

Towards a More Peaceful World

Building a grassroots movement for peace and justice

Peace Action's Five-Year Strategic Plan, 2011-2016
Approved by the Peace Action Board and the Peace Action Education Fund Board
February 5, 2011

FOREWORD

Our Vision

Peace Action is a grassroots-based national organization, committed to building a peaceful world. We share a vision of world peace, in which:

- The menace of nuclear weapons has forever been erased;
- War has been abolished as a method of solving conflicts;
- All human beings are assured the wherewithal to live in health and dignity; and
- No one is denied the opportunity to participate in making decisions that affect the common good.

Background

This five-year strategic plan is envisioned as a living document, one that local, state and national peace groups will all use as they develop their own annual work plans and set their respective priorities.

The plan is composed of three sections:

- **Program:** The social and political changes, nationally and internationally, that we will strive to accomplish.
- **Growth, Fund Raising and Coalition Building:** How we will strengthen our social movement, in order to accomplish our program goals.
- **Governance and Organizational Design:** Ways in which we will better manage our growth and our activities as an organization.

The plan is further divided into three chapters:

Chapter I consists of goals and objectives for each of the three sections of the plan.

Chapter II lays out in table format the strategies that we will use to meet our objectives, with each table corresponding to a plan objective. Detailed and specific, as befits a serious action plan, the tables are an innovation from Peace Action's last five-year plan.

Chapter III discusses and provides background on each of the objectives in the program part of the plan.

Development of the Plan

This five-year strategic plan was shaped through responses to an affiliate survey; discussion among the Peace Action and Peace Action Education Fund Boards; a focus group with national staff; interviews with key affiliate staff and volunteer leadership; and discussion with attendees at the 2010 national Organizers' Meeting. It was developed by the Joint Strategy Committee of the two Boards.

New challenges and opportunities that we cannot now envision may make it necessary to modify this plan. But, by establishing goals, identifying clear objectives, and outlining specific strategies for each, the plan provides the Peace Action network the means to work together cohesively and effectively.

We hope and expect that this plan will inform our work over the next five years and inspire us to work harder and smarter for peace.

OUR MISSION:

Peace Action seeks:

- The multilateral abolition of nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction
- Ending the international arms trade
- Significantly reducing worldwide military expenditures and implementing an effective program of economic conversion.

Peace Action supports:

- The development of creative, democratic international non-military peacekeeping initiatives and institutions
- Globally sustainable and economically just societies dedicated to ensuring basic human rights.

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A New Economy, Through Demilitarization and Abolition of Nuclear Weapons

CHAPTER I Program

The biggest threats to the people of this country are not terrorists or foreign enemies but joblessness, foreclosures, gaping holes in the safety net, the climate crisis, the concentration of wealth, the influence of major corporations, and the absence of true democracy. These threats cannot be addressed as long as such an extraordinary proportion of our nation's wealth is devoted to the military. Moreover, the ways in which we use our power abroad, while outrageously expensive, do not enhance our safety and security. On the contrary, we generate enemies through our costly wars, nuclear arsenal, foreign bases, and support for corrupt and oppressive regimes.

We can reduce the numbers of our enemies and any conceivable need for massive military spending by removing these sources of world anger towards us. In doing so, we will also protect the democratic values of our nation: democracy cannot long survive in a militaristic environment in which basic freedoms are curtailed, government secrecy is rife, and the political process is corrupted by money interests.

Cutting unnecessary and self-defeating military spending will enable us to free up resources to address our real needs at home—decent jobs, quality schools for our children, universal health care, affordable housing, and a sustainable environment. In short, reordering our nation's priorities--away from militarism and towards peace and justice--will make us safer and our lives better.

An end to militarism will not change all that needs to be changed in order to make our nation just and democratic. However, it will help. More importantly, an end to U.S. militarism will make other peoples' lives far better around the world. Our wars have killed and injured millions of people, destroyed communities, devastated eco-systems and economies, and obstructed human rights. We are responsible at this point for death and destruction on such a massive scale that we can barely fathom it, and there seems to be little interest on the part of the governing class for change. The U.S. needs a new way to engage with the rest of the world, one based on support for international law, humanitarian aid, and diplomacy instead of domination and violence.

To that end, Peace Action will mobilize Americans to secure:

- *A demilitarized, sustainable economy;*
- *A nuclear weapons-free world; and*
- *An end to U.S.-supported wars and occupations.*

We will work for a redirection of our nation's resources and a change in our way of interacting with the world, from one of belligerence to peaceful engagement. We will work for a better future for our own country and for the world.

Goals and Policy Objectives

Goal A: A Demilitarized, Sustainable Economy

Objectives

- Cut the military budget by 25%.
- Reduce the number of U.S. foreign military bases by 30%.
- Reduce the amount of the military budget that goes to contractors by 35%.
- Demilitarize public schools by increasing to 12 the number of states with legislation prohibiting the use of military testing for recruitment purposes.

Goal B: A Nuclear Weapons-Free World

Objectives

- Prevent “modernization” of the U.S. nuclear weapons production complex and upgrading of delivery systems.
- Ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.
- Achieve progress towards nuclear disarmament outside the treaty process.
- Negotiate three international treaties to end the threat of nuclear war:
 - A treaty for a Nuclear Weapons-Free Zone in the Middle East
 - A treaty to abolish nuclear weapons worldwide
 - A treaty to stop production of nuclear weapons-grade materials worldwide

Goal C: An End to U.S.-Supported Wars and Occupations

Objectives

- End U.S. military operations in Afghanistan and Pakistan and support regional peace-making: bring home all U.S. military personnel and contractors from Afghanistan, close all U.S. military bases in Afghanistan, and contribute to the reconstruction of Afghanistan.
- Promote sustainable peace with justice in Israel/Palestine by supporting peacemakers in both communities and by pressing for an end to U.S. financial and military aid to the Israeli government until it complies with international law.
- Defuse the U.S./Iran conflict, as reflected in the creation of a regional security network with participation from all Middle East countries.
- End the U.S. occupation of Iraq by the end of 2011: bring home all U.S. military personnel and all contractors, close all military bases in Iraq, ensure that the U.S. embassy in Iraq is not used as a tool of occupation, and contribute to the reconstruction of Iraq.
- Support and strengthen the United Nations as a guarantor of international security, human rights and social progress.

Growing the Peace Movement: Road to Success

Growth, Fund Raising and Coalition Building

Membership and donor growth is vital to Peace Action's stability, viability and survival. Eighty percent of the budget of the national organization is derived from individual or household memberships and donations. Although Peace Action's membership is far below the levels reached just prior to the end of the Cold War, its numbers rebounded from a low point in the mid-1990s and approached 100,000 at the end of 2009. This resulted largely from increases at the affiliate and chapter level, aggressive advocacy and organizing by the national staff, and a rebirth of peace activism prompted by the belligerent foreign policies of the Bush administration in general and by U.S. military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan in particular.

As a reflection of the decentralized nature of Peace Action, the limited number of people providing direct financial support to the national organization poses a challenge. Peace Action has been generally successful in persuading current members to increase their contributions, but it needs to attract more people at the basic membership level.

Peace Action remains the country's largest grassroots peace and disarmament organization. Accordingly, it is positioned to play a central part in making peace activism a major political force in American society. To do so, Peace Action must tap the potential interest in peacemaking in the United States and transform it into organizational power.

The goals for growth, fund raising and coalition building are shaped by the following conditions:

- National membership and donor growth (recruited and renewed by national) and improvements in major donor programs are the most viable routes to increased revenues for the national organization.
- The donor acquisition and prospect list-building campaign initiated by Peace Action Education Fund represents the only realistic mechanism for increasing the national database, for Peace Action currently lacks the resources to mount such a national membership drive.
- National membership recruitment via the Web represents the future. Peace Action's staff training and technology must reflect this reality. It is essential for Peace Action to have a world class website and to make use of social networking sites.
- Affiliates also need to increase membership significantly. The national organization has provided modest assistance in membership development to selected affiliates, while the Membership/Affiliation Committee of the Peace Action Board has promoted methods for recruitment of new members by affiliates and chapters. Some affiliates have shared "best practices" with the grassroots network. In addition, there have been quarterly conference calls

among membership directors of chapters and affiliates. These efforts should be continued.

- Data exchanges between the national organization and the affiliates have improved considerably, partly for technical reasons and partly because of relationships built between the two levels of the organization. However, a huge time lag persists between when affiliates recruit members and when they share the names with the national organization.
- As Peace Action affiliates do not exist in large regions of the United States, they should be developed in such regions. A booklet produced by the Membership/Affiliation Committee ("There are lots of good reasons to affiliate with Peace Action!") should help in this effort.

In addition to strengthening our own organization, Peace Action needs to develop strong relationships with organizations whose missions are interconnected with our own – especially our goal of reducing the military budget. Key groups with which the peace movement has a natural affinity include religious organizations, environmental advocacy groups, unions and other economic rights organizations, civil and immigrant rights groups, and campaign finance reform advocacy organizations. Many different groups, working towards the same ends, create power and the possibility of changing our government and society.

Identifying the overlap in interests with organizations that have been established for purposes other than that of peace advocacy requires relationship building, which depends on dialogue and mutual support. Once relationships are developed and communications structures created, whenever the organizations' positions coincide there can be a quick joining together for advocacy. Such organizations can be affiliated with Peace Action through Organizational Membership, and a number of such groups have already signed on with Peace Action as Organizational Members. Joint projects, formal coalitions, and informal groups are all examples of ways to secure greater support for peace initiatives among the groups with whom we want to interact. Effective organizing will require humility on our part and a willingness to view the world from a different perspective.

Goals and Objectives

Goal A. A Bigger, More Powerful Organization

Objectives

- Increase contributing members to the national organization by 25%.
- Increase the number of affiliates by 5 and the number of members of affiliates and chapters by 25%
- Build the diversity of Peace Action's membership.

Goal B: A Financially Viable Organization

Objectives

- Increase major donor contributions to the national organization by 20%.
- Organize 12 mutual fundraising efforts between the national organization and affiliates.
- Build an operating reserve equal to three months of operating expenses

Goal C: A Strong Grassroots Movement, United in the Need to Convert Military Expenditures to Funding for Human Needs

Objectives

- Develop new partnerships between Peace Action and 10 national advocacy groups.
- Develop 15 state coalitions focused on reductions to the military budget.

Goal D. Exceptional Online Visibility

Objectives

- Provide all affiliates with Salsa¹ tools and Peace Press² websites.
- Conduct 5 on-line, campaign-based membership drives.

¹ **Salsa** is a software currently used by the National office, as well as organizations such as CODEPINK, the Democratic Legislative Campaign Committee (DLCC), and Brave New Films, that enhances several of the National office's key functions. These include managing donor and supporter lists, creating online actions such as petitions and email alerts, and online event sharing and managing.

² **Peace Press** uses Wordpress, the world's most popular blogging software, to provide members with easily-created, easily-managed, professional-looking websites and blogs. Members can create websites and blogs from hundreds of ready-to-use templates. In addition, members can transfer content from current sites and blogs to Peace Press. For example, Peaceandjusticenow.org, the campaign site for *The NPT Review 2010 International Planning Committee for Nuclear Abolition, Peace and Justice*, was created using Wordpress and can be updated by members with access through Peace Press using Wordpress' simple editing system.

Effective Leadership Working Smart

Governance and Organizational Design

The legacy of a dual decentralized and centralized organizational structure, resulting from the merger of SANE and the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, requires the continuation and expansion of work to strengthen collaboration between chapters/affiliates and the national organization.

Participation in the boards of directors of Peace Action and the Peace Action Education Fund is very important. Members of both boards must be attentive to their obligations, including participation in committees and financial stewardship. Major changes in the relationship of the two national boards beginning in 2009 make it important for additional attention to be given to the ways in which the Boards function.

Accordingly, this section of the plan is designed to meet the following objectives:

- Improve sharing of resources within the Peace Action network;
- Strengthen collaboration on program campaigns;
- Renew the two national boards; and
- Develop a culture of accountability throughout Peace Action.

Goals and Objectives

Goal A. Strong Collaboration within the Peace Action Network

Objectives

- Improve sharing of resources within the Peace Action network.
- Increase affiliate participation in national planning.

Goal B. Effective Organizational Planning at the National Level

Objectives

- Set priorities and engage only in those activities that can be sustained with modest revenue growth.

Goal C. A Healthy, High-Functioning PAEF Board³

Objectives

- Recruit and retain at least 12 board members from diverse backgrounds and with different skill sets desirable for the organization.
- Establish an advisory committee consisting of emeritus board members.
- Ensure that all board members adhere to the PAEF Letter of Understanding

³ Because the two national boards of Peace Action have different roles, functions and needs, they are discussed separately—Peace Action is a 501(c)(4) nonprofit, while Peace Action Education Fund is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit; federal law treats the two types of organizations differently.

Another reason for discussing the two boards separately in this plan is that a major reorganization has occurred in the past few years, redefining the roles of the two boards and how they work together.

Goal D. A Healthy, High-Functioning Peace Action Board

Objectives

- Develop criteria for recruiting new Board members who can contribute to the diversity and skill sets of the Board.
- Ensure that all Board members carry out the responsibilities as set forth in the Board Member Agreement.

CHAPTER II

Strategy Tables

Program

***A New Economy Through Demilitarization and
Abolition of Nuclear Weapons***

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Achieve progress towards nuclear disarmament outside the treaty processPage 21
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Goal C: An End to U.S.-Supported Wars and Occupations Around the World

End all U.S. military operations in Afghanistan and PakistanPage 23
Seek real peace in Israel/PalestinePage 24
Defuse the U.S./Iran conflictPage 25
End the U.S. occupation of IraqPage 26
Support and strengthen the United NationsPage 27

Program Goal A: A Demilitarized Economy

Objective A-1: Cut the Military Budget by 25%

What We Need	What We Will Do
Public understanding of the problem	<p><i>National office:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop and/or identify educational materials for use of local groups • Include information on the military costs to the deficit and emphasize military cuts as deficit reduction
	<p><i>Affiliates and chapters:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organize educational events, such as house parties, film showings, teach-ins, tax day events • Develop coalitions with economic justice and green groups to publicize how military spending prevents use of money for other priorities • Develop localized flyers and other materials to show how much localities are paying for military spending • Include information on the military costs to the deficit and emphasize military cuts as deficit reduction
Congressional support for reduced military spending	<p><i>National office:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collaborate with partner groups on lobbying • Keep PA network apprised of Congressional activity • Send out e-mail alerts • Give PAC money only to candidates that commit to a reduction in the military budget • Develop a national coalition of mainstream advocacy groups (non-peace groups, such as labor, NAACP, etc.) to demand that Congress enact military spending reductions
	<p><i>Affiliates and chapters:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lobby on specific bills and resolutions • Hold state and local congressional delegations accountable for votes on relevant bills • Endorse and work to elect only those candidates who commit to a reduction in military spending • Develop local coalitions of mainstream advocacy groups to demand that Congress enact military spending reductions
Campaign finance reform	<p><i>National office:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collaborate with and support groups working on campaign finance reform as a primary mission
	<p><i>Affiliates and chapters:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collaborate with and support groups working on campaign finance reform as a primary mission and encourage them to include information on militarism in their work
<p>Partners: Friends Committee on National Legislation; Institute for Policy Studies/Foreign Policy in Focus; National Priorities Project; Project on Defense Alternatives; Center for Arms Control and Nonproliferation; Common Cause; War Resisters League; United for Peace and Justice; Greenpeace; Earth First; Environmental Defense Fund; Student Environmental Action Coalition; Union of Concerned Scientists; Worldwatch Institute; AARP.</p>	

Program Goal A: A Demilitarized Economy

Objective A-2: Reduce the number of U.S. foreign military bases by 30%

What We Need	What We Will Do
Public understanding of the costs of foreign bases, both in dollars and ill-will abroad	<p><i>National office:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Make educational resources available: either prepare new materials or use material from other organizations. • Raise the issue of bases in the work on Iraq and Afghanistan. • Develop and/or identify educational materials identifying ways to obtain national security other than through empire-building via foreign bases; disseminate materials. • Ask Congressional supporters of peace to request a CRS study showing benefits of closing bases and costs of maintaining them
	<p><i>Affiliates and chapters:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organize educational events, such as house parties, film showings, teach-ins, tax day events • Develop coalitions with mainstream groups for educational purposes • Develop localized flyers and other materials to show how much local communities are paying for military bases
Statements from military leadership	<p><i>National office:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Find out who has spoken out for such closures, if anyone. • Work with partners to develop strategy to get such statements. • As statements are available, release to the media and share with chapters, affiliates and members for their use.
	<p><i>Affiliates and chapters:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use any such statements as part of ongoing educational work and media efforts. • If local groups have connections with such people, pursue statements as well.
Solidarity with international campaign	<p><i>National office:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Connect with the international campaign to close U.S. bases in other countries. • When needed, lend support to country-specific campaigns. • Develop and/or help support a national coalition of peace groups to advocate for base closures • Keep chapters, affiliates and members informed
	<p><i>Affiliates and chapters:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Help build support for country-specific campaigns, when appropriate. • Write articles, op-eds, blogs, and letters to the editor
<p>Partners: Foreign Policy in Focus/Institute for Policy Studies; Project on Defense Alternatives; International Network for the Abolition of Foreign Military Bases; American Friends Service Committee</p>	

Baseline: Number of U.S. bases on foreign soil: approximately 1,000. Some U.S. bases are characterized as "lily-pad" -- very small. [Find out from the Department of Defense how many of our overseas bases have fewer than 100 and more than 100 military personnel, so that we can more precisely define this point.]

Program Goal A: A Demilitarized Economy

Objective A-3: Reduce the amount of the military budget that goes to contractors by 35%

What We Need	What We Will Do
Research and analysis on job conversion	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encourage and/or support analytical paper(s) on job conversion and widely disseminate findings • Convene a forum with key representatives of national union and national peace groups to address job conversion • Convene a forum with key representatives of national environmental groups and peace groups to address job conversion
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research local economy to see what and where military contractor jobs are located and local tax issues related to military contractors
National understanding of contracting issues and support for job conversion	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disseminate materials (developed in-house or by others) addressing the massive increase in contracting by the military • In collaboration with others, develop a media campaign on contracting and job conversion
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop local coalitions with labor groups focused on job conversion • Develop local coalitions with environmental groups focused on job Conversion • Hold educational meetings focused on contracting issues and job conversion
New laws and regulations addressing contracting issues	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • With partner groups, develop and promote a legislative agenda to reduce military contracting • Prepare a paper that shows annual total compensation of CEOs of top military contractors • Collaborate with partner groups on lobbying
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lobby on specific bills and resolutions • Hold state and local congressional delegations accountable for votes on relevant bills
<p>Partners: US Labor Against the War; SEIU; AFL-CIO; Council on Economic Priorities; Institute for Policy Studies; Greenpeace; Earth First; Environmental Defense Fund; Student Environmental Action Coalition; Union of Concerned Scientists; Worldwatch Institute; UFPJ; Common Cause; Public Citizen; PEW Charitable Trusts; U.S. PIRG; CORPWatch; Center for Corporate Policy; War Resisters League; Blackwater Watch; Brave New Foundation; Taxpayers for Common Sense.</p>	
<p>Baseline: Total contracting budget of the DoD, 2010: Total number military and military contractor jobs, 2010: Military contractor contributions to political parties and politicians, 2010: Average compensation of CEOs of the top 25 major defense contractors:</p>	

Program Goal A: A Demilitarized Economy

Objective A-4: Demilitarize public schools by increasing to 12 the number of states with legislation prohibiting the use of military testing for recruitment purposes.

What We Need	What We Will Do
State-based commitment to protect the privacy of students	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organize a series of national affiliate conference calls covering how to organize a coalition to support student privacy through passage of state-based legislation
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work to enact state legislation on Option 8 for ASVAB, modeled after Maryland’s 2010 law
School policy changes to reduce access of recruiters to students	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organize a series of national affiliate conference calls covering proven tactics that reduce the access recruiters have to students
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Obtain parental opt-out provisions in all local schools under the No Child Left Behind Act, to prevent recruiter access to private student contact information • Lobby the state superintendent of education to select Option 8 for school administration of the ASVAB test in all state schools
<p>Partners: National Network Opposing the Militarization of Youth; American Friends Service Committee; national PTA; Advancement Project; The Center for Community Change; National Indian Education Association; The Rural School and Community Trust; Education Justice Collaborative; Institute for Policy Studies; US Labor Against the War; Project on Youth and Nonmilitary Opportunities; Iraq Veterans Against the War;</p>	
<p>Baseline: Number of states with legislation mandating opt-out procedures for parents from NCLB, 2010: Number of states with legislation mandating option 8 for all schools for the ASVAB test, 2010: 1</p>	

Program Goal B: A Nuclear Weapons Free World

Objective B-1: Prevent “modernization” of the U.S. nuclear weapons production complex and upgrading of delivery systems

What We Need	What We Will Do
<p>“Modernization” seen as counter-productive to the pursuit of nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation, as well as hypocritical</p>	<p><i>National office:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop fact sheet and other messaging vehicles that opposes construction of new or expanded research, development and production facilities (especially those at Los Alamos and Oak Ridge), opposes life-extension programs for existing warheads, and opposes development of new nuclear weapons delivery systems and Platforms such as ICBMs, bombers and nuclear submarines • Develop targeted legislative campaign, focused on members of Congress who will see little benefit from modernization
	<p><i>Affiliates and chapters:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lobby Congress on the above matters in a targeted manner
<p>Annual campaigns focused on need to cut funding for “modernization”</p>	<p><i>National office:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop targeted public education effort, local and national coalition building, and legislative and budget campaigns focused on the President and members of Congress with emphasis on the House and Senate Armed Services Committees and Energy and Water Appropriations Subcommittees
	<p><i>Affiliates and chapters:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lobby Congress, organize public education campaigns, and work with partner groups
<p>Partners: Alliance for Nuclear Accountability, Nuclear Weapons Working Group, Campaign for a Nuclear Weapons Free World, Los Alamos Study Group.</p>	
<p>Baseline: Obama Administration has proposed over \$180 billion over the next decade in increased funding the nuclear weapons production complex and delivery systems (missiles, submarines, planes)</p>	

Program Goal B: A Nuclear Weapons Free World

Objective B-2: Ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty

What We Need	What We Will Do
Clarity on the benefits of the treaty	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop a target list of wavering senators. • Maintain communications with Administration officials on the feasibility of CTBT ratification
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Focus lobbying efforts on at least one wavering senator
Media campaign in support of ratification	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Generate media pressure in support of CTBT
Elite, grasstops and grassroots pressure in support of ratification	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work in coalition with colleagues and partners to press for ratification
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Generate elite, grasstops and grassroots pressure in support of ratification
Partners: Alliance for Nuclear Accountability, Nuclear Weapons Working Group, Campaign for a Nuclear Weapons Free World.	
Baseline: CTBT was signed by President Clinton in 1996. As of the end of 2010, the required 2/3 majority Senate needed for ratification is missing.	

Program Goal B: A Nuclear Weapons Free World

Objective B-3: Achieve Progress Toward Nuclear Disarmament Outside the Treaty Process

What We Need	What We Will Do
Consensus on what executive actions to advocate	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Confer with allies on options for executive actions to reduce nuclear dangers: de-alerting, removing tactical nuclear weapons from Europe, accelerating warhead dismantlement in accordance with existing treaties, put under international safeguards all plutonium and highly enriched uranium from weapons removed from service because of arms control treaties, making unilateral reductions in the nuclear stockpile, eliminating one leg of the nuclear triad, engage in clean-up of nuclear sites, support the Cooperative Threat Reduction Program • Advocate directly to the executive branch and via the media to promote the above objectives
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Help determine priority actions to advocate for
Grassroots education, organizing, media outreach	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide overall campaign strategy and coordination
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Build grassroots pressure • Support specific executive actions
<p>Partners: Alliance for Nuclear Accountability, Nuclear Weapons Working Group, Campaign for a Nuclear Weapons Free World.</p>	
<p>Baseline: From analysis of the Nuclear Posture review and other Administration statements, it appears that the Obama Administration has ruled out taking executive actions to reduce nuclear dangers.</p>	

Program Goal B: A Nuclear Weapons Free World

Objective B-4: Negotiate three international treaties to end the threat of nuclear war:

- A treaty for a Nuclear Weapons-Free Zone in the Middle East
- A treaty to abolish nuclear weapons worldwide
- A treaty to stop production of nuclear weapons-grade materials worldwide

What We Need	What We Will Do
A scenario of how these treaties will work for a safer world	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop and disseminate a list describing the dangers of nuclear weapons
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organize one or more events to highlight the dangers of nuclear weapons
National and international campaigns in support of these treaties	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop strategies for working with coalition partners and international diplomats in pursuit of these treaties
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Generate grassroots awareness of and support for each of these issues
A campaign orchestrated by NGOs and friendly governments, for a treaty to abolish nuclear weapons	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Confer with NGOs and interested governments
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Generate grassroots support for an international campaign for a treaty to abolish nuclear weapons
<p>Partners: Alliance for Nuclear Accountability, Nuclear Weapons Working Group, Campaign for a Nuclear Weapons free World, governments of Mexico, Germany, Canada, Chile, Poland, Turkey.</p>	
<p>Baseline: Conference for a Middle East Nuclear Free Zone to be held in 2012. Talks on a Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty are being held at the Conference on Disarmament. No talks are underway on a treaty to abolish nuclear weapons.</p>	

Program Goal C: An End to U.S.-Supported Wars and Occupations Around the World

Objective C-1: End all U.S. military operations in Afghanistan and Pakistan and support regional peace-making: bring home all U.S. military personnel and contractors from Afghanistan, close all U.S. military bases in Afghanistan, and contribute to the reconstruction of Afghanistan

What We Need	What We Will Do
Public demand to end these military operations	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop educational and organizing resources that address the costs (human and economic) of these operations and/or or distribute resources developed by other organizations. • Initiated a nationwide media campaign with emphasis on what local groups can do to access local media • Highlight specific atrocities when they occur
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Undertake educational projects that highlight costs (human and economic) of these military operations. • Organize local protests • Utilize local media
Congressional support for ending military operations	<i>National office</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work with partners in Washington, DC to identify members of Congress who are willing to speak out and initiate legislation • Keep chapters, affiliates and members informed about developments in Congress • Issue action alerts
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lobby members of Congress to end funding for this war • Activate members (and others) to expand pressure on Congress
Public support for reconstruction	<i>National office</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disseminate materials showing the costs of the war to ordinary Iraqis
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Educate communities on the costs of the war to Iraqis, through dissemination of materials, workshops and other educational efforts
<i>Partners:</i>	
<i>Baseline:</i>	

**Program Goal C: An End to U.S.-Supported Wars and Occupations
Around the World**

Objective C-2: Promote sustainable peace with justice in Israel/Palestine by supporting peacemakers in both communities and by pressing for an end to U.S. financial and military aid to the Israeli government until it complies with international law.

What We Need	What We Will Do
Greater understanding in the U.S. of the Israeli/Palestinian conflict	<p><i>National office:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disseminate materials that align with Peace Action’s goals and have been developed by affiliates and partner groups • Support policy initiatives of partner groups that align with these goals <p><i>Affiliates and chapters:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organize public meetings, seminars, etc. to educate ourselves and others about the conflict and about directions for peace with justice
Citizen action to end the occupation of Palestinian areas taken by military action in the 1967 war, to protect the human rights of Palestinians, and to end the dominance of AIPAC in Congress	<p><i>National office</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poll Peace Action members to understand, disseminate and support their actions in this area • Disseminate sample materials and resources for use by chapters and affiliates on a range of potential strategies, including citizen peacemaking, human rights work, and boycott/divestment • Work with affiliates and partner groups to support projects that align With Peace Action’s principles, goals and strategies • Collaborate with a broad range of groups within all faith communities and with Jewish and Palestinian groups as appropriate <p><i>Affiliates and chapters:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Disseminate sample materials and resources on a range of strategies • Work with partner groups to support projects that align with Peace Action’s principles, goals and strategies • Meet with congressional representatives to educate them, show grassroots support for these goals and provide a consistent peace and justice voice on the Middle East • Collaborate with a broad range of groups within all faith communities and with Jewish and Palestinian groups as appropriate
Political pressure on Congress to use financial pressure to move the Israeli government to comply with international law.	<p><i>National office:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support lobby efforts by partner groups by linking their work with core Peace Action goals <p><i>Affiliates and chapters:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide appropriate materials and other support to local partners who can educate local communities about congressional voting patterns and hold legislators accountable for their votes • Educate our members about the range of strategies that can help shift congressional support for financial aid to the Israeli government
Partners: U.S. Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation; Jewish Voice for Peace; Sabeel; Churches for Middle East Peace;AFSC; J Street; American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee; Tikkun; Rabbis for Human Rights	
Baseline: The U.S. Congress is uncritically supportive of the Israeli government, there are no significant consequences for the Israeli government when it violates human rights, Peace Action members have a growing interest in this area, the national office and most affiliates have little available resources in this area, there are multiple partners with which Peace Action can collaborate.	

Program Goal C: An End to U.S.-Supported Wars and Occupations Around the World

Objective C-3: Defuse the U.S./Iran conflict, as reflected in the creation of a regional security network with participation from all Middle East countries

What We Need	What We Will Do
Public support for diplomacy	<i>National Office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work with partners to develop alternatives to current U.S. policies, with focus on need for regional security network • Lobby Congress for increased resources for diplomacy
	<i>Affiliates and Chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organize educational events • Develop local grassroots coalitions to push for a new foreign policy and adequate funding for diplomacy as opposed to military intervention
New U.S. policy towards Iran	<i>National Office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monitor developments in U.S. policy towards Iran and lobby for alternative approaches. • Keep chapters, affiliates and members informed about U.S. and Iran. • Support a nuclear-free zone in the Middle East
	<i>Affiliates and Chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mobilize grassroots pressure on White House and Congress as needed. • Organize local public response to any threat of military action against Iran.
Partners: Friends Committee on National Legislation; National Iranian American Council; Institute for Policy Studies; Network of Spiritual Progressives	
Baseline:	

Program Goal C: An End to U.S.-Supported Wars and Occupations Around the World

Objective C-4: End the U.S. occupation of Iraq by the end of 2011: bring home all U.S. military personnel and all contractors, close all U.S. military bases in Iraq, ensure that the U.S. embassy in Iraq is not used as a tool of occupation, and contribute to the reconstruction of Iraq.

What We Need	What We Will Do
Public understanding of the financial and diplomatic costs of maintaining the occupation	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop and distribute tools to keep issue in the public eye – media tools, talking points for Congressional work, etc. • Monitor Congressional funding of the Iraq occupation and keep affiliates informed. • Develop and/or distribute work of others that addresses the diplomatic costs of the occupation
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use tools distributed by national office and share resources developed locally. • Work to keep Iraq in the local media
Political pressure to end the occupation	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collect and maintain information about U.S. military presence and contractors in Iraq • Work with partners to pressure Congress to stop funding the occupation
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maintain grassroots pressure on White House and Congress to end funding for occupation
<i>Partners:</i>	
<i>Baseline:</i>	

Program Goal C: An End to U.S.-Supported Wars and Occupations Around the World

Objective C-5: Support and strengthen the United Nations as a guarantor of international security, human rights and social progress

What We Need	What We Will Do
Public support for the United Nations	<i>National Office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Publicize the work of the United Nations via the International Committee of the PA Board • Participate in U.N. conferences and programs • Invite U.N. officials to speak at Peace Action events • Champion a shift of responsibility for ensuring international security, human rights and social progress from the U.S. government and NATO to the United Nations
	<i>Affiliates and Chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support the initiatives of the national office and partner groups at the state and local level that work on these ventures
Greater U.S. government support for the United Nations	<i>National Office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support the initiatives of partner groups that lobby for full payment of U.S. dues to the United Nations, press for greater U.S. participation in the humanitarian work of the United Nations, and press the U.S. government to support strengthened authority for the United Nations
	<i>Affiliates and Chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Support the initiatives of partner groups at the state and local level that work toward the above ventures
Partners:	
Baseline:	

Strategy Tables

Growth, Fund Raising and Coalition Building

Growing the Peace Movement: Road to Success

Growth Goal A: A Bigger, More Powerful Organization

Increase contributing members or donors to the national organization by 25%	Page 29
Increase the number of affiliates by 5 and the number of members of affiliates and chapters by 25%	Page 30
Build the diversity of Peace Action’s membership.	Page 31

Growth Goal B: A Financially Viable Organization

Increase major donor contributions to the national organization by 20%.	Page 32
Organize 12 mutual fundraising efforts between the national organization and affiliates.	Page 33
Build an operating reserve equal to three months of operating expenses.	Page 34

Growth Goal C: A Strong Grassroots Movement, United in the Need to Convert Military Expenditures to Funding for Human Needs

Develop new partnerships between Peace Action and 10 national advocacy groups.	Page 35
Develop 15 state coalitions focused on reductions to the military budget.	Page 36

Growth Goal D. Exceptional Online Visibility

Provide all affiliates with Salsa tools and Peace Press websites.	Page 37
Conduct 5 on-line, campaign-based membership drives.	Page 38

Growth Goal A: A Bigger, More Powerful Organization

Objective A-1: Increase contributing members or donors to the national organization by 25%.

What We Need	What We Will Do
Better use of technology for member growth.	<i>National office</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Give priority to development of web-based and e-mail recruitment • Upgrade technology and provide staff training • Link traditional data base to an online data base • Explore use of predictive analytics (studying the characteristics of existing members) • Expand participation in social networking sites
	<i>Affiliates and chapters</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Give priority to development of web-based and e-mail recruitment • Upgrade technology as needed • Upgrade data bases as needed • Explore use of predictive analytics • Encourage participation in social networking sites
Integration of methods for increasing membership.	<i>National office</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use phone, mail and foot canvass methods to complement technology-based recruitment
	<i>Affiliates and chapters</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Use phone, mail and foot canvass methods to complement technology-based recruitment
Planning for growth.	<i>National office</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Set annual objectives for national member/donor growth
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establish objectives for member growth
Baseline: 8,800 contributing members in 2010	

Growth Goal A: A Bigger, More Powerful Organization

Objective A-2: Increase the number of affiliates by 5 and the number of members of affiliates and chapters by 25%

What We Need	What We Will Do
Interest among peace groups in joining Peace Action and interest among individuals in organizing Peace Action affiliates	<i>National office</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Engage in outreach to peace organizations in parts of the country where Peace Action lacks affiliates • Develop a Peace Action "Sponsors" list of prominent individuals that would raise our profile • Distribute the brochure "There are lots of good reasons to affiliate with Peace Action!" • Encourage individuals to organize affiliates in areas where there is a substantial Peace Action membership but where there are no affiliates
	<i>Affiliates and chapters</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encourage organizations in local geographic areas to join the Peace Action network, either as Peace Action affiliates, chapters, or Organizational Members
Strategies for increasing the membership of existing Peace Action affiliates and chapters	<i>National office</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide substantial membership development support to one affiliate each year • Provide membership brochures that include the "Sponsors" list, material on peace issues, and speakers to affiliates and chapters
	<i>Affiliates and chapters</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Share with grassroots network successful membership-building initiatives • Utilize the following methods: appoint a membership director; encourage non-members attending Peace Action events or on the mailing list to join; table with attractive membership brochures at Peace Action and other events; place a membership form in the chapter or affiliate newsletter; use core activists for a recruitment campaign; include a "Join Peace Action" link on the chapter or affiliate web site; and provide a limited income/student membership • Retain current members by using the following methods: stay in regular contact with them through a newsletter, announcements of events, and social gatherings; mail them an annual membership renewal form, along with a cover letter outlining Peace Action accomplishments over the past year; if they do not renew, follow up repeatedly
Baseline: Number of affiliates: Five above current number. Number of members: 91,000	

Growth Goal A: A Bigger, More Powerful Organization

Objective A-3: Build the diversity of Peace Action’s membership

What We Need	What We Will Do
<p>Knowledge on the part of local organizers about how to increase diversity</p>	<p><i>National office:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Display “best diversity practices” on web site
	<p><i>Affiliates and chapters:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Share with grassroots network practices, programs and activities that have attracted participation by youth and racial/ethnic minorities
<p>Partners: Leadership of people of color organizations and activists in Peace Action and in the peace and justice movement at large.</p>	
<p>Baseline: Peace Action is too old, too white, and non-diverse in other ways.</p>	

Growth Goal B: A Financially Viable Organization

Objective B-1: Increase major donor contributions to the national organization by 20%

What We Need	What We Will Do
Greater cultivation of and more communication with top tier donors	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improved cultivation materials • Adhere to a tighter schedule for quarterly newsletter • Greater use of phoning to build ongoing relationship • Increased tracking and responsiveness to donor preferences • Greater attention to ‘mail only’ major donors • Greater use of conference calls with ‘experts’ and ‘report backs’ to keep donors engaged
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i>
Increased use of online list to recruit new sustainers and major donors	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Upgrade technology and data base • Micro-targeting of online list to identify and solicit prospects
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i>
Increase direct contact with top tier donors for cultivation and solicitation	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase personal visits to major donors • Organize and promote major donor attendance to events as opportunities arise • Improve tracking of donors annual giving preferences to expand prospect upgrade pools
Testimonials and videos from prominent individuals	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reconstitute advisory board • Outreach to prominent potential spokespersons • Research avenues for assistance in production of videos
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i>
Partners: Board fundraising committee	
Baseline: Donors that contribute over \$250/year: 1,100. Total donors to the national organization: 9,000	

Growth Goal B: A Financially Viable Organization

Objective B-2: Organize 12 mutual fundraising efforts between the national organization and affiliates and encourage affiliates to contribute additional voluntary gifts

What We Need	What We Will Do
Agreement from affiliates and national office on coordinated fundraising	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Initiate a “dues check-off” option in which affiliate members add a gift for the national organization • Establish reciprocal e-mail membership appeals
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Send appeals to member/donor lists
Technology upgrades to facilitate shared fundraising	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Investigate technologies
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i>
Understanding on the part of affiliates of national needs	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Confer with interested affiliates
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seek agreement for join events and/or voluntary contributions
Partners: Affiliates and chapters.	
Baseline: A few affiliates sent fundraising appeals to their lists in 2010. There were 5 coordinated fundrais events at the 50 th anniversary.	

Growth Goal B: A Financially Viable Organization

Objective B-3: Build an operating reserve equal to three months of operating expense

What We Need	What We Will Do
An understanding by staff and Board of the importance of an operating reserve	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Build into each annual budget a reserve equal to two weeks of operating expenses • Carefully monitor dues-paying responsibilities of affiliates/chapters • Use some variant of the dues check-off plan for the general membership as initiated in late 2010
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pay annual dues in full • Participate in national revenue-raising initiatives
<i>Partners:</i>	
<i>Baseline:</i>	

Growth Goal C: A Strong Grassroots Movement, United in the Need to Convert Military Expenditures to Funding for Human Needs

Objective C:1: Develop new partnerships between Peace Action and 10 national advocacy groups

What We Need	What We Will Do
Research on appropriate groups	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identify possible national groups • Seek information on each group • Select one at a time as a focus
	<i>Affiliates and chapters</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identify local groups, corresponding to national level ones • Research history, interests, leads to make personal contacts
Personal relationships with leadership of groups	<i>National office</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meet with leaders of key groups • Identify overlap of interests • Identify ways to provide mutual support for primary goals • Engage personally with leaders
	<i>Affiliates and chapters</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Meet with leaders of key groups • Identify overlap of interests • Identify ways to provide mutual support for primary goals • Engage personally with leaders
Collaborative projects	<i>National office</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Offer assistance, where possible • Link to organizations' Web sites • Share resources • Develop new resources, targeted to audience of cooperating group
	<i>Affiliates and chapters</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Offer assistance, where possible • Provide links to organizations' Web site • Share resources • Develop new resources, targeted to audience of cooperating group
Partners:	
Baseline:	

Growth Goal C: A Strong Grassroots Movement, United in the Need to Convert Military Expenditures to Funding for Human Needs

Objective C-2: Develop 15 state coalitions focused on reductions to the military budget

What We Need	What We Will Do
Technical assistance on coalition-building	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide training at Organizers’ Meetings • Provide regular telephone conference calls devoted to coalition building • Develop and disseminate a list of good trainers, who might be able to travel to affiliates and chapters • Offer workshops at national conferences
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Share experiences on both successful and unsuccessful strategies • Offer workshops at national conferences
Written resources for use in coalition-building	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide template documents that affiliates and chapters can use • Disseminate documents developed by others to affiliates and chapters • Encourage affiliates and chapters to share documents, for example through a special page on the Web site
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Share materials that are developed locally with the PA network
Collaboration structures	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide staff support to the New Priorities Network • Develop partnerships with national organizations that have local affiliates and encourage the national organization to support the initiative
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Proactively join local coalitions and groups, for example, joining the Board of a local USAction affiliate
<p>Partners: New Priorities Network to Fund Our Communities; Friends Committee on National Legislation; U.S. Labor Against the War; United for Peace and Justice; USAction; American Friends Service Committee; Institute for Policy Studies; National Council of Churches.</p>	
<p>Baseline: Two state-wide coalitions, in Maine and Massachusetts</p>	

Growth Goal D. Exceptional Online Visibility

Objective D-1: Provide all affiliates with Salsa tools and Peace Press websites

What We Need	What We Will Do
Technical assistance for affiliates and chapters on new technologies	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Establish a working Technology Group where webmasters and developers can share technical resources, solutions and ideas
	<i>Affiliates and chapters</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Ensure participation of webmaster in Technology Group
Baseline:	

Growth Goal D. Exceptional Online Visibility

Objective D-2: Conduct 5 on-line, campaign-based membership drives

What We Need	What We Will Do
Improved use of technology for event planning	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enable event planners to invite and register attendees using Peace Action's Salsa tools • Ensure that all events are connected to social media websites • Provide all registered attendees the option to join Peace Action's e-mail list
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i>
Technical assistance in event planning	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Create a membership packet (built from existing resources) to be distributed by affiliates and supporters at events •
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i>
Improved follow-up with contacts	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Target those who become members with targeted communications, corresponding to their interests, using Salsa tools
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Target those who become members with targeted communications, corresponding to their interests, using Salsa tools • Through pre- and post-event surveying, track participation at events and leverage statistics into increased political power and media appearances
<i>Partners:</i>	
<i>Baseline:</i>	

Strategy Tables

Governance and Organizational Design

Effective Leadership: Working Smart

Goal A. Strong Collaboration within the Peace Action Network

Improve sharing of resources within the Peace Action network.	Page 40
Increase affiliate participation in national planning.	Page 41

Goal B. Effective Organizational Planning at the National Level

Set priorities and engage only in those activities that can be sustained with modest revenue growth.	Page 42
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Goal C. A Healthy, High-Functioning PAEF Board

Recruit and retain at least 12 board members from diverse backgrounds and with different skill sets desirable for the organization.	Page 43
Establish an advisory committee consisting of emeritus board members.	Page 44
Ensure that all board members adhere to the PAEF Letter of Understanding.	Page 45

Goal D. A Healthy, High-Functioning Peace Action Board

Develop criteria for recruiting new board members who can contribute to the diversity and skills of the board.	Page 46
Ensure that all Board members carry out the responsibilities as set forth in the Board Member Agreement	Page 47

Governance Goal A. Strong Collaboration within the Peace Action Network

Objective A-1: Share resources within the Peace Action network

What We Need	What We Will Do
Affiliate to affiliate sharing	<i>National office:</i>
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Affiliates share their member lists with national. • Affiliates share campaign plans, timelines and goals with national and c affiliates.
National publications to foster sharing	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Produce publications for affiliate sharing
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i>
Pooling of resources	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provide guidance on how resources can be shared
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i>
<i>Partners:</i>	
<i>Baseline:</i>	

Governance Goal A. Strong Collaboration within the Peace Action Network

Objective A-2: Increase affiliate participation in national planning

What We Need	What We Will Do
Information on how affiliates would like to be more engaged in national decision-making	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conduct a brief survey of affiliates to identify their ideas about increased participation in national Board meetings, organizers meetings and the annual meeting process.
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Designate someone to complete the survey and ensure that it is returned
Greater participation in existing methods of decision-making and communication	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encourage participation in national Board meetings held by telephone for those affiliates that don't have a representative who will travel to face-to-face meetings.
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensure participation of at least one person from each affiliate/chapter in Friday strategy calls
<i>Partners:</i>	
<i>Baseline:</i>	

Governance Goal B. Effective Organizational Planning at the National Level

Objective B-1: Set priorities and engage only in those activities that can be sustained with modest revenue growth

What We Need	What We Will Do
Appropriate resources for planned activities	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Continue to make use of part-time employees, interns and consultants to complement the work of the permanent staff. • Limit major work to first-tier program areas
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seek to hire at least one full-time employee • Make use of part-time employees, interns, consultants and volunteers • Limit major work to first-tier program areas
Collaboration within the network	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Facilitate partnerships among affiliates and chapters to undertake activities in first and second-tier program areas.
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participate in partnerships among affiliates and chapters
<i>Partners:</i>	
<i>Baseline:</i>	

Governance Goal C. A Healthy, High-Functioning PAEF Board

Objective C-1: Recruit and retain at least 12 board members from diverse backgrounds and with different skill sets desirable for the organization

What We Need	What We Will Do
Information on diversity needs	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop criteria for ideal PAEF Board
	<i>Board Committees:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nominations Committee to identify skills and attributes needed on the Board
Information on prospective candidates	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Executive director to recommend candidates to the Nominations Committee
	<i>Board Committees:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Board members to recommend candidates to the Nominations Committee • Nomination committee to contact prospective candidates
<i>Partners:</i>	
<i>Baseline:</i>	

Governance Goal C. A Healthy, High-Functioning PAEF Board

Objective C-2: Establish an advisory committee consisting of emeritus board members

What We Need	What We Will Do
Commitment to utilizing the collective wisdom of individuals who have served the PAEF Board in the past	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Compile a list of potential emeritus Board members for an advisory committee
	<i>Board Committees:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nominations Committee to review the list of names submitted by staff and others and contact prospective candidates
<i>Partners:</i>	
<i>Baseline:</i>	

Governance Goal C. A Healthy, High-Functioning PAEF Board

Objective C-3: Ensure that all board members adhere to the PAEF Letter of Understanding

What We Need	What We Will Do
Compliance among all Board members of their obligations	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Monitor the performance of Board members in the following areas and lapses to the Board president: • Participation in Board conference calls and meetings • Service on at least one Board committee • Make an annual contribution to and/or raise funds for PAEF at a level of personal significance
	<i>Board President:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Work with individual Board members who are not adhering to the PAEF Letter of Understanding to bring them into compliance.
<i>Partners:</i>	
<i>Baseline:</i>	

Governance Goal D. A Healthy, High-Functioning Peace Action Board

Objective D-1: Develop criteria for recruiting new Board members who can contribute to the diversity and skill sets of the Board

What We Need	What We Will Do
A realistic assessment of what we can do on Board diversity	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Task the Operations Committee to review the Bylaws for a possible rewrite of diversity provisions • Display “best diversity practices” on the Web site
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Share with one another successful diversity-building initiatives • Strengthen outreach to own members to fill leadership positions • Encourage SPAN members to participate on the national board
Information on prospective candidates to fill needed skill sets	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identify areas in which Board members are needed to fill gaps • Identify potential Board members from other organizations that broadly share Peace Action’s goals
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Factor needed skill sets when electing representatives to the national Board
<i>Partners:</i>	
<i>Baseline:</i>	

Governance Goal D. A Healthy, High-Functioning Peace Action Board

Objective D-2: Ensure that all board members carry out the responsibilities set forth in the Board Member Agreement

What We Need	What We Will Do
An understanding of the Board Member Agreement and monitoring to see that it is carried out	<i>National office:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Review the Board Member Agreement at the first annual Board meeting to instill in each Board member what it means to serve on the Board (set policy, raise money, etc.) • Stress the financial obligations of each Board member
A well-functioning, robust committee system	<i>National office:</i>
	<i>Board Co-Chairs:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Periodically review the committees to determine if needs are being met • Assign each Board member to at least one, but preferably two, committees • Restore a prior requirement that each committee complete an annual workplan
	<i>Affiliates and chapters:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When feasible, encourage members to serve on national Board committees
<i>Partners:</i>	
<i>Baseline:</i>	

Background Statements for Program Objectives

Goal A: A Demilitarized Economy

Cut the military budgetPage 49
Reduce the number of U.S. foreign military basesPage 50
Reduce military contracting	Page 54
Demilitarize public schoolsPage 59

Goal B: A Nuclear Weapons-Free World

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Goal C: An End to U.S.-Supported Wars and Occupations Around the World

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Goal A: A Demilitarized Economy

Objective A-1: Cut the Military Budget

The U.S. spends far more on the military than any other country in the world, as shown in figure 1.

The U.S. also spends a disproportionate amount of the total discretionary budget on the military, as shown in figure 2. The Obama budget for FY 2011 allocates 58% of discretionary funding to the military, and if new supplemental funding bills for the war in Afghanistan are requested during FY 2011, as seems likely, that percentage will increase.⁴

Military spending rose greatly from 2001 through 2010, and it continues to rise under the Obama Administration, as shown in figure 3. The Project on Defense Alternatives estimates that, by a substantial margin, a two-term Obama Administration, on its present course, will allocate the greatest amount (in constant dollars) to the Pentagon in any eight years since 1946 – a period encompassing the Korean, Vietnam, and Cold Wars.⁵

It is difficult to determine total military expenditures because of the manner in which the budget is presented. There is the Pentagon spending of some \$880 billion; secret black programs (about \$70 bn); military aid to countries like Israel, Egypt and Pakistan; nuclear weapons in the Department of Energy; and \$75 billion for 16 intelligence agencies employing 200,000 people. Because different budget analysts use different assumptions, estimates of total military spending differ. Many contend that the total amount, if all categories are included, is now over a trillion dollars annually. But whether or not their numbers are the same, budget analysts agree that military spending dwarfs any other category of the discretionary budget.

While military spending is extraordinarily high by any criteria, “soft power,” such as for diplomacy, is grossly underfunded. Amazingly, the U.S. has more military band members than diplomats.⁶ Yet diplomacy and development are much less expensive in the long run, both in lives and dollars, than military action that would otherwise be employed.

By spending so much on the military, other important sectors that are key to the future of our nation, such as education, health, infrastructure repair, and green energy, lack adequate funding; these are crowded out by military spending. At the same time, military spending is increasing the debt to unsustainable levels.

How much should we aim for, in cutting the military budget? Historian Andrew Bacevich suggests that we reduce the U.S. military budget to a level that does not exceed the combined military spending of all ten of the next highest-spending countries in the world. Doing so would lead to about a 31% reduction in U.S. military spending.⁷

It is time to rein in the military budget and reorder our priorities.

⁴ National Priorities Project, President’s Budget FY 2011:
http://www.nationalpriorities.org/Presidents_Budget_FY2011

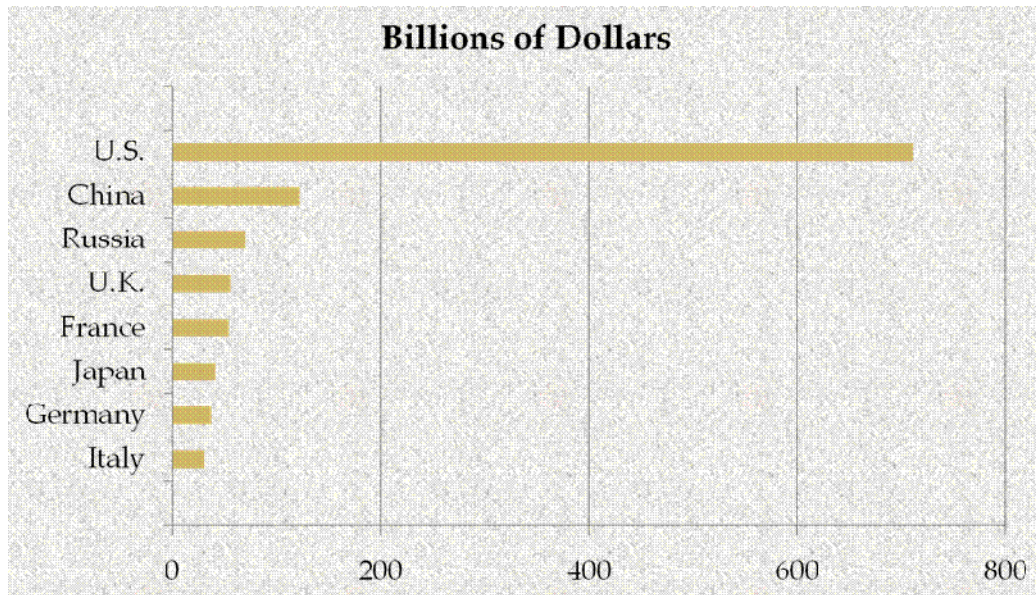
⁵ Project on Defense Alternatives, Trillions to Burn: <http://www.comw.org/pda/1002BudgetSurge.html>

⁶ Friends Committee on National Legislation: Prevent War, Three Things Congress Can Do Now:
http://www.fcnl.org/pdfs/ppdc/preventwar_3things.pdf

⁷ Andrew Bacevich, *The New American Militarism*, P. 215

Figure 1

**U.S. Military Spending vs. Other Countries,
In Rank Order, FY 2009**



Source: Data from Center for Arms Control and Nonproliferation

Figure 2

**Administration Budget Proposal, FY 2011
Discretionary Spending**

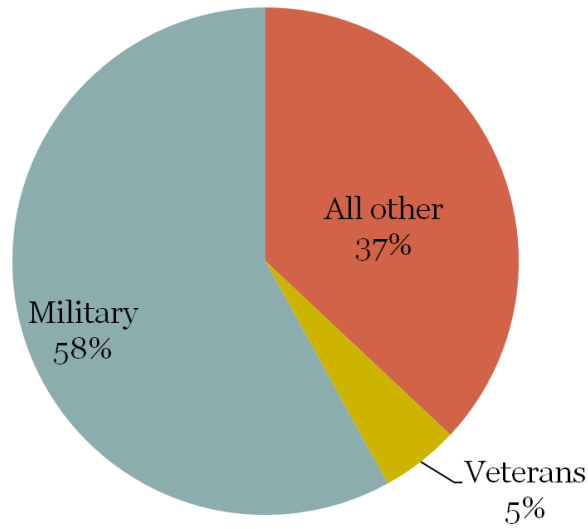
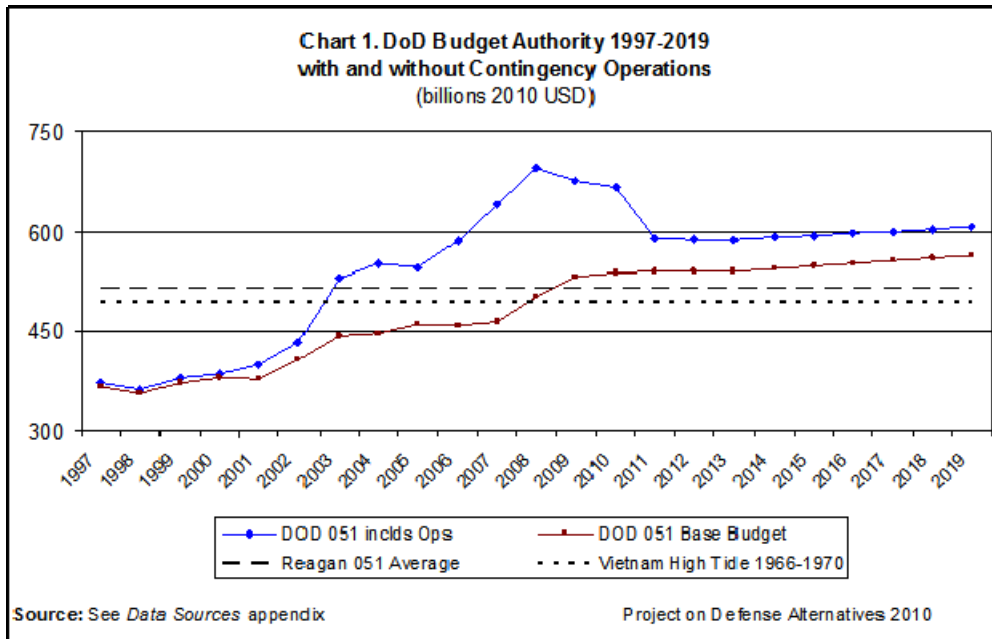


Figure 3

Department of Defense Budget Authority



Goal A: A Demilitarized Economy

Objective A-2: Reduce the Number of Foreign Military Bases

Our own country was created partly in opposition to the presence of foreign military bases. The Declaration of Independence criticizes the British “for quartering large bodies of armed troops among us” and “for protecting them . . . from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States.”

And yet, today, we are doing exactly what we objected to the British doing—and we are doing it on a world-wide scale.

The U.S. maintains about 1,000 foreign military bases,⁸ costing taxpayers an estimated \$250 billion per year. In fact, 95% of all the military bases on another country’s soil are U.S. bases. Figure 4 shows the locations of some of these bases.

The presence of U.S. bases often infuriates local populations. Soldiers not infrequently go off the bases and behave in ways that are counter to local customs, and sometimes they commit crimes, such as the rape of a young girl in Japan a couple of years ago. The standard U.S. agreements with host countries that prevent service members from being tried for crimes in these countries can lead to intense anger by the local people, just as similar policies helped lead to the American Revolution against the British.

The bases generate pollution, confiscate land, and serve as a daily reminder of foreign control. By adding to the number of our enemies, these bases arguably make us less safe, rather than safer. It was, after all, the presence of U.S. military bases in Saudi Arabia that inflamed Osama bin Ladin enough to inspire his battle against the U.S.

Chalmers Johnson wrote in 2004, “Once upon a time, you could trace the spread of imperialism by counting up colonies. America’s version of the colony is the military base.”⁹

The U.S. does not need to garrison the planet, if “defense” is the aim of our foreign policy. But the presence of so many bases supports the view that the primary goal of U.S. foreign policy is “global power projection,” another term for empire.

The U.S. neither needs nor can afford a worldwide empire. It is time to drastically cut the number of foreign U.S. military bases.

⁸ Officially, the Pentagon counts 865 base sites, but this number omits all our bases in Iraq and Afghanistan, as well as some other secret bases. So, many people believe that the correct number is about 1,000. See David Vine, “Too Many Overseas Bases,” *Foreign Policy in Focus*, Feb. 2009, http://www.fpif.org/articles/too_many_overseas_bases

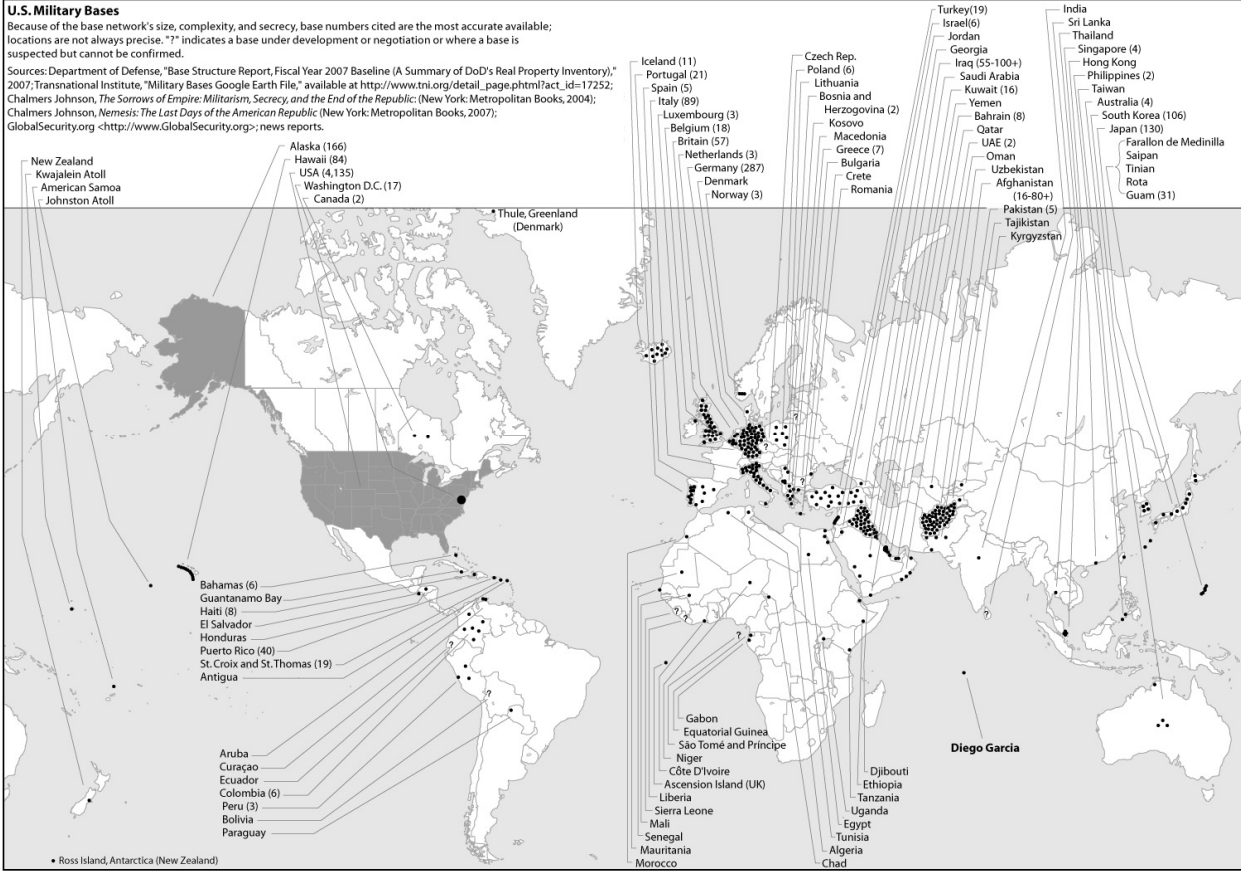
⁹ Chalmers Johnson, *America’s Empire of Bases*.
http://www.tomdispatch.com/post/1181/chalmers_johnson_on_garrisoning_the_planet

Figure 4

U.S. Military Bases

Because of the base network's size, complexity, and secrecy, base numbers cited are the most accurate available; locations are not always precise. "?" indicates a base under development or negotiation or where a base is suspected but cannot be confirmed.

Sources: Department of Defense, "Base Structure Report, Fiscal Year 2007 Baseline (A Summary of DoD's Real Property Inventory)," 2007; Transnational Institute, "Military Bases Google Earth File," available at http://www.tni.org/detail_page.php?htmlfact_id=17252; Chalmers Johnson, *The Sorrows of Empire: Militarism, Secrecy, and the End of the Republic*; (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2004); Chalmers Johnson, *Nemesis: The Last Days of the American Republic*; (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2007); GlobalSecurity.org <<http://www.GlobalSecurity.org>>; news reports.



Goal A: A Demilitarized Economy

Objective A-3: Reduce Military Contracting

Contracting out military tasks is not new, but it has reached unheard of heights today. Abraham Lincoln identified problems related to war contracting in 1864:

As a result of the war, corporations have been enthroned, and an era of corruption in high places will follow, and the money power of the country will endeavor to prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people until all wealth is aggregated in a few hands and the Republic is destroyed.

Contractors have been employed in all wars that the U.S. has engaged in. However, today they are used so extensively that we could almost say that we have outsourced war. In both Iraq and Afghanistan, the U.S. has frequently had more contractors in-country than troops. Figure 4 shows the number of contractors compared to troops in Afghanistan from March of 2008 to June of 2009. The Congressional Research Service reported that the percent of contractors in Afghanistan in 2009 “represented the highest recorded percentage of contractors used by the Defense Department in any conflict in the history of the United States.”¹⁰ The contractor surge is not restricted to the war zones, though. It is throughout the military. Since the late 1990s, Department of Defense contractor spending has risen by more than 160% in real terms.¹¹

Approximately three million people are estimated to be employed in military-related contractor jobs, distributed all over the U.S. The potential for loss of military contractor jobs has been a huge factor in Congressional opposition to cutting military spending. Alain C. Enthoven, an economist and former Pentagon official, once said, “*The ideal weapons system is built in 435 Congressional districts and it doesn’t matter whether it works or not.*”

An example is reflected in the history of the F-29, a very expensive plane manufactured by Lockheed Martin. The Pentagon tried to kill the F-29 for several years, as the plane had no useful military purpose, but Congress always objected. In 2009, the Obama administration made a major effort to defund the F-29. As part of its lobby effort to continue its lucrative contract, Lockheed Martin placed several full page ads in the Washington Post during the F-29 debate; the ads listed every Congressional district in the country, and for each district, Lockheed Martin identified the number of jobs the company claimed would be lost if the F-29 was not funded.

The argument is always made by weapons manufacturers and other military contractors to members of Congress that their district will lose jobs if weapon systems and other contracts are not funded—and that those lost jobs will lead to the member of Congress losing his or her seat. The geographic distribution of military contractor jobs, coupled with lobbying by contractors, is a formidable obstacle to reducing military expenditures. However, the military should not be viewed as a welfare system, and the nation has many needs that, if funded, would also create jobs and would do far more to improve our economy and our security than does military spending.

¹⁰ Congressional Research Service, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/R40764.pdf>

Department of Defense Contractors in Iraq and Afghanistan: Background and Analysis, Dec. 2009, Moshe Schwartz.

¹¹ Project on Defense Alternatives: <http://www.comw.org/pda/1002BudgetSurge.html>

According to a study by the Center for Economic and Policy Research, increased spending on the military relative to other parts of the economy leads to:

- Higher unemployment
- Higher interest rates
- More inflation¹²

Unsurprisingly then, when economists at the University of Massachusetts compared an equal amount of money spent by government in different ways, they found that substantially more jobs are created in sectors such as education, health care, and clean energy than are created by military spending, as shown in figure 6.¹³ In addition, these non-military jobs produce long-term benefits to the economy and to our security that are not produced by military spending.

We face extraordinarily serious economic and security challenges due to climate change and peak oil. Pollin and Wicks-Lim of the Political and Economic Research Institute examined six green job-creation strategies that would help reduce global warming while at the same time reducing our reliance on fossil fuels.¹⁴ The strategies they examined are: building retrofitting, mass transit, energy-efficient automobiles, wind power, solar power, and cellulosic biomass fuels. They showed that the vast majority of jobs associated with these six green strategies are in the same areas of employment that people already work in today, in every region and state of the country. Constructing wind farms creates jobs for sheet metal workers, machinists and truck drivers, among many others. Increasing the energy efficiency of buildings through retrofitting relies, among others, on roofers, insulators, and building inspectors. Investing in such jobs on a large scale would reduce our need for oil, in addition to addressing climate change.

Another dire national problem that has serious economic and security implications is the failing infrastructure of the U.S. The American Society of Civil Engineers gives the nation a grade of “D” on the state of its infrastructure and estimates that the U.S. needs to spend approximately \$1.1 trillion in infrastructure repair and replacement. The assessment found the worst deficiencies related to drinking water, wastewater, inland waterways, roads, and levees.¹⁵ Fixing our infrastructure would create hundreds of thousands of jobs, while enhancing future output.

Thus, it is not true that we need military spending for jobs and to keep the economy humming. We can have more jobs in other sectors for the same amount of money that we spend creating military-related jobs, but we will be spending that money on jobs that will provide real security for us—protection from climate change, from reliance on fossil fuels, and from deteriorating roads, levees, and water pipes, and for community and family needs, such as quality education for our children.

¹² Dean Baker, The Economic Impacts of the Iraq War and Higher Military Spending, The Center for Economic and Policy Research, May 2007: http://www.cepr.net/documents/publications/military_spending_2007_05.pdf

¹³ Robert Pollin and Heidi Garrett-Peltier, “The U.S. Employment Effects of Military and Domestic Spending Priorities,” Political Economy Research Institute, U. of Mass., Oct. 9, 2009: <http://www.ips-dc.org/reports/071001-jobcreation.pdf>

¹⁴ “Job Opportunities for the Green Economy: A State-by-State Picture of Occupations that Gain from Green Investments,” Robert Pollin & Jeannette Wicks-Lim, Political Economy Research Institute University of Massachusetts, Amherst, 2008.

¹⁵ Report Card for America’s Infrastructure, American Society of Civil Engineers: <http://www.infrastructurereportcard.org/>

To improve our economy overall, while solving other problems and generating the most jobs, we should fund investments in sustainable energy, in rebuilding the nation's failing infrastructure, and in human needs.

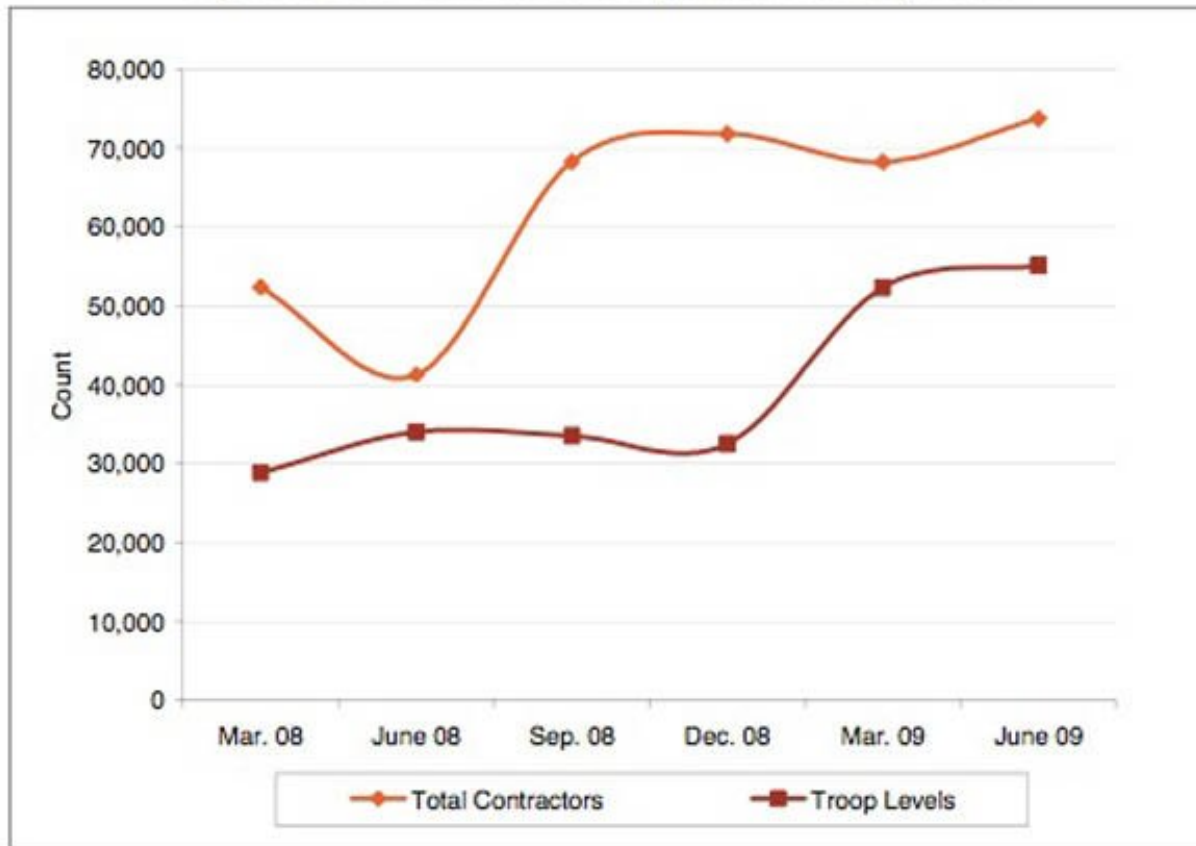
To finance such job-creation, we must scale back military contracting. In the process, we will address some of the deleterious effects of huge scale military contracting, including these:

- Powerful companies promote war because it is profitable, not because of the interests of the nation, leading the U.S. into unnecessary conflicts.
- When wars are fought largely by mercenaries, the American people tend to be more apathetic about military activities, and democracy suffers and new wars become more likely.
- The incentive of military contractors is to maximize profit, and not infrequently maximizing profit leads to actions that undermine the nation's and the military's goals.
- Oversight of military contractors is negligible, and contractors often do poor jobs, costing lives and money.
- Cost-plus contracts, the most common type of contract in the DoD, encourages waste and unnecessary spending, depriving other sectors of our economy of much-needed funds.
- War profiteers corrupt the political system with the immense amounts of money that they channel to politicians and the political parties through campaign contributions, election ads, and lobbying.

In short, because of the outsourcing of war and the concomitant political power of war profiteers, national decision-making about war and military spending has become distorted. Moreover, we are paying for things we do not need and paying too much for things we do need.

Figure 5

Figure 5. DOD Contractors in Afghanistan vs. Troop Levels

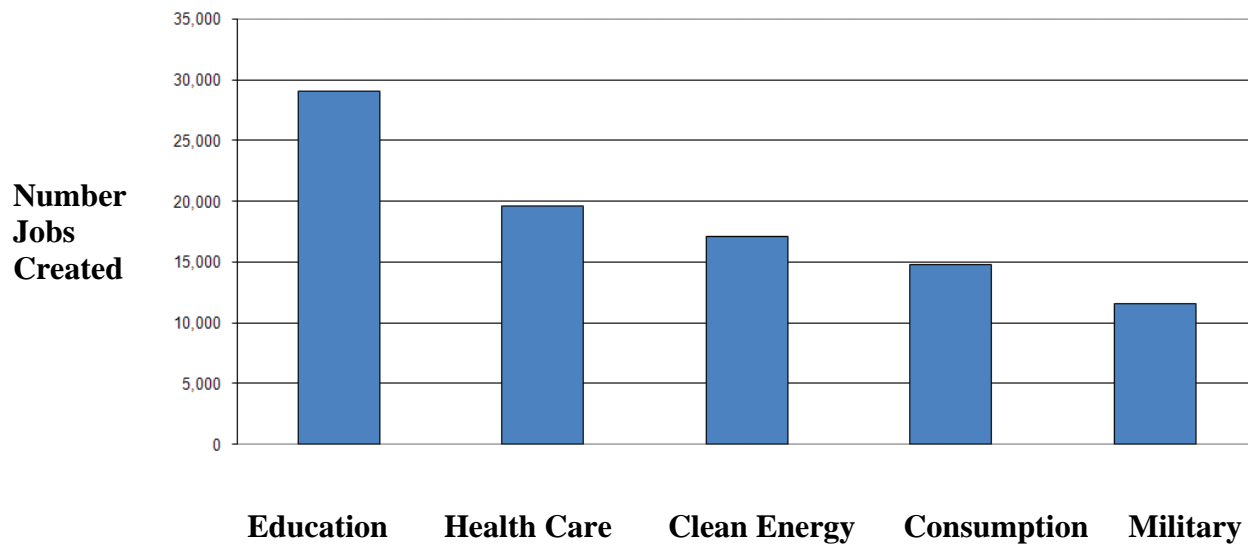


Source: CENTCOM Quarterly Census Reports; *Troop Levels in the Afghan and Iraq Wars, FY2001-FY2012: Cost and Other Potential Issues*, by Amy Belasco; Joint Staff, Joint Chiefs of Staff, "Boots on the Ground" monthly reports to Congress.

CRS

Source: Congressional Research Service, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/R40764.pdf>
Department of Defense Contractors in Iraq and Afghanistan: Background and Analysis, Dec. 2009, Moshe Schwartz.

Figure 6
U.S. Job Creation with \$1 Billion Spending



Source: Robert Pollin and Heidi Garrett-Peltier , “The U.S. Employment Effects of Military and Domestic Spending Priorities ,” Political Econom

Goal A: A Demilitarized Economy

Objective A-4: Demilitarize public schools by increasing to 12 the number of states with legislation prohibiting the use of military testing for recruitment purposes.

The military became a “volunteer” organization in 1973 due to successful activism against the draft, but it is important to consider what “volunteer” means in relation to enlistment. The Pentagon claims, “We are an all-volunteer force and as such, our demographics reflect who’s choosing to serve.”¹⁶ Yet enlistment is sometimes a last resort for those who “choose to serve,” with recruits consisting overwhelmingly of those young people who lack employment opportunities and the means to finance their education.¹⁷ The National Priorities Project found in a 2008 study that low- to middle-income neighborhoods are over-represented among new recruits.¹⁸ Clearly, the military finds it easiest to recruit where there are few other opportunities for young people, and the most efficient way to meet recruitment goals is to work through the schools.

To target high school students for recruitment efforts, the military uses personal information obtained from schools as a result of provisions of the No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) and through the Armed Services Vocational Aptitude Battery (ASVAB), a test primarily given in schools.

The No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act includes a provision that states, “Each local educational agency receiving assistance under this Act shall provide, on a request made by military recruiters or an institution of higher education, access to secondary school students names, addresses, and telephone listings.”¹⁹ This means that student contact information is typically sent to the Pentagon, without parental consent.

The NCLB includes a provision that makes it possible for parents to request that a student’s information not be sent to the Pentagon. However, many parents and students do not “opt out” because they are never informed about their choice to do so. Opting out is an important part of stopping the military from obtaining private student information used for recruitment purposes.

The ASVAB is the primary recruiting tool used by the military. In 2006-07, the ASVAB yielded about 22,000 new recruits, or 9.3 percent of total enlistments.²⁰ However, high school students, as well as their teachers, parents and even counselors, are often unaware of the underlying purpose of this test, thinking that it is nothing more than a vocational aptitude test. But in fact, students’ names, scores, addresses and other personal information are forwarded to the Pentagon after the test is completed, providing recruiters with a treasure trove of private student information that facilitates recruitment.

School administrators have several options regarding the administration and release of ASVAB information. These options range from Option 1, which permits test results and other student information to be released to military recruiters immediately without prior consent, to Option 8,

¹⁶ PBS NOW Transcript, http://www.pbs.org/now/transcript/transcriptNOW147_full.html

³ “Poverty 2007 Highlights,” U.S. Census Bureau, <http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/poverty/poverty07/pov07hi.html>

¹⁸ National Priorities Project, Army Recruitment in FY 2008: A Look at Age, Race, Income, and Education of New Soldiers: http://www.nationalpriorities.org/militaryrecruiting2008/a_look_at_race_ethnicity_and_income_of_new_soldiers

¹⁹ U.S. Department of Education, Sec 9528, <http://www.ed.gov/policy/elsec/leg/esea02/pg112.html#sec9528>.

²⁰ Dan Hardy and Dylan Purcell, “Growing Hesitancy Over a Military Test,” CommonDreams.org, <http://www.commondreams.org/archive/2008/08/07/10858>.

which requires active parental consent to release the ASVAB test results and private information to military recruiters. Schools are often unaware of their options. Of the 621,000 students nationwide who took the ASVAB in 2006-07, 92% had their results directly forwarded to recruiters.²¹ Many took the test without parental knowledge.

Preventing schools from serving as the nation's primary recruiting ground is just one element of a counter-recruitment strategy. Since many young people enlist because of the lack of other alternatives, ensuring that such alternatives exist is a key way to reduce recruitment. This means making college possible for all young people who wish to go and ensuring real jobs for those who choose not to.

²¹ Dan Hardy and Dylan Purcell, "Growing Hesitancy Over a Military Test," Common Dreams, <http://www.commondreams.org/archives/2008/08/07/10858>.

Goal B: A Nuclear Weapons-Free World

Objectives:

B-1: Prevent “modernization” of the U.S. nuclear weapons production complex and upgrading of delivery systems

B-2: Ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty

B-3: Negotiate three international treaties to end the threat of nuclear war:

- **A treaty for a Nuclear Weapons-Free Zone in the Middle East**
- **A treaty to abolish nuclear weapons worldwide**
- **A treaty to stop production of nuclear weapons-grade materials worldwide (Fissile Materials Cut-Off Treaty or FMCT)**

As 2011 begins, the Obama Administration has what might be termed a “lip-service” strategy to nuclear disarmament that it enunciates but probably does not think viable. This “strategy” consists of three elements: negotiate another treaty with Russia to go down to 1,000 deployed strategic warheads each (possibly including the issue of reducing or eliminating tactical nuclear weapons in Europe); ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty; and negotiate a Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty. Given the strengthened Republican forces in the Senate, none of those treaties appear to be realistic in the near term. Also, U.S. insistence on pursuing the provocative chimera of missile defense, NATO expansion, and gargantuan U.S. conventional military superiority all complicate progress toward fewer nuclear weapons for the U.S. and Russia.

To reduce the risk of nuclear war, the treaties the Administration advocates are critically important. In the meantime, given current political realities, other strategies towards nuclear disarmament must be promoted. We can describe these as a “nuclear disarmament triad”:

1. Opposition to complex/arsenal “modernization”

The Obama Administration has proposed approximately \$185 billion over the next ten years to “modernize” the nuclear weapons production complex (including three new bomb factories at Los Alamos, NM; Kansas City, MO; and Oak Ridge, TN) and upgrade delivery systems (missiles, bombers and submarines). This exorbitant and hypocritical proposal must be strenuously opposed, as it directly undermines progress toward nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation. Instead, the U.S. should begin a process of conversion of the weapons laboratories; prioritization of warhead dismantlement; and environmental restoration at nuclear complex sites.

2. Support for executive actions

The President can initiate non-treaty executive actions that could lead to real progress toward the goal of a world without nuclear weapons. These include taking nuclear weapons off hair-trigger alert, eliminating tactical (short-range) nuclear weapons from Europe, eliminating one leg of the U.S. nuclear triad, and promoting a Nuclear Weapons Free Zone in the Middle East.

3. Building a global campaign to eliminate nuclear weapons

The foundation of a real global campaign for nuclear weapons abolition exists already. Non-governmental organizations working in alliance with non-nuclear states has great promise. A model exists with the International Campaign to Ban Landmines in the 1990's . Mayors for Peace, the Nobel Peace Laureates Campaign, the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN), Abolition 2000 Network, and Global Zero are all important groups that can join hands to create a nuclear-free world. The relationships developed and strengthened by the work in 2009-10 around the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Conference will be important this global campaign.

Recently, ten non-nuclear states formed the Cross-Regional Group on Non-Proliferation and Disarmament to push for abolition. The ten countries are Germany, Australia, Japan, Canada, Chile, Mexico, Poland, the Netherlands, Turkey and the United Arab Emirates. Other states that have consistently advocated nuclear disarmament include Indonesia, South Africa, Malaysia, Brazil and Norway.

We are at a point where raising the aspiration of the global elimination of nuclear weapons – while connecting it to near-term objectives – is a realistic endeavor, worthy of our vision of a just, peaceful, nuclear weapons-free world.

Goal C: An End to U.S.-Supported Wars and Occupations Around the World

Objective C-1: End all U.S. Military Operations in Afghanistan and Pakistan

Peace activists reacted with outrage and despair when the Obama Administration escalated the war in Afghanistan and dramatically increased drone attacks in Pakistan in 2010. A new transgression by the U.S. or its ally, the Karzai government, becomes public almost weekly. Already the longest war in U.S. history, the latest, as of this writing, is that the “drawdown” of U.S. troops will be pushed from 2011 to 2014—and that date is described as aspirational.

And yet, there is no “military solution” in Afghanistan or Pakistan. President Obama’s advisors say the war “cannot be won on the battlefield,” and military think tanks like the Rand Corporation agree that political, local law enforcement and peacekeeping solutions are more effective alternatives for achieving peace and stability than are continued fighting.

While of doubtful military effectiveness, the bombing in Pakistan has created a political crisis in that country. And it has encouraged Taliban forces on the Afghanistan-Pakistan border to extend their military campaign eastward, towards the population and political centers of Pakistan. To “save” Afghanistan, the United States is destabilizing Pakistan.

New anti-American recruits are created every time civilians are killed. Civilian deaths in Afghanistan and Pakistan caused by the U.S. have steadily increased since 2007, practically ensuring the survival of al-Qaeda and a permanent insurgency in the process. At least 18,000 Afghans have been killed since the U.S. invasion and tens of thousands of innocent people have been injured.

Civilian casualties foster resentment among Afghans and Pakistanis and make peace less possible. Some two million Pakistanis were forced to flee their homes in 2010 as a result of U.S. drone strikes and other military actions, and these refugees lived for months in extremely unhealthy and unsafe conditions, with insufficient food and clean water—naturally, they did not view this positively. Violence breeds violence. The devastating floods in Pakistan exacerbated the problems of the Pakistanis, creating a humanitarian crisis of a scale rarely before experienced by any nation.

There is another way in Afghanistan. We propose the following.

Withdraw Foreign Forces: U.S. military fighting will continue to cost many lives, those of U.S./NATO forces, as well as of civilians in Afghanistan and Pakistan. A majority of Americans oppose the war in Afghanistan and believe that it is not going well, and a majority of Europeans want their troops to return from this disastrous NATO mission. We should withdraw our forces. We must also stop the drone attacks in Pakistan.

Negotiate: Peace talks must be initiated, and they should be transparent and led by widely respected male and female Afghans, not manipulated by foreigners. There should be no more deals with warlords. The U.S. should launch a diplomatic effort with all regional players, including Russia, Iran, India, Pakistan, and Central Asian states.

Address People’s Needs: Most of the humanitarian and development aid sent to Afghanistan has been wasted on ill-conceived projects, pricey consultants, and crony contractors. Congress must change the law that requires USAID to give most contracts to U.S. companies, and the U.S. should fund small-scale cooperative efforts defined by communities, for education, jobs, new skills, and

self-sufficiency. The U.S. should stop the militarization of aid by ending “provincial reconstruction teams” that can’t deliver on humanitarian needs and undermine the work of legitimate NGOs. A major relief effort focused on the ongoing humanitarian disaster in Pakistan must be seriously undertaken.

Afghanistan and Pakistan won’t begin to stabilize until Afghan and Pakistani needs, defined by the people themselves, rise to the top of the international agenda.

This position paper borrows from fact sheets published by United for Peace and Justice.

Goal C: An End to U.S.-Supported Wars and Occupations Around the World

Objective C-2: Seek real peace in Israel/Palestine

Despite the fact that it is the world's fourth-largest arms supplier, Israel is also the largest foreign recipient of U.S. military assistance. According to the Congressional Research Service, the United States has provided Israel with more than \$53 billion of military aid since 1949.²² And that largesse is scheduled to continue. In 2007, the United States and Israel signed a memorandum of understanding to increase military aid to Israel to \$30 billion over the 2009-2018 decade.

The Arms Export Control Act stipulates that countries purchasing or receiving U.S. weapons cannot use them against civilians and must restrict their usage to "internal security" and "legitimate self-defense."²³ However, it has been well documented that Israel has repeatedly violated that restriction in the Occupied Territories, Lebanon and – most recently – the Gaza Strip. An investigation conducted by Amnesty International following the Gaza invasion found fragments and components from munitions used by the Israeli Army--including many that were U.S.-made--littering school playgrounds, hospitals and people's homes.²⁴ Thus, Israel is breaking our law through its actions with weapons it has purchased through U.S. assistance, and it should be held to account.

Because of the centrality of Israel/Palestine in the whole of the Middle East, and because of the strong U.S. support of Israel, the U.S. must change its policies with respect to Israel if there is to be peace in the Middle East. In particular, the U.S. should limit or halt its military aid and other support of Israel until Israel:

- Opens its border with the Gaza Strip;
- Halts all construction in the illegal West Bank and East Jerusalem settlements, and any portion of the "separation barrier" that extends beyond the "Green Line" into the West Bank; and
- Negotiates in good faith with existing Palestinian political leadership for an equitable one- or two-state secular solution with equal rights for all, including displaced persons and Palestinians residing in Israel.

In the meantime, civil society needs to support the Palestinian call for boycotts, divestment and sanctions, as a way to effect change in the absence of government action.

²² Jeremy M. Sharp, "U.S. Foreign Aid to Israel," Congressional Research Service, Dec. 2009, <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33222.pdf>

²³ U.S. State Department, U.S. Arms Export Control Act, http://www.pmdtc.state.gov/regulations_laws/aeca.html

²⁴ Israel/Gaza, Operation Cast Lead: 22 Days of Death and Destruction, Amnesty International, 2009. <http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/MDE15/015/2009/en/8f299083-9a74-4853-860f-0563725e633a/mde150152009en.pdf>

Goal C: An End to U.S.-Supported Wars and Occupations Around the World

Objective C-3: Defuse the U.S./Iran conflict

Security and normalization of relations should be the overarching goal in our relations with Iran. An end to inflammatory rhetoric on the part of the U.S. and taking military action “off the table” are sensible steps toward normalization.

U.S. political conflict with Iran is largely framed in terms of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). All signatories to this treaty have the right to develop nuclear technologies for peaceful use, while agreeing not to “receive,” “manufacture” or “acquire” nuclear weapons.

Neither the IAEA nor U.S. international intelligence agencies have provided compelling evidence that Iran is developing nuclear arms. In fact, the most recent formal U.S. National Intelligence Estimate on the subject of Iran's nuclear program concluded that Iran had halted such activities in 2003.²⁵ Periodically, the IAEA has voiced suspicions regarding nuclear weapons development in Iran and has described instances where Iran has not cooperated with the agency. However, these suspicions and allegations do not amount to evidence of an active nuclear weapons program.

The U.S. should defer to formal and high quality evidence when making any case for policy related to Iran, and it should focus on a peace-oriented strategy to achieve security in the Middle East.

A good faith peace plan would include:

- Recognition of Iran's right to “peaceful use” under the NPT;
- Earnest facilitation of alternatives to direct nuclear enrichment in Iran;
- A step-by-step approach to increase U.S.-Iran social and economic cooperation in exchange for measures that increase regional security;
- Recognition of real threats to Iranian security presented by the militarization of the region and the far reaching nuclear proliferation in countries near Iran (e.g. Europe, Pakistan, India, Israel);
- The creation of a regional security network with participation from all Middle East countries; and
- Strong diplomatic measures supporting a completely nuclear weapons-free Middle East.

²⁵ U.S. National Intelligence Estimate, November 2007, http://www.dni.gov/press_releases/20071203_release.pdf

Goal C: An End to U.S.-Supported Wars and Occupations Around the World

Objective C-4: End the U.S. Occupation of Iraq

The majority of the American public opposed the invasion and occupation of Iraq, and for good reason: beginning in 2003, Americans and Iraqis endured tremendous loss in blood and treasure, and of course the war did not bring the political stability promised by the Bush administration. The U.S. occupation of Iraq severely damaged America's credibility in the region, compounded by the side effects of the war, such as torture at Abu Ghraib and other places and the imprisonment for years, without trial, of thousands of Iraqis.

The military occupation made little progress in reconstruction. Iraq's neighbors saw the millions of refugees that flooded their borders as further evidence of a failing strategy. The U.S. wasted billions on outlandish construction projects, like a lavish U.S. embassy and amusement park, instead of addressing basic needs like reliable electricity and clean water for Iraqis.

The 2006 elections were a clear mandate to Congress to get U.S. soldiers out of Iraq. Pro-war politicians lost seats and Democrats retook the House of Representatives. As the Bush era neared its end and the presidential campaign ramped up, the power of the peace movement was clearly felt in the Democratic primary. Then-Senator Barack Obama's early opposition to the war in Iraq was an asset and was widely considered to be a key factor that helped propel him to victory in 2008.

In late 2008, with the pending expiration of the UN mandate authorizing the presence of U.S. forces in Iraq, the Bush administration hastily negotiated a Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) with the Iraqi government, which included a timeline for withdrawal. The agreement stipulated that all U.S. combat troops would leave the cities by June 30, 2009, and all U.S. forces would then leave the country by the end of 2011.

As we get closer to the deadline for getting U.S. forces out of Iraq, some high level military officials are suggesting that conditions on the ground could result in U.S. forces extending their stay. Some pundits have echoed the idea that Iraq is still dependent on the U.S., and sticking to the timeline is inadvisable. Thus, it is important to continue to monitor the situation and ensure that the U.S. does not stay in Iraq past December 2011.

At the same time, the size of the massive embassy—the largest in the world, comprised of 21 buildings on 104 acres—suggests that the embassy will be used for more than “diplomacy.” The embassy complex includes its own water and waste treatment facilities and its own power station. This massive complex is no doubt destined to be used by the U.S. as a command center in Iraq, continuing the occupation in a different form.

Moreover, while more troops may be withdrawn, it is not certain that military contractors will also leave.

The U.S. has a huge moral obligation to Iraq for this unwarranted war. It can start to pay down that debt by rebuilding Iraq's economy and infrastructure, helping with war refugees and internally displaced persons, and supporting regional diplomacy efforts.

[This position paper borrows from Peace Action West: “The military withdrawal from Iraq has begun, but our vigilance remains critical.”]

Goal C: An End to U.S.-Supported Wars and Occupations Around the World

Objective C-5: Support and Strengthen the United Nations

During World War II – the most destructive military conflict in history – the U.S. government played a key role in the founding of the United Nations and later provided it with a headquarters in the United States.

The preamble to the U.N. charter, ratified by the United States, declared that “We the peoples of the United Nations” were determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war...and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress...and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure...that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples.

In the years since, the United Nations has undertaken many worthy projects in an effort to live up to these ideals. But it has all too often been hampered in achieving them by the policies of the great powers. During the Cold War, both the U.S. and Soviet governments flagrantly violated the U.N. charter and, in subsequent years, the United States has continued to engage in unilateral action, ignoring U.N. pleas for the peaceful resolution of international disputes, for the defense of human rights, and for humanitarian aid commensurate with its vast wealth.

If a just and peaceful world is to be secured, it will have to be based on a cooperative endeavor, with collective responsibility taken by all nations. For this reason, Peace Action strongly supports ending the policy of narrow self-interest that has brought the world to the brink of ruin and, instead, backs giving the United Nations the opportunity and the strength to create a world of peace, human rights and social progress.