistan.



FIGURE 4.1 THE GENRE CHAIN OF RAWA’S ZARMEENA VIDEO.

Figure 4.1 models the timeline and the movement of the Zarmeena video through the genre chain. Filmed in November 1999, the Zarmeena execution video was offered to the “Associated Press, the BBC and others” (RAWA Afghanistan, 2011), but was rejected due to the violent nature of the footage (an irony that was not lost on RAWA). As a result of the news media’s resistance to publicly distribute the video, it did not receive widespread viewing until after the events on September 11, 2001. What was too violent for the United States audience in

1999 was no longer taboo by late 2001. The video was broadcast in August 2001 on the United States-based news channel CNN. The Zameena video was a small part of a longer CNN documentary, which highlighted the issues for women in Afghanistan under the rule of the Taliban<sup>10</sup>.

Table 4.1 demonstrates the fluctuation of the interest in the issues for women in Afghanistan. In 1998 the Taliban took over much of Afghanistan, including Kabul, Afghanistan's capital. Soon after, as women's ability to move around and general freedoms were restricted, the interest in Afghan women's issues by outsiders increased during the years of 1998-1999 in the news media reports, as well as the interest from non-governmental organizations such as Amnesty International and the Feminist Majority<sup>11</sup>. By 2000 and prior to September 11, 2001, interest in the status of Afghan women waned considerably, to less than half of the news reports and press releases of previous years.

TABLE 4.1 REPORTS OF AFGHAN WOMEN BY THE MEDIA, NGOs AND UNITED STATES CONGRESS<sup>12</sup>

Afghan women	NYT*	CNN*	Congressional Records	Congressional Hearings	Amnesty	Feminist Majority	Sub-totals	
1998	14	2	9	4	5	4		38
1999	2	0	81	86	14	4		187
Recording of Zarmeena video								
2000	1	1	51	42	5	1		101
1/01-9/10/01	2	1	7	0	5	2		17
				Total for pre-9/11 (45 months)				343
September 11, 2001								
9/11/01-	101	31	104	15	13	4		268

<sup>10</sup> An uncut version of the video was later posted by RAWA on their own YouTube channel in 2011.

<sup>11</sup> I am only looking at Amnesty International and Feminist Majority because they testified to Congress, which demonstrates their access to the government structure and prominence in what is viewed as activist circles.

<sup>12</sup> This chart list mentions in the media, press releases and United States Congressional Records and Hearings, where "Afghan women" were the main story. It only lists unique broadcasts from CNN; rebroadcasts are not noted. New York Times (NYT) statistics are not for analysis but for comparison only, data from NYT archives; CNN data collected from LexisNexis Academic search.

12/01								
2002	110	8	90	50	12	5		275
				Totals for post 9-11 (15 months)				543

The *New York Times* and the 24-hour news broadcast station CNN are examples of the interest in Afghan women. What is particularly interesting is that in the three-and-a-half month period from September 11, 2001 through the end of December 2001, there are more articles about the issues on Afghan women than the previous three years and eight month period before 9-11. For example, in the nine months prior to 9-11 there were two articles about Afghan women in the *New York Times* and one report on CNN. From September 11 through the end of the year, the *New York Times* had 101 articles and CNN had 31 news reports on Afghan women. This is an increase of over four-thousand percent in the interest of Afghan women's issues by the news media. This is a pattern that is mirrored through all of the sources presented.

The non-governmental organizations Amnesty International and Feminist Majority have significant access to Congress and actively lobby in Washington D.C. Amnesty International, a human-rights non-governmental organization based in the United Kingdom, works on issues related to the Declaration of Human Rights and confronts governments who violate these principles. Most of their work is lobbying governments to free political prisoners, assuring that people in prison have access to counsel, and bringing to light the human rights abuses happening around the world. The Feminist Majority Foundation, a non-governmental organization based in the United States, is "dedicated to women's equality, reproductive health, and non-violence" (Feminist Majority, 2014). Their work mainly focuses on women's issues in the United States, until they started a campaign on the rights of Afghan women, in 1998. Feminist Majority's fund-raising campaign on the issues of Afghan women was controversial and was criticized as imposing colonial definitions of feminism. The Feminist Majority was "more interested in



portraying Afghan women as mute creatures covered from head to toe, [as] the Feminist Majority aggressively promotes itself and its campaign by selling small squares of mesh cloth, similar to the mesh... [on] the traditional Afghan burqa” (Kolhatkar, 2002). The focus on veiling detracted from Afghan women’s agency and created a situation where the Feminist Majority is framing RAWA’s claims for them, instead of letting them speak for themselves.

United States Congressional Records and Congressional Hearings documents (which can be accessed through a search of the Federal Depository Library at <http://www.gpo.gov>) demonstrate the inconsistent nature of their interest in women’s issues in Afghanistan from the members of the United States Congress. While the United States government has been critiqued for focusing too much and/or wrong type of time and money on foreign affairs, there is a demonstrated flow of concern that mirrors public interest in the topic and a significant change when the United States is advocating for its own interests.

While the data presented in Table 4.1 is raw data with minimal analysis, it provides an opportunity for future research to explore the fluctuation of information, providing additional examples for future exploration in the use of genre chains.

#### **4.1 The Flow of Information from RAWA to the United States War in Afghanistan**

From the Zarmeena video, the genre chain demonstrates the reaction to that video, either directly or indirectly. In Figure 4.1, a path is mapped out that highlights the different entities that are influenced by the 1999 video. The Zarmeena video was first presented to a United States audience through a documentary on CNN in August 2001. Initially the broadcast received little fanfare. After the events on September 11<sup>th</sup>, the documentary and additional news stories were replayed. (See Appendix A for a timeline of events.) As a result of the attention now paid to the video, news media outlets and United States government reacted by othering Afghan women by

demonstrating their vulnerability. Though RAWA's initial claims for assistance were initially ignored and manipulated, it was not until later when the United States' interests coincided with critiques of the Taliban leaders, that attention was paid to Afghan women's issues.

#### **4.2 RAWA and their Work on the Chain**

In contrast to the United States response to Afghan women's issues, RAWA builds their evidence about the atrocities against women that are happening under the Taliban through their texts. RAWA produces both physical and online texts in order to provide outreach to the international community. Founded in 1977 by Meena, RAWA was created as a "freedom-loving and anti-fundamentalist" (Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan, 2014c) organization<sup>13</sup>. While advocating for the rights of women specifically, they also advocate for children and families by running schools for both boys and girls, providing job training and literacy programs for adults. They also participate in activist work in Pakistan where there are large refugee camps. RAWA's slogan claims "freedom, democracy and women's rights" (Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan, 2014c) and they actively speak out against those who want to oppress women. Not only does this include the Taliban, but also the United Front/Northern Alliance<sup>14</sup>, Afghan warlords, and many members of the Afghan government. RAWA's outreach to the international community is through their website, ([www.rawa.org](http://www.rawa.org)) where there are translations in English, Spanish, Italian, French, German, Portuguese, and Japanese. They also utilize social media, such as Twitter and Facebook, in addition to a dedicated YouTube channel.

RAWA provides numerous publications in English, in addition to Persian (Farsi), Urdu and Pashto. These print publications include pamphlets, books, and posters. Online, RAWA

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<sup>13</sup> Meena was assassinated in 1987 for her work on RAWA.

<sup>14</sup> The official name is United Islamic Front for the Salvation of Afghanistan.

produces press releases and some of their printed texts are available in digital form. For this project, I specifically look at four short documents that demonstrate a framework for participatory citizenship and are in English. These documents include the booklet titled *Afghanistan, World's Largest Forgotten Tragedy*; a statement explaining their definitions of "Freedom, Democracy and Social Justice"; their "Educational Policy"; and "RAWA's Standpoints," their position statement on women's rights, the veil, and the future of Afghanistan. While these texts are concise, they provide a detailed overview of RAWA's work and their goals for the Afghan people. These texts work as a response to the frames on the genre chain, always present in order to counter the recontextualized representations of Afghan women.

#### **4.3 Deviations From RAWA's Zameena Video Navigating the Genre Chains**

In asserting that RAWA's Zameena execution video forms the base of the genre chain, I am not claiming that the contents of the video shows up in each of the texts that are being analyzed. Rather the influence of the video is pervasive in how different entities and events interpret the Zameena video. As Fairclough suggests with a genre chain, the Zameena video which is used to frame Afghan women is recontextualized and transformed in order to provide an alternative perspective to the event. The result is that the construction of Afghan women's citizenship is through narrow ideological frames by the entities involved in attempting to help with women's rights in Afghanistan.

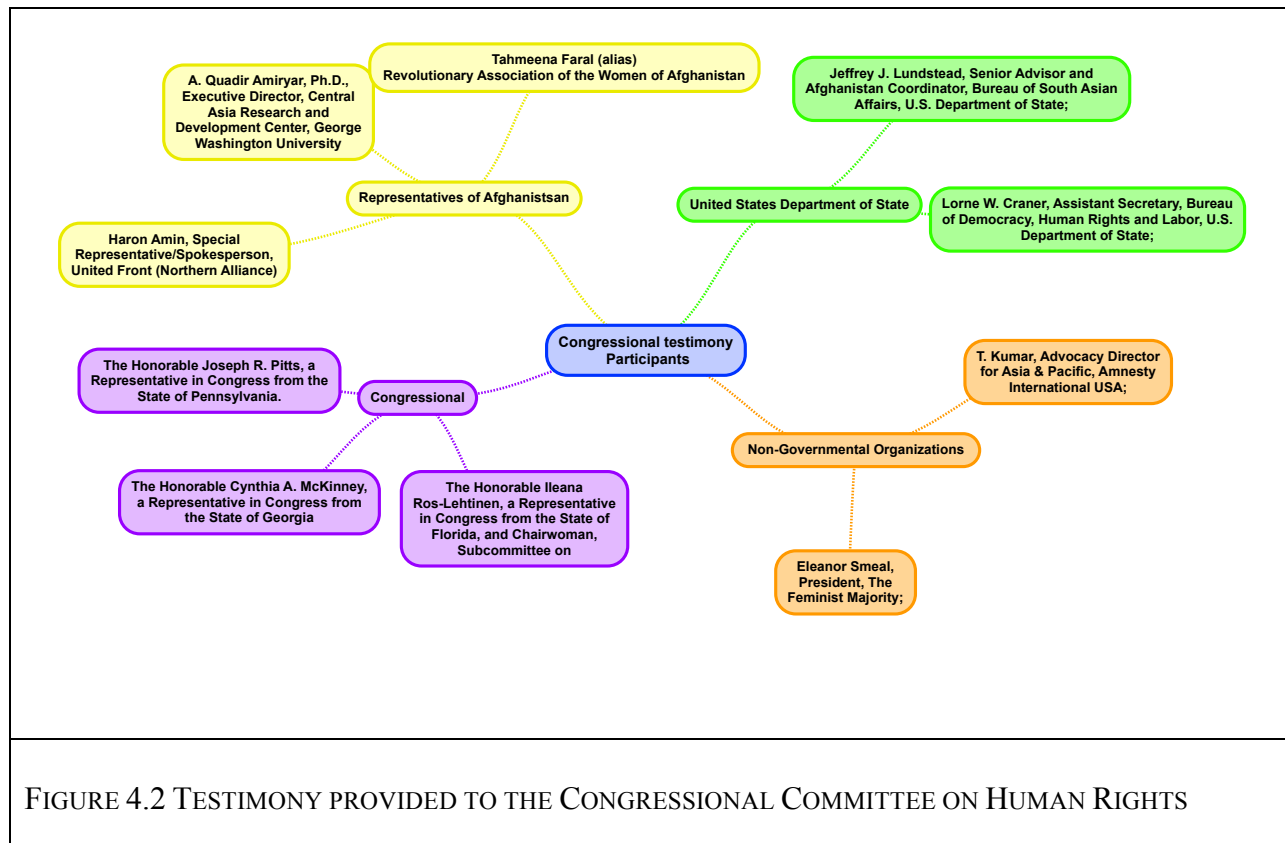
##### **4.3.1 CNN and Co-opting of RAWA's Message**

For this project, one of the texts I focus on is the transcript of the CNN documentary, *Beneath the Veil*. This documentary was first shown in United Kingdom in July 2001 and later shown in United States in August 2001. The journalist Saria Shah, who is British of Afghan descent, first visited Afghanistan as a reporter during the Soviet invasion. She demonstrated

conflicting ideas of the country. Her reflections included romantic notions of Afghanistan, from stories told to her by her father, mixed in with the current situation of the Taliban domination of the country (CNN Transcript, 2001). This documentary did not receive much attention until after September 11, when in the United States the documentary and news media interviews of Shah and her film crew on CNN were broadcast repeatedly during the month following the attacks.

#### **4.3.2 United States Congressional Hearing: Defining Priorities for Afghan Women**

For this section I am focusing on the testimony presented to the United States Congressional committee, the Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights of the Committee on International Relations of the House of Representatives on October 31, 2001. This hearing, titled *Afghan People vs. The Taliban: The Struggle for Freedom Intensifies*, is a review of the human rights issues going on in Afghanistan. Originally scheduled for September 15, 2001, this scheduling change demonstrates that human rights in Afghanistan were of serious concern to the United States prior to the 9-11 attack. Delayed because of the government shutdowns following 9-11, the hearing was held six weeks later. In Figure 4.2 I outline the representatives who provided testimony to the committee on the status of the Afghan people.



This visual outlines who was chosen to represent the human rights issues in Afghanistan. The multiple speakers who represent different social and political points of view, results in a conflict between how Afghan women are represented and talked about, even when their interests are represented by RAWA. Based on the chart in Figure 4.2, the people who provided testimony to the committee are as follows:

#### Representatives of Afghanistan

- Quadir Amiryar, Ph.D., Executive Director, Central Asia Research and Development Center (CARDC), professor with the Elliot School of International Affairs George Washington University. (*Afghan People vs. The Taliban*, 2001, p. 48). Amiryar frequently provides testimony to the United States Congress on issues in Afghanistan.
- Haron Amin, Special Representative/ Spokesperson, United Front/Northern Alliance of Afghanistan. “Afghan diplomat at the UN... He and his family fled Afghanistan and

settled in the U.S. However, he returned to fight Soviet occupation under his mentor, Commander Massoud, recently assassinated by Taliban forces. In the U.S., he has continued to work with the Afghan government in exile at the UN, and in other capacities.” (*Afghan People vs. The Taliban*, 2001, p. 48)

- Tahmeena Faryal, representative, Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA). Faryal testified by phone to Congress and used a pseudonym in order to protect her identity.

#### Representatives from the United States Department of State

- Lorne W. Craner, the Assistant Secretary of the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights and Labor, United States Department of State, (non-career/political appointee). Craner is a political appointee to the State department. Craner “served as the President of the International Republican Institute... served as the Director of Asian Affairs at the National Security Council, and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Legislative Affairs... [and was] an advisor for Congressman Jim Colby and Senator John McCain” (*Afghan People vs. The Taliban*, 2001, p. 22).
- Jeffrey J. Lundstead, Senior Advisor and Afghanistan Coordinator, Bureau of South Asian Affairs, United States Department of State (career service officer). Lundstead is in a civil service position and “served as the Director of the Office of Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Bangladesh... has served in various capacities in U.S. embassies throughout South Asia, and was the country officer for Sudan” (*Afghan People vs. The Taliban*, 2001, p. 22).

#### Representatives from Non-Governmental Organizations

- T. Kumar, Advocacy Director for Asia & Pacific, Amnesty International USA. Kumar

represents the views of Amnesty International and their very specific issues on human rights that they address, including those outlined in the Declaration of Human Rights. Kumar “has debated with Taliban representatives, and testified before the House and Senate concerning conditions there. He himself has been a victim of human rights violations. He has been imprisoned and tortured in Sri Lanka for his student human rights activities” (*Afghan People vs. The Taliban*, 2001, p. 41)

- Eleanor Smeal, President, The Feminist Majority. Unable to attend the hearing, Smeal provided written testimony that was added to the transcript of the hearing. According to the Feminist Majority website, Smeal identifies as “a political analyst, strategist, and grassroots organizer” (2014).

#### United States Congressional Representatives

- Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, United States Representative from the State of Florida, and Chair of the Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights. Ros-Lehtinen identifies with the Republican party.
- Cynthia A. McKinney, United States Representative from the State of Georgia. McKinney identifies with the Democratic party.
- Joseph R. Pitts, United States Representative from the State of Pennsylvania, Vice-Chair of the Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights. Pitts identifies with the Republican party.
- Representative Dana Rohrabacher, United States Representative from the State of California. Rohrabacher identifies with the Republican Party.
- Representative Christopher H. Smith, United States Representative from the State of New Jersey. Smith identifies with the Republican Party.

With the testimonies provided by various representatives, there are multiple lenses from which the view of Afghan women is framed and recontextualized.

#### **4.3.3 The President of the United States and the 2002 State of the Union Address**

President George W. Bush's 2002 State of the Union address was delivered three months after the invasion of Afghanistan. While it is known as the "axis of evil" speech, it also frames how the United States constructs citizenship and works to save Afghan women through military action. As is traditional with State of the Union addresses, the president reviews current issues for the country, as well as lays out an agenda for the next year. In this particular speech, President Bush discusses multiple issues including the war in Afghanistan, hints at a future war with Iraq, introduces a new female cabinet member for the government in Afghanistan, honors United States soldiers and their families for their sacrifice, and honors the victims of 9-11. In this speech the frame of Afghan women is further removed from RAWA's Zameena video, as Bush transforms the simple veiling trope to one of freedom for Afghan women.

#### **4.3.4 The Digital Texts of RAWA: Answering Questions**

The digital texts of RAWA extend their global outreach in disseminating information. RAWA speaks in one voice and most members are unknown to the larger group for their own protection. Hence, none of the publications has a single author, but instead the author is identified only as RAWA. Exceptions to this are noted, as with Faryal, who uses a pseudonym and whose face is never shown. Faryal is the name that is always used for the representative from RAWA in television interviews and public testimonies about the issues for Afghan women in the United States.

In this project, the beginning of the genre chain starts with RAWA's work. The are overtly represented in the CNN documentary (which is discussed at length in Chapter 5) and in



the testimony before Congress. While RAWA is not referenced in the 2002 State of the Union address nor is RAWA's voice directly heard, the speech provides a frame from which RAWA works to counter the tropes that limiting their ability to be heard and hinders their participation in citizenship practices.

#### **4.4 Conclusion**

These sources provide a framework in which to construct both how the United States addresses issues of participatory citizenship for both its citizens and for the people of Afghanistan. Utilizing Fairclough's genre chains, these charts work to provide visual connections between RAWA's initial video, how the video impacted other texts produced, and how the women of Afghanistan were constructed as needing help by an outside force.

## CHAPTER 5: LOOKING INTO THE OTHER: CNN'S EXPLORATION OF THE PLIGHT FOR WOMEN IN AFGHANISTAN

In this chapter I address the question of how language from the news media works to frame Afghan women's citizenship. Within this issue, I examine the transcript of the documentary *Beneath the Veil: The Taliban's Harsh Rule of Afghanistan* broadcast on CNN, addressing how the video works to define citizenship through the tropes of the veil, resistance, and freedom for Afghan women. The foundation of the genre chain is RAWA's first video, containing the execution of Zarmeena. This video is used in the documentary, which is first broadcast to an American audience on CNN<sup>15</sup>. The genre chain is demonstrated through the direct use of the Zarmeena video within Shah's documentary. The link between RAWA's work and Shah's interpretation demonstrates the narrow lens of how Afghan women's citizenship is viewed by Shah and in turn CNN.

Demonstrated in Figure 5.1, the events for this link on the chain are embedded within each other. The event of the actual Zarmeena execution is embedded in a video recorded by a member of RAWA, which is then embedded in the *Beneath the Veil* documentary, which is then embedded within the CNN news report. Within this chain of texts is an increasing lack of emphasis on the execution, as it was placed as a small part of the larger story and as a result, the significance of the Zarmeena video was progressively diminished.

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<sup>15</sup> The documentary was first broadcast in the United Kingdom before the United States.

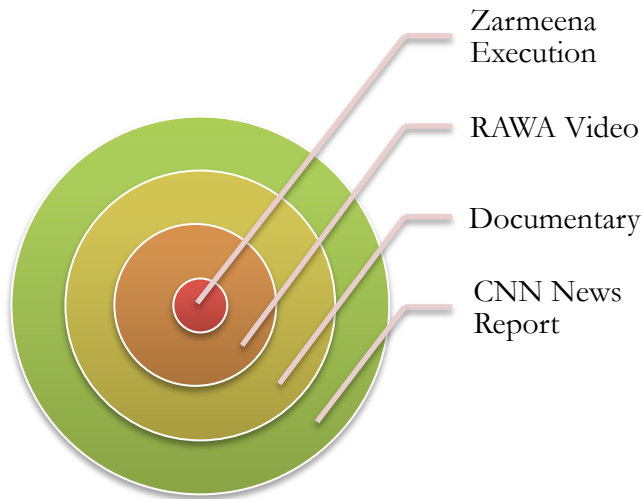


FIGURE 5.1 SITUATING THE SERIES OF EVENTS.

It is important to note that only the actual execution was recorded, events prior and after the event were not recorded. From RAWA's Zarmeena video, the documentary takes an even smaller piece and shows only excerpts from the original RAWA video. The documentary is then taken and placed within a news report. These continued reductions changes how the audience interprets the events, especially when placed within a different context than what may have been intended by RAWA.

During the time-period between 1999-2002, the issues in Afghanistan were frequently glossed over and the media created a singular view of Afghan women's concerns, as RAWA's work was only seen through the lens that was already imagined by filmmakers, including traditional tropes, such as that the veil equals silence and that priorities for women should include getting rid of the veil, as well as suggested connections between the veil and the assertions of peace and freedom through an act of war. While the issues of domestic violence and the segregation of women from public life are acknowledged, the general framework included in the asserting of a backwards nature for the people of Afghanistan as a whole and the weakness of

Afghan women to be able to resolve the issues for women in particular, diminishing women's agency in their citizenship practices.

While news media outlets, such as CNN, reported on the issues of Afghan women prior to 9-11, the interest in their plight was made myopic by the media in the United States, as the violent actions on September 11 changed the nature of the conversation in the United States. During this time the media was generally framed as neutral, without a specific ideological stance that is dictated by the political parties. This analysis demonstrates how the broadcast of the documentary asserts an ideological stance on women's issues in Afghanistan that is exacerbated by the use of a narrow lens.

Edward Said (1997), in his book *Covering Islam: How the Media and the Experts Determine How to See the Rest of the World*, critiques how the media has addressed the issues related to Islam and expands on his critique of Orientalist interpretations of political events going on in the world. While his work does not focus on the issues for women, it provides a foundation for how we consider the interpretations of what is happening in Afghanistan, how the Afghan people are respond to those events, and what the Afghan people are saying that might conflict with the United States' view of the situation. Building on his argument of Orientalism, Said (1997) demonstrates how "experts" in the United States are brought out to reinforce a specific view of the Muslim world (p. 97). He states that

We are probably going to have an even more dramatic cleavage separating good Muslims from bad, more news hailing the achievements of good Muslims... and more equating of good Islam with "moderation," if possible with freedom and democracy, which principally means a "free" market economy, not an enhanced human rights situation (Said, 1997, p. 121).

Ultimately, the claims put forward in a post-September 11 world includes an argument for war that was framed around freedom and democracy, particularly for Afghan women instead of a frame focused on retaliation. As a result, I am considering how the general public in the United States is introduced to the public treatment of women in Afghanistan and how the specific frame of the Zarmeena's execution video influences everything from support of non-governmental organizations to the United States justification for war.

Shah's documentary focuses on the issues that have arisen for women since the Taliban took over the majority of Afghanistan in 1996. As was previously mentioned, Shah is a British war journalist of Afghan descent. She goes into Afghanistan discussing the conflicts and difficulties as a woman herself, both working as a reporter in the country and sharing her own personal and complex relationship with Afghanistan (CNN Transcript, 2001). From this documentary I address the issue of participatory citizenship through three main tropes: how the veiling frames Afghan women; how Afghan women are demonstrating their resistance and subversiveness; and how they are defining the complicated notion of freedom.

The CNN news report and documentary was first broadcast in the United States in August 2001. The hour-long documentary highlighted issues for women in Afghanistan in dramatic ways, but it was not brought to the forefront until after September 11 when the documentary broadcast was repeated multiple times reinforcing the plight of women from this singular perspective. The documentary transcript that I am analyzing, *Beneath the Veil: The Taliban's Harsh Rule of Afghanistan* was made to highlight the problems and suffering of women under Taliban rule, but it was also an exploration of Shah's own relationship with the country of her heritage. This 2001 CNN broadcast was also where most of the people in the United States initially saw RAWA's first video of the execution of Zarmeena on CNN. This

documentary is compelling as it takes footage from the Zarmeena video and asserts a very specific framework about Afghan women. This documentary is important to look at because in addition to utilizing RAWA's Zarmeena footage, it provides a detailed account of what life was like for women in Afghanistan in 2001.

As mentioned previously, the first video produced by RAWA was the execution of Zarmeena, on the pitch of a football (soccer) stadium. Zarmeena, who was married with children, was accused of killing her husband. As is custom, if the husband's family forgives the wife or if the family denies the charges, than no punishment comes to the wife (Brodsky, 2003, p. 20). As problematic as this law is, Zarmeena was forgiven by her husband's family and as a result no harm should have come to her. Nevertheless, the Taliban was determined to make an example of Zarmeena. While there were frequent public floggings and amputations of limbs, Zarmeena would be the first public execution of an Afghan woman by the Taliban (Brodsky, 2003, p. 17). RAWA provides little commentary to the events presented in the video. Zarmeena is driven onto the football pitch, where another woman escorts her off the bed of the truck (Illustration 5.1).



ILLUSTRATION 5.1 STILL OF ZARMEENA'S EXECUTION FROM RAWA'S VIDEO

Zarmeena kneels down, and she is shot three times in the back of the head (Illustration 5.2). The viewer can hear the crowds in the stadium. The noise from the crowd consists of general background noise of a crowd who are milling about, but there is no organized chanting or cheering from the crowd (RAWA Afghanistan, 2011, 0-2:27, 2:29-3:47).



ILLUSTRATION 5.2 THREE WOMEN, THE MIDDLE ONE ZARMEENA, DRIVEN INTO THE FOOTBALL STADIUM

As the video shakily pans around the stadium, people (mostly men) are shown milling about. Just shy of four minutes in length, the video provides little commentary or text. It appears that RAWA is letting the event stand for itself. There are some notes at the beginning in English. “Full video of / Public Execution of Zarmeena by Taliban / Nov. 16, 1999 – Kabul” RAWA Afghanistan, 2001, 0:0:08). and “Filmed secretly by a RAWA member using a hidden camera” (RAWA Afghanistan, 2001, 0:09:0:18). As a result viewers are required to interpret the events themselves<sup>16</sup>.

RAWA’s short video provides a foundation for future perceptions of Afghan women, and while the information presented is accurate within the video, there were opportunities for misinterpretations by many agencies, including the news media, to further their own ideological stance. Since RAWA’s video was shown to the public as part of the documentary when it was first broadcast on CNN, this would be an appropriate place to make the connection in the genre chain. In 2001, CNN was making an effort to bring the work of foreign journalists to the forefront, while also exploiting the voyeuristic desire of the public to see what is happening to women in other locations. RAWA’s video presents a deviation from what had been happening in

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<sup>16</sup> This video is available unedited on YouTube at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G4I267pCGdA>

Afghanistan prior to Zarmeena's execution, as Afghan women were used to seeing floggings and amputations, but the public execution of a woman was new, and that the Taliban decided to use Zarmeena as an example, as a warning to other women (Brodsky, 2003, p. 14).

### **5.1 The issues of the veil for Muslim women pervasive in the text of the video.**

One of most pervasive critiques of women's issues, and the one that is framed as denying agency to women in the Muslim world, revolves around the issue of the veil. As a result, women's bodies, both in the United States and in Islamic countries are open for political debate. In reference to Muslim women, a variety of words are used to imply covering up and are frequently used when referring to the country of Afghanistan or to Afghan women, commonly denying that they are able to have agency over their citizenship. This frame overshadows many of the real issues that affect Afghan women. Consumers of United States-based news media have been bombarded with narrow perspectives on what it meant to be a woman living in a predominately Muslim country, post 9-11. Portraying women in Afghanistan as living in a different century posed problems for the work women were already doing to demonstrate their citizenship, as they negotiated the liminal spaces between honoring their local culture, resisting the oppression of domination between the Taliban, the Northern Alliance, and other occupying forces, working with refugees in Pakistan, and advocating their cause to the United States and Europe.

Frequently ignored in the media are the voices of Afghan women, as they negotiate their citizenship. While there are significant problems for Afghan women in asserting their citizenship, these problems are not as simple as was claimed by news agencies such as CNN. According to RAWA, women suffer oppression at the hands of Taliban and the Northern Alliance, as well as from a legacy of colonial rule and occupying forces of multiple occupations



(Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan, 1999). Not widely addressed in the United States media is that Afghan women are concerned about access to health care, domestic violence, and how to help the many widows and orphans. Afghan women living outside an industrialized country have the additional burden of needing to focus their concerns on the issues of a foreign-supported war in their community, in addition to access to food and the availability of clean water. The issues surrounding the burqa have blinded news media viewers in the United States to the real issues of women living in Afghanistan.

What also is not addressed in this critique of the veil is the implication that the Taliban focused only on women, but the Taliban also had an influence on Afghan men. While the Quran addresses the need for dressing modestly for both men and women, the Taliban imposed rules on men in regards to appearance, which included having their beard a specific length and wearing Islamic clothes and head cover. (Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan, n.d.). The Afghan Ministry for the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice polices the streets to publicly punish men for their “transgressions” just as they would punish a woman. As a result of the bias towards condemnation of the veil, much of the language used in Shah’s documentary references this ancient practice as shorthand for Afghan women’s subjugation and lack of agency. The narrator of *Beneath the Veil* opens with this statement,

Women, according to observers, are reduced to little more than shut-ins. It is a dangerous and secretive world, one that journalist Saira Shah risked her freedom and her life to uncover. What she found ‘Beneath the Veil’ is unimaginable (CNN Transcript, 2001).

By applying the frequently used trope of the veil to represent Afghan women’s identities, the opening of the CNN documentary provides an example of the issues that are pervasive in the European and United States’ critique of the treatment of women in the Middle East. It is a

simplistic assertion that veils are “dangerous” and “secretive,” that those who wear veils are oppressed. This suggests that the burqa, which is only worn in Afghanistan, is the ultimate demonstration of Afghan women’s oppression. The burqa is the physical extension of a woman who is shut in her home and what is underneath the veil has provided as much titillation as it does condemnation for Muslim women.

In the documentary, Shah uses the frame that the veil equals silence. As the transcript shows, an outsider’s perspective is used to explain the issues for women in Afghanistan. Shah excerpted and used RAWA’s Zarmeena execution video as a way to demonstrate the violence against women. However, when Shah reflects on the execution she focuses on the fact that Zarmeena cannot see effectively through the mesh of the burqa. Standing in the middle of an empty football/soccer stadium where Zarmeena was killed, Shah states,

And the women who they [the Taliban] executed here were not allowed to take off their veils. So, they must have had hardly any idea of what was happening. They must have been very confused. They must have been hearing the crowd screaming. They were pushed up to the penalty line and made to kneel down (CNN Transcript, 2001).

Through this quote, Shah misleads the viewer and suggests that she was not listening closely to the sounds on the audio. In RAWA’s unedited video, there were three women in the truck, but only Zarmeena was executed. RAWA member Salima states that the other two women in the back of the truck with Zarmeena may have been relatives, but she believes that they were jail wardens and that Zarmeena may have been expected to be flogged and not executed (Brodsky, 2003, p.17). The crowd was loud and can be heard in the background, but they were not chanting, as Shah imagines a crowd “baying for the blood” (CNN transcripts, 2001) that would be expected from a frenzied crowd. There was no evidence of a frenzied crowd in the Zarmeena

execution video. It was if this was something that many people in audience had seen frequently already. According to Salima,

the stadium was filled with many children, some of whom were selling food and drinks, as well as adults, many of whom were beggars who use this opportunity to work the crowd for money. In addition to the radio announcements, the Taliban had been making public address announcements near the stadium all morning, as well as stopping people on the streets outside and, depending on the individual approach, either asking or ordering the people to go inside the stadium to watch (Brodsky, 2003, p. 17).

These public announcements are not recorded on RAWA's video. The radio announcement was broadcast the night before the execution and stated that "a woman would be publicly shot the next day" and that "especially women, were exhorted to attend" (Brodsky, 2003, p. 15). When listening to the unedited Zarmeena execution video, the sounds are ones of a large crowd, not the sounds of a frenzied group chanting for an execution. Instead it is a restless group waiting for something to happen (RAWA Afghanistan, 2011). What is also missing from RAWA's video are the announcements by the Taliban and twenty minutes of speeches reported by Salima. Speakers included

Taliban officials and... Islamic religious leaders who preached that 'today they were happy that God's Sharia was being implemented in the land of God' and that the Taliban Supreme council, .... Highest Sharia law authority, and Taliban leader Mullah Mohammad Omar... approved this execution (Brodsky, 2003, p. 18).

In carrying out the punishment, the Taliban worked toward imitating a court of law with the primary focus of intimidating women and their families.

This information is not addressed by Shah, as she does not provide any background to

RAWA's video. This is an important slight to note. Shah's privileged position, as editor and interpreter of RAWA's text, asserts a colonial interpretation of the video. Shah continues with her own voice-over of the event that she is interpreting.

Veiled women hunched in the back of a pickup truck. Football stadium in Afghanistan, a place of entertainment turned into an execution ground. Secret pictures showing scenes the country's rulers want to keep hidden. We are trying to uncover the truth behind Afghanistan's veil of terror. (CNN Transcript, 2001)

During the introduction of the documentary, Shah uses the scene of the three women in the pickup truck (shown in Illustration 5.2) to set a tone for the entire documentary. With Shah's voice-over the viewer sees an excerpt of RAWA's video with three women sitting in the back of a pickup truck. In the lower, left-hand corner, it states "hidden camera" (Abdul Matin Little, 2001, 0:42) letting the viewer know about the subversive nature of the filming. As a result, there is a disconnect between the use of the images from RAWA's video and the interpretation by Shah. She does not identify who the women are in the back of the truck, suggesting to the audience that maybe all of the women were there to be executed.

Other references to the veil can be found in the documentary, including when Shah describes the desolation of an Afghan family, "the villagers take us to another house, a place veiled in sorrow" (CNN Transcript, 2001). The reporter, Shah, utilizes classical United States and European critiques of the veil in Muslim society and presents it as an overarching concept that uses this object to represent all women and people submitting to an oppressive regime. The veil in this situation provides an analogy to a death shroud, impacting the family and community. This is in direct contrast to the active citizenship work that Afghan women are doing both under and without the burqa.

## 5.2 CNN's Framing of Resistance for Women in Afghanistan

Afghan women of RAWA have been resisting oppression since Meena formed the organization in 1977. Working to resist the occupation by the USSR, as well as religious groups such as the Taliban, the women involved with RAWA have resisted domination in all forms, including those from United States allies, such as the Northern Alliance. The documentary works to assert RAWA's agency, but with limitations. Shah repeats her issue with Afghan women's veiling. She states

But it's also from the most vulnerable, children and women that the first voice of protest has risen. This is RAWA, the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan. They are everything the Taliban hate, highly political, left-wing Afghan feminists. They are determined to fight for human rights in a country where women have been forced under the veil (CNN Transcripts, 2001).

In this quote, Shah suggests that RAWA formed out of the domination of the Taliban instead of acknowledging their long history of fighting for women's rights. She also ignores RAWA's call to eliminate all oppression, including from forces inside and outside Afghanistan. She does not address the citizenship work RAWA has been doing including their work in creating schools, job training, and building community infrastructure. Keywords that Shah uses, such as "fight for human rights" frames RAWA's resistance, while also insisting on Afghan women's weaknesses, as they are "forced under the veil," which provides contradictory frames. Shah argues that the women of RAWA are the "voice of protest" and "highly-political, left-wing" (CNN Transcript, 2001). While she identifies them as political, Shah does not identify what "left-wing" means in Afghanistan. Since this video was filmed for broadcast in the United Kingdom, as well as the United States, "left-wing" politics may look different not only within each country that the documentary is broadcast, but also may look different for the Afghan women who are practicing

their politics. When groups in Afghanistan want to criticize activist women, they are generally associated with Marxist ideology, drawing connections to the Soviet invasion, thereby creating an unsavory association in order to discredit RAWA's work (Brodsky, 2003, p 53). Shah continues on a trope of resistance through the use of the phrase "determined to fight for human rights," (CNN Transcript, 2001) but Shah does not address where RAWA is successful and what it means for Afghan women to fight for their participation in public life. Using the phrase "to fight" brings in other connotations, as it suggests violence and connects this notion to an organization that eschews all kinds of violence. RAWA identifies as a peace-loving organization and is anti-violence and anti-war (Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan, 2014), even in the face of oppressive and violent forces, such as the Taliban and the Northern Alliance. However, Shah also undermines RAWA's resistance with the continued trope of veiling in that they are "forced under a veil" (CNN Transcript, 2001). Shah's continued insistence in reinforcing the oppressive nature of the veil fails to address RAWA's activism and instead depicts Afghan women as a victim of their culture, leaving the audience to conclude that Afghan women are unable to assert their citizenship and are in need of a violent, foreign intervention.

Considering how the trope of the veil is frequently drawn upon to frame Afghan women, especially when RAWA has a need for secret and undercover work, she does also not address the (limited) benefits of the burqa and the fact that much can be hidden from the Taliban, making it ideal for subversive work. When Shah has an opportunity to visit a location of RAWA's work, she states, "We arrive at their secret headquarters. RAWA tell me they have an underground opposition network inside Afghanistan's capital Kabul. The operatives use hidden cameras as their most powerful weapon" (CNN Transcripts, 2001). Shah again misrepresents the work of

RAWA. While the clandestine nature of their work is imperative, there is much about RAWA that she does not share with the audience. RAWA is very much a de-centralized organization, in order to protect all of the members. One member may only know a few other members as they work in their own communities, with connections to one or two members outside of the community. Shah's discussion of RAWA's secret, underground location and using the term "operatives," creates a tension that is dramatic, insinuating to the viewer that RAWA works much like a spy movie.

While the use of hidden cameras is a powerful tool of resistance for RAWA, Shah does not discuss the potential of the burqa to hide other illicit work from the Taliban. The videographer of Zameena's execution, while satisfied that they completed their goal of "documenting this crime," also noted that they "even laughed ruefully afterward about how RAWA might have to change its standpoint against burqas because, ironically, they couldn't have carried out this task without the protection of these mandatory garments" (Brodsky, 2003, 18). This demonstrates the complicated nature of RAWA's work and how they utilized the tools of oppression as a method for subversion and resistance.

Resisting the Taliban looks vastly different as restrictions on women's citizenship activities became more confining. Shah addresses the state of schools and beauty parlors, as she talks with the women who run and participate in these activities, as both were banned by the Taliban. As Shah is brought to an underground school for girls, she asserts the danger that she is taking by going to the school, as well as the risk to the women. Shah claims

Now RAWA are taking me to see their riskiest activity: not a bomb factory or undercover newspaper, just a class for girls. The Taliban have made no education available to girls over the age of 12. Every woman in the room is breaking the law (CNN Transcripts,

2001).

The distinction for Shah is that she emphasizes the clandestine nature of RAWA's work. Highlighting the "risk," she equates education with bomb building, which is a very violent activity, as well as equating education, with running a newspaper. However, Shah does not acknowledge the publication work that RAWA already was doing with their journal, titled *Payam-e-Zan* (Women's Message). Shah addressed the issue of resistance through education, as women are both the teachers and the students are framed as criminals instead of patriots in the eyes of the Taliban. It is through civil-disobedient acts such as education, where patriots (and martyrs) are made. This is highlighted through the words of one of the teachers, as she claims that "All our courses have to be secret and underground because of the Taliban. If they find out, they could hang us all. All our girls are left uneducated because of their cruelty" (CNN Transcripts, 2001). Emphasizing the use of "secret" and "underground" reinforces the civil-disobedient nature of the activities that Afghan women are participating in and the risk that is involved. For many of these women, possible punishments include flogging or death for educating their daughters.

Shah emphasizes the creation of a beauty parlor as an act of resistance. She states that she is visiting "the most subversive place of all. I have been invited to a secret beauty parlor. If they are caught, these women will be imprisoned, but they still paint the faces they can never show in public" (CNN Transcripts, 2001). Shah identifies this as a very "subversive place," reinforcing the civil-disobedient acts that the women are asserting by utilizing a beauty parlor. A woman at the beauty parlor states, "[t]his is a form of resistance. We are defying the Taliban. It means that whatever the circumstances, we will carry on doing thing we want to do like studying, doing our job—you know, all these things." (CNN Transcripts, 2001) In this scene, Shah highlights how



something that would be classified as everyday is in fact subversive in resisting the power structure of Afghanistan. Here Shah also highlights how women equate the trope of resistance with studying and working, emphasizing how their act of civil disobedience consist of many forms of citizenship work for women. In the documentary, Shah only uses the term “subversive” once and the term “resistance” was only used by a woman Shah interviewed. Shah works to frame the oppressive nature of the Taliban, but does not highlight the extensive citizenship work that is done by Afghan women. This frame limits the perception of RAWA’s agency in their communities.

### **5.3 Defining the Constructions of Freedom**

The concept of freedom is frequently used in order for the United States to justify the Afghan war and is a historical part of the United States’ ideology. In the documentary, Shah addresses the complex issue of freedom in a simplistic way. She addresses freedom as what should be the norm, and not the violence that permeates much of Afghan society. Shah closes her visit with RAWA with this quote,

Women trying to keep life normal in a world gone completely mad. That was the image RAWA left me with. (on camera): If you’re living here, the trivial things that are imposed on people lead to serious things that are imposed on people like torture, death, execution. There are no minor freedoms, but there are no major freedoms either. And this is really an incredibly serious, terrifying place to be if you are an Afghan (CNN Transcripts, 2001).

For Shah, freedom was something that had been eliminated, as she asserts that “major” and “minor” freedoms were taken away from women and all Afghans. In this context, freedom is not defined, except to say that violence against the Afghan people is not freedom.

#### **5.4 Presenting a Frame of Afghan Women to the United States Population**

The news media's construction of RAWA by Shah and CNN works to frame Afghan women's citizenship through very specific lenses. Reinforcing Orientalist concepts, Shah employs the veil as an oppressive tool, discounting the agency of women's ability to work within an oppressive regime. When articulating concepts of resistance, Shah's commentary highlights RAWA's work, but fails to discuss the background of RAWA and the other citizenship work. Shah selects work that will move the audience, such as an underground school that is educating girls and a beauty parlor, but does not address the health care clinics, community building, job training, and the schools for boys that RAWA runs, limiting the public's understanding of what it means to resist a government and provide the services of a failing nation-state. This is in direct contradiction to the concept of "freedom." Shah does not use this term frequently, there is an understanding that Afghan women do not have the freedom to do what they want, hence the resistance and subversiveness required by RAWA in order to advocate citizenship for women.

For RAWA, Shah and CNN worked to bring the issues of Afghan women to the attention of the United States audience, especially since no news media outlets previously wanted to broadcast RAWA's Zarmeena execution video. However, the broadcast portrays colonial/Orientalist frames, as Shah (in emphasizing the horror) gives inaccurate or misleading interpretations about the Zarmeena video, and dramatizes the already emotional events of Zarmeena's execution for her audience.

Lister articulates what the news media should consider when working with the oppressed, and how the media presents an "idealized actor" in contrast to "helpless victims" (Lister, 2003, p. 86). This is important to note as Afghan women have been framed as helpless victims through the burqa. RAWA is framed as the idealized actor in that they are actively advocating for the rights of women, but only through a lens that would be acceptable to audiences in the United

States and Europe. These concepts need to be analyzed more deeply in order to resist what Lister (2003) asserts as “replicated in media representations. At the same time, though, we need to avoid creating a new source of division between the image of an idealized actor and that of an even more stigmatized victim” (p. 86). This requires a look at not only how the news media, such as Shah and CNN have represented Afghan women, but also how Afghan women’s images and situations have influenced the United States government and the resulting violence of war.

## **CHAPTER 6: RAWA AND THE DEBATE ABOUT AFGHAN WOMEN'S ISSUES IN CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE HEARINGS**

In order to consider the human rights issues that were happening in Afghanistan, the United States House of Representatives, Congressional Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights convened a hearing to address the problems with human rights in Afghanistan under the Taliban. Originally scheduled for September 12, 2001, the hearing was postponed until October 31, 2001. This particular hearing is important as it not only presents the attitudes of the United States government, but also the viewpoints of the representatives from multiple non-governmental organizations that provided testimony at the hearing, including Amnesty International, the Feminist Majority, the Central Asia Research and Development Center (CARDC) at George Washington University, the United Front/Northern Alliance, and the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan.

The hearing, titled *Afghan People vs. The Taliban: The Struggle for Freedom Intensifies*, received testimony on the human-rights problems that were happening in Afghanistan under the Taliban at that time. Demonstrating previous concerns about human rights in Afghanistan, the hearing was originally scheduled for September 12, 2001, for deliberation by the United States Congress before the events on September 11. As outlined in Chapter 4, both governmental and non-governmental representatives testified on the status of human rights in Afghanistan, with much of the focus on Afghan women, providing an opportunity to analyze the construction of Afghan women's citizenship. Locating the hearing on the genre chain, this transcript demonstrates how influential images of violence against Afghan women can influence public policy. Testimony was provided by multiple individuals, who were concerned about the violence against women, demonstrating how the Zarmeena video is recontextualized through the concerns about veiling and how this singular issue is hiding the violence against Afghan women.

Scheduled six weeks after 9-11 and two weeks after the start of *Operation Enduring Freedom*, this hearing indicates how both the Afghan and American government officials as well as non-profit organizations view the human rights situation in Afghanistan. This hearing also demonstrates how the views between each group or individual do not always match with the stance by the United States government, nor do the testimonies provide a clear, consistent picture, as each group privileges their own interests as they consider Afghan women's role in Afghanistan.

In an effort to consider how this hearing frames participatory citizenship, I analyze the familiar tropes of veiling, resistance, and freedom that were used as a way both to construct Afghan women's citizenship and to justify the United States' military operations in Afghanistan.

### **6.1 Representations of the veil**

Similar to the CNN reporter Saria Shah and her usage of the veil trope in her documentary, the representatives from the United States Congress, non-governmental organizations, and other governmental organizations all provided testimony on Afghanistan's oppressive nature of the veil. These representations are unlike CNN's, as they do not have the need of news-station ratings. However, the United States Congress used these tropes to create a visual narrative for the general public that is a visible, tangible object. The assertion is that simply removing the veil symbolizes the movement towards other freedoms for women in Afghanistan (as well as much of the Muslim world). This assertion works to marginalize the ability of Afghan women to be able to decide for themselves their priorities and actions for "freedom."

The hearing started with Representative Ros-Lehtinen, the chair of the subcommittee, who also provides the first testimony of the day. She opens with a statement using the veil as her

frame.

In 1996, a heavy shroud was placed on the people of Afghanistan when the Taliban captured Kabul. Since then, the Taliban has taken the peaceful and sacred scriptures of the Prophet Muhammad, and distorted them into a rulebook of terror (*Afghan People vs. The Taliban*, 2001, p. 1).

While working to demonstrate a respect for Islam, as she employs terms such as “sacred” and “peaceful,” Ros-Lehtinen dismisses women’s agency through the frame of veiling. This statement provides an early allusion to the veil, suggesting a negative connotation to the burqa that many women wear in Afghanistan. Through the use of the term “shroud” she implies death and destruction. She displays a contradiction in that Ros-Lehtinen wishes to demonstrate respect for the religion of Islam, but she fails to understand the relationship between the use of veiling as a political, historical, and cultural garment of clothing. The issue of the veil for Muslim women is complicated as the veil encompasses both the use of headscarves/hijab, which is found throughout the Muslim world and the use of the burqa, which is found only in Afghanistan<sup>17</sup>.

This frame of veiling continues as Ros-Lehtinen’s statement addresses violence perpetrated against women, facilitated through the use of the veiling trope. She states,

Bearing the scars of the Taliban’s crimes against its own people, Afghanistan’s women have been buried beneath a veil. The burqa, the forcible cover of women, is an attempt by the Taliban to hide from the world the violence and pain that the regime has imposed on Afghanistan under the pretext of religion.” (*Afghan People vs. The Taliban*, 2001, p. 2)

She declares both the veil and the burqa oppressive articles of clothing, as women are “buried beneath a veil” thus continuing the allusion of death. Ros-Lehtinen does not give a thorough

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<sup>17</sup> See Appendix G for details about the veil.

background of the veiling issues in Afghanistan. She asserts that the burqa was forced upon women in order to hide the violence that was happening to them. During this time, it is true that much of the violence was perpetrated upon women, publicly by the Taliban and privately through acceptance of domestic violence. Also, RAWA's official stance on the burqa was that governments should not have a stance on women's use of veiling. However, while the terms "veil" and "burqa" are used interchangeably by Ros-Lehtinen (as well as others), they are not necessarily the same thing. There are many ways of veiling and women in Afghanistan may use different kinds of veiling, everything from a simple hijab to the burqa, which is only use in Afghanistan.

Ros-Lehtinen continues with her veiling references, littered throughout her testimony as she states, "We hope that today's hearing will further lift the heavy veil which shrouds the Afghan people, and will allow the truth and the suffering that they have endured to step and creep out into the light" (*Afghan People vs. The Taliban*, 2001, p. 3). The death reference is strong and repeated in her testimony. Veiling is not only related to death, but also to secretiveness and oppressiveness with her use of "heavy" as a burden for women to carry. Ros-Lehtinen removes Afghan women's ability to activate their citizenship, as she views the burdens for women to be the veil, instead of the burdens of war, a shortage of food, and lack of educational and employment opportunities for women. However, Ros-Lehtinen's testimony is not the only one that makes these allusions. Representatives of women's and human rights organizations continue the narrow frame.

Eleanor Smeal, the president of the Feminist Majority, provided a written testimony to Congress, as she did not testify in person. Her testimony focused on the issue of the violence against women, but also took on the issue with the veil. Smeal states,

The public has now seen broadcast on television again and again film footage of women being beaten and executed for violating the Taliban's decrees banning women from employment, from attending school, from leaving their homes without a close male relative and without wearing the head-to-toe burqa shroud (*Afghan People vs. The Taliban*, 2001, p. 11).

Smeal's testimony addresses many of the important issues that Afghan women need help confronting, such as employment, education, and the ability to move freely in order to conduct professional and personal business. However, Smeal concludes this part of her statement with the phrase "head-to-toe burqa shroud," continuing Ros-Lehtinen's arguments over the oppressive, death-like nature of this piece of clothing. As a representative of the Feminist Majority, Smeal's statement dismisses Afghan women's citizenship and ability to control their own bodies by framing the burqa through the lens of death. Smeal lost an opportunity to advocate for Afghan women to be able to perform their citizenship by selecting their own garments and that governments need to stop dictating what women wear on their bodies. Instead of empowering Afghan women, Smeal is imposing different restrictions on Afghan women, as she is articulating a narrow, United States-based view of women's rights. Chandra Mohanty (1991) asserts that feminisms needs to be considered more adaptable, as the term is frequently debated (p.7). Constructions of feminism used by the news media in the United States is frequently flattened out to a singular definition and does not consider the wants and needs of the women and/or feminists in alternative situations, much like what is happening in Afghanistan.

Representatives from the United States Department of State also testified using the trope of the veil. Craner, a political appointee to the State department, includes in his testimony on Afghan women a continuation of the veiling frame.



Particularly in cities, when women go out they must wear a traditional long robe, the burqa, covering them from head to toe and obscuring their vision. While many Afghan women wore the burqa before they [the Taliban] took control, it is now part of a legally enforced dress code decreed by the Taliban. (*Afghan People vs. The Taliban*, 2001, p. 23-4)

Here Craner is more factual in this statement about his discussion of the burqa, and avoids much of the previous hyperbole that is suggested by Ros-Lehtinen and Smeal. Craner makes a brief reference to the fact that the burqa was worn prior to the Taliban, loosely suggesting a cultural and/or historical precedence that may have been addressed by women in the past, yet also he makes sure to emphasize the nature of the covering, as it covers the whole body and there is a lack of vision for the women wearing it. However, his bias is one of only reporting what he considers important, as Craner leaves out the details about how Afghan women actually feel about the wearing the burqa and what their priorities are for liberation and creating active citizenship practices. His testimony is not the only one that reflects this attitude, for other representatives also demonstrate this same bias.

The human rights organization Amnesty International also provided testimony about rights for Afghan women and reinforced the issue of veiling. Kumar, the United States representative for Asia and the Pacific at Amnesty International, discussed the veil and issues related to keeping women out of sight. “Under the Taleban’s<sup>18</sup> strict rules, women are not allowed to study, work, or move around without wearing the all-enveloping burqa” (*Afghan People vs. The Taliban*, 2001, p. 43). The mere mention of the burqa demonstrates a displaced concern in the needs of Afghan women. Kumar makes an even stronger case with the suggested

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<sup>18</sup> In Kumar’s testimony, he uses an alternate spelling of the Taliban.

veiling. In his statement he continues the frame,

women are required to remain out of sight... the Taleban ordered Kabul residents to block the windows in their homes at the ground and first floor levels to ensure that women could not be seen from the street... [and that] the face of a woman is a source of corruption for men who are not related to her (*Afghan People vs. The Taliban*, 2001, p. 43).

Kumar touches upon the issues of education and employment, but these terms are always emphasized in conjunction with veiling, again diminishing women's ability to negotiate a participatory citizenship. Here the veil is drawn with parallels to keeping women out of view. The burqa is an "all-enveloping" garment and Kumar's statement provides the Taliban's reason for the use of veiling, in that a woman's face corrupts men. While Kumar condemns the forcible use of the burqa, he fails to advocate for women to have the freedom to control their bodies and have freedom of movement, in order to be active citizens in their community.

## **6.2 The Frame of Resistance**

The focus of RAWA's work is resistance, and as such the language they use both overtly and subversively addresses their work to proactively advance women's rights, as well as human rights in Afghanistan. The references to resistance by women in this Congressional hearing were exclusively presented by a representative from RAWA, Tahmeena Faryal. Delivering her live testimony by phone and using a pseudonym<sup>19</sup>, Faryal provided evidence of RAWA's work in actively pursuing women's rights in Afghanistan<sup>20</sup>. She states,

RAWA's work is also aimed toward giving voice to our down-trodden people, especially

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<sup>19</sup> I was only able to discover that Faryal testified by phone through the CSPAN video and not through the written testimony.

<sup>20</sup> Due to the dangers of standing out as a RAWA member, all members are anonymous and speak with the same voice. As such, all documents created by RAWA do not have individual author's names, but are signed as RAWA.

the women—and empowering women and men not to forget that they—we all—deserve human rights and freedoms and to look toward a day when the guns and rockets will stop and we can begin to rebuild (*Afghan People vs. The Taliban*, 2001, p. 49).

In this statement, Faryal outlines the work that RAWA is doing in order to resist oppression. Using phrases such as “giving-voice,” and “empowering women and men” RAWA demonstrates how the organization is working towards providing tools to the Afghan people in order to gain their rights as citizens through peaceful means.

The issue of resistance was only overtly addressed by one of the other representatives from Afghanistan, Haron Amin, who is a special representative from the United Front / Northern Alliance. He used the term in reference to the Mujahedeen. Amin stated that, “[i]n fact since Kabul fell to the Mujahedeen [resistance fighters] in 1992, our policies have created a wave of criticism and even hatred for Pakistan amongst many Afghans” (*Afghan People vs. The Taliban*, 2001, p. 61). By using the Mujahedeen to reflect resistance, Amin reinforces the violent ways that governments view resistance and how anti-oppressive goals are obtained. This is in contrast to RAWA which advocates resistance through peaceful and humanitarian means, including non-violent protests, education and job training. For RAWA, women and men can develop citizenship practices that work to promote positive rebuilding of the physical and social infrastructure of Afghanistan.

In the testimony provided to Congress, resistance is supported by those who have complementary interests. Just as the United States supported the Northern Alliance, even if it was not in the best interest of the people of Afghanistan, the Northern Alliance was the best situated to defeat the Soviet invasion. However, these groups claimed “the same repressive sentiments that RAWA had been found to fight” (Brodsky, 2003, p. 85), resulting in United

States support for groups that may not be in the best interest of Afghan women.

In his testimony, Amin also presents a quote by Ahmad Shah Massoud, a member of the Mujahedeen. He states that the United States has an obligation to help assure many things including the “resistance against religious extremism... Afghans—being multi-ethnic—want to gain their right to self-determination through a democratic mechanism acceptable to our nation” (*Afghan People vs. The Taliban*, 2001, p. 62). Using terms that are attractive to the United States government, Amin articulates the “resistance to religious fundamentalism,” which provides a frame in which he would receive a favorable response from the Congressional committee, and in essence the United States government. Since this is framed from a governmental standpoint, while advocating for democracy, Amin places the agency for action outside the general population of Afghanistan, with a foreign force (namely the United States), negating any agency that the Afghan people may have for creating a democratic country.

Between these two representations of resistance, the trope is framed differently depending on the positionality of the speaker and whom they represent and as a result changes the context in which citizenship can be viewed.

### **6.3 Asserting Definitions of Freedom**

Freedom is a term that was frequently used by the United States government in articulating a plan for invading Afghanistan. The military operation was titled *Operation Enduring Freedom*, and the title for this hearing, *Afghan People vs. The Taliban: The Struggle for Freedom Intensifies*, utilizes the trope of freedom that is common in American politics. These frames do not specifically articulate what “freedom” means, but the term is only employed through the discussion of affairs in Afghanistan. Eliminating the burqa has been argued as a way to “free” Afghan women from oppression, but other definitions also arise from various

testimonies.

Calling on a political term, the representatives of the United States government utilize the term “freedom,” and Ros-Lehtinen frequently exploits this term in her opening statement.

However, before it became evident to the world, there were those who understood that the welfare and freedom of the Afghan people are directly intertwined with the safety and security of the world, because a regime which commits such heinous acts against its own people cannot be expected to place any value on the lives of others (*Afghan People vs. The Taliban*, 2001, p. 2)

Ros-Lehtinen equates freedom with global “safety and security,” as well as the “value on the lives of others” (*Afghan People vs. The Taliban*, 2001, p. 2). This correlation is in direct response to the events on 9-11, as she is asserting claims about the Taliban. She is conflating the two groups of terrorists, the hijackers of the 9-11 airplanes and the Taliban, in order to work on the justification for the United States actions in Afghanistan. Yet, she is not the only representative who works to conflate these two groups and place the responsibility for eliminating both groups squarely on the United States. In testimony by other representatives we can see this mingling of identities.

Congressional representative Joseph Pitts provides testimony utilizing the term “freedom” supporting traditional arguments on its definition.

News reports detail thousands of Pakistanis lining up at the borders to join the jihad of the Taliban against the forces of freedom. Our nation must work with the Afghan people to combat the scourge of humanity, the terrorists, so that Afghans and Americans and the rest of the world can live in peace. (*Afghan People vs. The Taliban*, 2001, p. 17)

Pitts has expanded the groups who are against “freedom” in a way that works to broaden the

scope of who needs to be defeated in the name of freedom. He draws parallels between the Pakistanis and the Taliban. For Pitts, freedom is connected to concepts of “humanity” and “peace,” but these terms are vague and have not been defined well. In this context, what does “humanity” mean and how does one construct “peace” while simultaneously going to war? There is no clear definition of these terms provided in his testimony, as they are not used frequently and while they could have a positive impact on the construction of citizenship, the lack of definitions makes it difficult to draw close connections.

Congressional Representative Dana Rohrabacher makes a very direct association to American freedoms in his statement: “Anyone who did not become part of their insidious little cult became a victim of this cult, and freedom of the press and freedom of speech was not even thought about, much less freedom of religion” (*Afghan People vs. The Taliban*, 2001, p. 19). Here is a direct correlation to the United States Constitution: for Rohrabacher the term “freedom” is directly connected to the first amendment, which includes the freedoms of the press, speech and religion. Though Rohrabacher claims that these terms were not thought about by the Taliban, I would argue that the Taliban felt so threatened by these rights they felt the need to oppress people, particularly Afghan women from participating in their citizenship.

State Department political appointee Lorne Craner uses the term “freedom” frequently throughout his testimony, but he only focuses on the issue of religious freedom. He cites the concept multiple times asserting that the “Taliban rely on ... the Ministry for the Promotion of Virtue and the Suppression of Vice, to enforce rules on such matters as appearance, dress, employment, access to medical care, behavior, religious practices and freedom of religion” (2001, p. 25). Craner affirms that the United States government has “called for a... government... that accepts international norms... particularly regarding human rights,

particularly religious freedom, and issues concerning women, and that facilitates safe delivery of humanitarian and economic assistance” (*Afghan People vs. The Taliban*, 2001, p. 24). For Craner, other issues such as human rights have importance, but in the context of his testimony he argues for a very specific kind of freedom, which is religious freedom. While some may argue that religious freedom may encompass many of the other freedoms, such as whether one’s dress may be dictated by religion, Craner does not plainly make the connection in how he defines the term.

Congressional representative Christopher Smith addresses the issue of freedom briefly and only through a quote by Dr. Abdullah, the minister of foreign affairs of the Northern Alliance. Smith states “for an institutional framework based on moderate Islam and democracy to embody human rights and fundamental freedoms of individuals, including those of women, political pluralism, devolution of power to local administration to local elections on provincial and lower levels” (*Afghan People vs. The Taliban*, 2001, p. 32). Using Abdullah’s words, Smith articulates broad definition of freedom within specific contexts. He mentions the work of individuals, but also what freedom means for larger communities. For Smith, active citizenship allows for a pluralistic government with a distribution of local power.

The testimony provided by T. Kumar of Amnesty International targets the usage of “freedom” in relationship to Afghan women’s rights. Kumar states that the “Taleban’s policies deny basic and fundamental rights to women, including freedom of association, expression, and movement. Under the Taleban’s strict rules, women are not allowed to study, work, or move around without wearing the all-enveloping burqa” (*Afghan People vs. The Taliban*, 2001, p. 43). Here Kumar equates freedom with education, the ability to work, and the ability to move around in the community without wearing a burqa. While this is not his complete statement, he

continues to articulate that women should be able to move about without clothing restrictions, which is a very specific view of how women can negotiate their community.

The Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan also utilizes the term “freedom” in their testimony. As a part of RAWA’s slogan, they utilize the term “freedom” to create a connection<sup>21</sup>. Faryal, the representative from RAWA, states that “RAWA’s work is also aimed toward giving voice to our downtrodden people, especially the women—and empowering women and men not to forget that they—we all—deserve human rights and freedoms. (*Afghan People vs. The Taliban*, 2001, p. 52). While Faryal does not articulate specific freedoms in her testimony, she works to utilize plural definitions, acknowledging the varied and multiple freedoms that are needed for men and women, which is explained in depth in Chapter 8.

The representative of the CARDIC, Quadir Amiryar, uses the term “freedom” in more narrow way. For he states that “[a]fter 23 years of occupation, loss of fundamental freedoms, foreign interference and civil war, the people of Afghanistan deserve to insist on retaining a large measure of autonomy over their lives” (*Afghan People vs. The Taliban*, 2001, p. 57). Amiryar focuses on what he considers the fundamental freedoms and while he does not articulate specifically how he defines “freedom,” he connects it to the Afghan people’s ability for self-determination.

Haron Amin, representative from the United Front, uses a quote from Pakistani journalist Ahmad Rashid, who states “I would like to apologize for the part that we have played in the destruction of your cities, your culture, your traditions and your freedom to choose your own government” (*Afghan People vs. The Taliban*, 2001, p. 61). For Amin this definition is very specific as he frames freedom in the ability for the people to choose their own government. Both

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<sup>21</sup> The slogan is “If you are freedom-loving and anti-fundamentalist, you are with RAWA” (Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan, 2014)



Amin and Amiryar leave out specific details about what freedom looks like in Afghanistan, not acknowledging the multiple meanings.

#### **6.4 Connections to participatory citizenship**

Representatives from the United States government, Afghan government, and non-profit organizations framed citizenship through very specific lenses, just as the journalist Shah represented citizenship in the documentary, where she presented a narrow frame of Afghan women and their ability to activate their citizenship. In this hearing the audience can see this as a continuation of that narrow frame, transforming the message on the genre chain. Indirectly using language from the documentary, the United States Congressional representatives used similar terminology and presented a view of Afghan women as helpless and unable to advocate for themselves, especially from under the burqa. This is in contrast to the testimony from Faryal, the representative of RAWA, who did not discuss the burqa as the main problem. Faryal instead addressed Afghan women's ability to resist the current Taliban regime, the prevention of other oppressive from regimes taking over, and the support of freedom for women and the people of Afghanistan. These ideas are more in focus as RAWA's main goals and represents women actively working towards participatory citizenship practices.

As a result of the varied groups represented at this hearing, this text provides an opportunity to demonstrate the conflicting representations on the issues surrounding Afghan women and human rights for all Afghan citizens. As a link on the genre chain, the testimony at this Congressional hearing provides connections to previous connotations about Afghan women and their inability to advocate for themselves. While Zarmeena could not save herself, nor could RAWA save her from the execution, the Congressional testimony emphasized the helplessness of women in Afghanistan, instead of their agency. "Subsequent uses of [Zarmeena's execution

video] filtered into a variety of media outlets, largely without crediting RAWA members or more importantly without their analysis of this public execution” (Fluri, 2006, p. 103). Ignoring who made the video and RAWA’s assertion for agency, the news media and Congress use this opportunity to interpret the video themselves, without considering the context of the video or RAWA’s stance on the issues for Afghan women.

The United States government provided a narrow view of Afghan women’s ability to affect change from underneath a burqa and non-governmental organizations worked toward “freeing” women from the oppression of the burqa. While these frames diminish Afghan women’s agency and the representative from RAWA was dismissed by the many of the individuals at the hearing, Faryal addressed RAWA’s concerns and thus RAWA was able to articulate how they actively support citizenship women’s practices.

## CHAPTER 7: REINTERPRETATIONS OF RESISTANCE AND FREEDOM IN THE STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS

The 2002 State of the Union address given by President George W. Bush highlights many of the values that can be used to define citizenship. Commonly known as the “axis of evil” speech, this was the first major speech given by President Bush since the events of September 11 and took place three months after the start of military operations in Afghanistan. In addition to addressing domestic and international issues, President Bush emphasized that the issues for women in Afghanistan were one of the major reasons for taking on the Taliban. I am using this speech as part of the genre chain, because it continues to demonstrate how the Bush administration viewed the need for military intervention in order to “free” Afghan women from oppression.

In this address, President Bush does not refer to the burqa or veil, unlike the government representatives in the Congressional hearings, but he indirectly refers to resistance and freedom through a frame that is reinforced by the United States’ ideology. The primary focus of this speech is highlighted through the trope of freedom, as the speech is filled with a variety of ways in which the term is used directly. Building on the name of the military operation in Afghanistan, *Operation Enduring Freedom* (OEF), Bush works to inject the term “freedom” repeatedly throughout the speech<sup>22</sup>. As with the other analyses, I have employed a careful use of critical discourse analysis in order to highlight how Bush interprets these specific constructions.

Through the State of the Union address, President Bush constructs a version of citizenship that was based on loosely-defined notions of freedom. For Bush, this meant that citizens were willing to sacrifice both money and life in order to assure that American-style

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<sup>22</sup> OEF officially represents the global operation on terrorism, but it is most commonly used in reference to Afghanistan.

freedom will be ensured for the future.

### **7.1 Resistance Reframed: The United States Helping Afghan Women Defy the Taliban**

In advocating for the defeat of the Taliban, removing the ongoing oppression of Afghan women was high on the President's agenda. According to Bush, "the mothers and daughters of Afghanistan were captives in their own homes, forbidden from working or going to school. Today women are free, and are part of Afghanistan's new government" (2002). He asserts that the military actions of the United States government ensured the freedom of women and their ability to activate their participatory citizenship, by working and going to school. In these sentences, Bush articulates what Afghanistan looked like before United States involvement and after. Emphasizing what happened to women under the Taliban, stating that they were "captives," suggests that women were living in a prison. While he reminds the audience what was banned for women, including important civic aspects of their lives, Bush neglects to mention the physical violence that was happening against women. Here he provides an early assertion of "freedom" in that women are now able to work and attend school, and he suggests that the United States had a hand in assuring that Afghan women were able to leave their homes in order to participate in civic life.

As a result of this frame, the United States has denied Afghan women the option of fighting for freedom on their own terms, which includes utilizing methods that do not involve violence. RAWA's official position on the instability of Afghanistan is to "[disarm] all the armed groups... [and] by a peace-keeping force not including troops from countries that have involved themselves in the Afghan infighting" (Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan, 2014). In other words, the United States and United Kingdom (and their allies) needed to step back and let the United Nations create a peacekeeping force that would help stabilize the

country.

As evidence of the work the United States is doing in order to ensure that women have access to representation in government, President Bush welcomes “the new Minister of Women’s Affairs, Doctor Sima Samar” (2002). Bush highlights the creation of a ministry post to address issues for women, and he is able to present the woman who has been chosen for this post. When creating the Afghan parliament, the United States provided requirements for setting up the new government, assuring that women would have representation in parliament and suggesting that through women’s participation in parliament, Afghanistan would provide more rights and opportunities for women.

However, there were critiques of how Afghan women participated in the government and continued to support laws that oppressed women. Samar is accused of not wanting to change the way women were treated by the Afghan government and her complacency in regards to women’s rights supports the patriarchal system currently in place. In a speech by Malalai Joya (19 Oct 2013), given at the All Saints’ Church in Pasadena, California, she criticized men and women involved with Afghan National Assembly. Joya claims that the women involved with the government were just as oppressive towards Afghan women as the men were. She stated that “women were only symbolic in the state” and that many of the “women in parliament are only fundamentalists [standing for] cosmetic-symbolic changes” in Afghanistan (Joya, 2013). Joya was a representative to the first session of the Afghan parliament and while she does not claim to be a RAWA member, she supports their work. Representing her community in Farah Providence, Joya was the youngest person elected to parliament (Joya, 2009, p. 11). While in parliament she argued for the rights for women, children and families and worked to support the roles of minority groups, Joya asserts that she was told by some of the other women in parliament to be

quiet and not make waves, but she refused. While she received some support by other parliamentarians, the dominant forces eventually suspended Joya in 2007 for the rest of her five-year term (Joya, 2009, p. 13). Joya's criticism of Samar is a result of the policies put into place by the Bush administration. President Bush's assertions on the war freeing Afghan women overlooked at how Samar refused to confront the profound inequities between women and men. Bush did not consider what it would mean to have women in the parliament and how they would be able to assert for the rights of women and families without undue pressure to conform to a patriarchal system.

Leila Ahmed has worked to find the intersections for Muslim women through the political, personal, and religious, and in her work she finds resistance. Ahmed (1999) realized that Muslim women

could not pursue the investigation of our heritage, traditions, religion in a way that white women were investigating and rethinking theirs. Whatever aspect of our history of religion each of us had been trying to reflect on, we would be besieged, at the need of our presentations, with furious questions and declarations openly dismissive of Islam... the implication was that in trying to examine and rethink our traditions rather than dismissing them out of hand, we were implicitly defending whatever our audience considered to be indefensible...[and the] presumption was that... we had to abandon our [religions and traditions] because they were ...intrinsically, essentially, and irredeemably misogynist and patriarchal in a way that theirs (apparently) were not (p. 291-2).

With these constructions women in Europe and the United States have continued to frame women living in Muslim countries as "irredeemably" unable to advocate for themselves. The frames for women and their ability to resist a dominant power has been compromised at best and

undermined at worst. In his repeated use of the term “citizen,” Bush implies that the United States is returning Afghan women their citizenship. In considering the statements discussed earlier, Afghan women are now free to go to school and participate in public life, assuring their ability to activate their citizenship, but only through the work of the United States. However, Bush does not address what will happen to Afghan women’s ability to advocate for their citizenship once the United States leaves Afghanistan.

## **7.2 Freedom Asserted through the United States Presidential Frames**

Throughout his State of the Union address, Bush frequently employed the use of the term “freedom,” emphasizing the connections between the United States’ concept of freedom and how the term can be employed in multiple ways for a participatory citizenship. It was used to introduce volunteerism as a patriotic duty, to condemn other countries for their lack of freedom, and to honor those who “gave their lives for freedom” (Bush 2002). However, the speech was also used to justify the United States actions in Afghanistan. While this quote refers to a CIA agent who lost his life in Afghanistan, this also could provide a subtext that everyone, Afghan and American citizens alike, should be willing to sacrifice the lives of their loved ones for the cause of freedom. However, the sacrifice works only for the cause of Bush’s (and by definition American) constructions of freedom.

In working to frame the operations of terrorists, Bush provides a stark contrast between the terrorists and citizens of countries. Early in the speech, he asserts that as “long as nations harbor terrorists, freedom is at risk. And America and our allies must not, and will not, allow it” (Bush 2002). This is an interesting construct, in that the terrorists are stateless and are not tied to a nationality. Bush stripped them of their citizenship and denied them an opportunity to claim a nationalistic citizenship through their actions. Bush is asserting that the United States is not at

war with individual countries or citizens of those countries, but only with those people whose loyalty is to an ideology outside of the state. As a result, this allows for freedom to be endangered in the United States and around the world.

As a result of this global construction of freedom, President Bush asserts that “History has called America and our allies to action, and it is both our responsibility and our privilege to fight freedom’s fight” and that “the forces of terror cannot stop the momentum of freedom” (2002). In other words, it is the responsibility of American citizens support a war under the cause of freedom. In this speech Bush is harking back into America’s early history during Revolutionary times, in which American colonists were fighting for freedom. While not directly quoting Patrick Henry, Bush embarks on a path that emulates Henry’s famous speech “Give Me Liberty or Give me Death,” where Henry advocates for freedom and claims that the revolutionary forces will not fight alone, but with allies and that the war has already come<sup>23</sup> (Henry, 1775).

Bush draws on many parallels with the United States and the concept of freedom, though he does little to articulate exactly what freedom specifically means. However, notions of freedom are indirectly defined in the speech through his assertions of security, sacrifice, and working in the community, suggesting a participatory fame to citizenship. Repeatedly, Bush claims that “America will do what is necessary to ensure our nation’s security” (2002), thus asserting that the connections between freedom and security are strong and not contrary constructions. Bush asserts that security is equated to winning “this war; we’ll protect our homeland; and we will revive our economy” (2002), which in turn means that freedom is derived from winning foreign wars and protecting the American economy at home. While the following quote is inserted in the

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<sup>23</sup> The strong connections between the two speeches will not be explored in this project.



section on the United States budget for the coming year, there are other implied notions of cost. “While the price of freedom and security is high, it is never too high. Whatever it costs to defend our country, we will pay” (2002). Bush does not articulate how else the United States will pay for freedom and security, but it is a thinly concealed notion that the cost of life is in addition to the financial cost for the country. Hence, the cost of life is the most extreme expectation for participatory citizenship.

The closing of the State of the Union address utilizes “freedom” multiple times, in a very concentrated form. Bush asserts,

We choose freedom and the dignity of every life...We have known freedom’s price. We have shown freedom’s power. And in this great conflict, my fellow Americans, we will see freedom’s victory (2002).

This closing statement draws on all of the concepts he has articulated throughout the address, with freedom being communicated in many different forms. He equates “freedom” with the United States military power that is dominant over the Taliban. It is equated with sacrifice, as the “price” for freedom is expensive and the United States version of freedom is always successful through “victory.”

Throughout the speech, Bush works to create a connection with citizens of the United States as they are needed to protect what is ideologically “American” and also as an obligation to a global community. He opens his speech to “fellow citizens” and this is important as he is asserting that he, along with other Americans, are a part of the work of freedom, which could be construed as a form of citizenship practices. The the use of “fellow” creates a unification with the President, the United States Congress and the American public. It allows those who are watching at home to feel a part of the actions that are taking place and, and have a sense of

responsibility in carrying out the President's call for continued action.

Bush also works to deny citizenship to the people he identifies as terrorists in the State of the Union address. Post 9-11 enemies of the state are not identified explicitly by name or by group, and they are never identified as citizens of any country. When Bush uses the terms "hijackers," "killers," and "outlaw regimes" to identify the enemies of the United States and to imply that they are located "throughout the world citizenship" (2002), he denies the citizenship of these people by failing to mention where they were from or how they identified outside of a terrorist frame. Bush suggests that enemies of the state show their allegiance to a cause and not a country. As such, terrorists do not identify through a nationality, but through commonly held beliefs. The address expands on how to view citizenship political lens of the United States, suggesting that good Americans come together in order to resolve their differences, show unity for the war and the defense of freedom.

The State of the Union address worked to confront issues of resistance and freedom, both through American lenses, while also working to impose those frames on other countries. As the last link analyzed on the genre chain, this speech both demonstrates that a reference to the RAWA's video is not necessary. The video lacks commentary from RAWA and as a result allows Shah, Congress, and President Bush to fill in the commentary for them. As a result, the Bush administration worked to advocate for war, asserting that a violent action requires a violent response. The organization of the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan, as well as other Afghan women have resisted the assertion that they needed help in advocating for their rights and citizenship in a violent way. Prior to 9-11 and since the beginning of the Afghan war, RAWA has asserted that violent intervention was not the desired goal. In the past, they have requested help through humanitarian means, which includes disarmament of their

communities instead of through war.

Bush's constructions of freedom are in direct contrast to RAWA's, in that RAWA works to firmly articulate what freedom means to them. They work to develop a proactive citizenship, one that provides support through education and job training for the Afghan people. RAWA's work both complements and conflicts with how President Bush represents freedom and how the United States government historically frames freedom and the influence it plays on the expectations on how citizens are expected to enact their citizenship.

## CHAPTER 8 – RAWA SPEAKS FOR THEMSELVES

Since 1977, the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan have been outspoken on the rights of women, as well as all Afghan citizens. With the advancements of communication technology, RAWA has connected with a global audience, giving people an opportunity to see the issues that are going on through a different lens, without the mediation of news agencies and foreign governments. Through their multi-modal publications, RAWA has been able to demonstrate a participatory citizenship. Though it is not the goal of RAWA to define citizenship, they highlight their construction of participatory citizenship through their resistance to the traditional tropes of veiling, resistance, and freedom. While I am presenting the analysis of RAWA's work last, it is not the last part of the genre chain. The genre chain can be seen as a recursive chain where documents speak back and forth to each other, as they move thorough time, morphing in through the process. RAWA's texts that are analyzed here represent both a precursor to the events of 9-11, as they were written prior to that event, as well as a response to the frames that have been analyzed in this project.

Through RAWA's website and their outreach on YouTube, Facebook, and Twitter, RAWA creates a network of information in order to bring attention to the atrocities that are happening to Afghan women and encourage those who live outside of Afghanistan to consider humanitarian assistance to their cause. However, while much of their work is dedicated to bringing the problems to a global audience, they are also able to demonstrate a participatory citizenship through these texts.

For RAWA, their website<sup>24</sup> is the primary source for information that they produce, as well as an archive on news about Afghan women from other sources. From the website one can

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<sup>24</sup> RAWA's website can be found at [www.rawa.org](http://www.rawa.org).

connect to their social media sites, as well as their information on their activities, in seven different languages. The primary website is in English, demonstrating a desire to reach a large, international audience. However, many of RAWA's texts have been translated into Italian, Spanish, French, German, Portuguese, Japanese, as well as one of the local languages of Persian/Urdu. RAWA and their supporters work to connect RAWA's work with people in a global arena. In addition to highlighting news events that are happening in Afghanistan and the Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan, RAWA's website provides access to their previous documents, that were originally only available in print.

RAWA's YouTube channel (<https://www.youtube.com/rawa77/>) is frequently updated with videos, providing visual evidence of the violence that continues against women, both from domestic violence, as well as violence from the Afghan war. RAWA also produces videos celebrating RAWA and its founder Meena, as well as share cultural aspects of Afghanistan. Highlighting these celebrations, RAWA is able to demonstrate to both the local and international community the citizenship work they are able to teach and participate in as Afghan citizens. RAWA also maintains two social media pages on Facebook<sup>25</sup> and Twitter<sup>26</sup>, but those pages are interestingly not used in social ways. They are used as a news feed rather than a way for people to connect with each other. RAWA provides a way to get out information to a global audience and to connect with each other, but not overtly with RAWA. In fact many times it is the supporters of RAWA that are posting much of the news on Facebook, but on Twitter much of the news appears to be from a representative from RAWA. All of the social media sites present information in a variety of languages, though most of the languages being used are English and Persian/Urdu. This outreach demonstrates less of their citizenship and instead emphasizes the

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<sup>25</sup> RAWA's Facebook page can be found at <https://www.facebook.com/groups/66110928494/>.

<sup>26</sup> RAWA's Twitter handle is @RAWA77.

news that is being reported on both Afghan women and men.

For this project I am analyzing how RAWA addresses the issues of veiling, resistance, and freedom and how these tropes connect to participatory citizenship. In the texts, some of these words are used directly and other times the concepts are implied. I have chosen to investigate these issues using four documents from their website.

### **8.1 Documents Reviewed**

The first is a booklet that they originally created for print use that is titled *Afghanistan, World's Largest Forgotten Tragedy*. It was later posted as JPEG images on their website. The booklet highlights the work that RAWA is doing in Afghanistan and the refugee camps in Pakistan (n.d.b). The image-heavy booklet outlines both the struggles and the accomplishments of RAWA and contains quite a bit of meta-activity that the organization is accomplishing. In other words, RAWA frequently discusses the work they are doing in order help the community and encourage other community members to help out. This booklet accomplishes two goals, as it works to raise monetary donations from the sale of the booklet to the international community and it provides information on how women in the community are doing citizenship work. While the concepts of citizenship work is never overtly stated in any of RAWA's documentation, this booklet describes the active work that they are doing, as they promote their actions and activism. While the document primarily contains images with minimal text, the text demonstrates the citizenship work they are doing on a regular basis.

The second document is an announcement posted on their website, in which RAWA is answering the request for "clarification in regard to the slogan 'Freedom, Democracy and Social Justice'" (2000). This is a short statement in order for RAWA to define how they use these terms. The "RAWA Educational Policy" is a document in which RAWA explicitly outlines their policy

on what values they deem important for their students to learn (2014b). These documents not only provide insight into RAWA's educational philosophy, but also to how education informs citizenship work. "RAWA's Standpoints" is a statement of their position on women's rights, the veil, how RAWA wants Afghanistan to be governed, and the role of foreign intervention in Afghanistan (2014).

I chose these four documents because they represent the ideological stance of RAWA in reaction to the war in Afghanistan, before it started and helps in defining how they constructed a participatory citizenship.

## **8.2 Views on Veiling**

RAWA's official stance on the veil (see Appendix G for details about veiling) is that "the Islamic veil is a completely personal issue and no one has the right to interfere with this decision or impose the veil upon" women (RAWA, 2014). For RAWA, the veil is a tool which can be used for subversion, as was done to create the Zameena execution video and to hide their identity in order for the members complete their work. However, they also state that they will not wear the "Islamic veil" and instead use it as a form of resistance. RAWA asserts that "[a]s far as security and social discretion allow us, for we [RAWA] regard rejection of the veil as a symbolic form of resistance and defiance of the fundamentalists" (2014). RAWA identifies the veil as a cultural symbol and not an Islamic one. As a result, veiling is used as a tool of participatory citizenship as a way to resist the extreme gender apartheid in Afghanistan. This active resistance towards the veil (and by extension the burqa), asserts how RAWA is defining what citizenship looks like in very physical terms.

Although the burqa became a symbolic representation of the Afghan women's struggle, it is not specifically addressed in most of RAWA's literature. Instead, RAWA works to focus on

citizenship issues, such as women's rights, reducing domestic and national violence in Afghanistan, and assuring education, health care, and community support are provided to all Afghan citizens. In their booklet, *Afghanistan, World's Largest Forgotten Tragedy*, the majority of the references to the veil are through the images of Afghan women. The booklet uses images from the public spaces of Afghanistan, in which women are required to wear the blue burqa, to other spaces which include semi-private, women's only spaces. They also include images from Pakistan, where the burqa is not required and women may be seen wearing a hijab (headscarf). There are images from schools and at RAWA functions with women in different states of veiling, everything from a loose headscarf to the burqa. For example, Illustration 8.1 shows



ILLUSTRATION 8.1: RAWA OPENING A HEALTHCARE CLINIC (REVOLUTIONARY ASSOCIATION OF THE WOMEN OF AFGHANISTAN, N.D.B).

includes the opening of a healthcare clinic, in which they can be seen in these different states of veiling. While the viewer cannot see the women's faces, one can notice the variety of headscarves being used, as well as some women without a head covering at all, suggesting that women's agency over their choice of head coverings. In the photo we can also see some women's faces, rejecting the Taliban's decrees for burqa-style coverings.

In the booklet, the only direct reference to the veil comes from the caption of a photo that



represents a moment in a theatrical play “Islamic Veil” performed by students at a RAWA school (RAWA, n.d.b, p. 18). While no context is provided for Illustration 8.2, RAWA’s other



ILLUSTRATION 8.2: STUDENT PLAY, “ISLAMIC VEIL” (REVOLUTIONARY ASSOCIATION OF THE WOMEN OF AFGHANISTAN, N.D.B).

texts provide some ideas on what could be addressed in the play. Using this image and considering RAWA’s “Standpoints” statement, as well as their “Educational Policy,” a viewer might assume that the context of the play is to denounce the mandatory wearing of the veil and advocate for respect for women and people of other religions. The actions of students putting on plays highlights the issues that are going on in the community. The play works to develop citizenship practices that help the students internalize what participatory citizenship may look like, as students are actively practicing participatory citizenship through their actions, instead of simply talking about them in an academic setting.

### 8.3 RAWA Defining Resistance in Contrast to Local and International Frames

For RAWA, resistance is one of the hallmarks of their work and one of the most visible parts of their articulation of participatory citizenship. All of the texts examined both directly and indirectly address the issue of resistance. These texts demonstrate how women have the ability to resist the patriarchal system while also working within the confines of gender apartheid and the violence perpetrated in Afghanistan by local and international forces.

The intersection of resistance overlaps with the concepts of veiling and freedom. As I discussed in the previous section, RAWA uses the veil or more accurately, demonstrates their resistance towards veiling, as an action of civil-disobedience and subversive activities against the Taliban. However, RAWA's resistance towards misogyny and patriarchy are the main focus of their work and they want to redirect the message of their work toward "freedom, democracy and social justice" (Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan, 2000) instead of the United States' frames of veiling as the primary focus of women's oppression.

In RAWA's "Standpoints" statement, they articulate their stances on main issues, including what is important for their resistance. On the issue of women's rights they assert that "women must continue their hard, long struggle against fanaticism and carry it through to the end" (Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan, 2014). Here they emphasize how resistance is not a short-term commitment, but instead a long-term one, a commitment to ensuring that participatory citizenship takes effort and is not something that is simply given to women or men. For almost 40 years, RAWA has been advocating for women's rights, and there have been many set-backs with the control of the Northern Alliance, the Taliban. and the United States invasion of Afghanistan.

In RAWA's definition of their "Main Slogans" (2000), they define the terms "freedom," "democracy," and "social justice," and also demonstrate their resistance to those who work to oppress people and prevent them from achieving these ideals. RAWA articulates their resistance in that they are working for the "annihilation of criminal fundamentalism and thereby foreign intervention from our internal affairs that the most crucial step towards attainment of Freedom can be taken" (Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan, 2000). What this means is that RAWA is actively resisting fundamentalism from within, as well as from foreign

intervention<sup>27</sup> and it requires that people resist fundamentalist activities in order to achieve freedom in Afghanistan for women and all Afghan citizens.

RAWA's "Educational Policy" is surprisingly filled with statements regarding the concept of resistance and demonstrates that RAWA not only practices in the world, but that they also use it as a frame in education. Whether they are talking about religious, ethnic, gender tolerance, advocating for "environmental sensitivity," or educating students to avoid violence, RAWA teaches the values of resistance against fundamentalist regimes, such as the Taliban.

RAWA's statements are direct and while they provide a list for what students should do, such as "respect," "understand," and "encourage" the values listed, RAWA also admonishes students to "not allow criminals in the future to dare commit crimes in the name of religion, as did the Jihadis and Taliban" (Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan, 2014) and that they should "prevent ethnic divisions" and "invalidate antiquated myths... that portray women as powerless and less equal than men" (Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan, 2014). RAWA uses language to discourage oppression including "do not allow," "prevent," and "invalidate," asking students to actively resist dominant forces of subjugation. These phrases work to support both what should be done, with what students should view as active resistance, as well as helping articulate the activities for an active, participatory citizen.

The booklet, *Afghanistan, World's Largest Forgotten Tragedy*, also provides more creative cues in identifying resistance. By using the words of the founder Meena to demonstrate the current work that RAWA is doing in Afghanistan and Pakistan, RAWA demonstrates their resistance to what they call the "fundamentalist regimes" of the Taliban and the Northern Alliance. Meena is a powerful image for members of RAWA and is frequently used as a

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<sup>27</sup> From the dates of the text, Afghanistan was still recovering from the recently expelled Soviets, and it forecasts the potential for future invasions

reminder for what it means to be a participatory citizen. A photo of Meena accompanied by her words can be found on most of RAWA's documents. Assassinated in 1987, Meena is framed as a martyr and her work lives on, as she is frequently referred to in times of needed inspiration and hope for the members of RAWA.

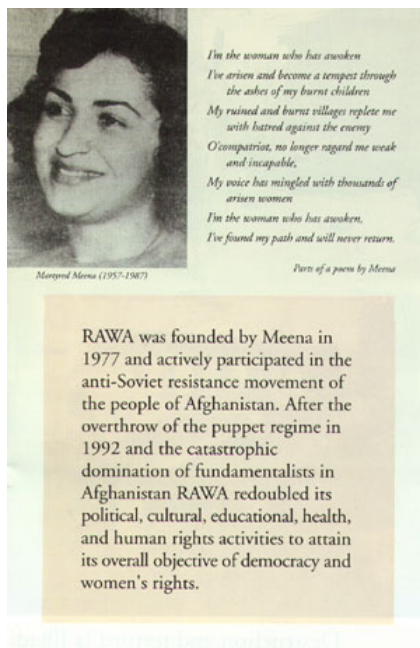
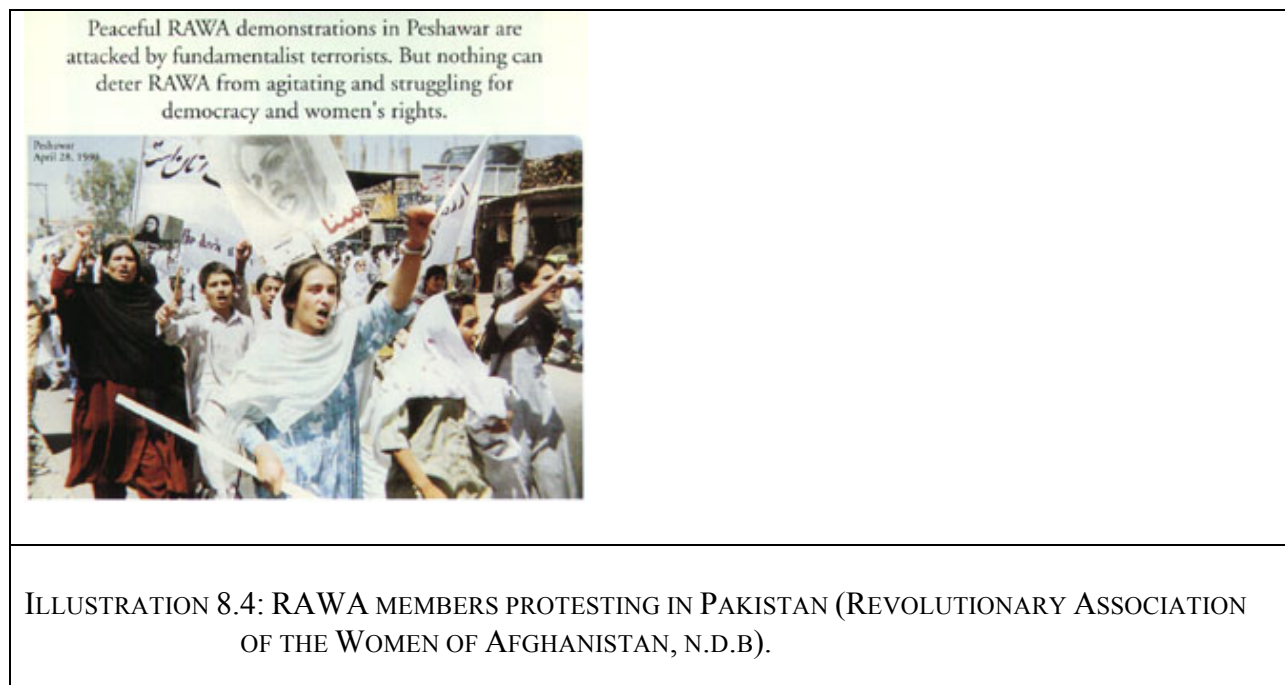


ILLUSTRATION 8.3 FOUNDER OF RAWA, MEENA WITH HISTORY AND POEM ON RAW (REVOLUTIONARY ASSOCIATION OF THE WOMEN OF AFGHANISTAN, N.D.B).

It is not surprising that the first page one sees in the booklet contains Meena's image and one of her untitled poems (Illustration 8.3). Mentioning her own awakening for activist work, Meena asserts her resistance to the oppression of women as she states "no longer regard me weak and incapable, / My voice has mingled with thousands of arisen women " (Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan, n.d.b, p. 3). Meena not only refuses to consider weakness, instead she asserts her agency in that she is joining other women to oppose oppression.

The booklet addresses much of the citizenship work that RAWA does, which includes providing education, healthcare, and job training to women. These acts of citizenship demonstrate overt forms of resistance in addition to traditional public protests. In Pakistan, women from RAWA protested publicly through demonstrations and by distributing their journal *Payam-e-Zan* (translated as Women’s Message). Illustration 8.4 is from a public RAWA protest in 1999. Note that they are protesting without covering their faces with a burqa, and some are not even wearing a hijab. Many are carrying signs with statements in Urdu (and more recently can be found in English), along with Meena’s image. The image’s caption states “Peaceful RAWA demonstrations in Peshawar [Pakistan] are attacked by fundamentalist terrorists. But nothing can



deter RAWA from agitating and struggling for democracy and women’s rights” (Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan, n.d.b, p. 13). In the caption RAWA asserts the resistance through what is generally considered controversial means, as they work at “agitating” the opposition, as well as asserting their struggle for rights. This booklet highlights many of the different forms of resistance that are being practiced by RAWA in their citizenship work.

#### **8.4 Definitions of Freedom**

RAWA also frequently uses the term “freedom” as part of their established goals for women as citizens. Contrary to hearings by the United States Congress and the State of the Union address, RAWA’s texts work to clearly define what freedom means to them. One of RAWA’s slogans, which can be found on their homepage, clearly asserts freedom, as they state “If you are freedom-loving and anti-fundamentalist, you are with RAWA” (Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan, 2014c). While it is not clear exactly what “freedom-loving” means (or what it means to be an anti-fundamentalist), it provides an opportunity to explore potential definitions.

Many of their documents assert frames of freedom, but the term is generally saved for slogans instead of detailed policies or information. In the document “Freedom, Democracy and Social Justice,” RAWA formally answers the question of how they define these terms. While using the term as a way to articulate resistance, “freedom” is broken down into various parts. RAWA identifies freedom as: freedom for the country of Afghanistan, freedom for the citizens and freedom for the community.

For RAWA, freedom for Afghanistan includes “political, economic and cultural freedom and independence for our country” (Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan, 2000). This suggests a right for Afghanistan’s self-determination from outside rule. Afghanistan has a history of external forces working to dominate the country that predates Soviet and American occupation. RAWA also asserts the “freedoms of expression, belief, congregation, profession and travel” (Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan, 2000), as these rights are reserved for individuals within Afghanistan to assert their own personal freedoms within the country. In their community, people start activating their citizenship in conjunction with other citizens which would include the “freedom of the press... to form political parties and

unions... to elect and be elected” (Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan, 2000), which help create and support their community. Other freedoms that RAWA articulates in their statement includes the “separation of religion from the State” and “rights of national and ethnic minorities... [and] of women” (Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan, 2000). These statements echo many of the same rights that are asserted in the United States and work to provide an avenue for all Afghan people to participate in their citizenship.

The values presented in their “Standpoints” statement are also shown in RAWA’s educational philosophy. In developing new citizens, RAWA works on developing the concept of freedom in more detail, as they list “respecting freedom of thought” and that “freedom doesn’t exist without justice” (Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan, 2014), as part of the policy. They also break it down to teach that humans “do not have to think alike or live the same way” nor that “no human being is superior or any other” (Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan, 2014). The basic language and phrasing works to help keep the policy in the direction of how to teach children rights and responsibilities in regards to being active citizens within their community, resulting in RAWA being able to change their community over the long term.

### **8.5 Asserting a Participatory Citizenship**

RAWA is working to construct a participatory citizenship through their words and actions. The members create policies, such as the “Education Policy,” in order to articulate clear goals for the people who work with them. However, the concept of participatory citizenship is most clearly seen through their actions that are documented in their texts. They are able to clearly show how their actions are working to contribute to their larger community, encouraging actions by other community members and working to organize for both an ideological, as well as

a practical improvement in the lives of the Afghan people. In creating these and other texts, the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan provides a window into how an oppressed group of people is able to assert their citizenship even when it is effectively denied to them by the state.



## **CHAPTER 9: IMPLICATIONS FOR THE FUTURE**

The purpose of this dissertation has been to address the constructions of a participatory citizenship, defined as the ability for individuals to assert their citizenship through their agency within their community. My claim is that the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan is actively defining participatory citizenship through their actions, instead of citizenship being simply decided by their place of birth. I am claiming that feminist participatory citizenship works as is stated by Ruth Lister in that “recognising women’s agency and achievements as citizens, both individually and collectively, without losing sight of the deep-seated inequalities that still undermine many of their citizenship rights” (2003, p.6), and as a result provides a way to construct an analysis of the texts.

### **9.1 Connecting the Genre Chains Together**

For this project I use the concept of “genre chains” as asserted by Norman Fairclough (2010) where “genres which are regularly and predictably chained together such that meanings are moved and transformed along the chain, and recontextualised and transformed” (p. 76) in order to analyze the texts for this project. I am asserting that the Zarmeena execution video, which was originally produced by RAWA, was filtered through various genres including a CNN documentary, a United States Congressional hearing, and the 2002 State of the Union Address, with the genre itself transformed from a video into text.

Initially the Zarmeena execution was transformed by RAWA’s video recording. The camera-person did not record the whole event, only a very specific part. With little commentary, the video was offered to news outlets in order to let the world know what was happening to women in Afghanistan. It is only through reviewing additional research about RAWA that the viewer is able to understand the story behind the execution.

In the next link on the chain, the video was transformed into a second video with audio commentary provided by the British reporter Shah. The event was reduced again, into the sections that Shah wanted to show in her documentary. She provided her own commentary, filling in for RAWA, without presenting the exact nature of the event she was showing to the viewers of the documentary. Shah recontextualizes the video by providing additional footage from Afghanistan, interviews with RAWA (though they did not comment on the Zarmeena video), as well as footage of Shah in the football stadium where Zarmeena's execution took place. The documentary, which uses segments of the Zarmeena video, provides a very specific context and interpretation as provided by Shah.

In the transcript of the Congressional hearing, the video is not addressed, but instead the hearing focused on the violence against women and issues of the veil, a trope which was highlighted by Shah throughout her documentary. The veil trope was used repeatedly as a physical manifestation of the oppression of women, and as a result, those who testified at the Congressional hearing did not have to see the veil or burqa in order to understand what was meant by the use of the term. Because of the documentary *Beneath the Veil*, images and evidence of the violence by the Taliban was already been provided. This is a more radical recontextualization of the Zarmeena video. In the Congressional testimony the video is not needed in order to understand the concepts presented. Post 9-11, the documentary was shown repeatedly on CNN, as well as additional interviews with Shah which provided additional constructions of Afghan women the images for the audience.

In the last text, the 2002 State of the Union address is the most distant on the genre chain from the original event. President Bush presents an alternate images, one that is without violence against women and without the veil. This image portrays freedom, as he does not mention the

issue of veiling. Instead, Bush articulates that women are already free, hence no need to discuss Smeal's "death shroud burqa" (*Afghan People vs. The Taliban*, 2001). Bush further recontextualizes the execution as a victory speech, in that the United States has freed Afghan women through the election of women into parliament and appointments to other prominent roles within the Afghan government.

The last link on the genre chain is the texts in which RAWA responds to these constructions. RAWA's texts provide a lens into how seemingly indirect power structures work to inform, detract, and/or manipulate messages between those who are viewed without agency and those who have the power to appropriate RAWA's work for alternate political agendas. However, these texts are not the end of the chain, but instead they link back RAWA's Zarmeena video and connect the multiple texts back to each other.

## **9.2 Revisiting a Participatory Citizenship and Looking Towards the Future in Rhetoric and Writing Studies**

In exploring the concept of participatory citizenship, this dissertation is concerned with how RAWA asserts their citizenship, as well as how they are framed by the United States government, news media, and non-governmental organizations. The texts analyzed work to resist how colonial concepts impact Afghan women including dictating what feminism looks like and how Afghan women are agents in their citizenship. Feminist rhetorical work provides opportunities for scholars to see the connections between activist work and rhetoric.

Royster asserts that "knowledge is less truth for all time, space, and conditions than it is interpretation" (2003, p. 149). This assertion allows for contemporary rhetors to look at not only the works themselves, but the contexts in which they were written. Addressing the historical context becomes important when scholars look at the "recovery of specific women rhetors within these territories and time frames" (Royster, 2003, p. 152), as this provides opportunities for the

expansion of what is considered the canon of the rhetorical tradition. As scholars continue making visible those who have not been considered in the past, Royster asks “who actually constitutes an appropriate rhetorical subject...? On what basis do we determine worthiness, viability, or credibility?” (Royster, 2003, p. 156). It is through these questions that we can recover alternative narratives, while being mindful of how the narratives contribute to the larger rhetorical discussion.

In order to claim women’s rightful place in the public sphere and resist the frame that veiling equals silence, the women of RAWA assert their right to speak and argue for their rights as “women needed to gain the right to speak before they would be allowed to address other issues” (Logan, 1995, p. 3). RAWA demonstrates how women could be brought into the public sphere by finding a way “of connecting the real with the discourse, and at the point where this link cannot be imagined, historiography must work as if the real and the discourse were actually being joined” (Glenn, 1997, p. 6). RAWA does this through their connections with their many multi-modal texts they have posted on the Internet.

Feminist rhetorics demonstrate how to use history as a guide to advocate for marginalized writers and speakers within the field of rhetoric. “Women have used their language resources to construct public identities, to define and solve socio-political problems, to exert influence on social and political forces, and to garner respect and consideration as agents of change” (Royster, 2003, p. 157-8). These works provide a framework to argue for a larger scope of what is considered part of the rhetorical tradition. As women become part of the conversation, rhetors can help shape the field of rhetoric, for “when we shift the view to a more deliberate commitment to inclusiveness... the landscape of rhetorical performance changes” (Royster, 2003, p. 158), and with those changes we can see farther and wider into the rhetorical canon.

Historically Western-European rhetorics have been privileged over non-Western, non-white and non-male writers. Throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, an Orientalist identity framed Middle Eastern and Asian classical texts (Said, 2002). For the past twenty years, scholars have been advocating for the expansion of the rhetorical landscape, looking beyond the traditional canon for the inclusion of non-Western, non-privileged rhetorics. Nearly fifteen years ago, Bizzell and Herzberg (2001) acknowledged that rhetoric should look for what has been excluded, especially as women and people of color have been marginalized from canonical texts (p. 15). However, while women historically have been excluded from the texts, RAWA has been asserting their right to the public sphere for almost forty years. This contrasts with Orientalist scholarship which takes “a fixed, more or less total geographical position towards a wide variety of social, linguistic, political, and historical realities” (Said, 2002, p. 16). While the call to look for texts composed by oppressed people who have been left out of history is an important concept to continue pursuing, I assert that looking in alternative places is also important as the new medias are no longer fixed, particularly texts produced on the Internet, as the text is ephemeral.

There are methodologies that we can use for research in order to help scholars discover, read and analyze rhetorical texts. Feminist scholarship provides a starting point for consideration. Since the 1990s, feminist scholars (Binkley & Lipson, 2004; Bizzell, 2000; Ede, Glenn & Lunsford, 1995; Glenn, 1997; Jarratt, 1997; Lunsford, 1995; Richie & Ronald, 2001; Royster, 2003; Swearingen, 1991) have been advocating for the expansion of the rhetorical cannon. Scholars can draw from rhetorical feminist theory to help develop methodologies in order to find ways to respect the text and recognize differences in the rhetorical style (Royster, 2003; Glenn, 1997). Feminist theory and methodology is constantly morphing as it reconsiders how to expand

the landscape of who is included in the canon. Royster and Kirsch (2012) build on the idea that proposes to “rescue, recover, and (re)inscribe women in rhetorical history” by articulating a “dynamic framework” (p. 131-132). These ideas are defined as “rescuing,” in which historical individuals are now being recognized; “recovering,” in which what is considered as acceptable rhetorical actions are becoming more inclusive; “(re)inscribing,” in which non-Western “participants in rhetorical arena” are now being recognized; and “reforming” the landscape as transnational and alternate histories are being defined (Royster & Kirsch, 2012, p. 133).

Feminist rhetorics have looked back and recovered text from many traditions in Europe, the United States, and from other parts of the world focusing on women. However, there are many gaps and many voices that have not been explored. The long history of recovery for women’s rhetorics stretches back to Sappho and now includes more recent histories from African-American, Asian-American, and Chicana rhetorics as part of the canon. There are events that are currently developing that are not getting enough attention. There are women’s rhetorics that are happening in the world similar to RAWA’s that are waiting to be explored. Contemporary feminist organizations have a rich history both in the United States, such as La Mujer Obrera in El Paso, Texas and in countries around the world, such as Mujeres Creando in La Paz, Bolivia. These organizations work on behalf of local women, articulating their concerns for the local population, contributing in multiple ways to actively pursue their citizenship practices.

In addressing contemporary issues for women in the public sphere and how women respond to those issues, further research can look at how non-profit organizations are activating members’ citizenship through their activities in their local community. This allows for researchers to consider the implications for individuals to create a community by participating

both within formal institutions, such as schools and government, as well as in grass-roots style of organization outside the formal structure of nation-states.

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## APPENDIX A: TIMELINE OF EVENTS

Chart:

RAWA	Events	U.S.	CNN	NGO's	Analyzed Texts
1998	Feminist Majority video: Shroud of Silence: Gender Apartheid in Afghanistan UTEP library: DS354.5 .S56 1998 VIDEO				
16 Nov 1999	Video of Zarmeena execution in Kabul, Afghanistan <a href="http://www.rawa.org/zarmeena.htm">http://www.rawa.org/zarmeena.htm</a>				
Oct 2000	Pay;am-e Zan (Women's Message) (in Persian) [Produced by RAWA, still images of Zarmeena video on cover] <a href="http://pz.rawa.org/53-54/index.htm">http://pz.rawa.org/53-54/index.htm</a>				
13 March 2001	Democracy Now: An Afghani Woman Speaks Out Against Continuing Attacks On Afghani Women (Statement by RAWA) <a href="http://www.democracynow.org/2001/3/13/an_afghani_woman_speaks_out_against">http://www.democracynow.org/2001/3/13/an_afghani_woman_speaks_out_against</a>				
April-May 2001	US aid package to Afghanistan / Taliban response				
27 June 2001	BBC: Inside Afghanistan: Behind the veil <a href="http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/1410061.stm">http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/1410061.stm</a>				
26 Aug 2001	CNN PRESENTS Beneath the Veil: The Taliban's Harsh Rule of Afghanistan <a href="http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0108/26/cp.00.html">http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0108/26/cp.00.html</a>				
27 Aug 2001	CNN Presents: Unholy War <a href="http://www-cgi.cnn.com/CNN/Programs/presents/index.unholywar.html">http://www-cgi.cnn.com/CNN/Programs/presents/index.unholywar.html</a>				
27 Aug 2001	Journalist Saira Shah: Life in Afghanistan under the Taliban, <a href="http://archives.cnn.com/2001/COMMUNITY/08/24/shah/">http://archives.cnn.com/2001/COMMUNITY/08/24/shah/</a>				
September 11, 2001					
18 Sept 2001	Feminist Majority Special message to Afghanistan				
19 Sept 2001	CNN Tonight: America's New War: Beneath the Veil <a href="http://transcripts.cnn.com/transcripts/0109/19/tonight.01.html">http://transcripts.cnn.com/transcripts/0109/19/tonight.01.html</a>				
22 Sept 2001	Encore Presentation: Beneath the Veil: The Taliban's Harsh Rule of Afghanistan <a href="http://transcripts.cnn.com/transcripts/0109/22/cp.00.html">http://transcripts.cnn.com/transcripts/0109/22/cp.00.html</a>				
4 Oct 2001	Larry King Live: Interviews With Saira Shah, Sari Horwitz, Michael Ruane, Michael Starr, Herb Cohen <a href="http://transcripts.cnn.com/transcripts/0310/04/lkl.00.html">http://transcripts.cnn.com/transcripts/0310/04/lkl.00.html</a>				
7 Oct 2001	United States War in Afghanistan starts "Operation Enduring Freedom"				
13 Oct 2001	CNN: An In-Depth Look at Islam: The Realities and the Rhetoric <a href="http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0110/13/cp.00.html">http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0110/13/cp.00.html</a>				
31 Oct 2001	US Congressional Testimony on the plight of Afghan women				
9 Nov 2001	CNN: Mavis Leno: Lives of Afghan women <a href="http://archives.cnn.com/2001/COMMUNITY/11/09/leno.cnn/index.html">http://archives.cnn.com/2001/COMMUNITY/11/09/leno.cnn/index.html</a>				
17 Nov 2001	US FLOTUS: radio address on Afghani women <a href="http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=24992">http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/ws/index.php?pid=24992</a>				
17 Nov	CNN Presents: Unholy War (encore)				

2001	
14 Dec 2001	Feminist Majority Statement on Afghan women
26 Dec 2001	CNN Larry King Live: Journalists Behind 'Beneath the Veil' and 'Unholy War' Tell Their Stories <a href="http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0112/26/lkl.00.html">http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0112/26/lkl.00.html</a>
23 Jan 2002	CNN Larry King Live: Guests Discuss Future of Afghanistan <a href="http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0201/23/lkl.00.html">http://transcripts.cnn.com/TRANSCRIPTS/0201/23/lkl.00.html</a>
29 Jan 2002	US State of the Union address <a href="http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020129-11.html">http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/01/20020129-11.html</a>
8 April 2002	Feminist Majority Women Leaders Call for Expansion of International Peace Troops and More U.S. Funds to Restore the Rights of Afghan Women <a href="http://www.feminist.org/news/presstory.asp?id=6449">http://www.feminist.org/news/presstory.asp?id=6449</a>
1 Aug 2002	Feminist Majority: victory for Afghan women <a href="http://www.feminist.org/news/presstory.asp?id=6750">http://www.feminist.org/news/presstory.asp?id=6750</a>
15 Oct 2002	US Congress: Funds for Afghan women

## APPENDIX B: ANALYSIS CHART FOR ZARMEENA EXECUTION VIDEO

Scene Plot of RAWA video of Zarmeena execution in Kabul, Afghanistan  
<http://www.rawa.org/zarmeena.htm> and <http://www.rawa.org/murder-w.htm>  
 3:47 minutes – total length

Time stamp	Image	Written Text	Verbal dialogue / Audio
Throughout video		RAWA.org [in English]	The crowd in the background, hear two woman speaking closer to the mic
0=0:08	Red truck with 3 women in blue burkas in the back of the truck. Dirt ground	Full video of / Public Execution of Zarmeena by Taliban / Nov. 16, 1999 – Kabul [in English]	
0:09 – 0:17		Filmed secretly by a RAWA member using a hidden camera [in English]	
0:17-0:50	Blurry blue		
0:50 – 1:40	Comes in and out of focus, quickly scanning around the scene, people standing around, white truck		
1:41	Comes into focus, Afghan men standing around, 2-3 women in blue burka		
1:50	Comes in and out of focus, quickly scanning around the scene, people standing around,		
2:22	One woman in burka, kneeling on ground, dirt sports field (white lines); one woman standing		
2:24	Standing woman walks away, kneeling woman left. Men wondering about.		
2:27	Man with gun, assault-type rifle		
2:28	Man with gun walks up to kneeling woman and shoots her in the back of the head.		3 Shots fired, crowd continues in background, hear someone go <i>whoo</i> , with each shot.
2:29	Camera jumps, moves down towards ground		The women continue talking and the sounds of the crowd continues until the end of the video
2:37	Picture in Picture: Main frame shows woman who		

	fell backward and is laying on the ground with her legs (with pants) visible; burka is up around her waist. Men standing around; the small frame replays the execution	
2:40	Main: Woman standing walks over to woman on the ground woman and pulls down the burka; small frame: executioner pulls the trigger	
2:42	Picture in Picture is removed; Standing woman continues to pull the burka over the woman on the ground	
2:52	Standing woman walks away from woman on the ground; no men in the frame	
2:54-3:04	Woman alone laying on the ground	
3:04-3:06	Camera points at dirt field, no people in frame.	
3:07	White SUV pulls up to woman on the ground, 3-5 men walking around,	
3:11	one woman in black, chador-like garment, walk over to body, with one man. Woman in black waves over to other people	
3:18	Frame widens and see two women in blue burkas, 3 more men, one opens back of SUV; seven men walk on the field	
3:33	More men on the field, walking around the woman's body	
3:42	Last frame of video described above.	Watch more videos of / The Revolutionary Association of women of Afghanistan (RAWA): / <a href="http://www.youtube.com/rawa77">www.youtube.com/rawa77</a>
3:47	Goes black	

## APPENDIX C: TRANSCRIPT ANALYSIS OF *BENEATH THE VEIL*

Narrator/voiceover (Shah) from video	What does this say about citizenship in general?	What does this say about citizenship for Afghan women?
<p>SHAH (voice-over): Veiled women hunched in the back of a pickup truck. Football stadium in Afghanistan, a place of entertainment turned into an execution ground. Secret pictures showing scenes the country's rulers want to keep hidden. We are trying to uncover the truth behind Afghanistan's veil of terror.</p>		<p>This is the video of Zarmeena's execution recorded by RAWA</p>
<p>The (UNINTELLIGIBLE), gateway to the Islamic emirate of Afghanistan. I'm trying to find out more about one of the most repressive and mysterious places in the world, Afghanistan.</p>		
<p>The country is ruled by the Taliban, an Islamic militia. In 1996, these former religious students seized power and imposed a strict Islamic regime. They have made the headlines by blowing up the country's ancient Buddhist monuments. What the world doesn't know is what they are doing now to their own people.</p>		
<p>For me, this is personal. I was raised in Britain, but my father was an Afghan, and I grew up with a very different vision of Afghanistan. He used to tell me stories of my family's homeland, a place called Paghman. He described gardens and fountains, a kind of Eden. I have never been to Paghman. Now I'm trying to get there. I'm hoping my journey will help me understand what is happening to my father's country.</p>		
<p>My journey begins this side of the border, in Pakistan. I find a human disaster. These are the biggest refugee camps in the world, almost four million Afghans have escaped two decades of war, but thousands more are now fleeing famine, drought and their own government, the Taliban. Everyone has a story to tell.</p>	<p>fleeing a government (Taliban) that does not recognize the people as active citizens, especially women.</p>	<p>Refugees, unable to be citizens. Displaced people / stateless people / the activism is from people's stories</p>

Narrator/voiceover (Shah) from video	What does this say about citizenship in general?	What does this say about citizenship for Afghan women?
UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE [young girl] (through translator): I was hiding in (UNINTELLIGIBLE). I could see the Taliban, but they couldn't see me. They asked my father for a huge sum of money, or else they would kill him. He said, "Where could I make that much money? I'm a simple shopkeeper." And then they killed him.		
SHAH: I asked these children how many of their parents were killed by the Taliban.		
(on camera): Seven out of 10 had their parents killed by the Taliban.		
(voice-over): Three-quarters of Afghan children have lost a relative since the Taliban took power. But it's also from the most vulnerable, children and women that the first voice of protest has risen.		
This is RAWA, the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan. They are everything the Taliban hate, highly political, left-wing Afghan feminists. They are determined to fight for human rights in a country where women have been forced under the veil. But the Taliban are powerful even in Pakistan.		What is not said, is that RAWA has been fighting oppression (in different forms) since 1977. Demonstrates active women, veil=silence
Suddenly, the Taliban supporters appear from nowhere.		
(on camera): Behind me are an extremist Islamic group, and they're shouting "Long live the Taliban." And it's driven the women (UNINTELLIGIBLE)		
(voice-over): The peaceful demonstrations turns into a street battle. The police struggle to contain the crowd. In seconds, there is tear gas everywhere. A moment later, the police lose control. More and more Taliban supporters appear. RAWA run for their lives.		
Afghan brutality spilling out onto the street of Pakistan. What could drive such aggression? Why terrorize this one tiny opposition group?		
(END VIDEOTAPE) (COMMERCIAL BREAK)		
(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)		
SHAH: I've just been picked up by RAWA. I don't know where we're going now, because even here in Pakistan they are under threat from the Taliban. But I think they might be able to help me find out what is going on inside Afghanistan.		

Narrator/voiceover (Shah) from video	What does this say about citizenship in general?	What does this say about citizenship for Afghan women?
(voice-over): We arrive at their secret headquarters. RAWA tell me they have an underground opposition network inside Afghanistan's capital Kabul. The operatives use hidden cameras as their most powerful weapon.		In Pakistan? silence/anonymity necessary hidden cameras, activism
Their pictures reveal the destitution created by the world's most stringent restrictions on women. They show women forced to beg on the streets because their own government has forbidden them to go out and work. Their children go hungry. This is no ordinary third-world poverty; it's been created by the Taliban's social policies.		
But RAWA's most shocking images reveal how the Taliban have turned sports stadiums into execution grounds. In today's Afghanistan, you can be executed for anything from adultery to murder, even for prostitution or homosexuality. RAWA have risked their lives to take these images.		The recording of the images are the citizenship.
Speen-Bovak (ph) border crossing, Pakistan. It's taken over two months to get visas for Taliban-ruled Afghanistan. The Taliban have all but closed the country. Most of all, they want to keep out journalists like us.		
UNIDENTIFIED MALE: No, no, no, no, no.		
UNIDENTIFIED MALE: No filming? No filming.		
SHAH: But with one last Pakistani checkpoint cleared, we're finally in. I'm now getting closer to Paghman, the family home I've never seen.		
Our first stop is the southern city of Qandahar. Everywhere on the streets are men in black or white turbans. Some are from a place called the ministry of vice and virtue. It's not a joke: These are the feared secret police.	Government legislates v&v	
(on camera): It's almost impossible to film here. We've been told we are not allowed to have a camera to film anything at all, so we're trying to film covertly from inside our van. There is the ministry for the prevention of vice and the promotion of virtue, and these are the really the religious police.		
(voice-over): Simply driving past the headquarters of the Taliban's notorious secret police is enough to terrify our translator, and us. Their spies watch everything, as we soon find out.		
UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Sorry.		

Narrator/voiceover (Shah) from video	What does this say about citizenship in general?	What does this say about citizenship for Afghan women?
SHAH: Minutes after arriving in Qandahar's marketplace we're in big trouble.	commerce not safe	
UNIDENTIFIED MALE: You want me to shut it off?		
SHAH: The Taliban arrest us on the spot for filming illegally. We switch to a hidden camera.	Colonial outsiders filming	
(on camera): Why are we going to the police station? Can you translate?		
(voice-over): We find ourselves heading back to the ministry for vice and virtue, the very same building that terrified our translator earlier. This time we go straight through the gates. Things don't look good.		
But then are our arrest is interrupted. It's time for the most feared men in Afghanistan to say their evening prayers. Only then do they lead our producer inside, but not me. Women are banned from the building.	Humanizing Taliban? Even this does not interrupt the call to prayer?	
(on camera): Can I not be your guest here?		
UNIDENTIFIED MALE: Only man, man, man.		
SHAH (voice-over): The last person the Taliban caught filming them secretly was thrown into jail. An hour passes; but this time we've been lucky.		
(on camera): They demanded all our tapes off us. They demanded to know what we had been filming. (UNINTELLIGIBLE) but they knew we'd been filming in the market. We managed to slip them a blank tape and they let us go, but they're escorting us back home.		
(voice-over): We couldn't have had a better illustration of the power of the religious police. They've made it clear we should get out of town.		
The next day we hit the road for Kabul, Afghanistan's capital.		
(COMMERCIAL BREAK)		
(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)		
SHAH: Arriving in Kabul, Afghanistan's capital, is a shock. All this damage was caused by civil war before the Taliban came. When they took over, people hoped life would get better. But four years later, nothing has been repaired. We have come to a city without buildings, without joy. The Taliban say they have other priorities.	failed nation state / no infrastructure without joy / compare to the pursuit of happiness	



Narrator/voiceover (Shah) from video	What does this say about citizenship in general?	What does this say about citizenship for Afghan women?
WAKIL MOTAWAKIL, TALIBAN FOREIGN MINISTER (through translator): The rest of the world has misunderstood us. It used to be no law. In the past four years, we have brought law and order. Our government has disarmed the population, brought security, improved commerce and created jobs. We have proved we are a proper government.	citizens disarmed, secure, commerce & jobs	
SHAH: There is no sign of jobs, but there's plenty of security. Every few hundred meters, we pass roadblocks, they are decorated with confiscated cassette tapes. Even music has been banned.	no jobs for the people, but the people are secure,  music/no joy	
We try to film it. And again, it seems we are in trouble. They force-march us into a derelict building. Inside, we find a Taliban security chief sitting with his friends. To our surprise, they invite us to tea. Then unexpectedly, they ask us to film them. This time, far from detaining us, they take us on a tour to boast about their rigid control on the city.	government control of citizens	
(on camera): The man in the front seat is the head of Taliban intelligence in the capital. I know he is responsible for the information which is that of the hanging of at least two men. But now he is driving through this district of Kabul that he is responsible for.		
UNIDENTIFIED MALE (through translator): My duty is to watch for opponents. If they enter this area, I can find out about it. If only upon entering this area, we find them and arrest them within minutes.		
SHAH: Who exactly are you looking for?		
UNIDENTIFIED MALE (through translator): Anybody, Afghan or foreigner, who is involved in political activities. Anybody that even speaks against the Taliban or causes problems for them, we arrest these kinds of people.	political activities; speaking/acting against the Taliban,	
SHAH (voice-over): We escape the hospitality of the intelligence chief. Now we are heading to the place where some of his victims have ended up. This is where the Taliban enforce their extreme religious laws. It's the symbol of their repression, the football stadium.	football stadium is now a place for execution	

Narrator/voiceover (Shah) from video	What does this say about citizenship in general?	What does this say about citizenship for Afghan women?
(on camera): It's an extraordinary feeling, because I have actually seen pictures of women being shot at this penalty area here that we are just coming up to. And also, I have seen pictures of men being hung from this goal post.		Execution of zarmeena
This stadium was actually financed by the international community to try to raise the spirits of the people of Afghanistan after the Taliban took power. Instead of using it for football, this is now their public execution ground.		
The thinking was what it must be like when these stands are all full of people and they are all shouting and screaming, and the Taliban drive their victims in through the entrance and do a parade around.		In the video of Zarmeena, which there are sounds of the people, it is not the chanting of a group of people at a sporting event.
And the women who they executed here were not allowed to take off their veils. So, they must have had hardly any idea of what was happening. They must have been very confused. They must have been hearing the crowd screaming. They were pushed up to the penalty line and made to kneel down.		If this was a pattern, the burka is not a burlap sack, they can see somewhat, there is no mystery to where they are going, once they are there.
Just the concept that you can pack a stadium with people baying for the blood of another human being, and then shoot them on the pitch.		This was not the case in Zarmeena, RAWA's statements.
(voice-over): The Taliban leadership is proud of the things they do here.		
MOTAWAKIL (through translator): The football stadium is a place of leisure, a place for playing games, a place for joy. When justice is done on behalf of a victim, that too is a joyful event, which brings order and security to society.	execution = justice, joy, security, order	
SHAH (on camera): But the international community paid for the football stadium. They wanted the Afghan people to play football there. Instead, you are executing people there.		

Narrator/voiceover (Shah) from video	What does this say about citizenship in general?	What does this say about citizenship for Afghan women?
MOTAWAKIL (through translator): I will make the international community an offer. In Afghanistan, everything has been destroyed. If they help us to build a separate place suitable for carrying out executions, we have no problem with that. When they criticize us 10 times, they should at least help us once. They should build a place for executions and get financial support so that football could be played at the stadium and our work can be done as well.		
(END VIDEOTAPE)		
(COMMERCIAL BREAK)		
(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)		
SHAH: Today's Afghanistan is a world away from the liberal Islam I grew up with. So far, I've been an outsider here. Now I want to get inside the world of ordinary Afghans. It's time to meet up with the secret opposition network of RAWA, the women's group I met in Pakistan.	liberal Islam in Britain;	
I'm going undercover. From now on I'll live the life of an Afghan woman. I'll have to go alone and leave my crew behind.		Afghan women are alone
(on camera): As a foreigner, I do at least have a little bit of protection. As an Afghan, which I will be travelling as, I'll have no protection at all.		No protection for Afghan women
(voice-over): But I can enter the Kabul foreigners don't see. Under the Taliban the World Food Program must help feed up to a third of the city's population.		
I discover a man selling scraps of bread with mold on them for animal feed. A woman buying a handful at a time. But she is not feeding it to animals. She grinds it up for her seven children.		unable to feed family
She has invited me home to film her to tell me that since the Taliban stopped women going out to work she has to beg.	work=citizenship	women not citizens
UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE (through translator): There is nobody in the household who can work, and so there is no money. I give this dry bread to my children to get them quiet. It's all we have to eat.	ability to work = citizenship; non citizens cannot work	

Narrator/voiceover (Shah) from video	What does this say about citizenship in general?	What does this say about citizenship for Afghan women?
SHAH: The Taliban say they encourage women to stay at home for their own protection. But women aren't just forbidden to earn a living. They're deprived of access to basic things like medical care. Mal-Alai (ph) Gynecological Hospital. A higher percentage of women die in Afghanistan than almost anywhere in the world, and one in four children die before their fifth birthday. I find filthy wards and lavatories. There is barely a doctor to be seen, few medicines. This is what happens when one half of society has been shut down.	citizens receive medical care	
UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE (through translator): The government of Afghanistan is trying to make women redundant, and they don't want them to work in the hospitals at all. In this hospital, there are not enough female doctors, as a large number of them have fled Afghanistan. This has made the condition in the hospital very poor.		
SHAH: My escorts, RAWA, are one of most be wanted opposition groups in Afghanistan. Even traveling by taxi could blow my cover; taxi drivers act as Taliban spies.		
Now RAWA are taking me to see their riskiest activity: not a bomb factory or undercover newspaper, just a class for girls. The Taliban have made no education available to girls over the age of 12. Every woman in the room is breaking the law.		Education = active citizenship
UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE (through translator): All our courses have to be secret and underground because of the Taliban. If they find out, they could hang us all. All our girls are left uneducated because of their cruelty.		
I used to be a teacher in a school. I was made redundant (UNINTELLIGIBLE) the Taliban stopped woman from teaching.		
SHAH: Excluded from every part of society, but some women are still holding on to their dignity. I was led past overflowing sewers, through what were once luxury apartment blocks. My destination: the most subversive place of all. I have been invited to a secret beauty parlor. If they are caught, these women will be imprisoned, but they still paint the faces they can never show in public.		

Narrator/voiceover (Shah) from video	What does this say about citizenship in general?	What does this say about citizenship for Afghan women?
UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE (through translator): This is a form of resistance. We are defying the Taliban. It means that whatever the circumstances, we will carry on doing thing we want to do like studying, doing our job -- you know, all these things.		
SHAH: Women trying to keep life normal in a world gone completely mad. That was the image RAWA left me with.		
(on camera): If you're living here, the trivial things that are imposed on people lead to serious things that are imposed on people like torture, death, execution. There are no minor freedoms, but there are no major freedoms either. And this is really an incredible serious, terrifying place to be if you are an Afghan.		
(voice-over): But I was soon to discover just how terrifying life under the Taliban can be.		
UNIDENTIFIED MALE (through translator): Mass murder was committed by the Taliban in our village, in our district. SHAH: This man has just fled from Yakalang (ph) in central Afghanistan. He is telling me that when Taliban fighters took his village last month they massacred 150 civilians.		
This footage was filmed by locals in the same village a few days later. It shows the hospital smashed and devastated, and mass graves. The bodies of civilians executed, some of them in truly horrific ways.		
UNIDENTIFIED MALE (through translator): From my own family, 11 people have been killed. There was a boy of 17 or 18 whom they even skinned. They skinned his head. The Taliban, they skinned him with knives and bayonets. I even saw it with my own eyes.		
Then those of us who had survived the killing got together and went to collect our dead. We picked up and removed the dead with the help of women and old men.		
SHAH: The man I spoke to is now safely in Pakistan. But was his story unusual, or part of a wider pattern of atrocities?		
(END VIDEOTAPE)		
(COMMERCIAL BREAK)		
(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)		

Narrator/voiceover (Shah) from video	What does this say about citizenship in general?	What does this say about citizenship for Afghan women?
<p>SHAH: Up until 1996, the Taliban held only a fraction of the country. Now they have almost all of it. But there are still people opposing them. They are an alliance of different ethnic groups. They are fighting a last-ditch battle for their own culture and identity, and they claim that the Taliban have massacred civilians in this area, away from the eyes of the world.</p>		
<p>(on camera): We finally arrived at the northeast corner of Afghanistan. The opposition forces have been pushed right back to here, and the frontline is there, right directly behind me. There are plumes of smoke going up there at the moment, because there is an artillery battle going on between the Taliban front and the opposition front. We have to try and get up there, because these are where our witnesses are likely to be.</p>		
<p>(voice-over): The opposition forces are barely managing to hold these positions. Their commander points out the Taliban trenches on the far side of the valley. In between lie four villages, caught between the frontlines.</p>		
<p>He tells me that a few weeks ago the Taliban briefly took these villages before being pushed back. The commanders heard disturbing rumors that dozens of civilians have been massacred. Atrocities that have never been reported to the outside world. To find out the truth, we must get even closer to the Taliban positions and go down into the valley itself.</p>		
<p>The countryside here reminds me of the Afghanistan my father knew. There has never been a single Afghan culture, no one version of Islam. It's a mosaic of different ethnic groups. The peoples in this area have lived peacefully side by side for centuries, it's a world the Taliban are intent on destroying.</p>		
<p>We soon come across our first witness. He says that when the Taliban entered his village, Bahi Zahra (ph), they killed unarmed civilians. He describes how he found the bodies of 11 men.</p>		

Narrator/voiceover (Shah) from video	What does this say about citizenship in general?	What does this say about citizenship for Afghan women?
<p>UNIDENTIFIED MALE (through translator): There were two bodies where they must have taken them all captive. They had tried to escape, and they had been shot on the spot. The others had been taken away to the center of Bahi Zahra (ph). Their hands and feet had been tied, and they had been tortured and then killed.</p>		
<p>SHAH: He tells me a story of what seemed to be organized violence -- soldiers running from house to house, pulling out any man they found, shooting on the spot anyone who dared resist. For 10 nights, they ran wild while the village men were held captive. As they left, they lined up 12 of their prisoners against a wall, and shot them in the head.</p>		
<p>An old man from the same village corroborates his story. As he does so, there is a reminder of just how close we are to the war, the Taliban jet.</p>		
<p>From now on, our journey will get even more dangerous.</p>		
<p>UNIDENTIFIED MALE: (SPEAKING UNIDENTIFIED LANGUAGE)</p>		
<p>SHAH (on camera): He says there's mines over there.</p>		
<p>(voice-over): We decided to try to get to one of the four villages. A place called Momai (ph). The village is close to no- man's land. To get there, we have to cross the Coctu (ph) river, a mile upstream from the Taliban guns. No reporter from the outside world has been here to report on these massacres.</p>		
<p>As soon as we arrive, villagers rush out to greet us. They take us to see an old woman called Bibijon (ph). When the Taliban came, she was at home with her two sons, both civilians.</p>		
<p>UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE (through translator): They shot Umder (ph). It was my little boy who I brought up. The other one they captured and took away. I was standing here when the Taliban came, my son was standing over there. He couldn't speak their language, and they the shot him. They shot him here in this place, we took his blood and covered it up. It was here we covered over the spot where he died.</p>		

Narrator/voiceover (Shah) from video	What does this say about citizenship in general?	What does this say about citizenship for Afghan women?
SHAH: Then, the villagers take us to another house, a place veiled in sorrow. The first person I see is an old man staring into space. Then I see three girls of 9, 12 and 15 years old. Their father says they have been crying for weeks ever since the Taliban came to their home.		
UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE (through translator): The Taliban told my mother to leave the house because they were going to make it their headquarters. My mother cried and pleaded with them. She said, "You have taken my husband prisoner, where should I take my children in the snow?" And then, they shot her. I heard the shot. My younger sister was watching from the doorway. She said, "they have shot my mother." I ran over and found that she was dead.		
SHAH: I asked them how long the Taliban stayed in the house while their mother's body lay in the yard?		
UNIDENTIFIED FEMALE (through translator): The Taliban, after shooting my mother, they stayed here for two days.		
SHAH: I asked what the men did to her and to her sisters in those two days. They won't say.		
(END VIDEOTAPE)		
(COMMERCIAL BREAK)		
(BEGIN VIDEOTAPE)		
SHAH: Finally, the villagers take us up to a nearby hill side.		
UNIDENTIFIED MALE (through translator): This is where they took them and killed them.		
SHAH: They demonstrate to us how they found seven bodies bound with their own turbans. They say the Taliban lined them up, then killed each with a single shot. The men say that when the Taliban withdrew, they loaded most of their captives into pickup trucks. There was no room for the last seven men, so they simply shot them.		
UNIDENTIFIED MALE (through translator): I saw the bodies aligned like sheep, and I called, "come here, they're here." Then everybody came here. All the people came here. Everybody said, "that's my father, that's my brother." Then we took them, weeping. We took them home, our brothers and our fathers.		



Narrator/voiceover (Shah) from video	What does this say about citizenship in general?	What does this say about citizenship for Afghan women?
SHAH: We found the same pattern of massacres in village after village. In one community, the local wedding photographer captured the scene on video.		
The Taliban say no massacres took place, that their enemies have made up evidence like this.		
MOTAWAKIL (through translator): I don't accept this, that except for wars that Taliban are killing women and children. The reason we don't accept this is because Taliban commanders are religious figures. You know that except for someone who is fighting a war, be it a woman or a child or regular folks, that they are human beings. They have livelihoods. We believe in judgment day.		
SHAH: In the graveyards, white flags mark the Taliban's victims, unarmed civilians killed not for the sake of Islam but because they come from a different ethnic group to the Taliban.		
In their trenches, the opposition soldiers -- old men and young boys -- are exhausted, unable to protect the villages or to withstand the next Taliban onslaught. The Taliban claim they are bringing peace and uniting the country, but here they are destroying lives.		
Unlike the Afghans I've met, I'm only passing through. But before I leave, I still hope to visit the place my family is from, my father's home, Paghman.		
(on camera): This is the first time I have seen Paghman, it's the place I was told I come from, and I was told that it was the most beautiful place in the world, I was told it was pleasure gardens, there were waterfalls, there were fruit trees. It was a place where the people would come up from the capitol Kabul and have picnics on a Friday afternoon. It was a place of pleasure, these were pleasure gardens.		
What I found was bombed out, any wall or building has been bombed. The mountains are here and it's beautiful and the view over Kabul is beautiful, but the gardens are gone. Anything made by human beings is gone.		

Narrator/voiceover (Shah) from video	What does this say about citizenship in general?	What does this say about citizenship for Afghan women?
(voice-over): During the Cold War, Afghanistan made headlines across the world. Now, my journey has brought me to a land where the government publicly kills its own people, where civilians are slaughtered, and the outside world no longer seems to care.		
But I have found courage where I least expected it, among the poor and the weak, living their lives as best they can, struggling to survive as best they can. This is their daily victory against tyranny.		
(END VIDEOTAPE)		
HARRIS: The Taliban show no signs of loosening their stranglehold. Afghanistan recently banned a wad of imports, including chess boards, playing cards, lipstick, and neck ties. Computer discs, movies and fashion catalogs have also been deemed as un-Islamic.		
That's this edition of CNN PRESENTS. I'm Leon Harris. We'll see you next week.		

## APPENDIX D: TRANSCRIPT ANALYSIS OF CONGRESSIONAL HEARING AFGHAN PEOPLE VS. THE TALIBAN: THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM INTENSIFIES

1	Testimony text	Definitions of Citizenship	Afghan women's citizenship
2	<b>Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN.</b> The Subcommittee will now come to order.		
3	“[He who wrongfully slays another] would be as if he slew the whole people; and if one save a life, it would be as if he saved the life of the whole people,” these are the words that one can find in Surah 5 of the Holy Koran.		
4	But in 1996, a heavy shroud was placed on the people of Afghanistan when the Taliban captured Kabul. Since then, the Taliban has taken the peaceful and sacred scriptures of the Prophet Muhammad, and distorted them into a rulebook of terror.		allusion to the veil, negative
5	Through the creation of their Department of Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice, the Taliban has enforced a perverse rendition of Islam which gruesomely joins constant and faithful prayer, with the barbaric practices of beatings, torture, rape, and executions.	Intersections of religion and citizenship – power of the “gov” over the people, citizens spy on other citizens	
6	The Taliban's reign of terror has riddled the country with death and sorrow. Well before the September 11th attacks, the Taliban engaged in widespread ethnic cleansing, littering the ground of Afghanistan with the mass graves of ethnic and religious minorities.	Gov killing its citizens, especially ethnic and religious minorities	
7	For instance, when the Taliban captured one of the cities in Central Afghanistan, an estimated 2 to 5,000 males were executed, often without making the distinction between combatant or civilian. The raping of women and girls during the seize was savage and rampant.	connection with killing, males: combatant ok, civilian not ok. Females particularly x	Women & girls are particular targets for brutality
8	But the Taliban's brutality is best reflected among half of its population, the women of Afghanistan. Made widows and orphans by the will of the Taliban, they have been made destitute, sick, and marginalized.		women are made destitute, sick, and marginalized by a failed nation state
9	Not allowed to work, the same women that once made up 50 per- cent of Afghanistan's doctors, nurses, teachers, civil servants and students, now have no choice but to beg for food, daily, as a means of providing for themselves and their children.		Women no allowed to work, once were half the work force (is that true?, need to check this out. Afghanistan is a poor country and only a small percentage of people were educated enough to have these profession jobs. Maybe ½ workforce in Kabul?)

10	They are further restricted from leaving their homes without the company of a male relative and from receiving any education past the age of 8. And at that, the curriculum of that education is limited to the Taliban's perverted version of the Koran.		Forbidden from leaving their homes (this goes back to harems) Forbidden edu after age 8? Thought forbidden completely for girls? Only Koranic edu?
11	This segment of the population is further alienated by the denial of proper medical treatment. Women cannot be treated by a male doctor in most hospitals, and when allowed to be treated by a male physician, he is prohibited from examining her unless she is fully clothed in Taliban-approved garb. Further, the doctor cannot touch her, thus limiting the possibility of any medical diagnosis or meaningful treatment.		No medical care, can't interact w/ male doctors, women not allow to be drs.
12	Bearing the scars of the Taliban's crimes against its own people, Afghanistan's women have been buried beneath a veil.		More negative veil references
13	The burqa, the forcible cover of women, is an attempt by the Taliban to hide from the world the violence and pain that the regime has imposed on Afghanistan under the pretext of religion.		More negative veil references
14	The Taliban is far from being students of the true Muslim faith. As President George W. Bush has stated repeatedly, the Taliban has "hijacked Islam," arrogantly prescribing its interpretation of the Koran on a population that never practiced nor endorsed such a violent and incorrect view.	US authority on Islam? Gov authority on the religion of people. Provides a window for the US to determine what is the "correct" view.	Provides a window for the US to determine what is the "correct" view.
15	As. Dr. Sima Samar, an Afghan physician who operates schools and clinics for Afghan girls and women, has said: "The Taliban took Islam and turned it on its head . . . Islam does not teach terror. Islam does not teach violence. Islam does not teach lack of respect for women. Islam is civilized."	Who is . Dr. Sima Samar?	"respect for women. Islam is civilized." In contrast – RAWA wants a secular gov.
16	In the aftermath of the September 11th attacks, the dreaded Ministry for the Promotion of Virtue and Prevention of Vice has reportedly unleashed an intense terror campaign, targeting young men perceived as possible sources of insurgency or unrest. They are being beaten, locked into cargo containers being used as cells or taken away to one of Kabul's most notoriously brutal jails.	Men who are considered dangerous to the gov are removed from their citizenship.	
17	This Subcommittee has been planning on holding this hearing for quite some time. Originally scheduled, ironically enough, for September 12th, it was overtaken by events.		

18	However, before it became evident to the world, there were those who understood that the welfare and freedom of the Afghan people are directly intertwined with the safety and security of the world, because a regime which commits such heinous acts against its own people, cannot be expected to place any value on the lives of others.	our citizenship is intertwined with the Afghan citizenship. Is this a form of colonialism? How? What is the difference between defending people's rights in other countries and colonizing them?	
19	The reality sadly hit home for us on September 11th. Suddenly there was a convergence of interest and priorities.	conflates Afghan with hijackers	
20	The United States finds itself, once again, with the ability to support the Afghan people in their struggle to be free from a foreign presence—a presence which is not foreign geographically, but one which invaded the lives of Afghans; one who holds the Afghan people hostage; one which imposes a false and foreign ideology on the Afghan people. That foreign ideology is terrorism, and radical militant Islam. Yet the U.S. must learn from history and avoid repeating the mistakes of the past.	The US helps Afghanistan to be free from “foreign” presence, by occupying the country? Considering the Taliban as <i>other</i> . Local violent radicals as <i>other</i> . This contrasts to how the US deals with local, violent groups. American, Anti-US groups .	This creates a problem when foreign ideology is <i>othered</i> , in can be wrong. Such as the veil
21	As Afghanistan broke loose from the grip of Soviet occupation, the United States viewed its Cold War obligations as having been met. We left a vacuum which was then filled by civil strife, drugs, and warlords.		
22	All agree that it is the Afghan people themselves who have to build the nation that will succeed the Taliban's cruel and unjust rule. However, there is also consensus on the need for the U.S. and the international political and material support to help the Afghan people.	The Afghan people must create a nation free from the Taliban with help from the US. Political and material support.	
23	A post-Taliban scenario is one of the main things that we are here to discuss today with our mostly Afghan panel. The U.S. role is not to dictate what a post-Taliban government will look like. Our role is to empower and enable, in order to ensure that the true and unfettered voice of the Afghan people is heard loudly and clearly.	What will Afghanistan look post-Taliban?	This contrasts with other statements. They want to hear RAWA here, but not later.
24	While the Rome Process' work toward a Loya Jirga has been underway for a few years, it has gained significant momentum in the aftermath of the September 11th terrorist attacks.	Define <i>Rome Process'</i> and <i>Loya Jirga</i> (footnote)	

25	In a September 18th letter to President Bush, the former Afghan king outlined the renewed focus of the Rome Process and prescribed the “formation of a broad based supreme council consisting of representatives of various ethnic groups . . . until an emergency Loya Jirga is convened.”	Review the Afghan king got to power. Connections to Karzi. (footnote); the many ethnic groups that make up Afghanistan need to be represented in a government.	
26	As it stands, the “Supreme Council for the National Unity of Afghanistan,” has been agreed to by the king, by the Northern Alliance and by other participants. Its composition will hold 120 members; 50 representing the royalists, 50 representing the Northern Alliance, and another 20 seats would be chosen by both sides or left open for defecting Taliban leaders.	The representatives of the people?	
27	However, there are various ideas about how to proceed during the Rome process and thereafter.		
28	There are those who argue the true representative, broad-based government in Afghanistan must include moderate Taliban leaders. However, what constitutes moderate? How is it defined?	Does this represent the people?	
29	When the Taliban executes opposition leaders in 1 weekend, including one who had proposed raising a small force of ex-guerrillas and Taliban defectors to carry him into Kabul, it is extremely difficult to imagine any such moderate element wishing to support the peace process.	Only citizens who want peace.	RAWA as pacifists – work as citizens supports their claim
30	Those representatives participating in the Rome process believe that Kabul must be demilitarized and that a small US-backed international peacekeeping force would probably be necessary to avoid a power vacuum and to shield the future government in Kabul. However, how to go about such a mission still needs to be further discussed.	?	
31	Should a force be composed of UN peacekeepers? Should they be troops from neutral or friendly Muslim countries such as Turkey or Jordan, but under the auspices of the UN? Would Afghan forces under the UN be a feasible option?	Afghans can’t provide peace without the UN.	
32	Can neighboring countries such as Pakistan and Iran, and other such as Russia, be neutralized to prevent their interference in a post-Taliban Afghanistan?	interfering with citizens	
33	We hope that today’s hearing will further lift the heavy veil which shrouds the Afghan people, and will allow the truth and the suffering that they have endured to step and creep out into the light.		More negative veil references
34	As Surah 5 of the Holy Koran reads, the Congress and the United States must act to save one life at a time, and by that, do what we can to save Afghanistan.		
35	And now I am proud to yield to a Ranking Member of our Sub- committee, my friend Cynthia McKinney of Georgia.		

36	[The prepared statement of Ms. Ros-Lehtinen follows:] PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE ILEANA ROS-LEHTINEN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF FLORIDA, AND CHAIRWOMAN, SUB- COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS	Written statement; duplicate of verbal statement; edited out	
37	<b>Ms. MCKINNEY.</b> Thank you Madam Chair. I would like to thank you for agreeing to hold this very important hearing on Afghanistan. And I also agree with the very important questions that you have posed, and I hope that our witnesses today will be able to provide some answers.		
38	I am extremely concerned about the humanitarian disaster that we hope to prevent from unfolding. The World Food Program reports today that there are 7.5 million civilians in urgent need in Afghanistan. Of those some 6 million are inside Afghanistan and 1.5 million are refugees. They need U.S. \$257 million to get them through the winter months. That amounts to 493,000 metric tons of food aid.	What needs to be done to help the people. (Refugees are probably in Pakistan) Check out the info from WFP.	
39	Now, this might sound like a lot, but in realty it is almost nothing compared to what is being spent in Afghanistan right now every day to, in the words of our Secretary of Defense, “drain the swamp.” And in fact, it is about one-tenth of one B-2 bomber.	frames people	
40	We know what they need to survive. The world can and must deliver this much needed aid. We are in danger of letting this situation in Afghanistan become another Rwanda. I shudder to think what the consequences will be if the 1.2 billion members of the Islamic world believe that we allowed millions of innocent Afghan women and children to needlessly die in the next few months.		
41	Images of burning Red Cross and UN buildings struck by U.S. bombs contrasted with images of thousands of desperately poor Afghan women carrying sickly and starving children out of Afghanistan as they flee the might of the U.S. military is tearing at international public confidence in our war against terrorism.		
42	<i>Medecins Sans Frontieres</i> called our food drops to the Afghan nothing more than a propaganda campaign seeking to assuage public concerns over the starving millions in Afghanistan. Senator Joe Biden has warned us that we could be seen as the “high tech bully” by attacking one of the poorest nations in the third world.	find MSF report	

43	<i>The New York Times</i> reports today that even Britain, our staunchest supporter in this war against terrorism, is concerned that we may be losing the battle for international public opinion in the Islamic world and that this loss of confidence is now even spreading to Western Europe. Large riots against the United States are being reported in Pakistan, Indonesia, Malaysia, Nigeria, and even Turkey.	NYT – lack of support for the US, but what does this say about the people.	
44	This time, the infamous Clinton defense of “We didn’t know,” which was used to justify U.S. inaction in the face of the Rwanda genocide and its bloody aftermath will not work now. We are on clear notice. The world is watching us.		
45	The current humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan needs our most urgent attention. If left unresolved, and if millions of innocent of Afghans die, then the hatred against the U.S. will only grow. We have an opportunity to be a force for good in Afghanistan. And I hope and pray that we do not fail.		
46	Madam Chair, I was also pleased to receive in my office and invite to testify today a representative of a very important group in Afghanistan; a group that represents the voice of women who have been mistreated by those in authority, and who want a better life for themselves and their children, and for all the people of Afghanistan. Women can and just play a future role in rebuilding Afghanistan. The international community must ensure that this happens.		
47	The current crisis in Afghanistan has long been in the making. The Heritage Foundation has called U.S. policy toward Afghanistan over the past 20 years one of our colossal failures. President Bush recognized this failure when he acknowledge in an October 11, 2001 press conference that we should not have just left after the military objective had been achieved in Afghanistan.		
48	History has not judged us well, nor have the people of the region.		
49	Now, Afghanistan has captured our attention once again. The people of Afghanistan cannot endure yet another one of our foreign policy failures. We must bring peace and hope to the region, not more suffering and death.		
50	But, Madam Chair, Medecins Sans Frontieres warns us today as we speak that Iran, Pakistan and Tajikistan are facing desperate humanitarian situations as well. The entire region has become one great humanitarian crisis.		



51	I have visited the refugee camps in the Pakistan region. I have spoken to women from all the different ethnic groups. I have had to plead for plastic for one women and an extension of space in one refugee camp for another. The things that we take for granted over here are life and death issues for the women and their children over there in those camps.		
52	I asked the women in New Shamshatoo camp, do you know what capitalism is? Do you know what Communism is? They shook their heads. They did not know about global politics and super power conflicts. But they did know about bombs. They knew about war. They knew about men fighting. They knew about their children dying. They knew about trying to defend themselves from cruel men. They knew about trying to defend their children. And they knew they wanted more from life for themselves and their country than they are getting now.		
53	That is the legacy we left there in Afghanistan when we exited the scene as quickly and uncereemoniously as the Soviet that we had repelled. And look at what we are doing now.		
54	Madam Chair, the BBC reported in the last few days that our cluster bomb munitions are almost indistinguishable from the food canisters that we are dropping.		
55	How shameful is it that the Pentagon is now having to send messages to the Afghan people to be careful not to pick up packages that look like this cluster bomblet and to make sure that they only pick up packages that look like this food packet.		
56	Madam Chair, how in the world can a 300 billion dollar a year military machine not see to it that the food packets and the bomblets from the cluster bombs they are dropping are not the same color? Is it that they just really do not care?		
57	Because that is what is fast becoming the conclusion through the world. Many people are now concluding that we really do not care about the innocent people in Afghanistan. Madam Chair, we must care, and the world must see that we care.		

58	We must solve the humanitarian crisis in Afghanistan and the surrounding regions immediately. We must help put an end to the human rights abuses in Afghanistan. It is not our place to decide who will be the next ruler of Afghanistan. And we certainly should not be supporting any group that does not respect the rights of women. Our role must be to promote democracy. Through their own process of Loya Jirga, the Afghan people are perfectly capable of deciding their own fate.	Through their own process of Loya Jirga, the Afghan people are perfectly capable of deciding their own fate.	
59	The United States role ought to be that of an honest broker to facilitate an authentic Afghani Loya Jirga that will lead the Afghan people into peace and dominion over their land and their own resources.	Through their own process of Loya Jirga, the Afghan people are perfectly capable of deciding their own fate.	
60	Madam Chair, I would like to submit for the record this document.		
61	<b>Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN.</b> Without objection.		
62	<b>Ms. MCKINNEY.</b> <i>Afghan, World's Largest Forgotten Tragedy</i> , which is a publication of the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan.		
63	[The prepared statement of Ms. McKinney follows:]		
64	[The prepared statement of Ms. McKinney follows:] PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE CYNTHIA A. MCKINNEY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF GEORGIA	written statement duplicate of verbal statement; edited out	
65	<b>Ms. MCKINNEY.</b> I would also like to submit for the record a statement — —		
66	<b>Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN.</b> Without objection.		
67	<b>Ms. MCKINNEY</b> [continuing]. By The <b>Feminist Majority</b> which is testimony that would have been given by <b>Eleanor Smeal</b> if she had been able to be here today.	no oral statement	
68	[The information referred to follows:]		
69	TESTIMONY BY ELEANOR SMEAL PRESIDENT, THE FEMINIST MAJORITY AND FEMINIST MAJORITY FOUNDATION BEFORE THE JOINT HEARING OF THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND TERRORISM AND THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON NEAR EASTERN AND SOUTH ASIA AFFAIRS OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS U.S. SENATE		

70	<p>Since early 1997, the Feminist Majority and its sister organization the Feminist Majority Foundation have led the Campaign to Stop Gender Apartheid in Afghanistan in order to raise public awareness about the treatment of women and girls in Afghanistan and to urge the U.S. and the U.N. to do all in their power to restore the rights of women and to address this humanitarian disaster. Throughout this campaign, we urged non-recognition of the Taliban by the United States and the United Nations, designation of the Taliban as an international terrorist organization, pressure on Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE to withdraw their support for the Taliban, and that the construction of an oil and gas pipeline through Afghanistan that would have supplied millions of dollars in profits to the Taliban be stopped. As you know, the U.S. and the U.N. did come out against the recognition of the Taliban in an event at the White House on March 11, 1998 in commemoration of International Women's Day (March 8) and UNOCAL did stop the pipeline. But to this date, the U.S. has still not designated the Taliban as an international terrorist organization. To date, over 200 women's rights and human rights organizations are co-sponsoring our national campaign chaired by Mavis Leno.</p>	<p>frame apartheid; outside recognition of citizenship in relationship to government.</p>	<p>women's rights; humanitarian disaster affects citizenship</p>
71	<p>Hundreds of thousands of individuals have written letters, signed petitions, and sent e-mails to urge both the Clinton Administration and now the Bush Administration to do everything in their power to restore the human rights of Afghan women. We have formed over 800 Action Teams to Help Afghan Women nationwide. These teams, which include girl scout troops, community organizations, classrooms, and groups of family, friends, and co-workers, are organizing petition drives and raising funds to support schools and clinics run by Afghan women in Pakistan for refugees. In both 1999 and 2000, officials at the U.S. State Department told us that we had successfully mobilized a U.S. constituency on a foreign policy issue and that they had received more mail from Americans on restoring women's rights in Afghanistan than on any other foreign policy issue.</p>		<p>U.S. to save Afghan women; U.S. citizens / women to save Afghan women.</p>

72	In the wake of the tragic events of September 11, we have seen an overwhelming outpouring of public support for Afghan women. People have responded to our message that humanitarian aid must be dramatically increased and that Afghan women must be freed. With the nation's focus on Afghanistan and increased visibility about the plight of Afghan women, Americans want to know how to help. In the past few weeks, tens of thousands of individuals have used our website to send messages to the Administration and to Congress urging that Afghan women not be forgotten. Action teams are now forming at the incredible pace of more than 100 per week.		freedom – more u.s. free women; what does support mean? What does it look like?
73	People are outraged about the Taliban's brutal treatment of women. Women were the first victims of the Taliban, and the public is becoming increasingly aware of this fact. The public has now seen broadcast on television again and again film footage of women being beaten and executed for violating the Taliban's decrees banning women from employment, from attending school, from leaving their homes without a close male relative and without wearing the head-to-toe burqa shroud.		employment, schools and freedom of movement is important; burqua shroud – death shroud connect to CNN footage/documentary; giving emphasis to veil as bad
74	Before September 11, the tragic conditions of Afghanistan including the worst drought in 30 years, 23 years of military fighting, and the barbaric treatment of women and minorities by the Taliban had resulted in massive numbers of Afghan refugees. Some 3.5 million Afghan refugees had fled to Pakistan alone, 2 million in the refugee camps and 1.5 million in the cities and villages. Another 1.5 million refugees are in We applaud the work of the United Nations agencies, especially the World Food Program, in Afghanistan. But for years they have been forced to underestimate the needs of Afghan refugees and Afghan people because of the lack of donor nation response. Prior to September 11, we heard constantly of donor nation exhaustion. Consequently, the United Nations appeals have tended to be very modest. Although the most recent consolidated appeal is considerably more than in the past, we believe it still underestimates the real needs in several important respects:	Expat – nit citizens active in Afghanistan	

75	First, the United Nations only counts as refugees and provides assistance to those who live in the refugee camps. However, almost half of the refugees in Pakistan approximately 1.5 million live outside of camps. These desperate refugees, who live in cities and villages in Pakistan, mostly belong to the Hazara, Uzbek, and Tajik ethnic minorities who have been most persecuted by the Taliban and who fear the Pashtun-dominated camps in which the Taliban has had influence. These urban refugees receive virtually no assistance from the UN, and are in desperate need of food, health care, and education programs.	refugees - no recognition outside the country / in the camps	
76			
77	Second, the current appeal provides very little for <b>health</b> or education. Only 3% of the United Nations appeal is devoted to health. Nor are sufficient funds for education inside and outside of the camps being requested in the appeal. <b>Education</b> is less than 1% of the United Nations appeal. Education is not a luxury, but a core component of ending terrorism and promoting democracy. We cannot lose a generation of Afghan girls and boys. Education for refugee girls is necessary to make up for the denial of education under the Taliban, and to make possible the participation of young women in the reconstruction of Afghanistan. The availability of education for boys is necessary to counteract the madrassas (so-called religious schools) which are the source of foot soldiers for the Taliban.	Health care and education is important part of citizenship	Women are important part of the process; young women,
78	Finally, the UN Appeal provides only 6 months of bare subsistence rations. Of the food and support needs of \$188 million, the commodities included are only wheat, vegetable oil, pulses (lentils), salt, wheat/soy blend, sugar, and high energy biscuits.		
79	We appreciate that on October 4th President Bush announced a commitment of an additional \$295 million in U.S. emergency humanitarian aid to suffering people in Afghanistan and to Afghan refugees. This emergency humanitarian package is a critically needed escalation of aid that will help save the lives of millions of innocent Afghans, especially women and children, many of whom are near starvation in pre-famine condition, without shelter, and without healthcare.		Issues of innocence (frames of guardianship.)
80	The United States' leadership in meeting a significant portion of the United Nations \$584 million appeal for emergency assistance is very heartening. However, we believe that the needs of Afghan refugees are even more massive and that our government must do even more to meet them.		

81	We commend and support the call of the Chairman of this Committee, Senator Joseph Biden, for a multi-billion dollar infusion of humanitarian relief for Afghanistan and for the surrounding region to address refugees humanitarian needs and to sustain long-term reconstruction efforts. His leadership and vision in this call are timely and extremely needed.	Aid for developing / encouraging citizenship	
82	Our understanding is that of the funds that have recently been announced by President Bush, a yet to be determined portion will go towards the UN appeal for UN sponsored humanitarian aid and another portion of funds will go to programs carried out by other international non-governmental organizations (NGOs).		
83	No funds, however, are scheduled to be granted directly to women-led NGOs. I would like to stress the importance of the U.S. providing direct funding to Afghan women led NGOs. Humanitarian funds from the United States and the United Nations		Women-led NGO need to be recognized for their ability to work Which NGOs would FM want to receive funds? How does this help Afghan women?
84	We cannot be fooled by those who would use culture and religion as an excuse for the marginalization or exclusion of women in the reconstruction of Afghanistan. The Taliban's decrees are foreign to Islam, to the culture, and to the people of Afghanistan. Since the 1950s, women and girls in Kabul and in many other parts of the country attended schools as did boys. Before the Taliban gained dominance in Afghanistan, women were a crucial part of the workforce. Afghan women have a history of public service leadership and were believed to be 30% of its civil bureaucracy. For example, in Kabul, before the Taliban took over, women were:		
85	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>· over 70% of teachers were women;</li> <li>· 40% of doctors and the vast majority of health care workers were women; and</li> <li>· over half the university students.</li> </ul>	Whose culture? Different cultures within Afghanistan.	Active women citizens; professional

86	<p>If civil society is to be rebuilt in Afghanistan and the rogue state that has been sustained by drug trafficking is to be brought to an end, all citizens – especially those in the healthcare and education fields – must be utilized. The employment of these workers – who are mostly women – is essential to the rebuilding of the country’s social infrastructure and civilization itself. The restoration of the rights of women is crucial both for the sake of human rights and to make possible the return to civil society. The United States would be repeating a tragic mistake if it again turns to another set of extremists as it did to repel the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and chooses a dictatorship as the most expedient strategy to replace the Taliban. The restoration of a broad-based democracy, representative of both ethnic minorities and women, with women at the table, is necessary to break the back of a terrorist and a war-torn existence. We urge you to think long-term – in this case, the right thing to do is also the best thing for global security, human rights, and economic development.</p>	<p>Women are core part of citizenship; are important for security, human rights and economics. Currently within a rogue/failed nation-state; all professional citizenship</p>	<p>Women are core part of citizenship and are needed for global security, HR, and econ. Development.</p>
87	<p>In a discussion at the State Department, we were asked would the U.S. people support a massive reconstruction of Afghanistan or would the U.S. people rather support simply sustaining a tolerable subsistence economy in Afghanistan. We often hear today (à la Tom Brokaw) the World War II generation of Americans referred to as the “greatest generation.” We are proud we fought fascism, rebuilt the economies of Germany and Japan, and helped to establish democracies in these nations with women’s rights. We helped to establish in post WWII, a United Nations and under the leadership of Eleanor Roosevelt, the U.N. Universal Declaration of Human Rights. If this declaration is to mean anything, we must help to restore women’s rights in this most abused nation – Afghanistan – and we must restore its democracy. Afghanistan first adopted a constitutional democracy in 1964 that included full universal suffrage, an equal rights amendment for women that even included equal pay provisions, and a separation of powers with an independent judiciary. Women were members of the Parliament and were judges.</p>	<p>abused nation</p>	<p>active women, participating in public life</p>

88	<p>We know today that literally millions of Americans are appalled at the Taliban's treatment of its own people, especially its women. We know from our work at the grass roots level in 49 states of the union that Americans want women's rights restored in Afghanistan and for this society to return to normalcy. We as Americans do feel a moral obligation to Afghanistan because it was the last stop in the Cold War. We can be the "greatest generation" today. We must meet the challenge and as our parents, not settle for expediency but strive for the dream of democracy and human rights for all – and in Eleanor Roosevelt's memory, we cannot forget the women.</p>	<p>Evoking the past, E. Roosevelt as a universal symbol, Americans as the keepers of human rights; what is normalcy?</p>	<p>what is normal for women – what does it mean to return?</p>
89	<p><b>Ms. MCKINNEY.</b> I would like to thank you Madam Chair for calling this important hearing, and I look forward to hearing from witnesses today. Thank you, Madam Chair.</p>		
90	<p><b>Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN.</b> Thank you very much. I am so pleased to recognize the real Subcommittee Chairman, Mr. Smith, who headed this Subcommittee for many years.</p> <p><b>Mr. SMITH.</b> Madam Chair, thank you very much. And I want to thank you for your very strong statement and associate myself with your remarks.</p>		
91	<p>Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you.</p> <p>Mr. SMITH. You have comprehensively laid out the issue that we are facing. Perhaps nowhere else in earth is gender apartheid practiced so egregiously and so maliciously than by the Taliban. It is as if hatred of women is at the core, certainly control, but hatred of women is at the core of what they do.</p>	<p>Taliban control; hatred of women</p>	<p>gender apartheid</p>
92	<p>There is no question, as we all know, that the Taliban systematically and with impunity commits despicable acts of cruelty and violence. You know, as some of our very distinguished witnesses will point out, including Amnesty International, Taliban guards beat and humiliate women for defying their rules, even for acts as seemingly insignificant as showing one's ankle. The Taliban's Ministry for Preventing Vice and Fostering Virtue vigilantly enforces the restrictions on women; stoning, public executions, all of these barbaric behavior continue unabated by the Taliban. And I think it is important that the world know with even greater detail the kinds of extreme measures that have been taken against women by this repressive regime.</p>		<p>unabated implies that no one is resisting</p>



93	We also know the devastating impact that has occurred with regards to displaced personally, internally displaced as well as refugees who are now at dire risk of losing their lives, many have already, and hopefully the Administration, and I am sure it has stepped up to the plate, will give us additional details as to what is being done to mitigate that suffering as well.		
94	Again, I want to thank you for holding this hearing. I would ask that a statement be made a part of the record.	end of written statement	
95	<b>Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN.</b> Without objection.		
96	<b>Mr. SMITH.</b> But in the interest of time, again, I think it is very important that we document. You know, after the fall of the Third Reich when there was thoughts given to burning down the terrible concentration camps, Eisenhower, in his wisdom, said, “No, preserve it so that all will see what brutality occurred here.” This hearing and this kind of systematic documentation of these abuses hopefully will reveal to the world just how horrific this behavior is and why it must be stopped, and replaced with a democracy.		No acknowledgement of who is doing the documentation.
97	<b>Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN.</b> Thank you so much, Mr. Smith. And now I pleased to yield to Mr. Pitts for his opening remarks. <b>Mr. PITTS.</b> Thank you, Madam Chairwoman, and thank you for holding this timely and important hearing on the Afghan people and the Taliban and the struggle for freedom.		
98	As has been clearly documented, the people of Afghanistan have suffered terribly under the Taliban regime that claimed that it would make the nation a place of security and safety for the people. There has been no safety for ethnic minorities. Instead there have been massacres conducted against them.	by whom? Lack of citations.	Women and ethnic minorities are persecuted.
99	Contrary to Taliban claims, there has been no safety or dignity restored for women. Instead there is increased exploitation, prostitution, more women begging than anytime before the Soviet invasion. The Taliban claim that they restored peace and security, but women are not allowed outside their homes because of security concerns. The Taliban took away women’s rights to education, to employment. Yet the Prophet Mohammed’s first employer was a female. The contradictions in the Taliban’s claims are rife. The tragic irony is that the only people for whom the Taliban have made Afghanistan safe are bin Laden and his terrorists.	This was to become M. wife. ; connecting the Afghan people to bin Laden.	

100	It is vital that our nation restore our credibility in the eyes of the people of Afghanistan and the surrounding region. We must tell the people of Afghanistan that even though our government abandoned them after their war with Russia and their loss of at least 1.5 million lives, the American people have not forgotten their sacrifice.	U.S. centric	
101	The people of Afghanistan need to know that the international community is clearly aware that their suffering is caused by the Taliban, and that regime's wasting of the tremendous resources of the nation and people of Afghanistan.	wasting resources human & material	
102	The Taliban have not provided the people of Afghanistan with basic necessities, such as food and shelter, but have increased their suffering so that more people than ever are starving, freezing and dying from easily preventable medical problems.	failed nation-state in providing for factions.	
103	The Taliban callously allow the Afghani people to die. It is the international community and aid organizations who have given food and medicine, who have helped build wells and shelters. The Taliban and its commitment to conflict has used the resources of the Afghan nation for its own selfish and destructive aims.		
104	Numerous reports and analysis reflect that the battle in which we currently are engaged is not only a military battle, but also a battle to win the hearts and minds of the people of Afghanistan. We cannot let the Taliban and Osama bin Laden win the battle by effectively spreading the propaganda that the United States will again abandon the Afghan people.	more bin Laden connections;	
105	Key steps in combatting the Taliban's claims against the United States and our taking the offensive are to increase our ability to get more accurate information to the people, increase our humanitarian assistance to the suffering refugees and internally displaced people, and clearly and deliberately support the Loya Jirga.	Not using the term "military"	
106	Some governmental and extra-governmental bodies around the world have their plans for the people of Afghanistan. All of these bodies, however, seek to impose their own views on the Afghan people. History clearly shows that this will never work. The people of Afghanistan need to be free to choose their own leaders.	Outside forces imposing the frame of citizenship.; the people free to choose their own leadership; note that choice is a popular term	
107	The convening of a Loya Jirga, our a Grand Assembly, so that the Afghan people can come together and coordinate their plans for their own government is the only way to bring lasting peace and stability to Afghanistan.		

108	A State Department poll 3 months ago showed that the Afghan people overwhelmingly support holding a Loya Jirga, which is the traditional Afghan method of national reconciliation. It is vital that the United States people and government actively support the work of His Majesty, the former King of Afghanistan and the United Front/Northern Afghanistan in coordinating the Loya Jirga. A new structure has been formed by the Afghan people which seeks to restore peace and stability in Afghanistan under the symbolic leadership of His Majesty and the Supreme Council for Unity of Afghanistan.	did the Afghan people support the return of the king? Or is it the National Alliance?	RAWA does not want the king
109	Madam Chairwoman, there is an urgency to these matters. News reports detail thousands of Pakistanis lining up at the borders to join the jihad of the Taliban against the forces of freedom. Our nation must work with the Afghan people to combat the scourge of humanity, the terrorists, so that Afghanis and Americans and the rest of the world can live in peace.	Other outside forces bad.	
110	I look forward to hearing our distinguished witnesses this afternoon.		
111	[The prepared statement of Mr. Pitts follows:]		
112	PREPARED STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE JOSEPH R. PITTS, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF PENNSYLVANIA	beginning of written statement; duplicate of oral statement; edited out	
113	<b>Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN.</b> Thank you so much, Mr. Pitts.Mr. Rohrabacher of California?		
114	<b>Mr. ROHRABACHER.</b> Thank you so much. I remember during the Afghan war with the Soviet Union, that the Russians dropped — well, they are bombs. They are little, sort of trick bombs that were designed to look like butterflies, so that when children picked them up their hands would be blown off. And these little bombs were designed that way so that the families of Afghan would be so maimed that they would have to take care of their own young people, that they would not be able then to spend the time fighting with the occupation forces.		
115	Let me just say that Ms. McKinney is a good friend of mine, but I think we live in a wonderful country that even if there is a chance that we are dropping a bomb that could be mistaken for something else, we warn the people that it might be dangerous, and that is not a sign that we do not care.		
116	<b>Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN.</b> Ms. McKinney — —		
117	<b>Mr. ROHRABACHER.</b> That is a sign that we do care.		
118	<b>Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN.</b> If you would like to yield a second.		

119	Ms. MCKINNEY. Dana, we spent \$300 million a year on a military enterprise that cannot produce at least a food packet in a color — —		
120	Mr. ROHRABACHER. We have been at war — —		
121	Ms. MCKINNEY [continuing]. Different from — —		
122	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Rohrabacher. Thank you, Ms. McKinney. Mr. Rohrabacher is giving his statement.		
123	Mr. ROHRABACHER. I am reclaiming my time. I would just say if you take a look, we have been at war for 30 days. I am sure we did not know that we would be in Afghanistan dropping food containers to people who were subjugated by an enemy.		
124	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Ms. McKinney.		
125	Ms. MCKINNEY. Unfortunately, Dana — —		
126	Mr. ROHRABACHER. If I could — —		
127	Ms. MCKINNEY [continuing]. There is really no excuse — —		
128	Mr. ROHRABACHER. Cynthia, if I could — —		
129	Ms. MCKINNEY [continuing]. For — there really is no excuse — —		
130	Mr. ROHRABACHER. Cynthia, if I can have my time.		
131	Ms. MCKINNEY. I am not taking your time.		
132	Mr. ROHRABACHER. Cynthia.		
133	Ms. MCKINNEY. I am just getting — —		
134	Mr. ROHRABACHER. Yes, you are, Cynthia.		
135	Ms. MCKINNEY [continuing]. Additional time.		
136	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Ms. McKinney, we will give you 1 minute to continue and then I will recognize Mr. Rohrabacher to finish his re- marks.		
137	Ms. MCKINNEY. Thank you. See, I am not taking your time, Dana. I would never take your time.		
138	Mr. ROHRABACHER. All right.		
139	Ms. MCKINNEY. But there is no excuse for us not being able to at least put the food packets in orange and the — and if the cluster bombs — we should not even be using cluster bombs to start with. The Humans Rights Watch has said today that we should not be dropping cluster bombs in Afghanistan.		
140	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, Ms. McKinney. Mr. Rohrabacher.		

141	Mr. ROHRABACHER. Now if I could reclaim my time.I think it is wonderful that we are dropping food packages. I am sure we had no idea 6 weeks ago that there might be starvation going on in Afghanistan, a country that has been occupied by our potential enemy. The fact that we dropped food package at all says good things about us. The fact that we go out of our way to warn people that, watch out, because there are some other things that are part of our war machine that might be mistaken, it says something good about us.	US is good because they feed people, even through the US is dropping bombs on those same people. Food and bomb packets look the same. Lack of real concern for citizenry.	
142	And the fact is the Russians and almost every other power of the world in the situation where 6,000 of their own people had been slaughtered would not be taking such precautions with the people of the country that offered the base, the home base that was used to slaughter our own people It just would not happen.	No country would kill their own citizens except Afghanistan;	
143	And again, in terms of cluster bombs, I would hope that cluster bombs kills many Taliban leaders and Taliban soldiers as they possibly can. There is nothing that we could do better for the people of Afghanistan than to kill as many Taliban soldiers who have been repressing them and murdering them as they have been.	Killing the problem citizens.	
144	So let us—if it takes cluster bombs, that is fine. If it takes, you know, Samari swords, or pistols, I do not care what it is, let us get rid of these Taliban because they are Nazis, they are the Muslim Nazis, and all the good Muslims of the world understand that. They are not associated with the Taliban, and that this is aimed at these human rights abusers.	kill people by any means necessary; connections to other problem citizens	
145	Now, we have made a lot about women’s rights here today, and rightfully so, because obviously the Taliban are to women what the Nazis were to Jews, but let us also recognize that the Taliban have been murderous and oppressive to everyone in Afghanistan. Anyone who did not become part of their insidious little cult became a victim of this cult, and freedom of the press and freedom of speech was not even thought about, much less freedom of religion.	The US bill of rights, defines citizenship for everyone,	
146	So what we have here is a monstrous regime which for the last 5 years we could have done something about, and we did not. And the people of Afghanistan are our greatest allies in this endeavor to free them and to free the world from this monstrous influence that is going on and centered in Afghanistan.		

147	You know, the Taliban, that terrorist regime, and bin Laden have killed many more Afghan than they have Americans, and they have a much smaller population. So when our hearts ache for this 6,000 Americans that were slaughtered in New York, let us remember that those poor people of Afghanistan proportionally have suffered way beyond what we have suffered, and they have been calling out for us for help for all of these years, and it took the death of our people before we offered this help to those brave people who I might say defeated the Russians, and then again we did walk away, and let us not forget that.	values of one people over another	
148	So today, I appreciate the fact that we are holding this hearing, and commend you, Madam Chairman.		
149	But there is one other issue that I would like to bring up that has not been covered, and it is a very touchy issue and I would like our witnesses to talk about it, and that is, the Taliban not only have served as a monstrous force in killing and oppressing their own people, and permitting their country to be used as a source for heroin and terrorism around the world. This is not Islam.	heroin = terrorism; producers of heroin=terrorists	
150	Number one, we expect Muslim leaders around the world to step up and be counted in this fight against evil, and not to keep their mouths shut simply because this evil is posing as a force of Islam.	Islam ≠ evil	
151	And number two, I think it is about time that we understand that, yes, why does this regime hate women, this regime that hates women also, also has been involved in the worse type of molestation of children in Afghanistan. Young girls in areas that are captured by the Taliban that are not pro-Taliban areas are sent off to be served as prostitutes for other parts of the gulf. This is a disgrace and nobody has talked about it. Young boys have been molested by the Moula leaders of the Taliban movement themselves. This needs to be talked about.	Sex trade of both boys and girls.	
152	And the people of the Muslim world, when they are trying to analyze what is good and what is bad that is going on, and is the United States a force for evil or justice need to take these issues into consideration, and we need to hear from them.	simple good and bad, need to hear from the people; more evil vs. justice	

153	So I am proud to stand behind our President. We do not have a perfect—there is no such thing as a perfect war or a perfect battle. Mistakes will be made and the containers will be wrapped the same, and problems. This happened in World War II, I am sure, where they had lot more time than 6 weeks. But we can be proud, we are trying to rid the world of an evil force, and we are trying to do what is right by the people of Afghanistan, and I think we have every reason to hold our heads high, and to continue and do everything we can to win.	quick and sloppy is ok; the U.S. has good intentions	
154	Thank you very much.		
155	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you very much.Mr. Hoeffel?		
156	Mr. HOEFFEL. Thank you, Madam Chairman. I am not a Member of your Subcommittee. Thank you for the opportunity to be here. No opening statement except to compliment the Chair for holding this hearing and thank the witnesses, and ask them to address, if they could, when they are talking about what comes next for Afghanistan, whether we should be thinking about a broad rebuilding, development program along the lines of the Marshall Plan after the second world war. That was a \$13 billion, 4-year recovery plan that helped 14 countries. That 13 billion would be about 100 billion in today's dollars, a very achievable figure, particularly over 3 or 4 years.	What does rebuilding look like for the people?	
157	Of course, the Marshall Plan was rebuilding economies that had existed in a modern state before the second world war, and the countries in Central Asia and the Middle East are far different. The economies are not nearly as developed, so the challenges are much greater. But in thinking about what comes next, let us think on a big scale, and I would be delighted to hear whatever the witnesses could address on that score. Thank you.	need a developing economy	a growing economy will help women
158	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, and welcome. You are always welcome to our Subcommittee.		
159	Mr. HOEFFEL. Thank you.		
160	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Ms. Davis.		
161	Ms. DAVIS. Thank you, Madam Chairman. I also am not a Member of the Subcommittee, but appreciate the opportunity to be here, and I just thank you for holding the hearing, and look forward to hearing from the distinguished panelists.		
162	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. We thank you so much for being with us. You are always invited. Mr. Delahunt. Unfortunately, we could never get rid of him. [Laughter.] He is always there.		
163	Ms. MCKINNEY. Madam Chair, we do not want to get rid of Mr. Delahunt.		

164	<b>Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN.</b> All right, I forget. I forgot.		
165	<b>Ms. MCKINNEY.</b> We love you, Mr. Delahunt.		
166	<b>Mr. DELAHUNT.</b> Well, I thank Ms. McKinney for coming to my defense.		
167	<b>Ms. MCKINNEY.</b> I love you to, Dana, do not worry.		
168	<b>Mr. DELAHUNT.</b> Well, I guess I should not say very much at all then. [Laughter.]		
169	<b>Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN.</b> Well, you know that— —		
170	<b>Mr. DELAHUNT.</b> I should quit while I am ahead.		
171	<b>Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN</b> [continuing]. I am only kidding. I am only kidding.		
172	<b>Mr. DELAHUNT.</b> I know you are kidding.		
173	<b>Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN.</b> We love your opening statements.		
174	<b>Mr. DELAHUNT.</b> I am not going to have an opening statement, but I just would commend Mr. Hoeffel who, I think, makes eminent good sense about our experience in the aftermath of World War II. Unfortunately, and not just in Afghanistan, we have disengaged the most inopportune times, and I think it is very, very important that we take this tragedy of September 11th, and reexamine and reassess our foreign policy and our willingness to be a super power in every sense of that word. Not just militarily, but morally, spiritually, and in terms of a voice for democratic values and ideals, and respect for different cultures, and respect for the dignity of sovereign nations elsewhere. So Mr. Hoeffel, thank you for your remarks.	democratic values & ideals, respect sovereignty; respect for citizens' voices	
175	<b>Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN.</b> Thank you very much. We thank all of our Members for being here, and we thank those who are not Members for coming. And if you have full statements to be entered into the record, they will be placed without objection, and any other Members who were not here today, we will enter their statements into the record as well.		
176	Today, we are joined once again by Mr. Lorne Craner, Assistant Secretary of State for the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor.		



177	Prior to his appointment his past June, Lorne served as the President of the International Republican Institute, which conducts programs outside the U.S. to promote democracy and the rule of law. Leading up to this position, he served as the Director of Asian Affairs at the National Security Council, and Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Legislative Affairs. However, prior to that tour of duty in the executive branch, he walked the corridors of the Hill as an advisor for Congressman Jim Colby and Senator John McCain.		
178	Mr. Craner is accompanied by Jeffrey Lundstead, Senior Advisor and Afghanistan Coordinator for the Bureau of the South Asian Affairs.		
179	Previously Jeff served as the Director of the Office of Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Bangladesh at the same bureau. Throughout the last 20 years, he has served in various capacities in U.S. embassies throughout South Asia, and was the country officer for Sudan in the early nineties.		
180	Thank you both for joining us today. We will enter your statement in full in the record, and we ask you to briefly summarize them. We do expect a series of votes soon so we hope that we can do your testimony and a series of questions before we break.		
181	Mr. CRANER. Okay.		
182	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, Lorne.		
183	<b>STATEMENT OF LORNE W. CRANER, ASSISTANT SECRETARY, BUREAU OF DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS AND LABOR, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE</b>		
184	Mr. CRANER. Madam Chair, Ms. McKinney, thank you for agreeing to hold this hearing.		
185	Under Taliban rule, Afghanistan has one of the worst human rights records in the world. Universally accepted human rights, particularly those of women, are virtually nonexistent as the Taliban continues to commit numerous serious and systemic abuses.		
186	The Taliban, which controls up to 90 percent of Afghanistan, has imposed its own radical interpretation of Islamic law.		
187	Summary killings are common in Taliban-held territories. Since September 11, there have been rumors of increased summary killings of potential Taliban opponents and even of persons perceived of being neutral in the struggle with the United Front/ Northern Alliance.	[note: summary execution – executed without trial]	
188	The human rights of women and girls, ethnic and religious minorities, and indeed all who do not share the Taliban’s increasingly radical interpretation of Islam, continue to be systemically denied by the Taliban.	Taliban speaking for the people.	

189	The Secretary of State has identified Taliban-ruled Afghanistan as a country of particular concern. The rigid policies adopted by the Taliban have had a chilling effect on adherence of other faiths and in particular on Afghan Muslims who do not accept the Taliban's interpretation of Islam. Enforcement of Taliban edicts are most pronounced in the cities, especially in Kabul.		
190	The Taliban rely on a religious police force, which Congress- woman Ros-Lehtinen referred to, the Ministry for the Promotion of Virtue and the Suppression of Vice, to enforce rules on such matters as appearance, dress, employment, access to medical care, behavior, religious practices and freedom of religion.	dictating access to who is allowed to have access	
191	In areas they control, the Taliban has decreed that all Muslims must take part in five daily prayers. Those who are observed not praying at appointed times or who are late attending prayer are subject to punishment, including severe beatings.		
192	There is an ongoing conflict between the Taliban, who subscribe to a radical interpretation of the Hanafi school of Sunni Islam, and Afghanistan's Shi'a, most of who are Hazaras. In September 1998 and April 1999, over 500 people were reportedly killed in the struggle for control of the City of Bamiyan. The UN has reported that after retaking the town of Yakaolang in January 2001, the Taliban massacred at least 100 Shiite Muslim civilians. However, U.S. government sources believe this figure should be closer to 300. This massacre followed the May 2000 massacre at the Robatak Pass of some 31 Hazaras; 26 of whom were identified as civilians.	Struggle between religious sects.	
193	In early August 2001, the Taliban arrested 24 members of an international relief agency on charges of proselytizing. The Afghan authorities were threatening to execute the agency's Afghan employees for allegedly converting to Christianity from Islam. And as we all know, the eight foreign workers continue to be detained.	lack of religious freedom	
194	The Taliban's war against Afghan culture has even extended to the flying of kites, the playing of chess, the possession of dolls and even stuffed animal toys as violations of their understanding of the Islamic injunction to make no image of a living thing.	childhood banned; children denied rights of citizenship; participations.	
195	Along those same lines, we understand that Taliban has also required that medical texts be reduced to straightforward narratives, without diagrams or photographs of the body or any of its part.	undertrained medical professionals; citizens denied appropriate care	

196	Since coming to power in 1996, the Taliban has shown itself willing to carry out massacres, usually along ethnic lines, to establish and maintain control over various parts of the country.		
197	In August 1998, they captured Mazar-e Sharif, and murdered nearly 3,000 civilians. In June, to strengthen its hold on the provinces, Taliban forces carried out a “scorched earth” program, burning perhaps 5,000 structures, including houses, a clinic, mosques and a madrassa. The June program also entailed the killing of numerous fleeing civilians as well as those too ill or too infirm to flee.		
198	Current conditions in Afghanistan make reporting of such activities by the Taliban difficult, but we do know of increased repression, as I mentioned, and increased murders.		
199	The promotion of human rights, particularly the human rights of women and girls, remains a high priority for us in Afghanistan.	U.S. priority	
200	When the Taliban took over Kabul in 1996, they began to enforce a series of discriminatory social strictures. The Taliban forbade women to work outside the home. They have stated that widows could work outside the home to support their families, but even this benefit is granted sporadically. In urban areas, women are forbidden to leave home unless accompanied by a male relative. Particularly in cities, women must wear the burqa. While many Afghan women wore the burqa before the Taliban took control, it is now part of a legally enforced dress code by the Taliban.	Rural vs. urban citizen; different rules	burqa as anti-citizen; emphasis on veil, takes away from real issues
201	The Taliban also restrict education for girls, particularly in urban areas such as Kabul. Private home-based schools were ordered closed in Kabul. By some estimates, only 3 percent of Afghan girls have access to any form of primary education. Women and girls have access to medical services and some hospitals in Kabul, but in practice, women are usually excluded from treatment by male physicians. The requirement that women be completely clothed when treated by a male medical personnel is clearly a severely limiting factor.	false access to edu	education
202	Promoting human rights in Afghanistan remains a high priority for U.S. diplomacy. Even before September 11th, we tried to keep the international spotlight focused on the Taliban’s human rights abuses. At every opportunity, we have called on the Taliban to cease their persecution on the basis of religion, and to lift restrictions on access to health care, employment and the education of women and girls.	Feb 2001 & April 2001 reports	focus on women & girls

203	In February, the State Department again documented the Taliban's human rights abuses in our human rights report. The Re- port on International Religious Freedom released last week again details the gross violations of religious liberty by the Taliban regime. In April, the U.S. and other nations introduced and adopted a resolution at the UN Commission on Human Rights, strongly condemning human rights in Afghanistan, particularly discrimination against women and girls.		focus on women and girls
204	During the fiscal year 20001, we have provided over \$170 million in aid for Afghans. Additionally, there is 165,000 tons of wheat from the U.S. currently on ships headed to the region. President Bush recently announced an additional \$320 million in humanitarian assistance for the Afghan people. This assistance helps support the weakest and most vulnerable Afghans, women and girls, and ethnic minorities. Last year, the Department provided \$3.8 million specifically for programs targeted at Afghan women and girl refugees, and USAID provided an additional \$1 million. We expect to provide at least this amount this year.		women weak and vulnerable
205	The U.S. remains committed to improving human rights situation in Afghanistan. We have called for a broad-based, representative, multi-ethnic government, one that accepts international norms and practices, particularly regarding human rights, particularly religious freedom, and issues concerning women, and that facilitates safe delivery of humanitarian and economic assistance. We are working with other countries and the UN to bring about this change.		
206	And I would ask your indulgence if I could turn for a moment to Jeff—		
207	<b>Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN.</b> Yes.		
208	<b>Mr. CRANER</b> [continuing]. To outline some of the plans we have.		
209	<b>Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN.</b> Please do.[The prepared statement of Mr. Craner follows:]		
210	PREPARED STATEMENT OF LORNE W. CRANER, ASSISTANT SECRETARY, BUREAU OF DEMOCRACY, HUMAN RIGHTS AND LABOR, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE	beginning of written statement	
211	<i>“People who had the power to leave—young men and women—fled. Old men and children who couldn't escape were all killed. At night, I came down and buried the people with my hands. Most of the dead bodies were found in the mosque, but some were found around and inside their homes.”</i> Comments of a refugee from a Taliban attack on Sar-e Qazu, Bamiyan val- ley—Summer 2001.	right to mobility	women's right to mobility [note: make connections to Mernissi of her experiences in urban vs. rural]

212	OVERVIEW:		
213	Under Taliban rule, Afghanistan has one of the worst human rights records in the world. Universally accepted human rights, particularly those of women, are virtually nonexistent as the Taliban continues to commit numerous serious and systemic abuses.	human rights	women's rights
214	Afghanistan is experiencing its twenty-third year of civil war and instability. There is no functioning central government; no nationally-recognized constitution, and no independent judiciary. The Taliban, which controls up to ninety percent of the country, has imposed its own radical interpretation of Islamic Law.	failed nation state	constitution guarantees women rights, but they are not followed
215	Summary killings are common in Taliban-held territory. Political and other extra-judicial murders, summary executions and deaths in custody occur. Since September 11, there have been rumors of increased summary killings of potential Taliban opponents and even of persons perceived of being "neutral" in the struggle with the United Front/Northern Alliance.		
216	The human rights of women and girls, ethnic and religious minorities, and indeed all who do not share the Taliban's increasingly radical interpretation of Islam, continue to be systemically denied by the Taliban.	Citizenship denied to all non Pashtun; women & girls	
217	<i>Lack of Religious Freedom and Ethnic Tolerance</i>		
218	The Secretary of State has identified Taliban-ruled Afghanistan a "country of particular concern." The rigid policies adopted by the Taliban have had a chilling effect on adherents of other faiths and in particular on Afghan Muslims who do not accept the Taliban's interpretation of Islam. Enforcement of Taliban edicts are most pronounced in the cities, especially in Kabul; less so in rural areas, where local customs are more prevalent, and where there may be less of a Taliban presence.	rural vs. urban	
219	The Taliban rely on a religious police force under the control of the Ministry for the Promotion of Virtue and the Suppression of Vice (PVSV) to enforce rules on such matters as appearance, dress, employment, access to medical care, behavior, religious practice, and freedom of expression.	restrictions to civil rights, health care; suggesting that health care is a right	this is especially true for women

220	In September 1999, the Taliban issued decrees that forbade non-Muslims from building places of worship but allowed them to worship at existing sites. The decrees also ordered non-Muslims to identify their houses by placing a yellow cloth on their rooftops and prohibited non-Muslims from living in the same residences as Muslims. On May 22, 2001, the PVSV proposed that all Hindus be made to wear an identifying mark on their clothing to distinguish them from Muslims. This has been revised to requiring that all Hindus carry special identification cards at all times and show whenever needed. Taliban officials claim that the plan is an effort to safeguard Hindus from harassment from the religious police.	suggesting WWII Germany; caste of citizens	
221	In areas they control, the Taliban has decreed that all Muslims must take part in five daily prayers. Those who are observed not praying at appointed times or who are late attending prayer are subject to punishment, including severe beatings. PVSV members in Kabul reportedly have stopped persons on the street and quizzed them to determine if they knew how to recite various Koranic prayers.		
222	Licensing and registration of religious groups do not appear to be required by the authorities in any part of the country. The small number of non-Muslim residents who remain in the country may generally practice their faith in private, but are prohibited from an attempt to convince Muslims to convert. Conversion from Islam is considered apostasy and is punishable by death.		
223	There is an ongoing conflict between the Taliban, who subscribe to a radical interpretation of the Hanafi school of Sunni Islam, and Afghanistan's Shi'a, most of whom are Hazaras. In September 1998 and April 1999, over 500 persons were reportedly killed in the struggle for control of the city of Bamiyan. The United Nations has reported that, after retaking the town of Yakaolang in January 2001, the Taliban massacred at least 100 Shiite Muslim civilians (USG sources believe this figure to be closer to 300). This massacre followed the May 2000 massacre at the Robatak Pass of some 31 Ismaili Shi'a Hazaras (26 of which were positively identified as civilians).		
224	In early August 2001 the Taliban arrested 24 members of an international relief agency—16 Afghans, 4 Germans, 2 Americans, and 2 Australians—on charges of proselytizing. Taliban authorities were threatening to execute the agency's Afghan employees for allegedly converting to Christianity from Islam. The eight foreign workers continue to be detained.		

225	<p>This February the Taliban ordered the destruction of all statues in Afghanistan, claiming that “Islamic beliefs” condone such actions. Afghan museums contain ancient and culturally priceless statuary from the Greek, Buddhist, and other eras of the country’s rich and varied history. The Taliban claimed to have destroyed statues in these collections and elsewhere. Two massive second-century statues of the Buddha, located in the central province of Bamiyan and considered among the world’s great cultural treasures, were totally destroyed in March 2001. This war against Afghan culture has extended to the Taliban forbidding the flying of kites, the playing of chess, possession of dolls and stuffed animal toys (as violations of their understanding of the Islamic injunction to “make no image of a living thing”). Along these same lines, we understand that the Taliban has required that medical texts be reduced to straight-forward narratives, without diagrams or photographs of the body or any of its parts.</p>	destruction of art, history; banning play, and developing knowledge	
226	<i>Rule by the Sword—Taliban Massacres</i>		
227	<p>Since coming to power in 1996, the Taliban has shown itself willing to carry out massacres, usually along ethnic lines, to establish and maintain its control over parts of the country.</p>		
228	<p>In August 1998, they captured Mazar-i Sharif, a major city in north-central Afghanistan, and murdered nearly 3,000 civilians. Most were Hazaras, who, as Shias, were characterized as “infidels” by the region’s Taliban governor Mullah Manon Niazi. In January 2001, Taliban forces recaptured Yakaolang district in Bamiyan province and summarily executed approximately 170 male Hazara civilians.</p>		
229	<p>In June, to strengthen its hold on the province, Taliban forces carried out a “scorched earth” program, burning perhaps 5,000 structures, including houses, a clinic, mosques and a madrassa. As one returning villager noted, “there was nothing left.” The June program also entailed the killing of numerous fleeing civilians as well as those too ill or infirm to flee.</p>	Movement is a right, safe home; free from violence.	
230	<p>Current conditions in Afghanistan make reporting of similar activities by the Taliban difficult, but given the history and proclivities of the group, we should not be surprised to learn of similar activities, perhaps even more brutal, in the ensuing weeks.</p>		

231	<p><i>Womens' and Girls' Rights</i> The promotion of human rights, particularly the human rights of women and girls, is a high priority for us in Afghanistan today. Afghan women traditionally suffered disadvantages in many areas of Afghan society prior to the civil war. However a limited but growing number, primarily in urban areas, worked outside the home in nontraditional roles. There were thousands of female lawyers, government officials and doctors in Kabul in the early 1990's. Despite the efforts of the U.S. Government, the UN and the NGO community, the situation of women and girls in Afghanistan remains largely unchanged and indeed has worsened as Taliban has intensified its enforcement of its radical beliefs. When the Taliban took over Kabul in 1996, they began to enforce a series of discriminatory social strictures, many of which impacted women and their position in society. The Taliban forbade women to work outside the home, but soon allowed exceptions for female doctors and nurses in restricted circumstances. They have stated that widows could work outside the home to support their families, but this benefit is granted sporadically. In urban areas, women were forbidden to leave home unless accompanied by a male relative. Particularly in cities, when women go out they must wear a traditional long robe, the burqa, covering them from head to toe and obscuring their vision. While many Afghan women wore the burqa before they took control, it is now part of a legally enforced dress code decreed by the Taliban. (The Taliban also enforce a dress code for men, which includes an obligatory wearing of beards of a certain length. Men who violate the dress code risk beatings, imprisonment and religious indoctrination courses, women risk being stoned, though more often the male elders of their family are beaten.) The Taliban restrict education for girls, particularly in urban areas such as Kabul. Private home-based schools were ordered closed in Kabul. By some estimates, only 3 percent of Afghan girls have access to any form of primary education. Nearly one-quarter of male children receive education (albeit this is often limited to memorization of the Koran in Arabic, not a language widely spoken Afghanistan). Women and girls have access to medical services and most hospitals in Kabul, but in practice women are usually excluded from treatment by male physicians. The requirement that women be completely clothed when treated by male medical personnel is clearly a severely limiting factor.</p>		<p>All women had problems but urban women who were in non-traditional work particularly imported ++++++ lack of control at home</p>
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232	The Taliban's unwillingness to tolerate educated women is reflected in the country's infant mortality figures. In Afghanistan, over 150 of each 1,000 children die before the age of five. In Pakistan, the number is 80; in India it is 63, in Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan 73 children of every thousand die before the age of five.		edu=child survival
233	<i>What the USG is Doing</i>		
234	Promoting human rights in Afghanistan, particularly religious freedom and the rights of women and girls, is a high priority for U.S. diplomacy. Even before September 11th, we kept the international spotlight focused on the Taliban's human rights abuses. At every opportunity, we have called on the Taliban to cease its persecution on the basis of religion, and to lift its restrictions on access to health care, employment, and education of women and girls. We have raised human rights questions with other factions as well. In February, the State Department again documented in its human rights report human rights abuses in Afghanistan. This year's Report on International Religious Freedom again details the gross violations of religious liberty by the Taliban regime. In April, the United States and other nations introduced and adopted a resolution at the UN Commission on Human Rights which strongly condemned human rights abuse in Afghanistan, particularly discrimination against women and girls.	religion and rights for women & girls	weak women; powerless, need assistance
235	Along with working for improvements in human rights in Afghanistan, we continue to support the Afghan people through our humanitarian assistance programs. The United States is the largest provider of humanitarian aid to Afghans. During Fiscal Year 2001, we have provided over \$170 million in aid for Afghans. Additionally there is 165,000 tons of wheat from the U.S. currently on ships headed to the region. The President recently announced an additional 320 million dollars in humanitarian assistance for the Afghan people. This assistance helps support the weakest and the most vulnerable Afghans—women and girls and ethnic minorities. Last year, the Department provided \$3.8 million specifically for programs targeted at Afghan women and girl refugees, and USAID provided an additional \$1 million. We expect to provide similar amounts this year.	U.S. deciding terms in international frame.	

236	The United States remains committed to improving the human rights situation in Afghanistan. We have called for a broad-based, representative, multi-ethnic government, one that accepts international norms and practices, particularly regarding human rights in general, but in particular religious freedom and issues concerning women, and facilitates safe delivery of humanitarian and economic assistance. We are working with other countries and the United Nations to bring about change.		
237	<b>STATEMENT OF JEFFREY J. LUNDSTEAD, SENIOR ADVISOR AND AFGHANISTAN COORDINATOR, BUREAU OF SOUTH ASIAN AFFAIRS, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE</b>		
238	<b>Mr. LUNDSTEAD.</b> Madam Chairperson, Ms. McKinney, thank you.		
239	Since I was asked to join this hearing at a late moment, I do not have a prepared statement, but I would like to comment on two subjects which came up in the statements by the various Members.		
240	The first is the preparations for a political alternative to the Taliban. We are in constant contact with Afghans around the world, including a number of the witnesses who will be appearing afterwards, who are good friends of mine, to encourage and support them in their efforts to build a political structure to take over when the Taliban are gone.	choices for people	
241	We do not tell them who should run Afghanistan. That is for Afghans to decide. But we do set out principles that we think any follow-on political structure will have to encompass. These include:		
242	It must be broad-based, and representative of Afghan. It must include religious minorities, all ethnic groups in the country. It must rid Afghan territory of terrorism and supporters of terrorism. It will have to respect human rights, especially the rights of women and girls, including also ethnic and religious minorities. It will have to take strenuous efforts to rid the country of the problem of narcotics, and it should seek friendly relations with its neighbors.	Does this represent everyone?	
243	These are the principles we lay out day after day. I am happy to say that most of the Afghan contacts that we have agree with those principles. That is what they are working for, and that is what we are working for.		

244	Mr. Hoeffel raised the question of economic reconstruction for Afghanistan. The President did say in his press conference that Afghanistan will need to be helped after this effort against the Taliban and al-Qaeda was over. The Administration has been working on this issue for quite some time. We are developing a plan for reconstruction for the future of Afghanistan. It will involve many countries, many institutions. It will be a multi-year effort.	economics issues affect citizens using an international collation	
245	I cannot give you a figure, but the goal is to see a stable prosperous Afghanistan which can deal with all those issues which I outlined before, because there is a connection here. If we have a stable, prosperous Afghanistan, if it is a representative government, if people have a stake in their society, then they will not support terrorism and will not have to grow drugs and they will not be oppressing each other.	if the citizens have a stake in their future...	
246	Thank you. Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you very much. We appreciate it. I am going to begin our questions now, and we expect a series of vote at 4:30, and I know that one of the panelists in the second private panel, from Amnesty International, needs to leave, so we will begin with him when we begin that series.		
247	We have seen videos and we have received information about the use of child soldiers by the Taliban. Can you elaborate on this practice? Has the recruitment intensified in the aftermath of U.S. military strikes? And what have we done in the U.S. to ensure that Pakistan, for example, does not afford the Taliban the facilities to train these children for battle?	children's rights as citizens	
248	<b>Mr. LUNDSTEAD.</b> We have seen numerous reports that since the hostilities began that the Taliban are desperate for soldiers and are trying to get as many people as they can. I assume that includes taking children into the military.		
249	With regard to Pakistan, Pakistan is cooperating with us in the campaign in Afghanistan. Pakistan is making strenuous efforts to close its borders, to prevent people from moving in. We are very gratified with that. Nonetheless, it is a 1200 mile border. It is the equivalent of a border from Chicago to Texas. They cannot shut-down every piece of that border.		
250	<b>Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN.</b> Thank you. Mr. Craner, if you have anything to add to that. We are adhering to the 5-minute question rule too, and I would like to tell our Members that.		

251	What steps is the Department taking to help ensure that women are included in the Rome process and in a future Afghan government? Can you confirm that the funds that the Department is allocating to NGOs promoting the development of a broad-based representative government in Afghanistan will include safeguards and requirements, ensuring a pivotal role for women and the issue of women's rights in these discussions?		
252	Mr. LUNDSTEAD. Well, that fits very much into the principles for a future Afghan government that I was just mentioning. One of them is—both the broad-based part and the human rights part, both of those cover the participation of women. We have laid this out many times, that the structure that develops will have to have women's representation if we are to approve of it, and I think that has been heard.		participation and representation
253	Rome, for instance, has included Afghan women in its deliberations up till now, and I am sure it will in the future.		What was women's participation in the Rome process?
254	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Craner?		
255	Mr. CRANER. I think the short answer on the grants is that that is exactly among the things we want to see it go for so that we reach the objectives Jeff was talking about.		
256	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. And is the DRL Bureau considering allocating separate funds to support the process, and would the funds be used in the same manner as in the plan put forth by the South Asia Bureau in their transmittal letter of October 26? Are we asking allies to match U.S. contributions to the Rome process? And what has been the response from the international community?		
257	Mr. CRANER. DRL is considering a number of efforts that could aid both within Afghanistan, also in the surrounding countries on these issues. There will be a series of steps that are necessary to bring about our ultimate goal, and we will be involved, and I have no doubt, helping out on the funding and also on the advice of all those steps. What you saw from South Asia is just the first, I think, of what you are going to be seeing.		
258	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you very much. Ms. McKinney. Ms. MCKINNEY. Thank you, Madam Chair. Mr. Craner or Mr. Lundstead, has the United States publicly stated that human rights abusers or war criminals will not be allowed to participate in any future Afghan government?	HR abusers not permitted to participate	

259	Mr. LUNDSTEAD. I do not know if there has been a specific public statement to that effect, but the principles we have laid out for what an Afghan government should look like would exclude such people.		
260	Ms. MCKINNEY. I did not hear it in the principles that you enunciated. You did speak to respect the human rights, but I did not hear a specific reference to the fact that human rights abusers or war criminals would not be allowed to participate in any future Afghan government.	war criminals=non-citizens	
261	Mr. LUNDSTEAD. No, I think that is implicit in the idea that this will be a government that respects human rights. You cannot have abusers in a government that is respecting them.		
262	Ms. MCKINNEY. Does that mean — —		
263	Mr. LUNDSTEAD. I do not know if there has been a specific statement. I will take that under advisement and look into it.		
264	Ms. MCKINNEY. Great. Thank you. And if there has not been such a statement, do you think this Administration, or would you advocate making such a statement so that it will be not implicit, but explicit?	U.S. working to construct a limitation on citizenship	
265	Mr. LUNDSTEAD. I would have to ask other people in the State Department what they think.		
266	Ms. MCKINNEY. I understand. Thank you. Did you want to say something, Lorne? Mr. CRANER. No. I just—it is something that we are talking to everybody that we talk to in Afghan about is if they expect to be part of the future of Afghanistan, that is not something that is going to be tolerated.		
267	Ms. MCKINNEY. Let me ask you about the specific organization of the Revolutionary Association of Women of Afghanistan. Are they—have they been talked to and received at the State Department? Are you familiar with them?		RAWA
268	Mr. LUNDSTEAD. Yes, very much so. In fact, the witness who will be testifying later, I met about 2 weeks ago in my office, and I have met people from RAWA, other members of RAWA over the past 2 years, along with other Afghan women's groups. There are other groups in this area, and we have always met with them because they have a very important role to play.		RAWA important
269	Ms. MCKINNEY. Great. And you can remind me if we have made public statements about the role of women, not just in the discussions leading up to the government of Afghanistan, but also actually participating in meaningful positions inside the government?		women in government
270	Mr. LUNDSTEAD. Again, I would have to check on what public statements have been made.		
271	Ms. MCKINNEY. Great. Gotcha.		

272	I have got a couple of newspaper articles I would like some comments on. One is about huge demonstrations occurring across the world, and we had 20,000 people to demonstrate against the bombing in London, 30,000 in Berlin, 5,000 in Berne, 4,000 in Stutgaard. We have also had anti-U.S. bombing to take place—protests to take place in Scotland, and in Australia, as well as those other countries that I have mentioned before. Do you think we are losing the public opinion war, and if so, why?		
273	Mr. CRANER. I do not—I do not think we are losing the public opinion war, and I do not think that the governments we are dealing with feel that we are. I understand, I am heading the DLR bureau, I am all for people demonstrating, but I do not think that the accurately reflect the totality of feeling in their countries.		
274	I noticed you—was it 10,000 in Britain?Ms. MCKINNEY. No.Mr. CRANER. Twenty?Ms. MCKINNEY. Twenty thousand in London.Mr. CRANER. Having lived there, that is not a very large demonstration in London for some of these issues.Ms. MCKINNEY. That is pretty big in America.		
275	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Ms. McKinney, if I could—		
276	Mr. CRANER. And finally, I would tell you—		
277	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN [continuing]. Ask you to yield for a second.		
278	Ms. MCKINNEY. Sure.		
279	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. There is an interesting article here from the London Telegraph today that says, “Afghans cheer as U.S. jets hit Taliban,” and I would just like to share that with you.		
280	Ms. MCKINNEY. Okay. Great. Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. I think those are the people most affected.		
281	Ms. MCKINNEY. Well, if we got into a battle about newspaper articles, we could also submit one that says that the Afghan people are stuck in their homes for fear of going out from the cluster bombs. I have got—Human Rights Watch issued a statement today, U.S. should stop using cluster bombs, and it gives an in depth analysis, citing the hazard to civilians. What is the position that—in light of the criticism—that we are taking by using these cluster bombs? What is the position, Mr. Craner, that you are going to take as we—on this particular issue on the continued use of cluster bombs, recognizing that cluster bombs were ruled out in 1995 in Bosnia?	freedom of movement; freedom from violence	

282	Mr. CRANER. They were ruled out in 1995. They may have been ruled out in 1995 in Bosnia. They were used in Kosovo. I have not seen the statement by Human Rights Watch.		
283	Ms. MCKINNEY. It just came out today.		
284	Mr. CRANER. Okay, yes, that is why I have not seen it because I was out of the building most of the day. But the U.S. Government believes there is a legal basis to continue to use these weapons. I know it has been in the past a controversial issue, but they U.S. Government believes it has a legal basis to use these		
285	Ms. MCKINNEY.		
286	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, Ms. McKinney, and we will re- turn for a second round of questions.		
287	Ms. MCKINNEY. Oh, we will. Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. I am sorry, the 5 minutes are up.Mr. Smith?		
288	Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Madam Chairwoman, and again I want to thank our two distinguished witnesses for their testimony, for underscoring the fact that we are the largest provider of humanitarian aid to the Afghan people. And I was wondering if you could tell us—obviously, food and medicines are absolutely essential, and the hope is that even that will accelerate and be expanded, and get to the people. I want to commend our pilots who are flying very dangerous trips each and every day to drop those important food stuffs to the people, and to allow them really to continue living. It is an operation lifeline if ever there was one, and our brave pilots and air crews are to be commended for that.	right to food and medicine	
289	I would like to ask you, if you would, obviously, there is going to be other kinds of concerns for the people of Afghanistan as well, particularly the children. We have known that there is a great need for prosthetic devices. Obviously, the cutting off of hands and feet, an atrocious practice, routinely engaged in by the Taliban; post-traumatic stress disorder. Obviously, that may not seem like it should be important right now, but it seems to me the people we care so deeply about are going to have enormous emotional health problems that will manifest themselves.	right to emotional health and occupational therapy	

290	We on this Committee time and again have documented that torture victims suffer immeasurable hurt and horror that lasts a life-time. Maybe it cannot be rectified, but it can be mitigated. And I hope that the Department will look at that very carefully, as to how we can help these people with that, as well as with prosthetic devices going forward. Obviously, some of this is a little bit further down the line, but hopefully we are thinking about that very carefully		
291	Mr. Secretary, did you want to comment on that?		
292	Mr. CRANER. Yes. We are already thinking about it. As Jeff indicated, this is going to be a huge effort, and that is why it is important that we involve not only other countries but also international organizations to help out, because it is going to be such a—there is such trauma in that society and there is so much to be done, but we are already thinking about that far ahead.		
293	Mr. SMITH. I do appreciate that. Let me just—you know, obviously, we are all concerned about what a post-Taliban government would look like, and I share the views of the distinguished Chairlady of this Committee as to the importance of human rights, and again, Amnesty will testify later that they think it is central, as do I.		
294	We know that Dr. Abdullah, the minister of foreign affairs of the Northern Alliance underscored their support, and I quote him, “. . . for an institutional framework based on moderate Islam and democracy to embody human rights and fundamental freedoms of individuals, including those of women, political pluralism, devolution of power to local administration to local elections on a provincial and lower levels.”	gov includes Islam that advocated by some citizens	RAWA works for a secular government
295	We need to keep in mind, however, that between 1992 and 1992, the Northern Alliance itself was responsible for human rights problems, and our hope is that there will be a major league lessons learned to preclude any kind of reactivation of that kind of behavior. Obviously, we are their allies, and perhaps you might want to comment on our hope that they will be faithful to a post-Taliban regime where human rights are central.		
296	Mr. CRANER. Having lost power once, and having seen what has become of Afghanistan afterwards, I know that they understand the need for exactly what you were talking about, and that is, what we continue to underline to them, and especially in terms of current conduct, that our expectations are what your said.		
297	Mr. SMITH. I do appreciate that.		



298	And finally, just let me—I read with great interest the Inter- national Religious Freedom Report because obviously this Com- mittee and I, in particular, and people like Frank Wolfe are very concerned about that. And I would hope, and just would raise as an issue that some countries, like Saudi Arabia and Uzbekistan, about which I have had hearings myself, particularly in the area of the Helsinki Commission on Uzbekistan, for example, believe that they do rise to the level of countries where there is a par- ticular interest by the United States. And I hope that we would in no way diminish our concern about human rights as we build this coalition of countries who are united against terrorism.		
299	Mr. CRANER. A great deal of concern has been expressed to me about that, both from up here and from a lot of my former com- patriots in the human rights and democracy organizations.		
300	I think there is a fear that the U.S. will return to a 1950s to 1970s version of national security, where we stayed with some folks that we should not have till the bitter end, and it was a very bitter end, and afterwards people in the country were quite bitter in those countries.		
301	The people who are at the highest levels of this government lived through that. They do not think that is the way to go.		
302	And so I have been—I cannot tell you I was surprised because I thought it would happen that way with people like Colin Powell and Rich Armatage, and Paul Wollack and others who worked on those issues in those days, but it really does come from the top, from the President who, as you know, in China raised these kinds of issues. It is not looked upon as an inconvenience. It is looked upon, as was stated before by one of your colleagues, as an integral part of the fight against terrorism; that there is a reason that people become terrorists, and it is not the only reason, but it is some- thing that needs to be worked on.		
303	Mr. SMITH. Thank you. My time is over, but I thank you. Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, Mr. Smith.Mr. Pitts? No, sorry, Mr. Hoeffel. I apologize.Mr. HOEFFEL. Thank you, Madam Chair.		
304	I certainly agree with all of my colleagues about the need for human rights abuses to be ended and to put a huge focus on that in any post-Taliban government.		

305	I come back to the economic issue as something that perhaps is needed to ensure that human rights can flourish. My worry is, as everyone is well aware, is that impoverished people of Afghanistan and Central Asia generally do not have alternatives; feel that the religious hatred espoused by some of the fanatical clerics is the only option out there offering them any hope.	emphasizing HR and economic issues – citizens following groups out of need	
306	And Mr. Lundstead, you have said that the Administration is focused on aid for Afghanistan. I hope that it is an aid program much larger than Afghanistan, but obviously the focus of this hearing is Afghanistan.		
307	What components are needed? There is educational, there is economic, there is a variety of things. And what sort of components is the Administration looking at?		
308	Mr. LUNDSTEAD. Well, my colleagues in Treasury and AID and the Department's Bureau of Business Affairs are working on all these issues. They have been working for several weeks. I would say, without prejudging a final plan, that there are a number of different aspects.		
309	One is allowing people to feed themselves, first and foremost. Afghan are farmers. They will need seeds, fertilizer, tube wells, roads so they can move their produce. There will be a major agricultural component to this.	right to agriculture; growing food	
310	They will need assistance in setting up an education system. They will need assistance in human rights and democracy, whatever government is set up. There will be a huge need to rebuild infrastructure: water, electricity, roads I mentioned before. There is so many needs. We could make a list as page long, but those are just a few of the most important and obvious ones that we will be working on.	education, HR, democracy,	
311	Mr. HOEFFEL. Regarding agricultural development, how serious is the problem with land mines in Afghanistan?		
312	Mr. LUNDSTEAD. I should have land mines because that is on the list too. It is a long list. Afghanistan is probably the most heavily mined country in the world. There has been an ongoing de-mining effort for a number of years. It is very successful.		
313	Hopefully, with the Taliban removed from power and a representative government in place, that program will be able to be expanded, and to clear as much land as possible.		

314	Mr. HOEFFEL. You spoke about human rights and democracy, assistance in trying to develop that. How do you do that in a country that does not have an educational system, the public institutions are weak or nonexistent? How do you go about doing that?		
315	Mr. LUNDSTEAD. You have indicated it really. The Afghan will need assistance in institution building, in building their educational system, in building a judiciary, in setting up types of laws and procedures, how does a parliament work. They have not had a parliament for almost 30 years now. There is a whole variety.	access to public institutions	
316	But Assistant Secretary Craner knows a lot about democracy assistance. He does it all the time.		
317	Mr. CRANER. As you indicated, without the institutions existing now, and while we will be working to build those up, it is going to have to come from the top down. The government will have to set the standards and live by those standards, and the war powers decentralize the authorities in those area will have to live by those standards, and then it will begin to diffuse through the society.		
318	Mr. HOEFFEL. And what kind of help can we give? Is it financial? Is it technical assistance on writing a constitution?		
319	Mr. CRANER. I think, initially, it would be some technical assistance where we will—we and others will have our and other examples for them to examine, to look and see what they think is useful to them.	Afghans need assistance in understanding democracy	RAWA understands democracy
320	One thing that I have found in doing this work is that no country can be a mirror image of ours, and that it is most useful to show people different examples from around the world and allow them to, you know, pick elements and work with them to see if all of that will work together.		
321	It will be technical and financial.Mr. HOEFFEL. Thank you, Madam Chair.Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you. Mr. Pitts?Mr. PITTS. Thank you, Madam Chairman.Mr. Craner, Mr. Lundstead, I am very grateful for the Pakistani		
322	government standing with us and cooperating with us. But I am wondering, are there other steps that the government of Pakistan can take to further curb the activities of the Taliban and their cohorts in Pakistan who continue to supply the Taliban with weapons.		
323	Has the government of Pakistan done anything to stop the recruits from reportedly crossing their border? Have they done anything to stop the use of facilities in Pakistan so that they are not used as training camps for recruits? Can you respond to that?		

324	Mr. LUNDSTEAD. Yes. The government of Pakistan has been fully supportive of our campaign in Afghanistan. Amongst other things, the government has attempted to stop recruits. As I indicated before, it is a long porous border. They cannot stop everyone, but they have turned a lot of people back. That has been reported in the press. They have closed down facilities. They have arrested rebel-rousing leaders who are trying to stir up trouble. They are helping us out.		
325	Mr. PITTS. Mr. Craner?		
326	Mr. CRANER. Nothing to add.		
327	Mr. PITTS. Concerning the humanitarian drops, can you give us any information on the effect of this, of these drops? Are they being utilized by the Afghani people? Are they being dropped near refugee encampments or routes? Is there more that we can do to make sure that the refugees, the innocent people of Afghanistan get the aid that we are trying to give them?	Innocence of citizens	
328	Mr. CRANER. We have a fair amount of evidence that the food is being used, but I would—there is a gentleman named Alan Kreczko who works on refugee issues. He is going to be in front of your Committee tomorrow, and I think that question could best and most ably be directed to him.		
329	Mr. PITTS. Okay. And finally, what do you know about the Taliban permitting or encouraging the trafficking in heroine, in drug, in order to finance their regime?		
330	Mr. LUNDSTEAD. Well, Afghanistan in the year 2000 had the dubious honor of becoming the world's largest producer of heroine. The following year, Omar announced a ban on planting of opium poppy. Much to the surprise of everyone, that ban was largely effective. However, there was a stockpile of several hundred tons of opium already in country, and little or nothing was done to stop the trafficking of that already existent stockpile. Prices went up so the stockpile became more profitable.		
331	Mr. PITTS. We still have some time.		
332	Do you believe that the Loya Jirga can be put into motion quickly enough to avoid a chaotic situation inside Afghanistan once the Taliban is defeated? Do you believe that the rivalries, the ingrained factualism, the interference from many of Afghanistan's neighbors can be overcome in time?		
333	Mr. LUNDSTEAD. Well, we certainly hope so, and that is the goal.		

334	I must say, in my contacts recently with Afghans from different factions all around the world, I see a new seriousness and a willingness to compromise, to work with each other, perhaps because the goal is now real. Everyone can see that it is coming.	compromise with Afghans	
335	They are trying to put together some type of an interim structure. At what point a Loya Jirga will be held is still not clear. That could come some time down the road. But the important thing is to produce a structure, a political structure that all Afghans, or the majority of Afghans can agree on which can be in place and lead to that Loya Jirga.		
336	Mr. PITTS. Would you respond to the concerns that have been raised about the disconnect between the Department of Defense and the intelligence agencies on the one hand, and the State Department on the other whereby it seems the agencies are giving mixed signals or presenting different views to opposition forces or to participants in their own process?		
337	Mr. LUNDSTEAD. I do not think anyone is presenting mixed views. We are all on the same wavelength. We all work for the same Administration.		
338	Mr. PITTS. All right, we will question the next panel on that. Thank you.		
339	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you.		
340	Have I told you lately what a joy it is to have you here, Mr. Delahunt?		
341	Mr. DELAHUNT. Yes, you have, Ileana, and I really appreciate it.		
342	I think I heard my friend from California chuckling. Did I hear that? [Laughter.]		
343	I thank the gentlelady.		
344	There has been a lot of discussion about involving moderate elements of the Taliban in any coalition government after the fall of the existing regime.		
345	Can you give me a definition of a moderate Taliban?		
346	Mr. LUNDSTEAD. Well, I think the Secretary addressed this issue last week before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and noted that he had not used that term, "moderate Taliban."		
347	Mr. DELAHUNT. So do you have a definition?		
348	Mr. LUNDSTEAD. Well, rather than define it, what I would say is that there are many Afghans who have accommodated themselves to Taliban rule for lack of an alternative. We want them to turn away from the Taliban and to look for an alternative. They are not really Taliban. They are people who have to exist in Afghanistan as it is.		

349	Mr. DELAHUNT. I accept your definition, and I would prefer that in the future that we all get on the same page, because I do think that sends a mixed message. I think it was Mr. Pitts that mentioned that, but I do not want to dwell on that.		
350	Someone posed a question in terms of losing the public relations war, if you will. And I think that is a serious concern and one that I hope that we can address.		
351	Has the Department considered initiatives to be able to present in the appropriate public fora, particularly the TV station in Qatar, Al-Jazeera. Those Afghan Muslims who decry what has occurred since the advent of this particular regime, I think it is very, very important that we put that face out there.		
352	We see CNN and Fox and the networks continually presenting a face that I think is distorting, hopefully distorting, a view of what most Muslims believe in and what their perception and understanding of American intentions.		
353	Mr. CRANER. We are not only considering that, we have begun a—in particular, between us and the White House, there is an undersecretary named Charlotte Veers, who was an extremely successful executive up in New York with advertising.		
354	Mr. DELAHUNT. She did testify before this Committee, and I must say I was very impressed.		
355	Mr. CRANER. Yes, she is outstanding.		
356	Mr. DELAHUNT. We need real people out there.		
357	Mr. CRANER. Yes. Yes.		
358	Mr. DELAHUNT. We do not need undersecretaries and— —		
359	Mr. CRANER. No, no, no.		
360	Mr. DELAHUNT [continuing]. Members of Congress.		
361	Mr. CRANER. No.		
362	Mr. DELAHUNT. Or flacks.		
363	Mr. CRANER. No, no, no. And part of the effort, she, believe me, understand that, and part of the effort is going to be working and involving people in the Muslim world, and understanding that the face that we show on these issues means something in the Muslim world, and that is why, for example, it was received very well in the Muslim world that the President just a few days after September 11th went to the Islamic Center, not for photo op, but for over an hour to spend time ensuring the people overseas understand— —	reducing citizenship of Afghans to photo-op.	
364	Mr. DELAHUNT. Right.		
365	Mr. CRANER [continuing]. We have a very tolerant society.		

366	Mr. DELAHUNT. I would suggest to you that one of the finest moments in my experience in this body was, and I think Mr. Hoeffel was there that evening, when Congress, in the very late hours, after passing the resolution authorizing force, spoke in a very eloquent, in a very profound and in a very moving way about the need for all Americans to ensure that our fellow citizens and people all over the world who are adherents of Islam be treated with respect and with dignity. You might want to secure that particular segment.		
367	But I have one other question. We are speaking about Afghanistan today, and I do not want us to fall in the same trap. Mr. Hoeffel, I think, is really giving you a vantage point of what the sentiment is now in this institution about the need to stay engaged.		
368	But we have to have a more holistic perspective, because I would submit that what we are really talking about is all of South Asia, Central Asia here, and I think it is important that we start to speak and start to discuss and start to create, if you will, a plan not just for Afghanistan, not just to reengage in Afghanistan, but for the surrounding countries in Central Asia, and make our sentiments known, and our willingness to do exactly what Mr. Hoeffel and your response described, to nurture democracy and to help these people. I think it is very, very important. I just make that observation. And also—		
369	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. A quick observation because your time is up, Mr. Delahunt.		
370	Mr. DELAHUNT. If I do not take a second round, could I get another minute?		
371	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Unfortunately, I thought we were going to have a second round, but two of our panelists have to go. So after they go, we will have to move on to the private panel.		
372	Mr. DELAHUNT. Okay.		
373	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. But go ahead for a minute.		
374	Mr. DELAHUNT. I note what I really found a thoughtful and articulate and eloquent statement by the gentleman representing the United Front, and I think he said something in his statement where it says,		
375	“It is dire time to compensate for past negligence, fulfill the responsibility that America abrogated, and finally give the Afghan people the kind of institutions with which you are blessed, democracy and human rights.”	US to “give” Afghans citizenship	

376	At the same time I find something in his statement disturbing, and that is, it is laced with a certain animosity toward Pakistan, and it might very well be justified. I am not rendering a judgment on that.		
377	But I think it is important for the United States now, if there is going to be stability in the region, to start to mediate and broker between those whom we support, including Pakistan and others, in an attempt to start a reconciliation process, and I hope this is happening: But I would hope that if it is not, that it is being considered so that we start a dialogue, because we do not ever again want to see what happened happen.		
378	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you so much, Mr. Delahunt.		
379	Mr. ROHRABACHER. Well, Mr. Delahunt, left me — on that note I will just suggest that we have been far too sensitive to the Pakistanis. I think we have been bending over backwards to a regime and to a country that after all created the Taliban, and did everything to keep the Taliban in power for about 5 years.		
380	No wonder there is some suspicion about Pakistan and its motives in trying to build a post-Taliban regime in Kabul. Of course, they are suspicious in Afghanistan because the Pakistanis were the ones that hoisted the Taliban on them in the first place.		
381	So, number one, I think the State Department should forget about being sensitive to Pakistan, and get on with winning the war, and defeating the Taliban militarily, and getting rid of the terrorists like bin Laden who has been using Afghanistan as a safe haven. And when we do that, we will have the respect of the people of Pakistan and every other country in the region.		
382	But if we carry this one, if we let this thing stretch out, trying to be sensitive to everybody — —		
383	Mr. DELAHUNT. Will the gentleman yield?Mr. ROHRABACHER. Not until I finish.Mr. DELAHUNT. Okay.Mr. ROHRABACHER. Because I need to finish this one point. That		
384	if we are trying to be too sensitive to this and things stretch out because we are not going to, you know, provide too much ammunition for the people in the north or too much support for the people over here who the Pakistanis do not like, this thing will stretch out, and that will be a PR disaster. Let us get this over with, let us win the battle, and then we will be respected. Yes.		
385	Mr. DELAHUNT. Will the gentleman yield?Mr. ROHRABACHER. I certainly will.Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Delahunt.Mr. DELAHUNT. I thank my friend for yielding. I do not want you		



386	to misinterpret my comments and my observations. I concur, it is time for the Taliban to go. We have seen what		
387	havoc they have reaped. What I was referring to, however, was a statement that I thought was very moving and well thought-out, and again laced with criticism of Pakistan, I am not rendering a judgment on that, but in the aftermath of the Taliban going, what I suggest, it is time to start to mediate and start a process of reconciliation between the peoples and to use our good offices.		
388	I thank the gentleman.		
389	Mr. ROHRABACHER. And I am reclaiming my time.		
390	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Rohrabacher.		
391	Mr. ROHRABACHER. That leads right into the next point which is		
392	important. Yes, when the Taliban are gone, let us help the people of Afghanistan rebuild their country, and the most important thing we can do is work with them to help to develop the court system and the election processes and the civil processes they need so that they can make their own decisions.		
393	Luckily, we have right now an alternative. His name is Zahir Shah. He is the former King of Afghanistan. If you want to take a look at someone who has done something for women's rights in Afghanistan, take a look at what he did during his reign for the women's rights of the people of Afghanistan. He and his family did more for human rights and women's rights in Afghanistan than all the rest of those people jabbering away for the last 10 years. And I will tell you right now Zahir Shah wants to be a person who makes a contribution, heads a transition government, and will then just help set up a democratic process so the Pakistanis do not run Afghanistan, the Iranians do not run Afghanistan, the Russians do not run Afghanistan, and the United States does not run Afghanistan, but the people of Afghanistan run Afghanistan. Let them control their own destiny, and we will not have peace until that happens.	The King's record on women's rights.	
394	With this said, let me just say this, which I repeat the one point I made early on. The people of Afghanistan do not support the Taliban. Am I correct in that assumption?		
395	Mr. CRANER. Correct.		
396	Mr. ROHRABACHER. They have been victimized more than anyone else, including when you take into consideration the 6,000 Americans that have been slaughtered.		

397	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, Mr. Rohrabacher. Ms. MCKINNEY. I do not think anybody is — Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Ms. McKinney, you are not recognized. Ms. MCKINNEY [continuing]. Supporting the Taliban except		
398	maybe some — Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Ms. McKinney, you are not recognized. Ms. MCKINNEY [continuing]. Elements of the State Department		
399	and the CIA. Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. You are not recognized, Ms. McKinney.		
400	Thank you. Mr. ROHRABACHER. Okay. Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Mr. Rohrabacher, I will have — I will have		
401	the panelist answer your question in the remaining 30 seconds, and I would like to then ask Ms. Davis for her 5 minutes, and then we will have to —		
402	Mr. ROHRABACHER. Thank you very much.		
403	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN [continuing]. Recess for three votes, so we will be gone awhile.		
404	Mr. Craner.		
405	Mr. CRANER. I do not think there is any question about the sup- port for the Taliban in Afghanistan.		
406	Mr. ROHRABACHER. Meaning that they do not support it. Great. Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you very much. Ms. Davis is recognized for 5 minutes. Ms. DAVIS. Thank you, Madam Chairman.		
407	Has the State Department coordinated with the Department of Defense as to what will be done with any prisoners we take who may have been engaged in war crimes? And is the State preparing any contingencies for war crime trials?		
408	Mr. CRANER. The answer I know is yes on the first question. On the second question, I have with me Andre Surena who is from our		
409	legal affairs office, who I think can give you a full answer. But we have been walking through this.		
410	Mr. SURENA. Thank you, Madam Chair.		
411	I am in the section of the State Department that deals with human rights and refugees, so I am not most essentially situated to respond to your question. But I feel confident that the U.S. Government, the Department, together with other relevant agencies in the government is in fact looking into the kinds of contingencies that you mentioned.		
412	Ms. DAVIS. We know that the State Department has attempted to influence Afghanistan in the past, but what practically can the State Department be doing right now during this wartime?		

413	Mr. CRANER. Can you elaborate on what you mean by “influ- ence”?		
414	Ms. DAVIS. What can you be doing now during the war over in Afghanistan? How can you be influencing the people over there right now with what is going on with the war?		
415	I mean, in the past, you have been over there and tried to influ- ence them, and I guess we have not been very successful, so I guess I am wondering what can you really practically be doing right now during the war?		
416	Mr. LUNDSTEAD. Well, we are doing a number of things. There are radio broadcasts into Afghanistan which are getting our point of view across. We are continuing the humanitarian relief effort de- spite the obstruction of the Taliban who are hindering it greatly. We are talking to Afghans all around the world. We are about to provide a grant of money to King Zahir Shah’s group to help them build a political process. We are doing a number of things.		
417	Ms. DAVIS. Is our food aid really working? You sort of touched on that, and I guess that is a concern of mine. We continually keep throwing money out there and sending the food, but do we really even know actually how much food is needed? And is it, in fact, getting to the Afghans?		
418	Mr. CRANER. I think we have a good sense of how much is need- ed. I think we have been very, very clear that the air drops are not the only thing that is needed in Afghanistan. But part of the prob- lem has been the Taliban interference with the relief supplies in- side, ground relief supplies inside Afghanistan.		
419	I notice everybody had newspapers before. This is by Mr. Lub- bers, the head of the UN Refugee Agency,		
420	“Sought assurances for the safety of his staff in Afghanistan and a halt to what the UN said had been looting of some of its offices and warehouses. He said he told the Moulah with whom he met ‘don’t loot our property, respect our people. Don’t threaten them and let them do their work.’ Despite repeated complaints about Afghans being subjected to terrorism and genocide by the American bombing, the Taliban have halted virtually all relief work by the UN and other organizations and have appropriated many of their vehicles and other equipment for military use.”		
421	But I would again direct you to my colleague, Alan Kreczko, who is going to be here tomorrow, I think in front of the Full Com-		
422	mittee, who can address your question more directly and more knowledgeably.		

423	Ms. DAVIS. You may direct me back to him again. But if that is the case and you know that it is not working, that the Taliban is blocking the food that we are sending in, are we looking at other ways to get the food to the Afghans to help them out, rather than continuing to do something that is not working?		
424	Mr. CRANER. Again, I would direct you to Alan. I think it is fair to say that the air drops are working, but again, they are not all that is required, but we are always looking for better ways to do		
425	it. In fact, the guy that runs AID now, Andrew Nautcious, this was his specialty for many, many years, and he is very innovative in figuring these things out.		
426	Ms. DAVIS. Thank you, sir. Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you so much, Ms. Davis. In the interest of time because we have a private panelist who		
427	does have to go. Thank you, Lorne. Thank you, Jeff. Scooting you out.		
428	Mr. Kumar, we will give you the proper introduction later, and I would like to recognize you for 2 minutes. We will enter your full testimony into the record, but we know you have a flight to catch. Do not get too cozy. Go right in there, come on, slam your way into that witness chair.		
429	Ms. MCKINNEY. And Madam Chair— — Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Go ahead, Cynthia. Ms. MCKINNEY. Before Lorne gets away, there will be some addi-		
430	tional questions that we will submit, and we certainly look forward to your response.		
431	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. You know he is waiting for that. Ms. MCKINNEY. Great. Thanks. Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you. Mr. Kumar, is Advocacy Director for Asia and Pacific for Am-		
432	nesty International. Mr. Kumar, please sit down and we will give you 2 minutes, and we will enter your testimony into the record. Thank you so much.		
433	He has debated with Taliban representatives, and testified before the House and Senate concerning conditions there. He himself has been a victim of human rights violations. He has been imprisoned and tortured in Sri Lanka for his student human rights activities. Thank you.		
434	<b>STATEMENT OF T. KUMAR, ADVOCACY DIRECTOR FOR ASIA &amp; PACIFIC, AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL USA</b>		

435	Mr. KUMAR. Thank you very much. Madam Chair, Amnesty International is extremely pleased to testify in this hearing.		
436	When we talk about Afghanistan, one thing that comes to our mind is that the suffering of Afghan people has been neglected by everyone for the last 20 years. So I would like to address what happened for the last 20 years, what is happening now, and what should happen in the future.	global recognition of citizenship?	
437	We heard testimony so far about the past human rights abuses against women, children, civilians, and refugees. One thing I would like to stress is that every Afghan is a victim of human rights abuse. There is no competition of who were abused more, who were abused less.	everyone a victim of failed nation-state	women's rights = human rights
438	This country have gone through hell for the last 20 years. They have lost more than 400,000 children during the war. Thousands and thousands of women were treated like spoils of war. Then, of course, under the Taliban, their fundamental rights were taken out. Almost one-third of the population became refugees, and they have been living for the last 20 years as refugees, and treated like dirt by everyone around the world.		
439	What is happening today? Today, unfortunately, the country is in the middle of the war, of no fault of them. We would urge that humanitarian law be respected, civilian targets be avoided, and above all, the refugees being taken care by every country in the neighbor- hoods.		
440	We would like to recognize that Pakistan and Iran have shouldered enough responsibility for the last 20 years. We would urge them to open their borders and also other Central Asian countries to open their borders for Afghan refugees.		
441	We also would urge that every party in this country avoid recruiting children as soldiers. Afghan children need something for them in the future.	child citizenship - rights	
442	The future is the challenge that we all should be concerned about. We should not allow human rights to be a victim again in future for Afghan people. Human rights should be central to any future considerations.		
443	[The prepared statement of Mr. Kumar follows:]		
444	PREPARED STATEMENT OF T. KUMAR, ADVOCACY DIRECTOR FOR ASIA & PACIFIC, AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL USA		

445	<p>Thank you Madam Chair and distinguished members of the Committee for providing Amnesty International the opportunity to testify at this important hearing. Madam Chair, the attacks of September 11th shocked the world. Thousands of innocent people from 80 nations were among the victims. The attacks represented nothing less than a massive violation of human rights.</p> <p>Amnesty International has expressed our grief and solidarity with the victims and their families. We also have expressed our outrage at those responsible and reiterate here today our demand that they be brought to justice. We can best honor the victims of these heinous attacks by not forgetting the human rights of other innocent people in the United States and around the world. We have united to demand justice, but we also should unite to protect the human rights of all.</p>		
446	<p>Among the innocent are the vast majority of the long suffering Afghan people. The human rights situation in Afghanistan has been of consistent and grave concern to Amnesty International for decades. We have documented human rights abuses perpetrated by all sides in the conflict. We have sought to increase awareness and to bring attention to the continuing suffering of the Afghan people. We have characterized what has happened there as the World's largest forgotten tragedy. We have documented widespread human rights violations by both the Taleban and the Northern Alliance.</p>	HR	
447	<i>A history of abuse against civilians</i>		
448	<p>But human rights abuses committed by the Taleban and Northern Alliance represent only the latest tragedy in the sad history of Afghanistan. Throughout the 1980s, Afghanistan was a Cold War battleground. Following the Soviet Union's invasion in 1979, the United States supported and trained the Mujahideen resistance forces. Those trained by the U.S. now can be found among those fighting with the Northern Alliance, as well as among those fighting with the Taleban.</p>		
449	<p>In 1989, the Soviet withdrawal and U.S. disengagement left a power vacuum that plunged Afghanistan into civil war with warring factions vying for control of the country. In 1996, Taleban forces captured the capital city of Kabul and soon took control of most of the country. The opposing Northern Alliance lost ground, controlling about 5 to 10 percent of the country's territory by September 2001.</p>	US in control of leadership -	
450	<i>Taleban</i>		

451	Many of the Taleban leadership received religious training in Islamic schools in Pakistan. They emerged as a new military and political force in November 1994 when they captured the city of Kandahar from Mujahideen groups. In September 1996, Taleban forces entered Kabul. Among their first acts was to hang former President Najibullah, who since the fall of his Soviet-backed government in April 1992 had received refuge in a UN compound.		
452	Pakistan is the only country that recognizes the Taleban as the government of Afghanistan. Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates withdrew their recognition after the September 11th attack.	foreign recognition of gov/citizens; what does that mean for the people and their citizenship?	
453	The Taleban have imposed harsh restrictions on personal conduct and behavior to enforce its particular interpretation of Islamic law and were responsible for continuing numerous and widespread human rights abuses, especially against women. The Taleban has reportedly committed political and other extra-judicial executions that include targeted and mass killings, summary executions, torture, and death in custody. Taleban Shari'a courts and religious police apply procedures that fall short of international fair standards and that impose cruel, inhuman, and degrading punishment, such as public executions for adultery or murder, amputations for theft, and beatings for lesser infractions. Thousands of people are reportedly held without charge or trial, including members of ethnic minority groups held on suspicion of supporting the Northern Alliance. In 1998, the Taleban prohibited satellite dishes as part of an effort to ban music, television, and movies, and to create an environment free of any external influence or culture.		
454	<i>Women under the Taleban</i>		
455	The Taleban imposed especially severe restriction on women. Its policy of "gender apartheid" is unlike anywhere in the world. The Taleban's policies deny basic and fundamental rights to women, including freedom of association, expression, and movement. Under the Taleban's strict rules, women are not allowed to study, work, or move around without wearing the all-enveloping "burqa."		Women's ability for movement

456	One of the most consistent policies of the Taleban is to punish women for defying their draconian edicts. Taleban guards beat and humiliate women for defying their rules, even for acts as seemingly insignificant as showing one's ankle. The Taleban's ministry for "preventing vice and fostering virtue" vigilantly enforces the restrictions on women. Women are regularly rounded up and punished for allegedly violating the Taleban's rules on clothing. On one occasion, the Taleban reportedly cut off the end of a woman's thumb for wearing nail polish.		"showing one's ankle" is popular phrase
457	Women continue to be subjected to death by stoning and public executions. One married woman was accused of attempting to leave her husband to be with another man. An Islamic tribunal reportedly found her guilty of adultery and, as punishment stipulated her to death by stoning.		Who? When?
458	Under the Taleban, women are required to remain out of sight. In March 1997, the Taleban ordered Kabul residents to block the windows in their homes at the ground and first floor levels to ensure that women could not be seen from the street. A Taleban representative speaking from the Attorney General's office in Kabul, told journalists that the face of a woman is a source of corruption for men who are not related to her.		women, invisible & silenced
459	Whenever the Taleban captures territory, among the first steps they have taken is to enforce their "gender apartheid" policies. On May 24, 1997 when the Taleban briefly captured the northern city of Mazar-e-Sharif, they announced through loud- speakers that women were to stay indoors and that they were only to be allowed outside in the company of a male relative and wearing a burqa. Women were told not to report for work and the Taleban stopped education for girls and women.		
460	The Taleban's restriction on education and employment has had devastating affects on thousands of university students and professional women. In 1996, the Taleban closed Kabul University, which reportedly had about 8,000 women students. In Herat an estimated 3,000 women lost their jobs after the Taleban took control.		
461	Women suffer extreme repression and effectively live under house arrest. Among the women, tens of thousands are widows who without a man are the sole bread- winners for their families and do not have a close male relative to accompany them in public. Severe depression and desperation is rampant.		right to mental health
462	<i>Northern Alliance</i>		



463	Unfortunately, conditions under Northern Alliance are not much better. The United Nations and several countries recognize the Northern Alliance as the government of Afghanistan. During their rule in Kabul from 1992 to 1996, the Northern Alliance was responsible for numerous human rights abuses against Afghan civilians. Violations were widespread and included rape, extra-judicial executions and torture, as well as long-term detention of prisoners of conscience. In 1996, the Northern Alliance lost Kabul to the Taliban and subsequently lost most of their territories to the Taliban. Although the abuses by the Northern Alliance continued, the reports of such abuses have declined in recent months. This may be the result of the Northern Alliance controlling limited territory. Such abuses could easily increase as the armed conflict spreads.	recognized leadership problems	
464	<i>Children</i>		
465	The ongoing civil war in Afghanistan also has had a devastating impact on children. While the Taliban denies education to girls, all parties to the conflict recruit boys as child soldiers. Many are orphaned and have lost their siblings in addition to their parents. Thousands of children die yearly from malnutrition and respiratory infections. The only experience of many of these children have is of war, death, and destruction.	boy soldiers; free from fear & violence	
466	Over the last two decades, four hundred thousand children have been killed due to the war and thousands more have died of war related injuries. They were killed in indiscriminate bombings and shelling of their homes, schools, or playgrounds. They were victims of both deliberate and arbitrary killings and in many cases torture.		
467	Afghanistan is one of the most heavily mined countries in the world. Landmines have killed thousands of children. Many of those who survive the blast have died later due to lack of medical facilities. Others are left blind, deaf or without limbs.	gun and violence the norm for all citizens	
468	Two generations of Afghan children have been raised in a highly militarized “gun culture.” In schools, both inside the country and refugee camps, textbooks, and teaching methods have used images of tanks, guns, and bullets in mathematics and reading classes.		

469	The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) reports that one in every two children is malnourished and that one in four Afghan children die before the age of five from preventable causes. The child mortality rates within the camps for internally displaced are even higher with one in every three children dying before the age of five. In May 2001, the UN reported that 25 children had died in an Afghan refugee camp in Pakistan due to heat stroke.		
470	According to UNICEF, almost all the children they interviewed witnessed acts of violence. Two thirds of them had seen dead bodies or body parts and nearly half had seen people killed during rocket and artillery attacks. A disturbing 90 percent of the children believed that they would die during the conflict. UNICEF's research also indicates that the majority of children from Kabul suffer from serious traumatic stress.		
471	<i>Humanitarian situation</i>		
472	The large displacement of Afghans between late 2000 and mid 2001 was accompanied by a lack of resources of humanitarian organizations and outbreaks of disease that killed many, particularly children, and the elderly. For example, during the last week of January 2001, reportedly 480 internally displaced Afghans in a camp outside Herat, including 220 children, froze to death due to a lack of shelter and blankets. Threat of a military attack and restrictions imposed by the Taliban on humanitarian activity, including detention of aid workers, have forced UN and other aid agencies in Afghanistan to withdraw their international staff. The pullout has come at a time when Afghanistan is facing a deepening humanitarian crisis.	access to shelter	
473	The ongoing civil war and continuing drought has left between 5.5 and 6 million people in desperate need of aid, and the deteriorating situation and severe disruption in food distribution is likely to further increase this vulnerable population to 7.5 million, of which an estimated 70 percent are women and children. With such a large number of people suddenly deprived of humanitarian assistance from aid agencies, the UN have warned that starvation may occur in parts of Afghanistan.		
474	In spite of security and logistical difficulties, limited deliveries of aid into Afghanistan were resumed between September 29 and October 8. During this period, the WFP reported that it delivered an average of 500 tons of aid per day. In addition, Oxfam and UNICEF were able to deliver both food and non-food aid, including blankets and basic health kits.	health care access	

475	The amount of aid reaching the country is far less than the 52,000 tons per month that the WFP estimates it will take to feed the 6 million Afghans at highest risk, and falls short of pre-crisis deliveries, which amounted to 5,000 tons per week. Aid agencies were particularly concerned about the situation in the hardest hit northern provinces of Balkh and Faryab where it was estimated that 400,000 people were expected to have run out of food supplies during the week of 5 October. One challenge is the delivery of food before the onset of winter, which usually occurs around mid November. The WFP are planning to airdrop food to some 100,000 families in the mountainous central highlands region, who risk becoming cut off once winter sets in. However, the Taleban had closed the airspace under their control and WFP has been attempting to negotiate with them for air corridors to be opened so that air-drops can be made by the organization.	access to food	
476	Relief agencies indicate that women and children remain particularly at risk during the current crisis. The UN Population Fund has expressed particular concern about the thousands of pregnant women among those who have been recently displaced who will be particularly affected by the lack of food, shelter, and medical care as well as unsanitary conditions that have only worsened during the current crisis. On 25 September, UNHCR reported that, in at least two cases, pregnant women waiting on the Afghanistan-Pakistan border were permitted to enter Pakistan to give birth and were given medical treatment but were then subsequently sent back to Afghanistan.		access to food, shelter, and medical care
477	<i>Displacement of Afghans since 11 September 2001</i>		
478	Initially, the threat of a US-led military strike on Afghanistan and increased Taleban repression caused hundreds of thousands of people to flee their homes, particularly from major cities. A quarter of the population of Kabul and half the population of the southern Afghan province of Kandahar, the headquarters of the Taleban, reportedly have evacuated. Prior to the threat, the already large number of internally displaced persons was estimated to have grown to a total of 1.1 million. The UNHCR predicts that the number of internally displaced persons could rise to 2.2 million by March 2002.	free from displacement	

479	Reports indicate that the Taleban prevented some refugees from leaving Afghani- stan or from moving towards the borders. In one incident, the Taleban reportedly stopped 30 to 40 Afghan families from Herat on their way toward Iran and pre- vented the men in the families from continuing, saying that they had to join the Taleban forces and fight. It was reported that the women and children in these fam- ilies turned back as well because they did not want to be separated from their male family members.		
480	Following the most recent displacement of Afghans, Pakistan authorities have strengthened their efforts to prevent new Afghan refugees from entering Pakistan, citing security concerns and their inability to support additional refugees. On Sep- tember 18, Pakistan closed its border with Afghanistan, reportedly due in part to a US request; the authorities are reportedly allowing only vehicles with Afghan transit goods and Pakistani nationals to enter.	freedom of movement	
481	<i>The Refugees</i>		
482	During the 22 years of civil war in Afghanistan, millions of Afghan men, women, and children fled the country as refugees because of gross human rights abuses and fighting between armed factions.		
483	Most of the refugees fled between 1979 and 1992. During that time period, more than a fifth of Afghanistan's population— over six million people— fled the country in search of safety to Pakistan and Iran. Currently there are 1.5 million Afghan refugees in Iran and 2 million in Pakistan.		
484	While millions of Afghans fled the country, many are internally displaced within Afghanistan's borders and are too poor to obtain transport or too weak to move. They languish, without proper food, medicine, housing, or security. The internally displaced seek safety in remote areas, in the mountains or in camps. Thousands of families in Afghanistan relocated several times over the last 23 years to escape fighting in different areas.	Only those who are able to move; a right not to be displaced	
485	Afghans who leave the country do not necessarily escape danger. In Pakistan, Afghans continue to be at risk of violence from combat groups that are active along the border areas and at times exercise effective control over the refugee camps. Scores of refugees have been murdered in the very place they fled for safety.		draw parallel to RAWA's work in refugee camps
486	Many Afghan refugees in Pakistan and Iran endure hardships. Although refugees have been allowed to work in these countries and have received a degree of support, most are barely able to sustain a meager living conditions for themselves and their families.		

487	Over the last few years, the United Nations Consolidated Appeal for Afghanistan, the UN inter-agency mechanism for coordinated fundraising supporting Afghan relief projects, has received far less funding from donor governments than it has required to maintain the necessary priority assistance programs.		
488	Pakistan continues to keep its border with Afghanistan closed admits only seriously ill individuals. However, the UNHCR is preparing for 1 million additional Afghan refugees in Pakistan. Tajikistan also keeps its borders with Afghanistan closed. The UNHCR is preparing for an influx of approximately 50,000 Afghan refugees into Tajikistan, another 50,000 into Turkmenistan, and up to 10,000 in Uzbekistan. Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan have also effectively sealed their borders with Afghanistan.		
489	Although Iran closed its borders on 15 September, there are reports that it has opened its borders recently and that the UNHCR is preparing to receive an influx of up to 400,000 new Afghan refugees in Iran.		
490	Amnesty International has expressed concern both about the failure of neighboring states to provide protection to Afghan refugees and about the failure of the international community to provide adequate support to countries hosting this population.		
491	Pakistan, Iran, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and China Uzbekistan should immediately open their borders to refugees. The international community must share the responsibility of protecting these refugees. These host states should respect the refugees fundamental civil rights and should ensure that they have the basic necessities of life. Particular attention should be given to groups with special protection needs, such as women, children, and the elderly. Refugees should be provided with means to stay in a place of safety that is not close to dangerous border areas. UNHCR must be able to implement in full its protection mandate.	Refugee civil rights	RAWA's work
492	<i>The arms transfers</i>		
493	Throughout the world, Amnesty International opposes the transfer of military and security equipment and expertise in cases in which one can reasonably assume is contributing to grave human rights violations. Amnesty International is extremely concerned that unconditional transfers of weapons and other military equipment and expertise to the warring parties in Afghanistan will increase the clear and sustained pattern of unlawful killings, torture and other serious human rights abuses and war crimes, that have occurred in Afghanistan since 1979.		

494	Amnesty International remains opposed to transfer of arms or security equipment and training to the Taleban, the Northern Alliance and other armed groups in Afghanistan that have a record of committing gross human rights abuses. As there appears to have been a degree of structural integration, both the combatants of the Taleban and of al-qa'ida may be considered as belonging to the same military force. Since 1994, the main supplies of arms and related items to the Taleban have come from official stocks in Pakistan or from Chinese and other sales through private dealers based in Pakistan, and with major funding from Saudi Arabia.		
495	Following the August 1998 bombings of the US embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, the UN Security Council imposed progressively more comprehensive sanctions on the Taleban under Resolutions 1267 (1999), 1333 (2000), and 1363 (2001), including an arms embargo. These sanctions are binding on all members of the United Nations under. Amnesty International appeals to the government of Pakistan to make every effort to halt such transfers from its territory, and to the government of Saudi Arabia to halt financial support from its residents.		
496	Amnesty International also is deeply concerned about proposed arms transfers to the Northern Alliance from the United States, Russia, Iran, and other states. Amnesty International is concerned that the supply of arms and related equipment and expertise to the Northern Alliance would fail to take account of the serious violations of human rights and humanitarian law perpetrated by those forces.		
497	<i>Impunity</i>		
498	To Amnesty International's knowledge, there have never been any accountability for these abuses against women and children and other serious human rights abuses committed in Afghanistan since the war began in 1978. No state has brought to justice Afghans within their jurisdiction suspected of serious human rights abuses. If the cycle of abuses is to be broken, there must be a concerted international effort to end impunity in the country. Any political settlement must exclude the granting of pre-conviction amnesties for alleged perpetrators of serious human rights abuses. Perpetrators should be brought to justice regardless of rank or other status. States should take steps to ensure that universal jurisdiction is exercised by their national courts for war crimes and other serious abuses of human rights committed in Afghanistan.		
499	<i>Prospects for peace</i>		

500	Over the last twenty years, efforts to secure peace in Afghanistan have failed. If Afghanistan is to experience peace in the future, it must begin with a foundation that provides all it's residents—including all women and all children—with the human rights protection, as enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. With human rights principles as the cornerstone, Amnesty International believes that:		
501	All parties in the current conflict must take every measure to ensure that international human rights and humanitarian law is upheld.		
502	Congress and the Administration should ensure that any military assistance be accompanied by clear commitments on human rights and effective mechanisms to monitor use of weapons.		
503	The Administration should urge the countries neighboring Afghanistan to keep their borders open to Afghan refugees and the Administration should explore the possibility of emergency resettlement of Afghan civilians in the U.S. and other countries, as was done during the Kosovo refugee resettlement program. Amnesty International recommends that women and children be given priority.		
504	Congress should support efforts by the Administration and appropriate international relief agencies to provide food, shelter, and medical assistance to refugees and internally displaced people and that the Administration work with appropriate international relief agencies to prevent further human rights violations in the refugee camps, and create an atmosphere of personal security, and, to the extent possible, provide basic education and employment training.		
505	The Administration should ensure that any political settlement must exclude the granting of pre-conviction amnesties for alleged perpetrators of serious human rights abuses.		

506	<p>The Administration ensure that Afghan women are adequately represented in any peace process, as well as in any future government. Madam Chair, Human rights must be central to the negotiation of any settlement to the conflict in Afghanistan. Any political settlement should contain explicit guarantees from the parties on immediate ending of serious abuses, including extrajudicial killings, torture and arbitrary detention. Specific protection should be sought against retaliation and discrimination against ethnic and religious groups. The parties to any political settlement should undertake to end systematic discrimination against women and to ensure full respect for their fundamental human rights, including their rights to freedom of movement, expression, association, education, employment and health. A political settlement must be based on broad consultation and participation by the widest possible cross section of Afghan society. The aim of negotiations should be to help create institutions of governance committed to and capable of effectively protecting human rights. Particular emphasis should be placed on adherence to the fundamental principle of non-discrimination, so as to ensure the full protection and meaningful participation of women and all religious and ethnic groups. Measures for the effective protection and verification of human rights should be incorporated into any settlement of the conflict.</p>		<p>Women represented, HR, and provided protection from violence</p>
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507	<p>International human rights field monitors should be deployed throughout Afghanistan as soon as possible. The monitors should include experts on women's rights. Impartial human rights monitoring would assist in protecting human rights as well as building confidence in the process towards peace. Pending their deployment in Afghanistan, the monitors could be placed in neighbouring countries to collect and analyse information to assess the prevailing human rights situation in Afghanistan, to publicly report on their findings and to inform the peace making process in Afghanistan. Those entrusted with positions of leadership in a post-conflict Afghanistan must be individuals with a genuine commitment to the protection and promotion of human rights for all. The past human rights record of such people should be taken as a measure of their integrity. Particular consideration should be given to including those who have been denied participation in the past because of systematic discrimination, such as women. The national reconstruction of Afghanistan must include the development of institutions for the promotion and protection of human rights, including law enforcement agencies trained in international standards and able to promote and protect human rights, and a judiciary capable of conducting fair trials. This task must be included at the outset of any program of institution-building in the country, as it is central to the effective protection of human rights. An expert commission should be established to examine and advise on how to re-build the criminal justice system in Afghanistan in line with international human rights standards. The commission could also advise on the mechanisms best suited to address past human rights abuses in Afghanistan, the abuses committed during the present conflict, as well as abuses taking place during the transition to a fully- fledged, functioning and fair judiciary. Thank you Madam chair for holding this hearing at this crucial time.</p>	Continued, HR, women's rights, participation in government, fair trials	Continued, HR, women's rights, participation in government, fair trials
508	<p>Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you.Mr. KUMAR. On this note — — Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, Mr. Kumar. We sincerely apologize, but we have a series — —</p>		
509	<p>Mr. KUMAR. Thank you.</p>		
510	<p>Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN [continuing]. Of four votes, and your testimony will be placed entirely into the record, and will submit to you our questions.</p>		
511	<p>Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Ms. McKinney, if you have any remarks for Mr. Kumar before we recess.</p>		

512	Ms. MCKINNEY. The only thing I can say is that I wish we had more time because your statement is most eloquent, and I just want you to know that I fully respect the work that you do and the position that Amnesty International has taken and the statements that you have made here today may be a little shocking, but they are no more shocking than what you actually see when you go over there and you talk to those women who have been totally dispossessed of everything.		
513	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, Ms. McKinney.		
514	Ms. MCKINNEY. Including their dignity.		
515	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. The Subcommittee will recess — —		
516	Mr. KUMAR. Thank you very much.		
517	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN [continuing]. Until we come back. Thank you so much, Mr. Kumar.		
518	Mr. KUMAR. Thanks.[Whereupon, a recess was taken.]		
519	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. The Subcommittee will come to order again. We are proud to have with us a representative of the <b>Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan</b> , RAWA. She comes to us today under the pseudonym of <b>Tahmeena Faryal</b> . Because she is an active member of RAWA in the region, she does not want her identity nor her location revealed.		pseudonym highlights RAWA member's need for anonymity
520	The RAWA was established in Kabul in 1977 as an independent political-social organization of Afghan women fighting for human rights and for social justice. And we thank her for joining us today, and we will be hearing from her.		
521	We will then be hearing the testimony of <b>Quadir Amiryar, born in Afghanistan. He is a professor with the Elliot School of International Affairs at the George Washington University</b> , and also serves as the executive director of the Central Asia Research and Development Center at GW.		
522	A member of the Advisory Board of the Afghanistan Foundation, Dr. Amiryar takes part in the Cyprus Process, which has long looked at the problems in Afghanistan.		
523	Lastly, we will hear from <b>Mr. Haron Amin, and Afghan diplomat at the UN</b> who has been appointed to serve as the principal spokesperson for the Northern Alliance/United Front. He and his family fled Afghanistan and settled in the U.S. However, he returned to fight Soviet occupation under his mentor, Commander Massoud, recently assassinated by Taliban forces. In the U.S., he has continued to work with the Afghan government in exile at the UN, and in other capacities.		

524	Thank you for joining us today, and we look forward to your testimony. We will begin with the representative of the Revolutionary		
525	Association of the Women of Afghanistan, and we will have our media specialists help us set that up.		Testifying from a remote location / over the phone
526	[Pause.]		
527	<b>STATEMENT OF TAHMEENA FARYAL, REPRESENTATIVE, REVOLUTIONARY ASSOCIATION OF THE WOMEN OF AFGHANISTAN</b>		
528	Ms. FARYAL. Thank you, Madam Chair.		
529	The basics of Afghanistan's situation have become more known in the past weeks, in the U.S. and across the world. After years of neglect, the desperate situation of the Afghan people is receiving much needed attention. However, the peoples' voices are rarely heard, and are at risk of being drowned out entirely by the horrific crash of war and global geo-politics.	Asserting that the peoples voices are to be heard	Not listening to the people
530	Founded in 1977, the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan is the oldest women's humanitarian and political organization in Afghanistan. Based inside Afghanistan and in neighboring Pakistan, RAWA is an independent, all-volunteer, non-violent organization calling for multilateral disarmament and the establishment of a secular democratic government in which women may once again participate fully in public life.		
531	Currently, RAWA provides refugee relief, underground medical care and education, income-generating projects, orphanages, documentation of Taliban and other Jihadis' atrocities, protest demonstrations and events, and other initiatives in both countries. RAWA members in Afghanistan have stayed to continue our work during many past crises, and we remain there today.		Replacing the actions of the nation-state
532	The RAWA's work is also aimed toward giving voice to our down-trodden people, especially the women—and empowering women and men not to forget that they—we all—deserve human rights and freedoms and to look toward a day when the guns and rockets will stop and we can begin to rebuild.		providing a place for citizens to speak
533	The current humanitarian situation is grave, and being made worse each day by the continued fighting, the U.S. bombing, and the destruction and fear both continue to cause. Winter is coming and starving people are, of necessity, fluid in their alliances.	If people are hungry and at risk of death, survival comes before other needs; govts oppress people through lack of basic needs	

534	The political situation is made even more precarious by what many Afghans perceive to be U.S. aggression against our country and our civilians, even as we cheer the possibility of the Taliban's demise. And continued and increasing foreign assistance to the reviled Northern Alliance has plunged our people into a horrific anxiety and fear of re-experiencing the dreadful years of the Jihadis' emirate of the 1990s. In the words of one refugee in Peshawar, September 25th of this year, many of the people say that, "All of them, Taliban and Taliban opposition, are criminals, and we don't want them ruling Afghanistan. For the past 20 years they have all given the people only bullets instead of food and graves instead of houses."	gov has not provided the needs of the people,	
535	The Afghan people want what any people in this earth would want—the cessation of wanton violence and establishment of basic stability so that we may re-establish civil society. What is going on now, and has for decades, is not our religion, our culture, nor our traditions—it is an abomination of Islam and all other peaceful religions, and a violation of our people who are being held hostage by fanatics.	anti-violence, citizens recognize that	
536	As another long-time Afghan refugee said this October, "The people of Afghanistan want peace, security, and the opportunity to rebuild under a government established by legitimate elections where the people vote without a gun to their heads."	peace, elections, security provided by gov	
537	The RAWA sees the former king, Zahir Shah, as a viable non-monarchical central figure around which an interim government could form. However, if he comes to the scene while relying on the Northern Alliance and so-called "moderate" Taliban elements, he will not only betray his reputation among the Afghan people, but will also undermine the stability and viability of whatever structure he forms.	Karzi's family connected/supported Shah. Pashtun (as is the Taliban)	
538	So many of those now involved in what has come to be called the Northern Alliance have the blood of our beloved people on their hands, as of course do the Taliban. Their sustained atrocities have been well documented by independent international human rights organization such as Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch, and others. Those in the Taliban and the Northern Alliance have also proved themselves to be incompetent and corrupt as governing forces.		

539	Our people have not forgotten the years after the collapse of the Soviet puppet regime of Najib—the most horrible years of terrorism and unchastity—and as well we do not forget the time not so long ago when the Jihadis’ themselves were the cheap servants of Osama bin Laden as the Taliban are today.		
540	Currently, RAWA and many other Afghans fear that the Northern Alliance groups now lie in ambush, waiting to ride the guns of the U.S. into Kabul and working to gain western backing to establish their second emirate. They have yet to prove, or even to offer, a single shred of reason or credible evidence suggesting that they would not repeat their prior atrocities.		
541	In its 1995 report on the Mujahadeen wars that followed the Soviet withdrawal, Amnesty International documented that “Thousands of unarmed civilian women have been killed by unexpected and deliberate artillery attacks on their homes . . . They have been blown up or hit by rockets or bullets while walking in the streets, waiting at bus stops, working in their houses, or sheltering in large buildings. Many have died or been injured in attacks aimed at mosques, schools, and hospitals. These attacks were justified on the grounds of fighting rival groups, but the nature of their attacks, especially on residential buildings, revealed a deliberate policy of terror by the Mujahadeen against Afghans.”	citizens are not save in their homes, by Mujahadeen	
542	In addition, Mujahadeen forces, armed and trained by the U.S. government and now part of the Taliban and the Northern Alliance, wage a brutal war against women, using rape, torture, abduction, and force marriages as their weapons. Many women committed suicide during this period as their only escape. Given their past record, we see no possibility that any of these Jihadis will change their nature.	Mujahadeen = Taliban/N. Alliance	
543	Therefore, any U.S.-Rome process or multilateral initiatives to establish a broad-based government must exclude all Taliban and other criminal Jahadi factions from political power, unless and until a specific faction or person has been absolved of war crimes and crimes against humanity. Else the people will again be plunged into the living hell that engulfed our country from 1992 to 1996 under the elements now involved in the Northern Alliance and continues to the present under the Taliban and other factions.	no war criminals	

544	The RAWA, on behalf of more than half of the population of Afghanistan, also must insist that any Loya Jirga or interim government development process is not legitimate unless it includes and heeds women's voices from beginning to end in substantial and meaningful ways. We ask the unequivocal support of the U.S. and other democracy- and justice-loving countries for this and our other standpoints.		for a legitimate gov for women
545	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. If we could ask you to wrap up. It is 1 minute and 44 seconds — —		
546	Ms. FARYAL. Okay.		
547	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN [continuing]. After the 5-minute statement. Thank you.		
548	Ms. FARYAL. Afghanistan of course needs substantial help from the international community, but we cannot tolerate external control, and even starving Afghans would resist foreign domination. RAWA as an organization does support the intervention of a multi-national UN or other peacekeeping force to assist in disarming the warring factions, establishing basic securities, and setting the stage for the establishment of an interim government.		self determination
549	We know that such an interim government will likely fall short of democracy, and we strongly insist that the world community assist our people in making certain that such an interim government is only that—a temporary stepping stone toward full establishment of citizenship rights—including equal rights for women in all spheres—and democracy in a new Afghan constitution and governmental structure.	global pressure	women's rights / democracy
550	Based on historical evidence, we gravely fear that continuation of the U.S. attacks and the resulting civilian lives lost give excuses to the Taliban and Northern Alliance to wage war, and will also empower and embolden fundamentalist forces in the region and across the world—endangering not only Afghans, but further American lives, and the citizens of many countries.	secular gov.	
551	After the horrific terrorist attacks of September 11th here in the U.S., Afghan and Americans— —		
552	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you. We will give you one more minute.		

553	Ms. FARYAL [continuing]. Like too many other peoples across the globe share a common experience of living under the rule of fear and death. Let us make the best of this tragic commonality; join us in advocating for U.S. and international policies and initiatives that will help build a lasting peace in our country; re-establish internationally recognized human rights for the women, children and men of Afghanistan; pave the way directly to a secular, broad- based, democratic government welcoming to all who are innocent of crimes against our people; and bring all fundamentalist and other terrorists to justice under the rule of international law.		
554	Thank you.[The prepared statement of Ms. Faryal follows:]		
555	PREPARED STATEMENT OF TAHMEENA FARYAL, REPRESENTATIVE, REVOLUTIONARY ASSOCIATION OF THE WOMEN OF AFGHANISTAN	written statement duplicate of oral statement; edited out	
556	<sup>1</sup> <i>Women in Afghanistan: a human rights catastrophe</i> , Amnesty International report, London, 1995. AI Index: ASA 11/03/95.	Part of written statement; citations,	only statement with sources.
557	<sup>2</sup> RAWA. <i>Marginalised Women: Documentation on Refugee Women and Women in Situations of Armed Conflict</i> . A publication of the Asian and Pacific Development Center, 2000	Part of written statement; citations,	only statement with sources.
558	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you very much. Now we are very proud to hear from Mr. Quadiar Amiryar. Dr. Amiryar, I am sorry if I super-mangle your name.		
559	Mr. AMIRYAR. Thank you.		
560	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you.		
561	<b>STATEMENT OF A. QUADIR AMIRYAR, Ph.D., EXECUTIVE DI- RECTOR, CENTRAL ASIA RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT CENTER, GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY</b>		
562	Mr. AMIRYAR. And I will try to thank the Committee and the Chair for this opportunity in opening this hearing for Afghanistan. On the violation of human rights by Taliban, I would like to say that one major aspect of the tragedy in Afghanistan is the existence of a wide separate in an officially sanctioned discrimination against women, girls, and minorities in the areas that are controlled by the Taliban.It is necessary to establish an independent international inquiry into the massacres and other grave human rights violations com- mitted by parties to the armed conflict in Afghanistan.		legal oppression

563	On religious intolerance, the Human Rights Committee in Geneva, in September 25, this year, announced, "It has extremely grave concern about the implementation of the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights in Afghanistan, especially as related to the situation of women, public and summary executions, and religious intolerance."		
564	What would be the shape of the post-Taliban administration?		
565	Here, I would like to share with the Members, distinguished Members of the Committee and the Chair, that last week I was in Cyprus, our annual meeting was held there. And then for the sake of formation of national unity, in cooperation with among various Afghanistan groups from the formation or structure of the future entity for political and administrative needs in Afghanistan, they sent a delegation.		
566	The Cyprus group assigned a delegation to visit Rome, and I had the privilege of being a member of that delegation, and I had audience, or the delegation had audience with the former king. And among those issues that was raised, the King himself, His Majesty, referred to the era of his administration and the role of women under his administration: their participation in congress, in parliament, in the executive, and including in judiciary. These were the words that he mentioned, and he was proudly referring to these words.		role of women in gov under king
567	And therefore, I think on my testimony I would like to say that in the post-Taliban administration, the former king, his Majesty Zahir Shah would be able to lead and facilitate the transitional administration. He enjoys a good deal of respect and serves as a reminder of the democratic era in Afghanistan. Also, he expressed his desire to serve the people of Afghanistan in that capacity.		
568	What can the U.S. do? In the meantime, I would like to emphasize certain elements that they consider, if possible, for the future administration in Afghanistan. It is the rule of law and democracy, an institution of democracy; revival of traditional institutions, among them the Loya Jirga in Afghanistan would be the most appropriate thing to do.		
569	In a chapter in the constitution that entails and enumerates the basic civil rights of the people is imperative because the lack of administration, lack of enforcement of these rights, civil rights and civil liberties and human rights brought Afghanistan to this extreme status of fears.		issues of civil rights
570	What can the U.S. do?		



571	The U.S. should address the basic causes of terrorism and support Afghans who are willing to destroy the terrorist networks that have turned Afghanistan into a launching pad for the extremist movements.		
572	It is important for the U.S. and the coalition partners to define their objectives clearly, and to select the means compatible to their objectives.		
573	The U.S. must begin to coordinate its military, political and humanitarian strategies, especially as an alternative administration to the Taliban takes shape. It will be important that that entity have popular support within Afghanistan.		
574	To the extent Afghans associate that entity with bombing of urban areas and the disruption of vital humanitarian relief operations, it will not win popular support and sympathy.		
575	The U.S. and the coalition forces must encourage the UN to play an active role in the post-Taliban administration by assisting them with the training and attracting the most qualified Afghan compatriots to participate in the reconstruction of the state.		
576	Critical to the success of this effort would be to design a mechanism for accountability and transparency of management and resources to be provided for the reconstruction of Afghanistan. Pakistan and the neighboring states should be persuaded to accept and support the creation of a broad-based Afghan government.		
577	The role of the UN should be enhanced to help to establish a transitional government composed of the cross-section of Afghans that include—that ought to include all minorities and entities in Afghanistan, including women and religious minorities.		
578	The details of this is included in my full paper that will be left for the record.		
579	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Yes, it will be placed in the record.  Mr. AMIRYAR. Thank you.  Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. And if you could summarize, Doctor.  Mr. AMIRYAR. Thank you.		
580	[The prepared statement of Mr. Amiryar follows:]		
581	PREPARED STATEMENT OF A. QUADIR AMIRYAR, PH.D., EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, CENTRAL ASIA RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT CENTER, GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY		
582	GRAVE VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS		

583	The latest report of the UN Secretary General H.E. Mr. Annan to the General Assembly and Security Council on Afghanistan that was issued on August 17, 2001 clearly refers to a number of gross violations of human rights by the warring fac- tions in general and by the Italian's militia in particular.		
584	“In the sphere of HR there has been no improvement in the policies, practices and circumstances that undermine the ability of Afghans to enjoy their most funda- mental rights. As noted in previous reports, combination of war, weak and unrepre- sentative government mechanism and widespread and deep-rooted poverty coupled with the drought and profound underdevelopment is a deadly mixture for a growing number of Afghans”		
585	Another aspect of the tragedy in Afghanistan is the existence of a widespread and officially sanctioned discrimination against women, girls, Shiia and Hazars in the areas that are controlled by the Taliban,		
586	In spite of several well documented reports by the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and the existence of an established pattern of repeated and massive violations of human rights and humanitarian laws it was only the terrorists attack on New York, Washington and Pennsylvania that brought Afghanistan into the headlines.		
587	Dr. Kamal Hussain, Special Raportuer and the author of several reports on human rights in Afghanistan had called upon the international community to estab- lish an independent international inquiry into the massacres and other grave human rights violations committed by parties to the armed conflict in Afghanistan. Concerning the violations the reports were very specific such as summary execution of civilians by Taliban forces in the Yakawlang district of the province of Bamyar in January 2001. More information became available about massacres from reports published by a number of organizations, for example the UN Secretary General, H.E. Mr. Annan's report of 17 August 2001 to the Security Council and the most detailed of these reports being one dated 19 February 2001 by Human Rights Watch.		
588	In addition		
589	INTL. CRIMINAL LAWS: CRIMES OF GENOCIDE		

590	All parties in the Afghan Civil War are guilty of grave breaches of international humanitarian law. The arms, cash and supplies provided by the neighboring states and other outsiders have been directly contributed to serious violations of international criminal and humanitarian laws such as aerial bombardments of civilian population, indiscriminate bombings, rocketing and other military attacks on civilian populated areas, massacres, killing of civilians, summary executions of prisoners and crime of torture. Several cases of crimes of genocide are recorded by the UN High Commissioner of Human Rights, in Mazar, Bamian, Yakawlang, Samangan, Rubatak and Pul-I-Khumri.		
591	<i>War Crimes:</i>		
592	In his latest report the Commissioner called on the UN members and the International Community to take the initiative to expose make the accountable and responsible for war crimes, breaches of international humanitarian law and gross violations of human rights.		
593	<i>Torture:</i>		
594	Afghans civilians struggling running for their life in search of a shelter for survival caught in the middle of a war, closed gates of the neighboring states, the aerial bombardments of Allied Forces in search of Bin Laden, added to their pain suffering and a sense of fear and misery, a feeling of being abandoned physically and mentally exhausted and tortured.	survival	
595	The new flows of refugees into Pakistan, Iran and Central Asia require additional resources to be mobilized so that those fleeing for security, hunger and the war and Aerial bombardments are not treated inhumanly as has been experience of many of the refugees in the past.	right to security and food	
596	<i>Terrorism:</i>		
597	For many years terrorism and training camps to promote acts of terror have been organized and funded by their foreign supporters. For example Several months before the latest terrorist acts in New York, Washington, and Pennsylvania, on May 29, 2001 a Federal Court in New York found four men, guilty of conspiracy in the bombing of the U.S> Embassies in Nairobi and Dar as Salam in August 1998. The Court found that three of the perpetrators had received training in camps run by al-Qaeda network in Afghanistan. Other suspects linked to al-Qaeda who were allegedly linked to al-Qaeda have been arrested are in France, Germany, Italy, Spain the UK and the U.S.		
598	<i>Religious Intolerance:</i>		

599	The Human Rights Committee, in Geneva, on September 25, 2001 announced “it has extremely grave concerns about the implementation of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights in Afghanistan, especially as related to the situation of women, public and summary executions, and religious intolerance”. (UNHCHR R. 25 sep 2001)	rights to trial / religion	
600	In the absence of a government or international managerial structures on the ground following the completion of the mission by the Allied Forces human rights violators may feel emboldened to commit further crimes against the civilian population with impunity.		
601	Therefore it is very important to have a representative government in Afghanistan that would be recognized by the neighboring states is essential.		
602	<i>Post-Taliban Administration:</i>		
603	Reasons for prolongation of war and grave violations of human rights in Afghanistan were various. Lacking of a legitimate government capable of enforcing civil rights and protecting the basic liberties of its citizens. . Failure of the UN to implement the Geneva Accord, following the defeat and withdrawal of the former Soviet Union and the renewal of additional foreign interference. Imposing of various unrepresentative governments over Afghans by outsiders. Absence of trust between the rulers and the ruled, and destruction of the national, social, political and cultural institutions	need trust in government, maintain institutions -	
604	The role of international community and the UN in the transitional era of the process is critical because the main causes of the war in Afghanistan are external. It is the UN and the Security Councils obligation to protect the people of Afghanistan from external interference and from the destructive armed conflict, which continues to be externally supported. *(HCHR Feb. 2001).		
605	All segments of the Afghan population are united on the imperative need for change of the prevailing situation. In order to introduce change a comprehensive strategy is needed in which carefully orchestrated and coordinated moves are made both at the internal and external level.		
606	The need is clear for initiating and sustaining a process in which all segments of the Afghan population inside and outside Afghanistan should be able to revive their traditional sociopolitical institutions and to establish a representative, pluralistic, participatory form of government and constitution, The philosophy of the future administration must be based on the rule of law and equality of citizens in front of the law.	traditional vs. modern	what happens with women under the traditional? What does traditional look like?

607	The international community, in particular acting through the Security Council, is expected to discharge its fundamental obligation to protect the people and territory of Afghanistan from external interference and from the destructive armed conflict, which continues to be externally supported. The new flows of refugees into Pakistan and Iran call for additional resources to be mobilized so that those fleeing from threats to their life and security from drought, hunger and conflict are not treated inhumanely as has been experience of many of the refugees.		
608	<i>Road Maps:</i>		
609	Post-Taliban Administration can be formed into two separate stages, first the transitional structure or entity and second the regular and permanent structure that shall be based on the basic principles of democracy, separation of powers, independent judiciary, an elected House of representatives and an elected Senate. The responsibility for the management of		
610	State and public policy should be shared between the executive and legislative organs of the state. .		
611	The term of the transitional entity shall be limited to three years with no renewal.		
612	The composition of the transitional administration should represent the socio-political fabric of the Afghan society. Every effort should be made that this entity will be inclusive, proportional and pluralistic. In other words members of every ethnic, social, religious, and languages are included.	rights to own language, ethnic, social, religious rights	rights to own language, ethnic, social, religious rights
613	After 23 years of occupation, loss of fundamental freedoms, foreign interference and civil war the people of Afghanistan deserve to insist on retaining a large measure of autonomy over their lives. Because this is essential for a constitutional system dedicated to the rule of law.		
614	The system of the future government shall be based on the rule of law and must be defined by a constitution. Sovereignty belongs to the people. People delegate a portion of their rights to the state, only for the enforcement and implementation of their civil rights and liberties. A significant portion of the constitution must be dedicated to specify citizen's civil rights and human rights.		
615	In the Post-Taliban Administration the former King H.M. M. Zahir Shah would be able to lead and facilitate the transitional administration. He enjoys a good deal of respect and serves as a reminder of the democratic era in Afghanistan. Also, he expressed his desire to serve the people of Afghanistan in that capacity.		
616	<i>What the U.S. Can Do?</i>		

617	The US should address the basic causes of terrorism and support Afghans who are willing to destroy the terrorist's networks that have turned Afghanistan into a launching pad for the extremist movements.		
618	The US should coordinate its activities in Afghanistan and the formation of the transitional Administration, including activities related to the reconstruction with UN and its specialized agencies and the Coalition of the Alliance.		
619	The US must begin to coordinate its military, political and humanitarian strategies. Prioritizing of military strategy and military objectives may contribute to a negative image for political and humanitarian strategies. Specially, as an alternative Administration to the Taliban regime takes shape, it will be important that that entity have popular support within Afghanistan. To the extent, Afghans asso-		
620	ciate that entity with bombing of urban areas and the disruption of vital humanitarian relief operation; it will not win popular sympathy.		
621	Assist Afghanistan with the reconstruction of state, restoration of a legitimate government, accountable to its citizens and meet the minimum requirements for recognition by Afghanistan's neighbors and international community.		
622	To advance the formation of a popular alternative to Taliban rule, to end the suffering of innocent Afghans living in the vicinity of US military targeting and to expedite humanitarian relief, the U.S should divert its attacks away from urban areas and transport facilities needed to move humanitarian supplies. It should also avoid targeting electric generating facilities, which are vital to water pumping in drought stricken areas or other installations essential to the provision and utilization of water.		
623	The US should allocate funds and empower the UN to search for a Talent-search within the Afghan Diaspora to identify critically needed technical, administrative, and other skills to be located to the new Administration. Funds should be made available to support Diaspora Afghans on extended sabbaticals in services of the reconstruction of Afghanistan.		
624	<i>Conclusion:</i>		
625	Given the status of civil war, power of the warlords, absence of a centralized legitimate government I can not see any improvement in the implementation or enforcement of human rights.		

626	The most imperative task for Afghans in collaboration with the international community is the configuration of a legitimate government, political independence, territorial integrity and the institution of a constitution that should emphasize promotion of the rule of law and equality of all citizens before the law.		
627	The US working through the UN should provide funds to the transitional Afghan Administration to be used in building a cadre of commanders who would be paid to ensure security in their areas and pledge loyalty to the new Administration.		
628	US and the coalition of Alliance must encourage the UN to play an active role in the post-Taliban administration of Afghanistan, by assisting them with the training, and attracting the most qualified Afghan compatriots to participate in the reconstruction of the state.		
629	Irrespective of who is assigned to train the trainers no one can deny the importance and relevance of this issue to the mission of state building for Afghanistan. Therefore the sooner the UN and its specialized agencies such as UNICEF, UNISCO, WHO, WFP, and in collaboration with the Allied Coalitions must resume the planning for it the smoother the transition may be.		
630	Critical to the success of this effort would be to design mechanisms for accountability and transparency of management of resources to be provided for reconstruction. Pakistan and the neighboring states should be persuaded to accept and support the creation of a broad-based Afghan government. The role of the UN should be enhanced to help establish a transitional government composed of a cross-section of Afghans. ( Ghani, FT 9/27/01		
631	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you so much. Mr. Haron Amin. Thank you.		
632	<b>STATEMENT OF HARON AMIN, SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE/ SPOKESPERSON, UNITED FRONT (NORTHERN ALLIANCE)</b>		
633	Mr. AMIN. Thank you, Madam Chair.		
634	At the outset permit me to thank you for having convened this august gathering here and to address the plight of the Afghan woman in particular, but at large, the issue of Afghanistan.		
635	Indeed, the issue is women's rights, but I think beyond that the issue is human rights, of which in Afghanistan over 55 percent constitute woman.		
636	The plight of the suffering of the people of Afghanistan has gone unheard for years, and the question ought to be are the women better off under us or are the women better off today under the Taliban.		Not acknowledge the statements of RAWA

637	When we controlled Kabul in 1992 through 1996, according to the UN, and I am citing here the United Nations documentations, 75 percent of all teachers were women, 50 percent of all civil servants were women, 40 percent of all medical documents were women, and 50 percent of Kabul University students were women. Women were also in position to hold diplomatic posts, as they were also faculty chairs at the University of Kabul.		
638	According to Mary McMakkon of <b>PARSA</b> , [Physiotherapy and Rehabilitation Services for Afghanistan] she is an American went—and she was in Afghanistan and helped with women over 25 years, and she has been stationed in Afghanistan since 1992, 80 percent of all teaching positions of Kabul during Rabani’s rule, as she says, were women; and that young men and women were at- tending the university until fighting and rocketing around Kabul did occur.		
639	But what went wrong in 1992? That is also another question. In 1992, we had Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, who started cutting the electricity into the city, reigned as many as 600 rockets a day into the capitol. With electricity gone, with law and order disappearing during the night, with fighting which he raged in the city, he certainly would have problems.		
640	But the state as a policy, in principle, has never sanctioned, advocated or condoned human rights violations. And certainly there are human rights violations that may have taken place in our territories by villagers or other people. These have been acts of reprisal on a local level. Let me give you an example.		
641	Three years ago Sherifa, this woman, in Kalalihoja, north of Kabul, killed 25 Taliban members. Now, certainly certain human rights organizations would have had a problem with that. But did she do the right thing by killing Taliban? Indeed, that again was in our territory, and in our territory women have the right to bear arms and defend themselves. That is not the case under the Taliban. So it is a question of really what is happening in Afghanistan.		Women’s right to be armed/defend themselves.
642	Having said this, I would like to address other issues, and I think the biggest plight right now in light of what is happening in Afghanistan is the issue of these starving people in Afghanistan, 80 percent of whom or 80 percent of 8 million people, mostly scattered throughout northern Afghanistan.		



643	Let us also not forget that almost all of the internally displaced people, persons have been forced into the territory controlled by United Front. People in Yakolang as we speak are starving, and for the last maybe 25 days or so have only been feeding themselves on plain grass.		
644	We appealed to the United States on behalf of the Afghan people to request Afghanistan's neighbors to open the borders for those that are fleeing currently. We also believe that the donor states recognize the severity of the situation and they should be much more magnanimous than they have been thus far, and also for the international agencies to streamline a common humanitarian strategy.	Global aid	
645	On the political level, since the international community, the military initiative has not been able to provide a clear cut political road map, we have taken the initiative in our own hands, and luckily blessed by the fact that the former monarch of Afghanistan is still alive in and in Rome, and someone who can make an appeal to all the different Afghan segments in Afghanistan, and the ethnic groups that he is in a position, hopefully, to call up on the Loya Jirga.		
646	But before the Loya Jirga, there needed to be the convening or the establishment of the Council of National Unity. That is going forward. We are happy that that is making progress. Certainly we believe that that is the way to go out, out of the current situation or the conundrum in Afghanistan.	coalition building?	
647	Let me emphasize here that on behalf of the United Front, I am pledging that a future Afghanistan will have no role whatsoever with terrorism; that in the future of Afghanistan, there will be pledge to fight against drug trafficking; that in the future of Afghanistan there will be respect for human rights, including women's human rights.	HR, WR	
648	Let me also pledge for a pro-democratic society in Afghanistan, one which will have political pluralism as one of its tenets.		
649	And let me conclude by saying that none of these issues, one through four, would be made feasible without the international community's assistance. A neglected Afghanistan has paid a very high price, both for the Afghans as well as the international community. Many nationalities were killed in the incidence of September 11th. We strongly believe that the Afghans deserve a chance for peace.	international need	

650	First, they fought vehemently and strongly against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, which destroyed the entire infrastructure. Now, against terrorism. The Afghanistan people have a right and the international community has a responsibility toward that. And let us hope that we can go about the reconstruction, rehabilitation and new patriation of Afghanistan all together.		
651	Thank you, Madam Chair.[The prepared statement of Mr. Amin follows:]		
652	PREPARED STATEMENT OF HARON AMIN, SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE/SPOKESPERSON, UNITED FRONT (NORTHERN ALLIANCE)		
653	On behalf of my Government and the people of Afghanistan, I seek your indulgence at the outset in permitting me to express my appreciation for this hearing. The Taliban are as despised by the international community as they are despised by the people of Afghanistan. In Afghanistan, the Taliban have engaged in reign of terror, genocide, ethnic cleansing, scorched-earth policy, crimes of war, crimes against humanity, forced deportation of civilians, forcible displacement of hundreds of thousands of internally displaced persons (IDPs), the separation of women from their men-folk. The Taliban have implemented misogynistic practices such as gender apartheid and feminization of poverty, contamination of water wells, indiscriminate targeting of civilians based on ethnic, religious and gender origins, forced display of yellow lapels for Hindu nationals, random executions, political and other extra-judicial executions that include targeted and mass killings, cruel, inhuman and degrading punishment.	crimes against citizens	
654	The Taliban have impeded access to humanitarian aid, non-cooperation with international aid agencies and open defiance of related international instruments, roundup of foreign or domestic aid workers, cultural genocide such as the destruction of the colossal 5th Century A.D. Buddha statues in Bamyán as well as the complete destruction of Afghanistan's national heritage in the Kabul Museum.	culture, access to international aid	
655	Finally, the Taliban have institutionalized the world's most rigid interpretation of 'Islam' . . . one which no educated Muslim would recognize as the merciful Islam of our Holy Prophet Mohammad (peace and blessing be upon him).		

656	No Afghan entity and certainly no Muslim to date—regardless of origin—has ever so systematically engaged in these practices, as has the Taliban militia. A scrutiny of their behavior clearly manifests their close adherence to the Deobandi and Wahabi interpretations of Islamic teachings. The former is widely practiced in Pakistan, the latter in Saudi Arabia. In fact, the people of Afghanistan, never followers of either of the aforementioned Islamic interpretations, have been held as slaves of the Taliban’s primitive world view and, believe me, will welcome their liberation by International Community when Afghanistan is freed.	No Afghan citizen has participated... “real citizens” don’t engage in these practices; slavery not citizens	
657	But let me stress to you that America’s role in this International force currently embroiled in ousting bin Ladin, is crucial on several fronts. Most Afghans are hesitant to trust the United States right now because they feel betrayed. They feel betrayed because we fought a protracted war on the same side as the United States and when the Soviets withdrew in 1989, we suddenly lost significance, just when we needed you the most. And in that period of time, of massive instability from 1992 through 1996, because of Pakistan’s backing for Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, who recently joined the Taliban, Kabul was shelled with as many as 600 rockets a day.		
658	During that period of time in Kabul, Hekmatyar cut the electricity and destroyed the turbines at the Sorubi hydroelectric dam. He totally annihilated several areas in Kabul proper, which came to resemble Downtown Manhattan after September 11. Instability during this period of time caused the disintegration of law and order, allowing incidents of looting, rape and bloodshed. Let me stress at this point that this was never state sanctioned and came about in the vacuum created when the United States and the rest of our allies ignored what Pakistan saw as an opportunity to extend its hegemonistic intentions in the region. It was during this time that the Taliban marched into Kabul with weapons supplied by the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), Pakistan’s military intelligence services, which as you know by now is a state within the Pakistani State, with the full blessing of Ossama bin Laden. This should not be allowed to happen again.		
659	It must be stressed with emphasis that there are two realities about Afghanistan: the international vs. the Pakistani reality. Leading experts on Afghanistan will ascertain that Pakistan is the prime reason for the instability in Afghanistan.		

660	<p>Among them, the noted Pakistani journalist and scholar on Afghanistan, Ahmad Rashid, who in March of this year stated: “In fact since Kabul fell to the Mujahideen [resistance fighters] in 1992 our policies have created a wave of criticism and even hatred for Pakistan amongst many Afghans. The majority of Afghans blame us for being the single biggest contributor to the continuing war in their homeland. Today we stand isolated in the community of nations due to our Afghan policy . . . In my personal and humble capacity I would like to apologize to the brave Afghan people for the consequences of Pakistan’s recent policies in Afghanistan. I would like to unconditionally apologize for deaths of countless Afghans, which have been caused by Pakistani interference. I would like to apologize for the part that we have played in the destruction of your cities, your culture, your traditions and your freedom to choose your own government.”</p>		
661	<p>In order to stop this from happening again and to install a government that truly represents the people of Afghanistan, which will halt the export of terrorism such as the attack on New York and Washington on September 11, the United States must commit itself to the long-term process of bringing peace, rebuilding Afghanistan’s infrastructure, the institution of long-term demining programs, political support for a truly democratic process and logistical and material support. You cannot assume that, when Afghanistan is finally freed of the terrorists we both wish to de- feat, your role will be finished short of the institution of a pro-Democratic government. Your long-term friendship will be just as important as our current, immediate goal.</p>	US assistance in rebuilding, what Afghanistan can’t	
662	<p>Our national hero, Ahmad Shah Massoud, the legend of anti-Soviet Afghan resistance as early as 1990, instructed me to convey—upon having volunteered and fought two years of Jihad under his command—that three things will happen if Afghanistan were abandoned by the United States: drugs, terrorism and human rights violations in Afghanistan. On December 14, 2000, Massoud wrote to Vice President Richard Cheney: “We believe the international community’s ineffective response to Pakistan’s hegemonic adventurism through the ISI-led coalition of Pakistani religious organizations, the Taliban and extremist cliques and figures such as the renowned Ossama bin Laden, set a horrible example for petty despots and terrorists around the world.”</p>		
663			

664	Sadly, Commander Massoud was assassinated by two Al-Qaeda suicide-bombers posing as journalists just two days before the terrorist acts of September 11. The two incidents were not coincidental.		
665	As we see, all these have come to pass. And today we are here in this hearing to specifically discuss the abolition of human rights, which Commander Massoud predicted. But rather than look back, let's look forward and work together to finally		
666	put a halt to the systemic matricide, gender apartheid, rampant racism and persecution of Hindus, Sikhs, Jews and Christians and total degradation of any form of human rights that have become the hallmark of Taliban rule.		
667	To bring about a government that would rebuild Afghanistan, respect human rights and truly represent our countrymen and women, we need your political help in bringing about a traditional Loya Jirga, or grand council, which is a tradition in our country since the 18th Century. It is widely honored and accepted by all Afghans and the best means of selecting a new government in Afghanistan.		
668	On October 1, 2001, a delegation of the United Front visited Rome to meet with former King Zahir Shah, and concluded an Agreement. The main points of the agreement are:		
669	— “The formation of a new structure entitled The Supreme Council for National Unity of Afghanistan;		
670	— “In light of current national and international realities, this Council will convene an emergency Loya Jirga which will elect a head of state and a transitional government; and		
671	— “In the case of a dire situation, whereby an emergency Loya Jirga cannot be convened as agreed, this Council will have the authority to take appropriate measures to execute the points stated under article (2) above.”		
672	It is important to note that nominations to the Council of National Unity have been made in light of ethnic parameters, not political or military realities, in an aim to truly bring national unity.		

673	A broad-based government will develop if this Loya Jirga under the auspices of our former King, Zahir Shah—as a unifying figurehead and not as a monarch—is allowed to convene. In order to convene the Loya Jirga, several things must take place. First and foremost, the Loya Jirga must be convened without any outside interference. Second, it shall aim to achieve the widest possible representation from across Afghanistan in a fair and just manner, including Afghan refugees and elements from among the Afghan Diaspora and others who have been previously alienated.		
674	All of Afghanistan’s major ethnic groups i.e. Pashtun, Tajik, Hazara and Uzbek must be justly represented in <i>all</i> future political institutions and government bodies. This, however, is not to be construed as either preclusion and/or exclusion of other smaller groups such as Turkman, Baluch, Nooristani, and others from their administrative share. Finally, the Loya Jirga must be convened under present conditions and inside Afghanistan. Hence, America must involve itself in Afghanistan’s political evolution by throwing its full weight behind the Council of National Unity and, later, the Loya Jirga.		
675	The United States should also try to encourage the participation of the United Nations in a key role in the Council of National Unity to assist the convening of the Loya Jirga. In this context, inclusion of so-called moderate Taliban in the Loya Jirga would be like the imposition of so-called moderate Nazis in the post-Hitler German state. Abdul Haq, the legendary anti-Soviet Commander, who was recently murdered by the Taliban inside Afghanistan, was in the process of working for the Loya Jirga.		
676	We wish for the people of Afghanistan to have the <i>right of self-determination</i> and the right to <i>local elective administrations</i> ; observation of the rights of the Shi’a community; the observation of the rights of all <i>ethnic and religious minorities</i> ; the respect and observation of the <i>rights of women</i> , including their rights to education and to work as well as their right to elect themselves to office.		
677	We Afghans seek your support for this process and request appropriate dispensation of political support and material and financial assistance with the goal of convening the Loya Jirga at the earliest plausible time.		
678	Permit me in this context to refer back to Massoud’s letter to Vice President Cheney:		

679	<p>“The United States has a moral responsibility towards Afghanistan which shall address key issues, i.e. democracy, political pluralism, human rights—especially including women’s and girls’ human rights—and advocacy of moderation and tolerance in Afghanistan . . . Meanwhile, stationed at the forefront of the resistance against religious extremism, our goals remain clear. Afghans—being multi-ethnic—want to gain their right to self-determination through a democratic mechanism acceptable to our nation. No one group, party or individual has the right to dictate its will by force or proxy on others. But first, the obstacles have to be overcome, the war has to end, a just peace established and a transitional administration set up to move us toward a broad-based representative government.”</p>		
680	<p>Massoud had facilitated the “The Declaration of Principles” by the United Front adopted on 20 September 1997 by the Government of the Islamic State of Afghanistan and recorded as <i>official document</i> of the United Nations (A/52/384–S/1997/733 on 23 September 1997), which are as follows:</p>		
681	The principle of <i>Islam</i> ;		
682	<i>The principles of independence and international cooperation;</i>		
683	<i>The principles of democracy and political pluralism;</i>		
684	<i>The principles of election and delegation of authority to local administrations; and</i>		
685	<i>The principle of human rights, including the rights of women and the right of self-determination.</i>		
686	<p>And let me elaborate on the role of women in a future government, because this is paramount to the establishment of a future government that will, indeed, respect human rights. Commander Massoud last year met with a group of French women’s rights advocates, who presented him with a petition for his signature guaranteeing rights for women in a future Afghan government. When Commander Massoud read the petition, which called for the right of Afghan women to work, receive an education, function in society as full partners and vote, he called attention to one missing factor—the right to run for public office. That philosophy we still retain.</p>	Women’s rights as framed by French feminists.	

687	<p>Afghan women have historically received educations abroad, driven cars, dressed in modern fashions and were leaders in our society such as ministers in the govern- ment and members of the parliament. We strongly believe that without the active participation of women, the task of reconstruction, rehabilitation and repatriation of Afghanistan cannot be achieved. To cite one example, the UN reported when the Islamic State of Afghanistan controlled Kabul, more than 50 percent of all civil serv- ants, doctors and nurses, and students were all women. When I was working with Massoud in Kabul in 1995–6, we made certain that women played a significant role in the composition of the civic society. Even today, women enjoy employment and education rights in our territories working side by side with their male counter- parts. The Taliban have thrust on our society a Deobandi/Wahabi influenced gender apartheid, which is alien to our culture. It has never been an intrinsically Afghan concept. We categorically reject it for a future Afghanistan.</p>		needed for full citizenship
688	<p>The United Front has never, as a matter of principle, sanctioned, advocated or condoned human rights violations. Any human rights violations that have taken place in United Front territories have been personal reprisals on a local level. The United Nations Charter and all major world legal systems recognize the inherent right of self-defense against armed attack. The Islamic State of Afghanistan, which is the political extension of the United Front, as a globally recognized Government personifying an independent and sovereign State, has been in a state of self-defense against Pakistani proxies, first Hekmatyar and, later, the Taliban and their inter- national terrorist allies like bin Ladin.</p>		
689	<p>As the Government of the Islamic State of Afghanistan, we have the right to de- fend out sovereignty and independence against all ongoing cross-border aggression and take appropriate measures in full conformity with the UN Charter and inter- national law of the past and the present century. There needs to be a distinction between righteously fighting for independence, resisting aggression and upholding noble human principles vs. those of obscurantist and extremist forces engaged in a war of aggression and reign of terror. On the contrary, widespread and systematic violations of human rights, including rights of women and girls, perpetrated in the occupied parts of Afghanistan under the military control of the Taliban and their foreign guests, are a daily practice.</p>		



690	The United Front has never institutionalized taxation on drugs or engaged in drug cultivation or trafficking. The Taliban, despite having issued a decree banning poppy cultivation, continue to champion drug cultivation, processing and trafficking. Of course, after a three-year draught, banning poppy cultivation is not a difficult measure. And, having surpassed the Golden Triangle in poppy cultivation, the Taliban produced 4,700 tons of illicit drugs in 1999. Purely a calculation of supply vs. demand, the Taliban banned poppy cultivation as un-Islamic, thus driving up international prices. Conveniently, in previous years it was “Islamic” according to the militias. Current stockpiles of Taliban narcotics constitute seven year’s annual global consumption of heroin. By the way, these stockpiles exist in warehouses and have not yet been targeted by American bombers.		
691	This hearing is just not any hearing. In many ways the seeds of hope for millions of Afghans will be planted here in this hall. It is dire time to compensate for past negligence, fulfill the responsibility that America abrogated and, finally give the Afghan people the kind of institutions with which you are blessed: democracy and		
692	human rights. In our mind, a neglected Afghanistan has paid a high price both for you as well as for us. There are two paths to be taken: one of repeating September 11 and the other to prevent a recurrence of September 11. Our people pray for the latter so that our nations will not be victimized again. A first step is the total re- moval of the Taliban.		
693	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you very much.		
694	Mr. Amin, I will start with you. Is there anything in the Holy Koran which would preclude a continuation of the fighting against the Taliban during Ramadan? What would be the impact of halting the military strikes at this time? And would continuing the strikes have negative political consequences for the U.S.? That is, will it antagonize Afghan people, and Muslim members of the coalition of Arab-American community as well?		
695	And conversely, would halting the strikes provide the Taliban with time to consolidate, to expand its forces? How would such a halt be perceived by the Afghan people from all angles?		
696	Mr. AMIN. Madam Chair, the issue is that the Taliban have used the holy month of Ramadan in the past to persecute the Afghan nation, to institutionalize daily reign of terror on the Afghan na- tion.		

697	To just cite an example, it was during Ramadan of 1998 that the Taliban forcibly displaced as many as 150,000 people from their home. So certainly the sanctity of the holy month of Ramadan is an issue not applicable to the whole Taliban Draconian world view.		
698	The question is in the Islamic teachings there is no clear cut dis- position which prevents Muslims from waging a war or declaring war or continuing the state of war at anytime. You can check this with any Muslim scholar. There is nothing specifically that says for that not to occur.		
699	But we strongly believe that the Taliban—that the holy month of Ramadan is a month during which you can indeed fast and not drink any fluids or not eat any food, any kind of sustenance. But the holy month of Ramadan is a month during which you do not stop fighting terrorism, and that is something that we will do in Afghanistan because we strongly believe that the international coalition ought to keep that coalition together, and the reason is that, despite the fact that certain quarters in Pakistan might still want to somehow convince the international community's resolve that maybe this is the time to stop, that that is a venue to create a hurdle and to thwart the international community's resolve at effectively combating terrorism.		
700	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you.		
701	Mr. AMIN. And hence, we hope that the international community will not stop during this month. Islamically, there is nothing that specifically states that, and that would only give the opportunity, should the international community stop, the opportunity for Taliban to mobilize, to gather strength in any way that they can, and to openly persecute the Afghan nation. What is certain is that we will definitely continue our combat against the Taliban.		
702	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you.		
703	And how long will the Northern Alliance agree to postpone an assault on Kabul to allow a broad-based government to be created and established?		
704	Mr. AMIN. Madam Chair, in that context, no quarter, no political quarter has ever indicated to us that the taking of Kabul should		
705	not be in our agenda. That is an issue that we have raised ourselves.		

706	It is our understanding that in order to be effectively—in order to effectively approach a political settlement, that a political road map needs to be in place, and we have taken that initiative on our own hands. We have contacted various quarters around the world, and certainly the King has given his blessing, and there are a lot of other venues, the Cyprus venue, the people, the gathering in Bonn and others who are also in contact, that they want a political road map to be in place, and that is the reason that we have halted whatsoever an attempt to re-liberate Kabul.		
707	But in this context, let me also emphasize that should the United States be in a position to convince the United Nations to also fully back this plan, that that would be most needed, at the same time for Kabul to be demilitarized, it requires hopefully the deployment of some sort of international force.		
708	Now, whether that could be done under the UN peacekeeping or peacemaking, that is something that could be subject to debate at the United Nations level, and it something that Mr. Abrahame might be in a variable position to do so. But certainly we make the appeal that if such situation and such deployment could be made feasible, we would welcome that, but certainly it is not in our in- tent to go ahead and to capture Kabul.		
709	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you. And finally, how would you respond to Ms. Faryal's statements about the Northern Alliance being reviled by the Afghan people and the U.S. support for the Alliances plunged the Afghan people into horrific anxiety and fear of re-experiencing the dreadful years of the 1990s?		
710	Mr. AMIN. Well, certainly I would have wished for her to have been in this room. Certainly I am not a member of the Taliban, and I have not discussed against women whatsoever.		Not respecting RAWA and the need for anonymity.
711	But regardless, I can say that the attempt that the United States have—the initiative that the United States has right now is aimed at targeting terrorism, at disseminating and annihilate terrorism whatsoever. The Afghan nation has been victimized as has the American nation and so many other nationalities around the world who happened to be working at the time in New York. So that is the aim with which the United States and the international com- munity is trying to pursue the course of events in Afghanistan.		

712	If anything, it has been the Islam state of Afghanistan or the United Front that has been neglected over the years. We have made numerous appeals, as early as 1992, in fact, Commander Ahmad Shah Massoud appealed to the United States and said that if you do not pay attention to Afghanistan, that it will—it will have major ramifications, of which he named three: terrorism, drug trafficking and human rights violations. Indeed, that is the case in Afghanistan today. That was as early as 1992.		
713	Over the years, we made numerous appeals. If anything, our appeals did not go—you know, went unheard. And what we are appealing right now is that the future of Afghanistan is something that we can plan right now. Certainly I think that the U.S. on behalf of the international community can play a very productive role in this context, but we have our oaths and we have had our ap-		
714	peals—we have had our objectives for years in place. We have asked for certain things.		
715	What are we asking for in Afghanistan? We are asking that the international community help us on the human rights issues; that they help us in the issue of fighting drugs; that they help us in the issue of terrorism; that they help us on the rehabilitation and reconstruction of Afghanistan.		
716	And let me just, in the context of your question, say that we are the ones—we are, among others, who want to go about this path, and certainly Kabul under our control was much better off than under the Taliban. And had we been given the assistance the world wants to give to Afghanistan right now back then, certainly the situation—the incidence of September 11 would have never occurred in Afghan.		
717	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you. I have gone two and a half minutes over my time limit, so I will extend the same courtesy to Cynthia, and then we will ask another round of questions.		
718	Congresswoman McKinney. Ms. MCKINNEY. Great. Thank you, Madam Chair. Well, I guess my first question ought to be to my witness, who		
719	is at a different location, and I would like to ask her to respond to what Mr. Amin has said, if she has anything to say with respect to what he said about the period from 1992 to 1996, and also about the apparent commitment that has been made to safeguard the—not only the rights of women, but participation of women in a future government should the Northern Alliance participate in a future government of Afghanistan.		

720	Ms. FARYAL. Thank you, Congresswoman, Ms. McKinney.		
721	I must say that Mr. Haron very simply shied away from the period between '92 to '96, as if nothing happened in Afghanistan during that time. But I think that everyone would remember, everyone concerned about the human rights and women's rights violation, would remember what happened in Afghanistan at that time.		
722	It was during the internal fighting between those different groups, that some of them now are in the Northern Alliance, but some are not in the Northern Alliance, that 70 to 80 percent of the capitol city Kabul became totally destroyed; that the hospital, the school was destroyed and looted. In fact, nothing was left for Taliban to destroy when they took the power except the statutes; that they did that.		
723	And also, just by saying that women were—they are in some positions in Afghanistan, they were—most of the university students were women or 60 percent of the teachers were women, or there were female doctors does not mean that there were not human rights or women's rights violation.		
724	First of all, because of all those violation most of the women preferred not to attend university anymore, not to go to their jobs anymore, and there have been many reports, hundreds of reports not only by our organization but also by Amnesty International, by Human Rights Watch, as I cited some of them before. It is true that unlike Taliban, they did not have any official list of restrictions on women, but they should also remember that the first things that they did was to remove women from appearing on TV.		NA removed women from public space on TV
725	And as I said, because there were cases of abduction, cases of rape, cases of forced marriages by the commanders of the different groups, women did not feel safe to go to universities or schools or continue with their jobs anymore.		
726	Also, I think a few days ago it was said by United Nations that Northern Alliance itself was involved in drug cultivation in Afghanistan. Last year they cultivated 120 to 150 tons of opium in Afghanistan.		
727	So if they want to be involved in any future government in Afghanistan, first, they should be brought on an international court of law because people of Afghanistan do not want—would never forget for the crimes that they committed in Afghanistan against humanity and especially against women.		
728	Ms. MCKINNEY. Thank you. Okay, I will try and make these additional questions brief.		

729	Mr. Amin, could you tell me then, in light of what we have just heard, what kind of steps you have taken or will take in order to ensure that women will be included in a future government of Afghanistan?		
730	Mr. AMIN. Thank you, Ms. McKinney.		
731	I would like to read to you a declaration of principles which the United Front adopted in 1997, and among the five steps or five principles in that list, one is the principle of human rights, including the rights of women and the right of self-determination.		
732	Certainly, the objective, the aim is to end the menace and the problems in Afghanistan.		
733	Ms. MCKINNEY. Does self-determination mean participation in the political life and decision-making of the country?		self-determination mean participation in the political life and decision-making of the country
734	Mr. AMIN. Yes, indeed. Let me also cite to you that when a group of Western women from France went to see Commander Massoud prior to his assassination, that they had a list of about 10 or 11 items that they wanted to have for women, that women should be privileged with about 10 or something of rights, among them one was missing, which was for the women to have the right to elect themselves to office, which Commander Massoud himself brought up, and then signed the declaration or the document on behalf of the United Front.		What French group? Femmes en Marche pour l'Afghanistan <a href="http://worfa.free.fr">http://worfa.free.fr</a> <a href="http://www.afghan-web.com/documents/int-masood.html">http://www.afghan-web.com/documents/int-masood.html</a>
735	We want women in the future of Afghanistan to have the same kind of rights that women had under the 1964 constitutional monarchy. And back then under the 1964 constitutional monarchy, women had the right to become members in the cabinet as well as become members in the parliament of Afghanistan.		participation in government
736	Ms. MCKINNEY. And so you make a commitment today that women will serve in the cabinet in any government of Afghanistan of which the Northern Alliance is a part?		
737	Mr. AMIN. Certainly, I am making that—I am making that pledge right now, and it is a matter of the international community keeping us, staying with us shoulder to shoulder so that we can go about achieving these things. These have been our objectives.		
738	But Madam, if I may also refer that in light of again the a restriction of Kabul, that if 80 percent of Kabul was destroyed, it was destroyed because Mr. Gulbuddin Hekmatyar stationed 10 kilometers south of the city reigned as many as 600 rockets a day. This has been very well documented. Despite the fact that all the		

739	destruction did indeed occur and Kabul itself is— it looks like in many ways like downtown Manhattan. It occurred not because we wanted to engage in fighting, but because rockets were reigning on the city of Kabul, and indeed we were trying to defend the people of Kabul.		
740	Now, if those — — Ms. MCKINNEY. Okay.Mr. AMIN. Now, if those rockets — — Ms. MCKINNEY. Okay.Mr. AMIN. I’m sorry.Ms. MCKINNEY. Let me, because my time is limited, let me just		
741	get to this other issue of drug trafficking.A <i>New York Times</i> article dated October 2nd says that United		
742	Nations officials say,		
743	“For most of the past 5 years, the narcotics have come from areas entirely controlled by the Northern Alliance.”		
744	I know from news reports that the taking of Masar-e Sharif is imminent, the taking of Mazar by the Northern Alliance is sup- posed to be imminent.		
745	Now, it is my understanding from United Nations that there is a substantial amount of heroin or the product in which—from which heroin is made stockpiled in Mazar-e Sharif.		
746	Could you tell me what precautions the Northern Alliance is taking right now to make sure that narcotics trafficking ceases be- cause those narcotics end up in Europe and on American streets? And should Masar-e Sharif be taken by the Northern Alliance? What is going to happen to that product of—that narcotics that is there in stockpile?		
747	Mr. AMIN. Thank you, Ms. McKinney. I would urge you and your colleagues, along with you, and hopefully you can make this a bill in Congress, to hopefully have the American airlines going over Af- ghanistan to also use some of the cluster bombs to pound these drug stockpiles in the city of Mazar-e Sharif. That might be an easier way of getting rid of them before we go into the city.,		
748	But certainly our campaign is one of capturing Mazar-e Sharif. Ms. MCKINNEY. So you are suggesting that the bombs — — Mr. AMIN. If I may finish. If I may finish, please.Ms. MCKINNEY. Bomb the stockpiles?		
749	Mr. AMIN. I am saying that the best way to get rid of them and it is something that I even earlier made during my press con- ference, press appearances for the last 1 month or so, that one of the things that has not been targeted enough on has been these stockpiles, and numerous quarters run by the Taliban.		

750	We have to remember that under the Taliban Afghanistan produced as many as 4,700 metric tons of opium and heroin. That is — that is scattered throughout the country. We would welcome ally forces to go about targeting these stockpiles of narcotics.		
751	Ms. MCKINNEY. We know the Taliban are the bad guys. You do not have to convince us of that.		
752	Mr. AMIN. Certainly.		
753	Ms. MCKINNEY. However, we want to make sure you are good guys. And the New York Times article specifically refers to areas		
754	that are in your control and drug trafficking that is done under your watch.		
755	So is there going to be an end to that right now? And would you invite the Americans to also bomb your stockpiles?		
756	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Over 5 minutes of time that — —		
757	Mr. AMIN. We are working on that appeal and we will work on this very issue. We hope that — —		
758	Ms. MCKINNEY. Great. Thank you. Mr. AMIN [continuing]. You will not let us down on this issue. Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you so much. If I could ask any of the panelists who would like to respond,		
759	many would argue that most people in Kabul are too terrified to fight the Taliban.		
760	Do you believe that the Afghan people will rise against the Taliban in more numbers to join the opposition forces? Doctor?		
761	Mr. AMIRYAR. Thank you. That is possible, but it depends on techniques and mechanisms that we will be using or allied forces will be using.		
762	Actually, the people of Afghanistan are very tired of the Taliban and their predecessor. They want to see that they are liberated, and they achieve their rights, their natural rights, their human rights, their civil rights, and their basic rights, and particularly the first generation of human rights. We are not concerned now about second or third generation. And so the people are tired.	define “natural”, “basic” rights	
763	But what can be done to accomplish this? Maybe at Kabul, because the war that we are dealing now, it is a different — by nature, it is different. It is a combination of terror and politics, and that is what makes it incumbent upon us to voice and find methods and mechanism to suit our objectives.		



764	Our objectives ought to be defined a little bit more precisely, and then the current objective, the interim objective and the future objective, these all would be linked in the future, and at the end of this, the end result will be the formation of that government, interim government or transitional government that we would base on the ideals of democracy.		
765	And that government needs some support of goodwill of the people. So the bombardment may be one mechanism, but not all. We may need to come up with certain alternatives to cluster bombs because that may not attract the people to congregate around the future government. That diminishes the support from King Zahir Shah, and the democratic forces of Afghanistan.		
766	And therefore people of Afghanistan are, in general, they are in support of our policy, and are extremely against terrorism. They want to fight terrorism, but they would like to see that we are fighting on two front in parallel, political as well as humanitarian.		
767	Now, our humanitarian, as Congresswoman referred to, there is indistinguishable items: food between the cluster bombs, that is something that it may hurt our effort while we do not mean to do that one. We mean well, and we are there sincerely. We are there. But I think that we may need to redefine our objectives and use the tools to meet and suit our objectives, and our war needs to be fought on two fronts: political—three actually: military, political and humanitarian. All of them has to go parallel.		
768	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you.		
769	Mr. Amin. I had asked that the — —Mr. AMIN. I'm sorry. Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN [continuing]. Afghan people would — are terri-		
770	fied to fight the Taliban or do you think that they will rise again — —		
771	Mr. AMIN. I got it, yes. Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN [continuing]. To join the opposition forces. Mr. AMIN. I think that the Afghan nation, as my statement says,		
772	that the international community as despite or the Afghan nation as despite by the Taliban, and Osama bin Laden, as they are, as is the international community, the Afghan nation indeed has suffered over the years tremendously, and right now hope has been created and hope has been created because there is these international communities that does care.		

773	Certainly if given the adequate kind of strategy in Afghanistan, and given that the international community is going to have the re- solve, and that that resolve is going to be steadfast, that the Af- ghan people are going to be hopeful that something at the end— that there is light at the end of the tunnel indeed. And I would say that they would engage in some sort of uprising in Afghanistan, but it is just that recipe, that the ingredients and the prerequisites have to be there.		
774	I would presume that should the Taliban be pushed back in cer- tain quarters in northern Afghanistan, that that is going to cer- tainly signal major defections and number ranks of the Taliban who are going to choose to defect because they know that they are fighting an evil flight.		
775	So Afghan people are not in a position that they are going to shy away or that they are going to turn away from actively resisting the Taliban. That is indeed the case. But I think the appropriate injection of the prerequisites has got to be there also, and I think, given that the international coalition is going to provide such pre- requisites, that I think it will happen.		
776	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. And Ms. Faryal, if I could ask you this. Rep- resentatives of RAWA have classified U.S. military strikes on Af- ghanistan as “unbearable for any Afghan,” and perceived by many Afghans as U.S. aggression against your country. Yet in an article that I alluded to earlier by Julius Strauss appearing in today’s London Telegraph, the headline read, “Afghans cheer as U.S. jets hit Taliban.” And it goes on to quote, “Afghans yelling ‘it hit, it hit. Thank you America.’ ”		
777	And if you could explain this contradiction. If not military strikes, what would you propose that the U.S. do in response to the terrorist attacks of September 11th? Do you believe the Taliban would fall without any type of military action on the part of the United States and the international coalition? Are you suggesting that the Afghan people would prefer a continuation of the suffering under the Taliban over U.S. military strikes to precipitate the fall of the Taliban?		
778	Ms. FARYAL. Well, we believe that the bombing in Afghanistan would really not do the job to eradicate terrorism and fundamentalism in our country or elsewhere in the world.		
779	The people of Afghanistan are already tired of more than two decades of war and fed up with the fundamentalist, be the Taliban		

780	or the Jihadis. And in fact, if on one hand the people are terrified of the bombing and even before the bombing they were mentally tortured of what would happen, and still they are very much terrified about the consequence, and were witness that we have hundreds and thousands of refugees fleeing the country and coming through the illegal ways through the mountains to Pakistan or to other neighboring countries knowing nothing about their future in these countries, but on the other hand, they think that if this could root out the Taliban and fundamentalism and terrorism in Afghanistan, they think that that can be a good side effect.		
781	But as I said, bombing would really not root out the terrorism. It might—it might get rid of Osama bin Laden or a few Taliban or a few terrorist camps in Afghanistan, but still that does not mean that it has done the job.		
782	We believe that there should be stoppage of financial, military, political, then diplomatic or any other kind of support to the Taliban, as well as to other groups who are involved in war in Afghanistan. That is the only way to eradicate terrorism, and wish a peaceful and prosperous society for our country.		
783	We have to cut the hands of the different countries, not only the Pakistan that has now diplomatic relationship with Taliban, but also Iran, India, Russia, France or any other country in Afghanistan.		
784	Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you.		
785	Ms. McKinney, you are recognized to wrap up for the remaining 8 minutes.		
786	Ms. MCKINNEY. Okay.Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you.Ms. MCKINNEY. I only have two questions.Dr. Amiryar has said that all parties in the Afghan civil war are		
787	guilty of grave breaches of international humanitarian law. My question is for Mr. Amin.		
788	Given the fact that not only does Dr. Amiryar make this statement, but that our own United States State Department Human Rights Report makes similar statements, would you agree that human rights abusers and war criminals should not participate in a future government of Afghanistan?	non-citizens	

789	Mr. AMIN. Let me say one thing, and I hope that here we are going on the same wavelength here. There are many organizations that the very act of reprisal that the United States has sought right now in Afghanistan, which apparently leads to loss of life, would be condemnable. So in other words, in the eyes of these organization the very act that the United States has taken right now which leads to the death of terrorists, or that leads to the death of fanatics, or extremists in Afghanistan, which as the case are getting pounded constantly, and whose numbers are being reduced as we speak, that would be condemnable.		
790	So having said that, and I hope that there could be a distinction made for just war and unjust war. I think that the international community is fighting a just war, and this is a war on behalf of humanity, on behalf of civilization, on behalf of coexistence and on behalf of toleration.		
791	Ms. MCKINNEY. Okay, we are not — Mr. AMIN. That is the war that we have fought also —		
792	Ms. MCKINNEY [continuing]. Talking about the — Mr. AMIN [continuing]. In Afghanistan. Ms. MCKINNEY [continuing]. International community. What we		
793	are talking about is the future government of Afghanistan. Mr. AMIN. Yes, if I — Ms. MCKINNEY. Of which the Northern Alliance would like to be		
794	a part. Mr. AMIN. Yes. Ms. MCKINNEY. And so my question to you is then, given the fact		
795	that there have been these gross abuses of human rights, then would it be the position of the Northern Alliance to say we do not want human rights abusers to be a part of our government?		
796	Mr. AMIN. Certainly the political process is moving in the direction to where an Afghan assembly could be created with the help of the former monarch of Afghanistan. Certainly that gathering has the right to choose whom they want, or whom they do not want. It is not up to me as a person to dictate as to who is going to qualify or who is not going to qualify. Certainly that is not me.		
797	But if that is something, a contingency that the United States on behalf of the international community could place very well in this whole process, we welcome it.		
798	Ms. MCKINNEY. Well, why would you not put that contingency on myself?		
799	Mr. AMIN. On myself? Ms. MCKINNEY. Yes, on your own government. Mr. AMIN. Oh, I am saying — I am saying certainly we are mak-		

800	ing sure that in this entire process— — Ms. MCKINNEY. You as an Afghani— — Mr. AMIN. We as— — Ms. MCKINNEY [continuing]. Why would you not want to have		
801	people who have a clean record and respect to human rights abuses and I— —		
802	Mr. AMIN. Maybe I was not able to clarify myself or maybe ex- plain myself very well.		
803	Certainly that is the criteria by which we want to function. That is the criteria by which we want to nominate the whole process. Certainly that is the case. But I am going beyond that and I am saying maybe there could be an international contingency plan to verify that these individuals who are going to be selected in this whole process would be the kind of individuals that you would want to see as well.		
804	Ms. MCKINNEY. I think that there are probably— oh, Dr. Amiryar?		
805	Mr. AMIRYAR. May I add a word, please? Ms. MCKINNEY. Yes. Mr. AMIRYAR. Thank you. Actually, there are two ways to deal with this subject. I am very		
806	much concerned about that, and sincerely I mentioned that. How- ever, there are two ways to deal with that one.		
807	One, to wait until the future government of Afghanistan is formed, and they should be dealt with them legally. On the other hand, based on the international law, criteria of international law, some of these violations are reaching the level of international criminal law. Once it reach that level, then we have international	global citizens, laws	
808	jurisdiction. Therefore, there is no need for us to wait until the fu- ture government of Afghanistan with that vulnerability would be performed, and then this big burden should be put upon their shoulder.		
809	Perhaps we could initiate that one as the most appropriate demo- cratic rule of law. Since we have jurisdiction on international crimes, and whoever reach them first, they are entitled to prosecu- tion and adjudication, and that would serve as a model for the fu- ture of failed states. We could make it then, and this is an area that is moral as a super power. We have a law-abiding nation. We could serve as a model for the future developing countries, with the future of Afghanistan as well as the region because that is not a problem for Afghanistan alone. Pakistan and other neighboring states are suffering from that level as well.		
810	Ms. MCKINNEY. Yes.		

811	Mr. AMIRYAR. But perhaps this would be an opportunity for us to resort to certain ways, prudent ways that always we have done in our foreign policy.		
812	Ms. MCKINNEY. Dr. Amiryar, I would like to work with you in the future so that we can definitely take a look at the recommendations that you have made because I believe that the one real answer and the one real consistency that ought to exist in U.S. foreign policy is respect of human rights and a promotion for abiding by international law.		
813	Mr. AMIRYAR. Thank you. I shall be looking forward to that opportunity.		
814	Ms. MCKINNEY. Great. Thank you.Mr. AMIRYAR. Thank you.Ms. MCKINNEY. And thank you again, Madam Chair.Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you, Ms. McKinney.Ms. MCKINNEY. This has been a wonderful hearing.Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you so much. It is always a pleasure working with you. And I thank the panelists for your patience. It is wonderful, I always say, to be interrupted by democracy. It is great to go and vote, and we wish that for every enslaved person in the world. May we always be interrupted by votes. Thank you so much for being here with us.		
815	Mr. AMIN. Thank you.  Mr. AMIRYAR. Thank you. It is a privilege.  Ms. ROS-LEHTINEN. Thank you.[Whereupon, at 6:33 p.m., the Subcommittee was adjourned.]		

## APPENDIX E: ANALYSIS OF 2002 STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS TRANSCRIPT

### The President's State of the Union Address

January 29, 2002

<http://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/news/releases/2002/01/print/20020129-11.html>

#	Quotes by the POTUS	What does this say about citizenship in general?	What does this say about the citizenship of Afghan women?
1	Thank you very much. Mr. Speaker, Vice President Cheney, members of Congress, distinguished guests, fellow citizens: As we gather tonight, our nation is at war, our economy is in recession, and the civilized world faces unprecedented dangers. Yet the state of our Union has never been stronger. (Applause.)	<p>“fellow citizens” creates commonality/unification with POTUS, congress, and public</p> <p>“civilized world..” creates us vs. them, we are united against them, consider how E. Said &amp; Orientalism is mirrored in this speech</p>	This creates a foundation for freeing the <i>other</i> . Men & women both need to be freed from the oppression, they could not resist the “brutal oppression” independently.
2	We last met in an hour of shock and suffering. In four short months, our nation has comforted the victims, begun to rebuild New York and the Pentagon, rallied a great coalition, captured, arrested, and rid the world of thousands of terrorists, destroyed Afghanistan's terrorist training camps, saved a people from starvation, and freed a country from brutal oppression. (Applause.)	<p>“our nation” positive terms for what happens US: we “rebuild, rallied” together</p> <p>What happens “there”: “captured, arrested, rid, destroyed [the bad guys] and “saved, freed” the helpless</p> <p>More mirroring of Said &amp; Orientalism</p>	Continues to create the foundation for freeing /framing <i>other</i> /Afghan women

3	The American flag flies again over our embassy in Kabul. Terrorists who once occupied Afghanistan now occupy cells at Guantanamo Bay. (Applause.) And terrorist leaders who urged followers to sacrifice their lives are running for their own.(Applause.)	US flag flying over US embassy in Kabul, more language of colonialism.	Continues to create the foundation for freeing /framing <i>other</i> /Afghan women
4	America and Afghanistan are now allies against terror. We'll be partners in rebuilding that country. And this evening we welcome the distinguished interim leader of a liberated Afghanistan: Chairman Hamid Karzai. (Applause.)	“allies, partners” Creating a partnership, attempting to frame the two as equals  “liberated” suggests colonialism	Continues to create the foundation for freeing /framing <i>other</i> /Afghan women
5a	The last time we met in this chamber	n/a	n/a
5b	, the mothers and daughters of Afghanistan were captives in their own homes, forbidden from working or going to school.	That not everyone is free in Afghanistan	women were unable to have agency in their communities
5c	Today women are free, and are part of Afghanistan's new government.	The US has given citizenship back to women.	from the previous statements about how US saved the Afghan people, set a foundation for how women, because of the US are now free to work, go to school and participate in government
5d	And we welcome the new Minister of Women's Affairs, Doctor Sima Samar. (Applause.)	Creation of a ministry post to address issues for women (contrast to a lack of one in the US) What does this say if US does not see a need, but Afghanistan has a need for the ministry.	Here is the token woman who is serving as a minister in the Afghan government



6a	Our progress is a tribute to the spirit of the Afghan people,	“our progress” frames that the work of /the war by the US can only be done with the agreement of the Afghan people; in other words, we could not engage in war there if they people did not want it. Colonial argument for “saving” people	If the US freed all the people than the women in Afghanistan also wanted the US involvement there (war, aid, etc.)
6b	to the resolve of our coalition, and to the might of the United States military. (Applause.) When I called our troops into action, I did so with complete confidence in their courage and skill. And tonight, thanks to them, we are winning the war on terror. (Applause.)	Creating links between the people of the US and the people of Afghanistan.	Creating links between the people of the US and the people of Afghanistan.
6c	The man and women of our Armed Forces have delivered a message now clear to every enemy of the United States: Even 7,000 miles away, across oceans and continents, on mountaintops and in caves -- you will not escape the justice of this nation. (Applause.)		That American US women soldiers are also fighting for the Afghan women. That American women have the freedom to fight for those who cannot.

7	For many Americans, these four months have brought sorrow, and pain that will never completely go away. Every day a retired firefighter returns to Ground Zero, to feel closer to his two sons who died there. At a memorial in New York, a little boy left his football with a note for his lost father: Dear Daddy, please take this to heaven. I don't want to play football until I can play with you again some day.	<p>Evoking 9-11 as a unifying factor; tragedy is unifying factor for Americans</p> <p><b>Lots of pathos used!</b> Family, daddy, god &amp; football (American sport)</p>	<b>Silence: Does not address</b> the issues for women who are losing their husbands, fathers, sons and daughters to the violence / the collateral damage of the war.
8	Last month, at the grave of her husband, Michael, a CIA officer and Marine who died in Mazur-e-Sharif, Shannon Spann said these words of farewell: "Semper Fi, my love." Shannon is with us tonight. (Applause.)	<b>More pathos</b> , family, husband, soldier died for the cause	
9	Shannon, I assure you and all who have lost a loved one that our cause is just, and our country will never forget the debt we owe Michael and all who gave their lives for freedom.	<p>our cause is just: reinforcing the war,</p> <p>Continued pathos, gratitude,</p> <p>There was a reason for US deaths in Afghanistan</p>	all who gave their lives for freedom <b>Subtext:</b> Afghan women/girls be willing to give up the lives of their husbands/fathers/son for the cause.

10	<p>Our cause is just, and it continues. Our discoveries in Afghanistan confirmed our worst fears, and showed us the true scope of the task ahead. We have seen the depth of our enemies' hatred in videos, where they laugh about the loss of innocent life. And the depth of their hatred is equaled by the madness of the destruction they design. We have found diagrams of American nuclear power plants and public water facilities, detailed instructions for making chemical weapons, surveillance maps of American cities, and thorough descriptions of landmarks in America and throughout the world.</p>	<p>Continued reinforcement for the use of military action.</p> <p>“They”: hatred &amp; madness unlike the US.</p> <p>enemies are not identified explicitly by name or by group, they are not citizens of anywhere/any place</p> <p>(side note: where is the evidence of the “found” plans for destruction?)</p>
11	<p>What we have found in Afghanistan confirms that, far from ending there, our war against terror is only beginning. Most of the 19 men who hijacked planes on September the 11th were trained in Afghanistan's camps, and so were tens of thousands of others. Thousands of dangerous killers, schooled in the methods of murder, often supported by outlaw regimes, are now spread throughout the world like ticking time bombs, set to go off without warning.</p>	<p>No mention of the <i>hijackers</i>, <i>killers</i> or <i>outlaw regimes</i>, <i>throughout the world</i> citizenship, where they were from, how they identified</p> <p>These men could be their husbands/fathers/sons.</p>

12	<p>Thanks to the work of our law enforcement officials and coalition partners, hundreds of terrorists have been arrested. Yet, tens of thousands of trained terrorists are still at large. These enemies view the entire world as a battlefield, and we must pursue them wherever they are. (Applause.) So long as training camps operate, so long as nations harbor terrorists, freedom is at risk. And America and our allies must not, and will not, allow it. (Applause.)</p>	<p>The enemies do not have a home in which is safe, or this can be complicated to say that they are active, view their entire world through the eyes of global citizenship – that allegiance to a country is not the point.</p>
13	<p>Our nation will continue to be steadfast and patient and persistent in the pursuit of two great objectives. First, we will shut down terrorist camps, disrupt terrorist plans, and bring terrorists to justice. And, second, we must prevent the terrorists and regimes who seek chemical, biological or nuclear weapons from threatening the United States and the world. (Applause.)</p>	<p>Paragraphs 12, 13, 14 address the issue that the terrorists do not align themselves with a nation, that their citizenship is not framed through the lens of nationality, but through their beliefs.</p>

14	Our military has put the terror training camps of Afghanistan out of business, yet camps still exist in at least a dozen countries. A terrorist underworld -- including groups like Hamas, Hezbollah, Islamic Jihad, Jaish-i-Mohammed -- operates in remote jungles and deserts, and hides in the centers of large cities.	Paragraphs 12, 13, 14 address the issue that the terrorists do not align themselves with a nation, that their citizenship is not framed through the lens of nationality, but through their beliefs.
15	While the most visible military action is in Afghanistan, America is acting elsewhere. We now have troops in the Philippines, helping to train that country's armed forces to go after terrorist cells that have executed an American, and still hold hostages. Our soldiers, working with the Bosnian government, seized terrorists who were plotting to bomb our embassy. Our Navy is patrolling the coast of Africa to block the shipment of weapons and the establishment of terrorist camps in Somalia.	This is targeting specific people in specific countries. These is speaking about those who are a part of a country, and working with governments, othering terrorists as if they are not part of the countries in which they are found.
16	My hope is that all nations will heed our call, and eliminate the terrorist parasites who threaten their countries and our own. Many nations are acting forcefully. Pakistan is now cracking down on terror, and I admire the strong leadership of President Musharraf. (Applause.)	Again, separating those who are part of a nation from those (terrorist parasites )who are not

17	But some governments will be timid in the face of terror. And make no mistake about it: If they do not act, America will. (Applause.)	Countries who do not address those who are violent, as a result their citizens do not have as much value.
18	Our second goal is to prevent regimes that sponsor terror from threatening America or our friends and allies with weapons of mass destruction. Some of these regimes have been pretty quiet since September the 11th. But we know their true nature. North Korea is a regime arming with missiles and weapons of mass destruction, while starving its citizens.	<p>Governments who support citizens who are id as terrorists – again these citizens do not have as much value.</p> <p>Points out the most extreme situation of oppressive governments that ignore the needs of the citizens. NK spends money on military while ...</p> <p>People of NK are frequently framed as brainwashed by the government. Without agency; little is talked about who has escaped from NK with the stories of what is happening.</p>
19	Iran aggressively pursues these weapons and exports terror, while an unelected few repress the Iranian people's hope for freedom.	Questioning the government, suggesting that it is against the will of the people; suggesting that the Iranian people do not have the power to change it or are not making an effort for change.

20	<p>Iraq continues to flaunt its hostility toward America and to support terror. The Iraqi regime has plotted to develop anthrax, and nerve gas, and nuclear weapons for over a decade. This is a regime that has already used poison gas to murder thousands of its own citizens -- leaving the bodies of mothers huddled over their dead children. This is a regime that agreed to international inspections -- then kicked out the inspectors. This is a regime that has something to hide from the civilized world.</p>	<p>Pathos!</p> <p>Again, women unable to care for their children, families as the mercy of the regime.</p>
21	<p>States like these, and their terrorist allies, constitute an axis of evil, arming to threaten the peace of the world. By seeking weapons of mass destruction, these regimes pose a grave and growing danger. They could provide these arms to terrorists, giving them the means to match their hatred. They could attack our allies or attempt to blackmail the United States. In any of these cases, the price of indifference would be catastrophic.</p>	<p>states like these: Iran, Iraq, NK &amp; terrorist allies</p> <p>creating a division, in their values,</p> <p>US vs them mentality,</p> <p>hatred is not a part of US citizenship? Global citizenship?</p>

22	<p>We will work closely with our coalition to deny terrorists and their state sponsors the materials, technology, and expertise to make and deliver weapons of mass destruction. We will develop and deploy effective missile defenses to protect America and our allies from sudden attack. (Applause.)</p> <p>And all nations should know: America will do what is necessary to ensure our nation's security.</p>	<p>security paramount for citizens of US</p>
23	<p>We'll be deliberate, yet time is not on our side. I will not wait on events, while dangers gather. I will not stand by, as peril draws closer and closer. The United States of America will not permit the world's most dangerous regimes to threaten us with the world's most destructive weapons. (Applause.)</p>	<p>POTUS separating himself out from the citizens of the US</p>
24	<p>Our war on terror is well begun, but it is only begun. This campaign may not be finished on our watch -- yet it must be and it will be waged on our watch.</p>	



25	<p>We can't stop short. If we stop now -- leaving terror camps intact and terror states unchecked -- our sense of security would be false and temporary. History has called America and our allies to action, and it is both our responsibility and our privilege to fight freedom's fight. (Applause.)</p>	<p>Returning back from the "I" statements. Our responsibility/privilege as a gov and people to go to war under the guise of freedom</p>
26	<p>Our first priority must always be the security of our nation, and that will be reflected in the budget I send to Congress. My budget supports three great goals for America: We will win this war; we'll protect our homeland; and we will revive our economy.</p>	<p>security=winning war, protecting homeland, reviving the economy</p> <p>this involves everyone's participation</p>
27	<p>September the 11th brought out the best in America, and the best in this Congress. And I join the American people in applauding your unity and resolve. (Applause.) Now Americans deserve to have this same spirit directed toward addressing problems here at home. I'm a proud member of my party -- yet as we act to win the war, protect our people, and create jobs in America, we must act, first and foremost, not as Republicans, not as Democrats, but as Americans.(Applause.)</p>	<p>good American citizen = unity and resolve, unity behind war, defense &amp; in the legislation to create jobs</p>

28	<p>It costs a lot to fight this war. We have spent more than a billion dollars a month -- over \$30 million a day -- and we must be prepared for future operations.</p> <p>Afghanistan proved that expensive precision weapons defeat the enemy and spare innocent lives, and we need more of them. We need to replace aging aircraft and make our military more agile, to put our troops anywhere in the world quickly and safely. Our men and women in uniform deserve the best weapons, the best equipment, the best training -- and they also deserve another pay raise. (Applause.)</p>	<p>Money for war=defeating enemy, protecting innocent lives (whose lives?)</p>	<p>Vague reference to innocent lives, Afghan lives? American lives?</p>
29	<p>My budget includes the largest increase in defense spending in two decades -- because while the price of freedom and security is high, it is never too high. Whatever it costs to defend our country, we will pay. (Applause.)</p>	<p>price of freedom &amp; security the US will pay "we will pay" universal "we"</p>	

- |    |   |   |
|----|---|---|
| 30 | <p>The next priority of my budget is to do everything possible to protect our citizens and strengthen our nation against the ongoing threat of another attack. Time and distance from the events of September the 11th will not make us safer unless we act on its lessons. America is no longer protected by vast oceans. We are protected from attack only by vigorous action abroad, and increased vigilance at home.</p>  | <p>vigilance at home=citizens watching other citizens</p> |
| 31 | <p>My budget nearly doubles funding for a sustained strategy of homeland security, focused on four key areas: bioterrorism, emergency response, airport and border security, and improved intelligence. We will develop vaccines to fight anthrax and other deadly diseases. We'll increase funding to help states and communities train and equip our heroic police and firefighters. (Applause.) We will improve intelligence collection and sharing, expand patrols at our borders, strengthen the security of air travel, and use technology to track the arrivals and departures of visitors to the United States. (Applause.)</p> |   |

32	<p>Homeland security will make America not only stronger, but, in many ways, better. Knowledge gained from bioterrorism research will improve public health. Stronger police and fire departments will mean safer neighborhoods. Stricter border enforcement will help combat illegal drugs. (Applause.) And as government works to better secure our homeland, America will continue to depend on the eyes and ears of alert citizens.</p>	<p>Benefits of these actions for citizens:          bioterrorism research = improve public health          Stronger police &amp; fire dept = safer neighborhoods          border enforcement = fewer illegal drugs          citizens spying on each other</p>
33	<p>A few days before Christmas, an airline flight attendant spotted a passenger lighting a match. The crew and passengers quickly subdued the man, who had been trained by al Qaeda and was armed with explosives. The people on that plane were alert and, as a result, likely saved nearly 200 lives. And tonight we welcome and thank flight attendants Hermis Moutardier and Christina Jones. (Applause.)</p>	<p>Citizens in action.          Reinforcing the citizens spying on citizens.</p>

34 Once we have funded our national security and our homeland security, the final great priority of my budget is economic security for the American people. (Applause.) To achieve these great national objectives -- to win the war, protect the homeland, and revitalize our economy -- our budget will run a deficit that will be small and short-term, so long as Congress restrains spending and acts in a fiscally responsible manner. (Applause.) We have clear priorities and we must act at home with the same purpose and resolve we have shown overseas: We'll prevail in the war, and we will defeat this recession. (Applause.)

35 Americans who have lost their jobs need our help and I support extending unemployment benefits and direct assistance for health care coverage. (Applause.) Yet, American workers want more than unemployment checks -- they want a steady paycheck. (Applause.) When America works, America prospers, so my economic security plan can be summed up in one word: jobs. (Applause.)

handout vs. a job (this does not address the wage of the steady paycheck; low paying paycheck how does that help?)

36 Good jobs begin with good schools, and here we've made a fine start. (Applause.) Republicans and Democrats worked together to achieve historic education reform so that no child is left behind. I was proud to work with members of both parties: Chairman John Boehner and Congressman George Miller. (Applause.) Senator Judd Gregg. (Applause.) And I was so proud of our work, I even had nice things to say about my friend, Ted Kennedy. (Laughter and applause.) I know the folks at the Crawford coffee shop couldn't believe I'd say such a thing -- (laughter) -- but our work on this bill shows what is possible if we set aside posturing and focus on results. (Applause.)

Education – NCLB -

37 There is more to do. We need to prepare our children to read and succeed in school with improved Head Start and early childhood development programs. (Applause.) We must upgrade our teacher colleges and teacher training and launch a major recruiting drive with a great goal for America: a quality teacher in every classroom. (Applause.)

Educating citizens

38 Good jobs also depend on reliable and affordable energy. This Congress must act to encourage conservation, promote technology, build infrastructure, and it must act to increase energy production at home so America is less dependent on foreign oil. (Applause.)

39 Good jobs depend on expanded trade. Selling into new markets creates new jobs, so I ask Congress to finally approve trade promotion authority. (Applause.) On these two key issues, trade and energy, the House of Representatives has acted to create jobs, and I urge the Senate to pass this legislation. (Applause.)

40 Good jobs depend on sound tax policy. (Applause.) Last year, some in this hall thought my tax relief plan was too small; some thought it was too big. (Applause.) But when the checks arrived in the mail, most Americans thought tax relief was just about right. (Applause.) Congress listened to the people and responded by reducing tax rates, doubling the child credit, and ending the death tax. For the sake of long-term growth and to help Americans plan for the future, let's make these tax cuts permanent. (Applause.)

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41 The way out of this recession, the way to create jobs, is to grow the economy by encouraging investment in factories and equipment, and by speeding up tax relief so people have more money to spend. For the sake of American workers, let's pass a stimulus package. (Applause.)

42 Good jobs must be the aim of welfare reform. As we reauthorize these important reforms, we must always remember the goal is to reduce dependency on government and offer every American the dignity of a job. (Applause.)

jobless or living off the government assistance is a reduced citizen

43 Americans know economic security can vanish in an instant without health security. I ask Congress to join me this year to enact a patients' bill of rights -- (applause) -- to give uninsured workers credits to help buy health coverage -- (applause) -- to approve an historic increase in the spending for veterans' health -- (applause) -- and to give seniors a sound and modern Medicare system that includes coverage for prescription drugs. (Applause.)

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44	<p>A good job should lead to security in retirement. I ask Congress to enact new safeguards for 401K and pension plans. (Applause.) Employees who have worked hard and saved all their lives should not have to risk losing everything if their company fails. (Applause.) Through stricter accounting standards and tougher disclosure requirements, corporate America must be made more accountable to employees and shareholders and held to the highest standards of conduct. (Applause.)</p>	<p>Those who have jobs that provide a 401k = citizen who has worked hard</p> <p>Paragraphs 44 &amp; 45 Work that is valued is work that is eligible for SSI or 401K, other kinds of work is not valued as contributing to an active citizenry.</p>
45	<p>Retirement security also depends upon keeping the commitments of Social Security, and we will. We must make Social Security financially stable and allow personal retirement accounts for younger workers who choose them. (Applause.)</p>	<p>Paragraphs 44 &amp; 45 Work that is valued is work that is eligible for SSI or 401K, other kinds of work is not valued as contributing to an active citizenry.</p>

46	Members, you and I will work together in the months ahead on other issues: productive farm policy -- (applause) -- a cleaner environment -- (applause) -- broader home ownership, especially among minorities -- (applause) -- and ways to encourage the good work of charities and faith-based groups. (Applause.) I ask you to join me on these important domestic issues in the same spirit of cooperation we've applied to our war against terrorism. (Applause.)	home ownership= good citizen
47	During these last few months, I've been humbled and privileged to see the true character of this country in a time of testing. Our enemies believed America was weak and materialistic, that we would splinter in fear and selfishness. They were as wrong as they are evil. (Applause.)	true character of this country = not weak, not materialistic, not fearful and not selfish
48	The American people have responded magnificently, with courage and compassion, strength and resolve. As I have met the heroes, hugged the families, and looked into the tired faces of rescuers, I have stood in awe of the American people.	good citizen = courage, compassion, strength, resolve

49 And I hope you will join me  
-- I hope you will join me in  
expressing thanks to one  
American for the strength  
and calm and comfort she  
brings to our nation in crisis,  
our First Lady, Laura Bush.  
(Applause.)

50 None of us would ever wish  
the evil that was done on  
September the 11th. Yet  
after America was attacked,  
it was as if our entire country  
looked into a mirror and saw  
our better selves. We were  
reminded that we are  
citizens, with obligations to  
each other, to our country,  
and to history. We began to  
think less of the goods we  
can accumulate, and more  
about the good we can do.

citizens=obligations to each  
other, to our country, and to  
history (leaving a legacy),  
doing good works  
  
not about materialistic  
goods,

51 For too long our culture has  
said, "If it feels good, do it."  
Now America is embracing a  
new ethic and a new creed:  
"Let's roll." (Applause.) In  
the sacrifice of soldiers, the  
fierce brotherhood of  
firefighters, and the bravery  
and generosity of ordinary  
citizens, we have glimpsed  
what a new culture of  
responsibility could look  
like. We want to be a nation  
that serves goals larger than  
self. We've been offered a  
unique opportunity, and we  
must not let this moment  
pass.(Applause.)

citizenship = sacrifice,  
brotherhood, bravery,  
generosity, responsibility,  
  
goals larger than self = war?

51	<p>My call tonight is for every American to commit at least two years -- 4,000 hours over the rest of your lifetime -- to the service of your neighbors and your nation. (Applause.) Many are already serving, and I thank you. If you aren't sure how to help, I've got a good place to start. To sustain and extend the best that has emerged in America, I invite you to join the new USA Freedom Corps. The Freedom Corps will focus on three areas of need: responding in case of crisis at home; rebuilding our communities; and extending American compassion throughout the world.</p>	<p>Good citizen=4000 hours of service to community &amp; nation</p> <p>USA Freedom Corps</p>
53	<p>One purpose of the USA Freedom Corps will be homeland security. America needs retired doctors and nurses who can be mobilized in major emergencies; volunteers to help police and fire departments; transportation and utility workers well- trained in spotting danger.</p>	

54	<p>Our country also needs citizens working to rebuild our communities. We need mentors to love children, especially children whose parents are in prison. And we need more talented teachers in troubled schools. USA Freedom Corps will expand and improve the good efforts of AmeriCorps and Senior Corps to recruit more than 200,000 new volunteers.</p>
55	<p>And America needs citizens to extend the compassion of our country to every part of the world. So we will renew the promise of the Peace Corps, double its volunteers over the next five years -- (applause) -- and ask it to join a new effort to encourage development and education and opportunity in the Islamic world. (Applause.)</p>
56	<p>This time of adversity offers a unique moment of opportunity -- a moment we must seize to change our culture. Through the gathering momentum of millions of acts of service and decency and kindness, I know we can overcome evil with greater good. (Applause.) And we have a great opportunity during this time of war to lead the world toward the values that will bring lasting peace.</p>

In contrast to the funds for war.  
compassion vs.

57 All fathers and mothers, in all societies, want their children to be educated, and live free from poverty and violence. No people on Earth yearn to be oppressed, or aspire to servitude, or eagerly await the midnight knock of the secret police.

58 If anyone doubts this, let them look to Afghanistan, where the Islamic "street" greeted the fall of tyranny with song and celebration. Let the skeptics look to Islam's own rich history, with its centuries of learning, and tolerance and progress. America will lead by defending liberty and justice because they are right and true and unchanging for all people everywhere. (Applause.)

59 No nation owns these aspirations, and no nation is exempt from them. We have no intention of imposing our culture. But America will always stand firm for the non-negotiable demands of human dignity: the rule of law; limits on the power of the state; respect for women; private property; free speech; equal justice; and religious tolerance. (Applause.)

Universality of human dignity/ good citizen = rule of law, limits on state power, respect for women, private property, free speech, equal justice, religious tolerance

60	America will take the side of brave men and women who advocate these values around the world, including the Islamic world, because we have a greater objective than eliminating threats and containing resentment. We seek a just and peaceful world beyond the war on terror.	good citizen = bravery, advocate the above values around the world, seek justice & peace
61	In this moment of opportunity, a common danger is erasing old rivalries. America is working with Russia and China and India, in ways we have never before, to achieve peace and prosperity. In every region, free markets and free trade and free societies are proving their power to lift lives. Together with friends and allies from Europe to Asia, and Africa to Latin America, we will demonstrate that the forces of terror cannot stop the momentum of freedom. (Applause.)	common danger against peace, prosperity, free markets, free trade, free societies

62	<p>The last time I spoke here, I expressed the hope that life would return to normal. In some ways, it has. In others, it never will. Those of us who have lived through these challenging times have been changed by them. We've come to know truths that we will never question: evil is real, and it must be opposed. (Applause.) Beyond all differences of race or creed, we are one country, mourning together and facing danger together. Deep in the American character, there is honor, and it is stronger than cynicism. And many have discovered again that even in tragedy -- especially in tragedy -- God is near. (Applause.)</p>	<p>we should not acknowledge race/creed= American character is universal, has honor and cynical</p> <p>if one doesn't see race, it is racism (who addresses this issue?)</p>
63	<p>In a single instant, we realized that this will be a decisive decade in the history of liberty, that we've been called to a unique role in human events. Rarely has the world faced a choice more clear or consequential.</p>	<p>unique role in the world, good citizenship= taking advantage of this role</p>
65	<p>Our enemies send other people's children on missions of suicide and murder. They embrace tyranny and death as a cause and a creed. We stand for a different choice, made long ago, on the day of our founding. We affirm it again today.</p>	<p>bad citizenship=killing children, tyranny,</p>



66	We choose freedom and the dignity of every life. (Applause.)	dignity of every life, subtext: except of those lives that we deem a problem (terrorists) or in the way (collateral damage)
67	Steadfast in our purpose, we now press on. We have known freedom's price. We have shown freedom's power. And in this great conflict, my fellow Americans, we will see freedom's victory.	
68	Thank you all. May God bless. (Applause.)	

## APPENDIX F: ANALYSIS OF RAWA TEXTS

Page	Text	Images	Citizenship for afghan women
Title	Afghanistan, world's largest forgotten tragedy		
1	Revolutionary Association of Women of Afghanistan (RAWA), the only feminist Afghan organisation, is locked in struggle with the most horrendous fundamentalist regime in the world but does not receive any support from any government or non-government organisation whatsoever.	8 images 1- women in burkas standing in line	Claiming independence from gov/ self sustaining; independent
1	Donate to RAWA to enable it to continue and expand its humanitarian and pro-democracy activities more effectively amongst the most unhappy women and children on earth.	2- baby 3- children at school	Providing for the people / using democratic ideals
1	Our book account for US\$ [address]	4- man carrying a bloody, amputated hand from a "punishment" 5- rubble? 6- Woman begging, in burka 7- Afghan man 8- Man shooting a woman in burka	Images: display tragedies and the oppression of women
2	I'm the woman who has awoken / I've arisen and become a tempest through the ashes of my burnt children / My ruined and burnt villages replete me with hatred against the enemy / O'compatriot, no longer regard me weak and incapable, / My voice has mingled with thousands of arisen women / I'm the woman who has awoken, / I've found my path and will never return.	background image rawa symbol women with fist in air	Challenging the idea that women are weak and can not participate in society  Image demonstrates how women are resisting the oppression
2	Part of a poem by Meena		Meena is the founder of RAWA
2	[Caption to photo] Martyred Meena (1957-1987)	Image of Meena	she is real
2	RAWA was founded by Meena in 1977 and actively participated in the anti-Soviet resistance movement of the people of Afghanistan. After the overthrow of the puppet regime in 1992 and the catastrophic domination of fundamentalists in Afghanistan RAWA redoubled its political, cultural, educational, health, and human rights activities to attain its overall objective of democracy and women's rights.		Asserting the rights in all aspects of citizenship; claiming it for all Afghans / particularly women

3-4	[Photos with caption] Destruction and terror á la Jihadi and Taliban fundamentalists	4 images 1 – 2 men, one with rocket launcher, standing in front of rubble 2 – men among rubble 3 – men among rubble rubble	Images of destruction.
5	Taliban are barely literate, consider photography, television, cinema and an endless list of modern everyday needs and practices as Satanic, but love to flog and humiliate and own expensive, latest model vehicles.	3 images 1 – armed afghan men in Toyota truck, 2 – man speaking 3 – men, traffic	Literacy is important; as well as access to contemporary needs and entertainment; violence is not a part of society that RAWA envisions.
6	RAWA has pledged to fight fundamentalist terror and tyranny perpetuated in the name of religion.	1- Men hanged 2- man carrying a bloody amputated hand from a “punishment” 3- carrying a man who is hog tied.	Citizens can’t be oppressed through religion  Images counter the texts, of what RAWA is fighting; images of the terror
7	Pangs of hunger and want force women in Kabul to gradually sell off the family’s belongings down to the bare necessities. Like fundamentalist crimes and infamy, such impoverishment and almost-universal pauperization has no precedent in the history of Afghanistan.	3 images 1 – women, marketplace, selling belongings 2 - woman, children, cooking on stairs, public place. 3 – women selling clothes on street corner	Citizens have the right to eat.  Women seeing their belongings
8	Soaring beggary, prostitution and even sale of children by destitute families is one of the most catastrophic outcomes of fundamentalist domination in Afghanistan. The shame of it is an everlasting stigma on the face of fundamentalism all over the world.	1- woman in burka begging 2- child on street 3- women begging on bridge	Women forced into begging, prostitution or to sell their children in order not to starve.  Images: What happens with women.

9	The fundamentalists aim at terrorising our women into mute and obedient household slaves through the meting out of punishments such as flogging, amputation of hands and feet and stoning to death. But RAWA believes that it is only through breaking such medieval misogynic fundamentalist fetters from women's minds and bodies that women can contribute to the rehabilitation and reconstruction of our devastated Afghan motherland.	women standing in a line	Women citizens need to be active; be seen, heard free from violence; have agency in moving Afghanistan in a positive direction.
10	The fundamentalists have killed their [children's] parents and have destroyed their [children's] homes. She [the child pictured] and thousands like her are alone and bewildered in a world of fundamentalist tyranny and gloom.  Caption for 2 <sup>nd</sup> photo: Kabul's orphan girls	1 - young girl looking through broken window 2 – orphan children /girls posing for photo	Children are also citizens that have a right to their families and homes.  Images: pathos
11	Most Afghan refugees prefer the hell of life in Pakistani refugee camps to that of the inferno of life in fundamentalism-ridden Afghanistan.	1 - Refugee camp, makeshift tents 2 – trash in refugee camp	Living as a expat/refugee is preferred to living in Afghanistan. Promoting citizenship from a distance.
12	The fundamentalists have turned tens of thousands of school children into rag pickers in Pakistan.	4 images – children picking through trash	Citizens have a right to education
13	[caption] A member of RAWA bleeds from the impact of police baton during a protest rally in Islamabad. The Guardian April 29, 1993	1 - B& W photo, woman bleeding from her nose; headscarf 2 – protest rally women vs. police	
14	Peaceful RAWA demonstrations in Peshawar [Pakistan] are attacked by fundamentalist terrorists. But nothing can deter RAWA from agitating and struggling for democracy and women's rights.	1 – b&w photo women protesters clashing with men "fundamentalists" 2 – RAWA women protesting, carrying signs, one sign of Meena	Women/citizens willing to peacefully protest in the face of violence.
15	[photos captions]		
15	[photo 1] "Islamic Veil", a play acted out by students of RAWA schools.	image of people performing a play	
15	[photo 2] Song group [sign in photo] Long Live the 8 <sup>th</sup> March Womens International Day!	women/girls standing on platform in front of a mic	Making connections with the larger global community.
15	[photo 3] A scene of a RAWA function in Pakistan	Audience of men and women (sitting separately) women in headscarves, men in western clothes	

16	Despite extremely limited resources, RAWA strives to provide free health services to women in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Notwithstanding the marked scarcity of health services at best of times, the Taliban have prohibited women from seeking medical attention in areas where some form of health facilities do exist. What RAWA can provide is only a drop in the sea as compared to even the basic needs of our suffering women.	women gathered outside a clinic, some in burkas, some in headscarves, children	Providing services for citizens; replacing the nation-state
16	[photo caption] A mobile RAWA health team inside Afghanistan	a woman (nurse?) tending to a person in bed	Demonstrating agency.
17	Despite tremendous difficulties RAWA organizes in-home literacy for women, children and particularly orphans.	1 - adult women in school, teacher at blackboard 2 - adult women reading 3 - children (boys and girls in school	Education
18	The Taliban are the champions of illiteracy and highest incarnations of ignorant arrogance. RAWA believes that despite manifold impediments and meagre [sic?] resources, one of its duties is to carry the torch of literacy and knowledge among women in defiance of the Taliban and other enlightenment-hating fundamentalists.	1 – boys in school sitting at desks, male teacher at blackboard, 2 – girls at school readings, sitting at desks.	literacy and knowledge is paramount for citizens
19	A number of women working in a RAWA-sponsored workshop. The number of women who have lost their male breadwinners to the fundamentalists' criminal infighting can be counted in the hundreds of thousands. They eke out an existence in conditions of increasingly inhuman Taliban restrictions. Unfortunately due to extremely meagre [sic?] resources RAWA can provide income generation support only a very few.		Women able to provide for themselves and families is paramount; training
19	[photo caption 1] A RAWA women's carpet weaving team	women weaving	literacy, economic independence
19	[photo caption 2] A RAWA women's handicrafts exhibition	2 women, standing at a booth, with goods	literacy, economic independence
19	[photo caption 3] A RAWA sewing center	women sewing with manual sewing machines	literacy, economic independence
20	A RAWA activist selling RAWA publications in Islamabad, Pakistan. The fundamentalists are intolerant of the sale of RAWA publics and have on more than one occasion assaulted vendors, mostly women. Sales of publications is a source of income for RAWA.	1 - woman handing out publications to men 2 – images of publications	RAWA self supporting
20	For the purpose of exposing the crimes and treacheries of the fundamentalists, RAWA has published two issues of the English magazine <b>"The Burst of the 'Islamic Government' Bubble in Afghanistan"</b> in addition to publishing regular issues of <b>Payam-e-San</b> (Women's Message) in Dari (Persian), Pashtu and Urdu.		

20	Cultural and Art Committee of RAWA has released 11 audio cassettes of patriotic songs.		
21	[caption to photo] ? Hospital	Image of a child with severe injuries, shaved head, large stitches on scalp, black eye, lots of bandages	What happens without help / awareness
21	To the Fundamentalists! If you blow out the candles in my eyes, / If you freeze all the kisses in my lips, / If you fill my native air with lisping curses, / or silence my anguish, / Forge my coins, / Uproot the smile from my sisters' faces, / If you raise a thousand walls, / And nail my eyes to humiliation, / Enemies of man, / I shall not compromise / And to the end / I shall fight.		Women/RAWA cannot be silenced, citizens will find a way to resist oppression and advocate for their rights
21	<b>Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan</b> / RAWA, P.O. Box 374, Quetta, Pakistan / <a href="http://www.rawa.org">http://www.rawa.org</a> <a href="mailto:rawa@rawa.org">rawa@rawa.org</a>		
22	It is the agony and the loneliness of these innocent victims of the fundamentalists' criminal infighting that is the driving force behind RAWA's irreconcilable hatred of all fundamentalists.	1 – image of sick/injured man, woman, infant sitting at his side 2 – severely injured person, elderly? (gender unknown) with arm amputated. 3 – dead child 4 – severely injured person (from a bomb?)	What happens without the work of RAWA.

## APPENDIX G: VEILING AND THE BURQA

The reasons why women wear the Muslim veil are complex and diverse. There are historical, cultural, legal, religious, political, and class motivations as to why women may choose to (or not to) wear the veil. The veil can mean “women’s seclusion, invisibility, confinement to the home... [or] it meant exactly the opposite: it was affirmation of their right to work and to be in the public world pursuing professional and working lives” (Ahmed, 1999, p. 300).



The political use of the veil shifts “according to different historical and political contexts” (al-Ani, 2003, p. 103). In Egypt during the early 1900s, women removed the veil as a “sign of defiance and feminist resistance,” whereas in Algeria during the war against the French occupation during the 1950s and 1960s, the veil was worn by women “as a symbol of Arab resistance to French colonial oppression” (al-Ani, 2003, p. 90). These political uses provides a way for women to use as a form of resistance against their current culture, as in Egypt, or to the colonizers, as in Algeria.



ILLUSTRATION G.1 WOMEN OF RAWA WEARING *Hijabs* (REVOLUTIONARY ASSOCIATION OF THE WOMEN OF AFGHANISTAN, N.D.)

There are many different styles of veils, all of which are influenced through historical, cultural, class and legal standards. The most common veil consists of a simple headscarf, known as the *hijab* it covers the head, hair and neck, but leaves the face uncovered.

Similar in coverage, the *al-amira*, *shayla* and *khimar* also cover the head, neck, and shoulders, with varying degrees of coverage. The *chador*, a more conservative veil worn in Iran, is a full body cloak that keeps the face uncovered. (Illustration G.2 and G.3).

<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-bottom: 10px;"> <span>Al-Amira</span> <span>Shayla</span> </div> 	<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around; margin-bottom: 10px;"> <span>Khimar</span> <span>Chador</span> </div> 
ILLUSTRATION G.2 (BBC, N.D.)	ILLUSTRATION G.3 (BBC, N.D.)

In countries located on the Arabian Peninsula, some women wear the *niqab*, which covers the lower-face but leaves the eyes uncovered. The most concealing is the well-known *burqa*, which is only worn in Afghanistan, with a mesh fabric to see through. (Illustration G.4)



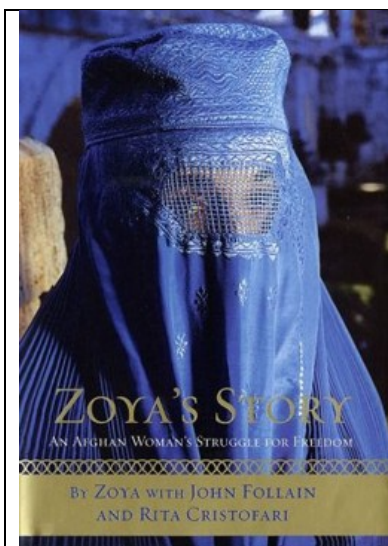


ILLUSTRATION G.4, *BURKA* (ZOYA, 2002)

Even with this illustrations of women's veiling, there are exceptions. For example while the *chador* is generally worn in Iran and the *burqa* is worn in Afghanistan, women in Iran or Afghanistan may also be seen wearing only a *shayla*.

The cultural contexts of veiling needs to be considered when addressing this issue. Women from various backgrounds, living in different situations, have a variety of social reasons why they may choose to veil.

For some women, the veil empowers them by removing their bodies from male scrutiny and the social judgments of beauty and sexuality and they wear it by choice. For others, enforced veiling is a political oppression disconnected from Islam.... [but] veiling can also be a conscious drawing attention to oneself... as a political [being] (Donnell, 2003, p. 132).

Creating a visual dividing line between the classes is another social reason for veiling. In mid-late 20<sup>th</sup> century Morocco, Fatima Mernissi describes one way the veil signified class.

While upper and middle class women threw away the veil, the newly migrant peasant women who would come to Fez after their independence would wear one to proclaim their “urbanity” to show they belonged to the city and were no longer part of the countryside where the veil was never, throughout North Africa, worn by women. Even today, the highly political Islamic *hijab*, which is a distinct headdress, is an urban, middle-class, educated phenomenon in Morocco. Peasant and working-class women do not join in that fashion (Mernissi, 1994, p. 120).

These examples provide only a glimpse of the reasons why women veil. The use of the Muslim veil is a complicated notion, infused with multiple meanings. For women needing to negotiate the veil, the outside critique, such as those coming from places like the United States, creates a more complicated situation when they are advocating for public services for women and families.

## VITA

Lauren M. Connolly earned her Bachelor of Arts degree in English with a focus in Writing Practices in 2006 and her Master of Arts degree in Teaching Writing in 2010, both from Humboldt State University in Arcata, California. In 2010, she joined the doctoral program in Rhetoric and Writing Studies at The University of Texas at El Paso. She also received her Graduate Certificate in Women's and Gender Studies from The University of Texas at El Paso, as a complement to her research. In Spring 2014, she received the Outstanding Graduate Student in Women's and Gender Studies Award.

Permanent address: El Paso, Texas 79912

This thesis/dissertation was typed by Lauren M. Connolly