Ten years working on the front lines

WOMEN FOR AFGHAN WOMEN
**WOMEN FOR AFGHAN WOMEN** is a resolute advocate for Afghan women's human rights. **WAW** is a women-run, grassroots civil society organization committed to the leadership and agency of Afghan women in their human rights struggle. **WAW** is dedicated to securing and protecting women’s rights to develop their individual potential, to self-determination and to represent themselves in all areas of life: political, social, cultural and economic. **WAW** raises awareness about women’s human rights. **WAW** work is rooted in community. **WAW** works within the religious and cultural context of the women of Afghanistan. **WAW** challenges the underpinnings of gender-based violence whenever opportunities arise to influence attitudes and bring about change. **WAW**’s lawyers and caseworkers help women and girls who have suffered human rights violations find justice. **WAW** mediates with families to solve crises. Unless their safety is compromised, WAW helps clients live at home while their cases are being resolved. **WAW** shelters women and girls who have suffered heinous abuses, whose lives are in danger and who have nowhere else to go. **WAW** has eight Family Guidance Centers, seven women’s shelters and two half-way houses in Afghanistan and a community center in Queens, New York. **WAW** now has three residences for children who had been living in women’s prisons with their mothers, some for their entire lives. **WAW**’s board and staff include men and women of all ages, religions, ethnicities and sexual orientations. **WAW** is funded by foundations, governments and individuals.
“Women may not know what was in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights… but they do know deep inside of them, they shouldn’t be victims of abuse, they should have the right to participate in the political and economic lives of their society, the right to go to school.”

—MELANNE VERVEER
Ambassador-at-Large for Global Women’s Issues
Voices of Power: Melanne Verveer, Washington Post
video with Lois Romano by Akira Hakuta, 2009
Masuda Sultan loses 19 family members in a U.S. military campaign in Afghanistan. She makes a documentary, “From Ground Zero to Ground Zero” and authors a memoir, My War at Home.

NOVEMBER 2001
WAW inaugural event: a conference at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, “THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN THE RECONSTRUCTION OF AFGHANISTAN.” Conference panelists contribute chapters to WAW’s book, Women for Afghan Women: Shattering Myths and Claiming the Future.

2002
Masuda Sultan becomes WAW’s first staff member.
Fahima Vorgetts’s AFGHAN WOMEN’S FUND becomes an official WAW project.

The Loya Jirga (grand assembly) in Kabul elects Hamid Karzai to a 2-year term as interim president.

After living in exile for over a decade, DR. SIMA SAMAR returns to Afghanistan to serve as deputy president and then as the first MINISTER OF WOMEN’S AFFAIRS (MoWA). Samar was later forced to resign because of death threats and harassment for questioning conservative Islamic laws that deny women’s rights.

JULY 2002
DR. HABIBA SAFABI serves as the second Minister of Women’s Affairs until December 2004. She also serves as Minister of Culture and Education.

MANIZHA NADERI becomes WAW’s second staff member. Manizha was born in Kabul and grew up in Pakistan and NYC.

FALL 2002
WAW holds a second conference, this time at Barnard College, “AFGHAN WOMEN REPORT: ACHIEVEMENTS AND CHALLENGES ONE YEAR AFTER BONN.”

Dr. Sima Samar, now the chair of the Afghanistan Independent Human Rights Commission, gives the keynote address.

DIRECTOR’S LETTER:  Dear friends and supporters,

I can hardly believe that Women for Afghan Women is ten years old. It has been my honor to lead this organization, which has brought meaning and purpose to my life and has transformed the lives of thousands of Afghan women in New York and Afghanistan.

This Ten-Year Report tells the story of Women for Afghan Women: our organizational journey over the past decade woven together with world events that affect women’s rights in Afghanistan, the personal journeys of the women who lead the organization, and the inspirational stories of courageous women and girls whose lives have been transformed by our work.

Our approach has been consistent from the start. We trust the Afghan community to care about women’s rights. Therefore, we work within community rather than outside it, and we respect the Muslim religion embraced by almost every woman we serve. While diversity is a core value—our leaders include a Hindu Indian woman and a Jewish American woman—we exist to build the leadership of Afghan women and girls.

WAW has served about 4,000 women and girls at our centers and shelters in Afghanistan and our Community Center in Queens, New York. We are now present in eight provinces of Afghanistan. Not a single province has resisted our presence there. Our community-based model is working.

Our grand plan is to expand our work to every province of Afghanistan and other Afghan immigrant communities in the United States and Europe. We hope the people of Afghanistan win their struggle for democracy and human rights. But regardless of what the future holds, WAW pledges to remain steadfast in advocating for their cause. We are in this struggle for the long haul.

The WAW staff, now 350 in number, are the life-blood of the organization. Each one risks his/her life daily to preserve justice and protect the rights of women. Our board members are women who work tirelessly, and without pay, to build the capacity of our organization and ensure our longevity. And you, our supporters, volunteers and funders, fuel this work by providing the financial and human resources that make our work possible.

With grand plans, hopes and a pledge of commitment for the long haul,
WAW opens its Queens Community Center. ESL classes for Afghan women begin.

2003
Manizha Naderi and Masuda Sultan are a strong staff team: Manizha builds the Queens Community Center and deepens WAW’s community outreach while Masuda focuses on outreach, advocacy and networking.

WAW’s Mothers’ Day Potluck brings nearly 300 Afghan women together at Queens College in Flushing for music and dancing.

SPRING 2003
Masuda Sultan travels to Afghanistan to participate in Eve Ensler’s V-DAY CONFERENCE in Kabul. While there, she lays the groundwork for WAW’s third conference.

FALL 2003
WAW organizes the first women’s rights conference in Kandahar, “WOMEN’S RIGHTS AND THE CONSTITUTION.” Participants are 45 ethnically diverse women from around the country who are leaders in their communities.

The participants produce THE AFGHAN WOMEN’S BILL OF RIGHTS, a document they debated and created themselves.

WAW’s conference coincides with the writing of the nation’s constitution. WAW brings 30 conference participants to present their Bill of Rights to the Minister of Women’s Affairs, HABIBA SAFABI, the Constitutional Commission of the Transitional Islamic State of Afghanistan and President Karzai.

NOTE: Two of WAW’s conference participants are eventually assassinated by the Taliban.

Malalai Kakar, the only woman police officer in Kandahar in 2003, served on WAW’s Advisory Committee from 2003 until her violent death in 2008. By then there were 20 female police officers in Kandahar thanks largely to her efforts and inspiration.

Safia Amajan, the Kandahar provincial director for the Ministry of Women’s Affairs.

SUNITA VISWANATH: Rooted in Community

The story of Women for Afghan Women is the intensely personal journey of its leaders, myself included. Right from the start, rootedness in the Afghan community was critical to me, non-negotiable. I wanted our work for Afghan women’s rights to be led by Afghan women and guided by their values and priorities. This meant working steadfastly over the past ten years in the local Afghan community in New York, and from that deep immersion, taking on the human rights of all Afghans.

Women for Afghan Women proves daily that while the Afghan community is conservative, often misogynistic, most Afghans care deeply for the safety and wellbeing of their daughters and sons. We regularly have success in New York and across Afghanistan in bringing family and community together to end abuse in women’s lives. Because we place our faith in communities, we earn their trust and achieve transformation. Today, an Afghan Imam in Queens has championed our cause and supports, counsels and shelters women in crisis. In Afghanistan, a group of male elders wrote a letter begging us to open a school for girls in their villages. Religious leaders and governors preside over ribbon-cutting ceremonies when our centers are launched in Afghanistan—to date, no province has resisted our presence or our work.

A decade ago, while founding WAW, I was in an abusive marriage and must have identified with the women of Afghanistan whose rights, whose spirit and very humanity were denied. While the organization has empowered thousands of Afghan women and girls, it has also empowered me and confirmed my deep faith in the grassroots community-based approach to achieving social justice in our world.

“The reason I continue to love and devote myself to WAW is that we are truly grassroots. Everything we do is rooted in the concerns, experiences, challenges and priorities of the women of Afghanistan and Afghan women in America. We speak in one voice—and it is the voice of the community.”

—SUNITA VISWANATH
Co-Founder and Board Member
Afghan Women’s Bill of Rights

16 DEMANDS

1. Mandatory education for women through secondary school and opportunities for all women for higher education.

2. Provision of up-to-date health services for women with special attention to reproductive rights.

3. Protection and security for women: the prevention and criminalization of sexual harassment against women publicly and in the home, of sexual abuse of women and children, of domestic violence, and of “bad blood-price” (the use of women as compensation for crimes by one family against another).

4. Reduction of the time before women can remarry after their husbands have disappeared, and mandatory government support of women during that time.

5. Freedom of speech.

6. Freedom to vote and run for election to office.

7. Rights to marry and divorce according to Islam.

8. Equal pay for equal work.

9. Right to financial independence and ownership of property.

10. Right to participate fully and to the highest levels in the economic and commercial life of the country.

11. Mandatory provision of economic opportunities for women.


13. Full inclusion of women in the judiciary system.

14. Minimum marriageable age set at 18 years.

15. Guarantee of all constitutional rights to widows, disabled women, and orphans.

16. Full rights of inheritance.

On September 5, 2003, in the historic city of Kandahar, we, the Afghan Muslim participants in the conference “Women and the Constitution: Kandahar 2003,” from Kabul, Mazar-e-Sharif, Kandahar, Herat, Wardak, Jousjan, Badakhshan, Samangan, Farah, Logar, Gardez, Kapisa, Uruzgan, Paktia, Helmand, Baghlan, Sari-Pul, having considered the issues of the constitution that affect the futures of ourselves, our children, and our society, make the following 21 demands on behalf of the women of Afghanistan. Moreover, as representatives of all of Afghan women, we demand that these rights are not only are secured in the constitution but implemented.

5 ADDITIONAL DEMANDS

1. Disarmament and national security.

2. Trials of war criminals in international criminal courts and the disempowerment of warlords.

3. A strong central government.

4. A commitment to end government corruption.

5. Decisive action against foreign invasion and protection of the sovereignty of Afghanistan.
On a blazing summer day in 2002, I spotted a crowd of women around a table at the Jashin (Afghan independence) festival in Kissena Park, Queens. They were the women of WAW. For a long time I had been searching for an organization like theirs. The next day I marched into Sunita’s office at The Sister Fund asking for a volunteer task. I completed the data entry assignment in one sitting. Since that day, WAW has been the central focus of my life and its women have become my family.

Before joining WAW, I lived passively, unaware of the power at my core. I was raising my daughter in Queens in a compromised marriage and trying to retain the Afghan culture I was born into. Having moved from Kabul to Pakistan to New York when I was still a child, I was negotiating my identity within the context of American culture and mores.

I helped organize WAW’s groundbreaking conference in Kandahar in 2003. When we visited women’s prisons in Kabul and Kandahar, my rage at the condition of women in the country I still loved made me pledge to return to devote myself to building a viable future for Afghan women and girls.

I have done just that. From a desk in the Ministry of Women’s Affairs in Kabul in 2006, I made phone calls and appointments and spoke passionately to women leaders, community members, Imams and elders, teachers, doctors, judges, police, government and NGO staffs, and military personnel. Through this outreach, I developed the blueprint for a Family Guidance Center (FGC) that complemented and built on existing efforts. WAW’s FGC is open to anyone who has suffered a human rights violation. We use a community-based approach that starts with mediation through small “jirgas.” When a woman’s life is in danger or she has nowhere to go, we bring her to our secret shelters. I am proud to report that in the last five years, we have opened eight FGCs and seven shelters and we have served 4,000 women.

The sweetest gift has been meeting Tawfiq at the Ministry of Women’s Affairs. Tawfiq initially became my friend and guide as I researched and developed WAW’s programs in Afghanistan. He helped and encouraged me especially when I doubted myself. Now my husband, he is as dedicated as I am to women’s rights and to building a just country for our children and for all the children of Afghanistan.

PALWASHA 

HASSAN is one of 50 delegates to the Constitutional Loya Jirga appointed by President Karzai and also one of 100 women delegates in the grand assembly who draft Afghanistan’s new Constitution and vote on it in January, 2004. Religious conservatives take out an ad in a local newspaper calling SIMA SAMAR “the Salman Rushdie of Afghanistan.”

MALALAI JOYA, another female delegate to the Loya Jirga, condemns the domination of warlords at the proceedings. Sibghatullah Mojadidi, the Chief of the Loya Jirga, responds by calling her “infidel” and “communist,” and asks the Jirga to disregard her words since according to the Quran, two women are counted as equal to one man. WAW implores Islamic feminist scholars to respond to this outrageous slur.

UNIFEM and many other organizations conduct voter registration across Afghanistan. Women are encouraged to vote.

The new Afghan Constitution names Islam as the state religion, which no civil law can contradict. It allows judges to be trained in either civil or Islamic law. It promises equal rights for men and women and permits women to work outside the home and to engage in political activity. It requires each political party to nominate a certain number of female candidates.

Fahima Vorgetts’s Afghan Women’s Fund supports projects for women’s literacy and vocational development as well as village development programs that include replanting destroyed grapevines and digging wells for personal sanitation and irrigation.
ESTHER HYNEMAN: What Women for Afghan Women has taught me.

When I started volunteering for WAW, which was just a few months after I retired from an academic career, I had nothing to offer except a desire to be in the world doing something for women. I have now been WAW’s principal grant writer for about 9 years and directly or indirectly involved in many stages of the organization’s remarkable growth. But in 2001, I had no idea what a proposal was and only a fuzzy idea of what an NGO was. Above all, I didn’t know—I had no idea—that a handful of women working together could actually improve the lives of thousands, maybe even millions, of people.

Before I retired (10 days before 9/11), I looked around for an organization to join. Then 9/11 happened, and shortly after that I attended a meeting on women in Afghanistan at a church in Greenwich Village. The meeting vibrated with the feelings of danger then sweeping through NYC. The speaker was a young member of the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA), who had to be smuggled into the hall because she was a target of conservative forces in Afghanistan. There I bumped into a group of young women passing out information about a 6-month old grassroots organization, Women for Afghan Women. It had been founded to advocate for women living under the Taliban regime. I had been following that particular horror for years, signing petitions, thinking there was nothing I could do. But like Manizha finding WAW in Kissena Park, I had stumbled on my future.

One of the most important things I’ve learned is that the “There’s nothing I can do” approach to world problems is wrong and often an excuse for doing nothing. In 2001, two young visionaries started an organization that ten years later has saved thousands of women and girls from brutal oppression and that keeps growing bigger and stronger. WAW has a huge footprint, but at its center, a tight group of (smart) women with a hands-on approach to the work are in charge. We do a lot of thinking out of the box. As we evolve—our goals are to broaden our work in Queens and become active in every province in Afghanistan—we may switch to a different organizational model. But right now, this one works for us.

As for me now, I’m in a late but highly active stage of my life and determined to keep it going until the last minute. It’s difficult to be grateful for the work, the experiences, the relationships I’ve had for 10 years when they result from the misery of others. But I am grateful, and you know what I mean. What we are doing charges all of us up all the time. I am supremely proud of us.
FAHIMA VORGETTS: Afghan Women’s Fund

Fahima Vorgetts has been an integral part of WAW since it was founded. She is a former board member and a close ally whose involvement in WAW’s 2003 conference in Kandahar was invaluable. WAW serves as the fiscal sponsor for the Afghan Women’s Fund, the initiative Fahima directs.

In WAW’s early years we relied on Fahima’s expertise and connections in the country where she was born, educated and lived until her 20s. Fahima’s work grew in complexity as civil society began to flourish in Afghanistan shortly after the ouster of the Taliban. She returned then with humanitarian aid—money and truck loads of clothes and blankets—for widows and children mentally and physically impoverished by 30 years of war. Within a few years, she took on agricultural and sanitation projects; income-generating projects and projects to stem the epidemic of self-immolation among women, especially in Herat. She established literacy classes for women and girls and clinics for women and a former board member and a close ally whose involvement in WAW’s 2003 conference in Kandahar was invaluable. WAW serves as the fiscal sponsor for the Afghan Women’s Fund, the initiative Fahima directs.

Within a few years, she took on agricultural and sanitation projects; income-generating projects and projects to stem the epidemic of self-immolation among women, especially in Herat. She established literacy classes for women and girls and clinics for women and girls. Fahima’s work for Afghanistan will never stop.

WAW has witnessed what a force for change Fahima is. The work of her Afghan Women’s Fund and that of other women’s NGOs in Afghanistan are without a doubt the strongest hope for the future of that country.

Learn more at http://afghanwomensfund.org

“A major success of the last decade has been the gains in girls’ education... Around 5,000 Afghan girls were enrolled in school in 2001. Now there are 2.4 million. Women for Afghan Women, which operates [a] Kabul shelter and others in Afghanistan, is one of many nonprofits that have attracted considerable financial support from the West. Billions of dollars have been donated to rebuild the education system. But even in recent years, schoolgirls have been targeted by antigovernment forces and extremists, prompting teachers to quit and parents to keep their children out of the classroom.”

—JILL ABRamson
The New York Times, 9/8/11
Queens Community Center: Nadia’s Story

One afternoon, someone called our Queens office to report that a young Afghan woman, who didn’t speak English, was crying in the park. We immediately brought her to the WAW office, where she told us her story.

At just 17, Nadia was married to a second cousin, a U.S. citizen. It was three years before she got her visa to join him in the United States. When she arrived, things were not as she had planned. Her husband, who had a girlfriend, told Nadia that his family had forced him to marry her and bring her to the States. He sent her to live with his father and two sisters, one of whom would beat her up and threaten to call her father in Kabul if she told anyone. She also threatened to kill her if she called the police. She was trapped. Disrespecting her in-laws would bring disgrace on her family.

After a particularly brutal beating, Nadia was hospitalized. The hospital called the police, but when they questioned her, Nadia was so afraid that she lied about her injuries. Four nights later, when she left the hospital, her in-laws refused to let her into their house. They also kept her green card, Social Security card, passport and Medicaid card. When WAW found her in the park, Nadia was homeless and frightened.

WAW found Nadia a safe home. In our ESL classes she has become proficient in English. We helped her find work and replace her legal documents. We will continue to support Nadia as she takes steps to become self-sufficient and secure.

“A culture of domestic violence—not only by husbands but also by husbands’ families—has followed Afghan immigrants to destinations like New York, where women’s advocates say they are now discovering just how widespread the problem is.”

—KIRK SEMPLE
The New York Times, 2/27/11
FAMILY GUIDANCE CENTER: Zarbobo’s story

Zarbobo, who is about 40 years old, came to WAW’s Kabul shelter a year and a half ago having lived through unspeakable horrors during her 20-year marriage. Her husband beat her many times, burned her with hot wires, forced her at gun point to eat her own feces, made her strip naked and parade before her children and sexually assaulted her repeatedly with a stick. Within a few years of their marriage, her husband had an affair with his brother’s wife. Zarbobo alleges he killed his brother in order to marry his sister-in-law. And he wanted Zarbobo out of the picture. When she refused to don a suicide bomber’s vest and target a bazaar, he locked her in a stable with animals and fed her one piece of bread a day. When the stable door was left open one day, she ran barefoot to the district police, who referred her to WAW.

Zarbobo’s body is covered with the scars and bruises of her mistreatment and humiliations. She has suffered many broken bones during the beatings. A few days after she came to WAW’s shelter, she told the caretaker that she has enough to eat for the first time in her life. She cries because she believes her children are most likely hungry at home.

Zarbobo’s husband was on the run for a year while we tried to have him arrested. When he was caught, his relatives promised to return her children to Zarbobo if she signed a statement saying he was innocent. She signed it but has yet to see her sons. At the trial in Kabul, Zarbobo was too frightened to tell her story. The judges released the husband and ruled that she should return to him. The case is now in appeals court.

Zarbobo’s deep sorrow is that her husband was given custody of their two sons. WAW once discussed the issue of child custody with him, but now he refuses to speak to us because we had him arrested. A rumor is circulating that he killed one of the children. Since it’s too dangerous for WAW’s staff to investigate, we have been unable to substantiate the rumor.

Desperate, Zarbobo says she will cope with any problem in her husband’s house for the sake of her children. She still appeals to WAW to take her sons from the husband and bring them to her. But until there is definite evidence of his physical abuses—like witnesses who will testify—and until she agrees to file for a divorce, it’s unlikely that this will happen.
Voter turnout at the parliamentary elections is severely compromised by Taliban violence across the country. WAW's Family Guidance Center in Kunduz is hit by rocket fire. No one is hurt.

**NOVEMBER 2010**
Board member Esther Hyneman travels to LA to bring Aisha to NY. WAW rents an apartment for her and launches the **BIBI AISHA FUND** for donations to cover her expenses. Community women donate household supplies, clothes and money.

Aisha's father-in-law, Suleiman, is apprehended as a result of the Ministry of Interior's involvement, the persistence of local police in Oruzgan, and WAW's advocacy. WAW lawyers try to get him extradited to Kabul.

**JANUARY 2011**
NATO countries agree to hand over responsibility for Afghanistan's security to Afghan forces by the end of 2014.

**MARCH 2011**
Afghan women's groups in Talaban-infested Helmand invite WAW Program Manager **HUMA SAFI** to their province to see how WAW can support them. WAW agrees to train them on FG C services and to help them launch their own program.

**APRIL–JUNE 2011**
The Ministry of Women's Affairs, led by Husn Banu Ghazanfar, attempts to take over all **WOMEN'S SHELTERS** in Afghanistan. To advocate against this move, WAW launches an online petition and joins a coalition of international and Afghan women's rights organizations.

WAW urges the U.S. State Department to support officially the autonomy of women's shelters. The Afghan government backs down.

Sunita Viswanath is recipient of Feminist Majority Foundation's 2011 Global Women's Rights Award for her ongoing work with WAW.

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**CHILDREN'S SUPPORT CENTER: A Fairy Tale Home**

“There is now an oasis for some of these kids. In a quiet neighborhood, in a pastel three-story house with columns and a terrace, Women for Afghan Women, run by Manizha Naderi, has created a fairy-tale home, the Children's Support Center, with 49 children currently in residence. Naderi is one of many Afghans who left the country as a child, grew up in America with the benefit of an education and returned to give something back to women who had had no such luck. The afternoon I arrived, some of the children were outside playing badminton and jumping rope, others were in language class, others were at the monitors in the new computer room. On the terrace was a small library with children's books and a prized nesting bird. Upstairs, girls were watching a National Geographic program on chimps. Downstairs, the boys were watching Disney's “Aladdin.” All the bunk beds were neatly made. I'd never seen such a beautiful, clean institution in Afghanistan. Shahbibi Halimi, the director, was a kind mother of six who had been working as a program manager in various women's organizations for years. She was married to an army general and joked that as long as she kept up her housework, he supported her. When the kids first arrive from the prison, she said, they are disoriented, depressed, sometimes violent: ‘One 4-year-old told me, I can kill you, and when I asked how, she said, Just like that. I can bring my hand up and kill you. I try to work like a servant and be patient and slowly get them into a routine and teach them bow to solve problems without violence. These kids are the future.'”

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“Freedom and education are our birthrights. There is no life without freedom and education.”

—HUMAIFA FEROZI ZADRAN
WAW Human Rights Training Coordinator, Kabul

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“Children's Support Center: A Fairy Tale Home”

—ELIZABETH RUBIN
The New York Times Magazine, 10/21/10
A FATHER’S STORY

Husnia was only five years old when she was raped in her village in Badakhshan. The injuries she suffered required a prolonged hospitalization. A few months after the rape, The Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission helped Husnia’s father, Saed, make the 14-hour trip in a rickety bus to bring her to WAW’s Family Guidance Center in Kabul.

Wearing a ragged dress and a torn leather vest, Husnia was filthy, sullen and angry when she arrived. She refused to talk to anyone. Her father sat on the ground crying, “They’ve ruined her life. I want justice for my daughter.” We hired Saed at our FGC so that he could have money to send home, and he stayed for several months. He had left his wife, his other kids and his work to stand by Husnia and demand justice. Eventually he had to return home. Husnia has been in our care ever since. Saed comes periodically to visit her.

In most rape cases, our lawyers advise our clients not to prosecute the assailant because in Afghanistan, admitting to being raped is tantamount to confessing to the crime of Zena (sex outside of marriage). The victim is usually imprisoned. In Husnia’s case, we managed to get the rapist arrested. Not only was he released after a short time, but ever since, Husnia’s family has received death threats from his family. Saed knows Husnia is safer in WAW’s care, far from Badakhshan.

Husnia moved from our Kabul shelter to our Children’s Support Center in 2009, where she is thriving. When she read to her father on a recent visit, he pointed to her notebook and swelled with pride, “Husnia is the first person in my family to read and the first to go to school.” When they are photographed together, he always wraps his arm around her, always protective and loving. This man, who has never been to school, whose family is the poorest of the poor in Afghanistan, loves his little girl and wants the best for her. There are millions like him. Theirs is the story people need to hear to counter the widespread version of brutal Afghan fathers who abuse their female children.
WHAT THE FUTURE HOLDS

Our 10th anniversary report has concentrated on Women for Afghan Women’s short history from its founding six months before 9/11. Along our ten-year journey—which has transformed the lives of thousands of women in Afghanistan and New York—we’ve had disappointments and failures, but they were always offset by successes and by slow but steady progress toward the fulfillment of our mission: to advocate for and protect the human rights of Afghan women.

Operating in a conflict zone, awash in abuse, violent deaths and the disgust of people for their corrupt government, our small but powerful organization has saved women’s lives, prevented forced marriages, rescued girls who had been sold or traded away, kept women from prison, provided children living in prison with their first place in the sun, a lovely residence and an education.

During these ten years, we wrote about Afghanistan’s future with a heady optimism that the progress of Afghan women would inspire oppressed women all over the world. But our optimism is fading fast. Americans are fed up with the war and want out, and our government is negotiating with wolves.

Like most Americans, we feel despair at the casualties and the enormous financial drain at a time of economic crisis. But abandoning Afghanistan now is a catastrophic mistake, morally wrong and fraught with danger. President Obama must know the risks of withdrawing troops prematurely: a civil war will likely ensue, Afghanistan will become a sanctuary for terrorist groups, the region will be destabilized, U.S. security will be compromised, and Afghanistan’s fragile civil society will evaporate. Chaos will reign, and the cost in lives and money will far exceed the current bill.

Women are Afghanistan’s most vulnerable resource and also its greatest hope for peace and democracy. The Taliban know that subjugating women is their direct route to total domination, but if the world insists that women’s human rights cannot be compromised, the Taliban will have no future. Pundits claim against all evidence and with sickening condescension that the Taliban will let girls attend schools in madrassas or mosques until they’re 10. Then no more school for them. Would they—Nicholas Kristof of the NY Times, for example—sign over American girls to schools in mosques and madrassas, including their own children? “We will have to sacrifice the south,” Mr. Kristof said blithely at a meeting early this year, as if the south were a vacant tract of land. Sacrifice the brave women in Helmand province whom WAW is training, who will risk their lives to provide human rights services to suppressed women there? Sacrifice Bibi Aisha, a girl from the south?

The futures of Afghanistan and WAW depend on the U.S. keeping its promise to the Afghan people. If Afghanistan falls to the Taliban, WAW and NGOs like ours, will likely close. Fifteen million Afghan women and girls will be brought to a horrible fate. Afghan women know this and are quaking with fear. So are we.

“Most of my friends are exploring options to migrate to other countries and I am doing the same thing. I can’t see myself living under Taliban rule again. They took away everything from me, my youth, my creativity, my self-confidence and my dignity.”
—Female Judge in Kabul

WAW’S PROGRAMMATIC ASPIRATIONS

FGCs and shelters in all provinces in Afghanistan (52 additional facilities).

All children over 5 and some younger out of prisons and into CSCs.

Larger community center and a safe home network in NY for Afghan women in crisis.

Expansion and intensification of human rights outreach and awareness programs throughout civil society to local citizens, religious leaders, law enforcement officials, judges, teachers and students.
The next generations of leaders

FAITH IN ACTION
“Women I have met want nothing more than peace. But they fear the world is growing eager to reach a deal in which their rights will be a part of the price of security. And they worry that their country’s problems will be balanced on their backs once more. Neither they nor the men I have interviewed in the last two years believe that an abandoned Afghanistan will remain an isolated problem for long. With grace and dignity the individuals to whom this story belongs push forward each day. They believe, as they always have, that something better is possible. I, for one, hope they are right.”

—GAYLE TZEMACH LEMMON
The Dressmaker of Khair Khana, final paragraph, Harper Collins, 2011

**WHAT MOTIVATES YOU TO WORK FOR AFGHAN WOMEN’S RIGHTS?**

**HUMA:** I was born in Baghlan and grew up in Kabul. Other than six months in Pakistan, I have lived in Afghanistan all my life. My father was a teacher and valued education for all his children. When the Taliban came into power, they closed girls’ schools including the madrassa where I was studying. It was the most difficult time of my life. I finished my studies in Pakistan and earned my certificate in Islamic Studies. I recently earned my B.A from Kabul University. If I have been able to continue my education in spite of war and upheaval, it is because of the importance that my family (and so many others like us) places on education for girls. This has been my biggest inspiration to fight for women’s rights. When the Taliban were in power, I secretly taught literacy and Islamic Studies to around 180 girls in my family’s home. I have been working as Program Manager for Women for Afghan women since April 2009, overseeing all our Centers across Afghanistan.

**NAHEED:** I grew up in Kabul, and my family also strongly believed in education for girls. I was a dedicated student, but my studies were interrupted when the Taliban took over Afghanistan and my family fled to Pakistan. I continued my studies in Pakistan, and managed an English language program at the International Rescue Committee. My family arranged my marriage to an Afghan living in New York, and that is how I came to the United States without completing my higher education.

I was very lonely and depressed when I first arrived.

I came across the Women for Afghan Women website when I began looking for a job. My life changed the day I walked into WAW’s Queens Community Center in 2007. I had found my community, my support system. I started to volunteer for WAW immediately and was soon offered an internship. I worked for two years as the case manager, and today, I run the Queens Community Center. Every day we work with Afghan women, teaching them English and computer skills, enveloping them in supportive community, and helping them overcome great obstacles in their lives. Every day I give back to the community that was there for me in my hour of need and the organization that empowered me. I just got my Bachelor’s Degree from Queens College and hope to begin graduate studies in social work.

**DO YOU BELIEVE ISLAM RESPECTS WOMEN’S RIGHTS? WHAT IS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN YOUR WORK AND YOUR FAITH?**

**HUMA:** As a devout Muslim woman, I feel it is my responsibility to work for women’s rights. My work is not in contradiction with Islam. To the contrary, I am educating women about their rights according the law and also according to Islam, and helping them exercise those rights.

Our culture has changed little from the time of our forefathers. Most Afghans, both men and women, are uneducated and uninformed. They believe that domestic violence is allowed in Islam.
However, domestic violence has never been condoned by our religion. If we turn to the example of our Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), we see a man who respected and supported his wives. Islam is clear that one is not responsible for another person’s mistake. Why then is the practice of baad allowed in Afghanistan? When a man kills another, how is he absolved of this crime by giving a little girl to the victim’s family? I educate people on the difference between religion and culture. I use Quranic examples to educate people and differentiate Islam from misogynistic culture and tradition.

**NAHEED:** I agree completely. I love my religion and have never felt that Islam denies women their rights. My work for women’s rights is just a part of my duty as a Muslim to make people aware of their God-given rights. It has taken a decade of time and hard work for WAW to gain the trust of the local Afghan community. Many community members are not supportive of our work. They accuse us of being un-Islamic; they say we are selling women’s stories for money. However, our approach is very respectful of Islam and Afghan culture. When a woman tells us she is being abused by her husband, we attempt mediation through a small jirga. A local Afghan Imam helps us with these cases, talks to the husband and his family, and advises the woman on how best to proceed. Sometimes the Imam advises the client to leave the marriage since abuse is a sin and divorce is her right. Women feel comfortable and at home with WAW. I feel no contradiction between my work and my faith—in fact, they are one and the same.

**HUMA:** Our work is very challenging. We conduct outreach in small local communities, and this exposes us to hostile elements in those communities. During the past few months we have fought hard to save Afghan women’s shelters from a government take-over, and succeeded. However, a conservative TV host said on his program, “These shelters are run by a woman who sells women to men. Her name is Huma Safi.” I have received many death threats since the show. This incident has made my husband and family extremely worried for my safety.

An attack could happen at any time to any of our centers. Manizha is often in the newspapers speaking out about women’s rights. This puts her at risk. Our case-workers, defense lawyers and even our drivers receive threats from the abusers and families of our clients. Every single person who works for women’s rights in Afghanistan risks his or her life.

**NAHEED:** While we do not face the same level of danger in New York, we do have similar problems in the community. Here, Afghan women are completely alone and isolated. Many Afghan men forbid their wives from work and study, and so most women do not know English and need their husband’s help even to visit the doctor’s office. It is very hard to get Afghan women to speak about their problems at home, and abusive families and husbands are hostile to us. In fact, I too have been attacked in the press!

One client was married in Kabul to an Afghan American man. When she arrived in New York, her husband and in-laws began abusing her. Once, they beat her up so badly she had to be hospitalized. When she returned, they kicked her out of the home. An American woman saw her on the street and called WAW. We helped the client, and today, she is happy and independent. Recently, she appeared on Afghan TV and said that without WAW, she would not be alive today. That day her ex mother-in-law called the TV station and reported, “Naheed Bahram is selling women, not helping them.”

**WHAT IS YOUR HOPE AND DREAM FOR THE WOMEN OF AFGHANISTAN, THE WOMEN WE HELP IN WAW?**

**HUMA:** Some years ago, I was the only female manager in an International NGO. In a staff meeting, I suggested that we celebrate International Women’s Day together. One of my colleagues—a highly educated Afghan man—dismissed my idea, stating that women’s job is to cook for men. That day it became clear to me that if highly educated men can openly insult women like this, we Afghan women must fight for our rights ourselves. I hope that Afghan women are strong enough for the challenge. I dream of an Afghanistan where women’s rights...
are respected and that fight is no longer necessary. We cannot live without hope. It will take a long time to change Afghan culture, but we are making change every day.

We opened our Family Guidance Center in the conservative province of Nangarhar in 2010. The Governor welcomed us but thought that women in Nangarhar would be afraid to speak out about the abuse they suffer. We were not deterred, and through our outreach, we have already reached 118 women. In fact, the ten new clients we served in June 2011 came to us by themselves. When those ten women were brave enough to come forward and fight for their rights in one of our most conservative provinces, how can I not have hope?

NAHEED: A few years ago I organized a workshop on domestic violence. After the workshop, a woman who had attended our ESL classes for many years told me in private about the severe violence she was enduring at home. We tried to help her through counseling and mediation but her husband repeatedly battered her. WAW has transformed this woman’s life—we helped her learn English, helped her get out of a violent marriage, and we even helped her get a job as a driver. And just like you, Huma, I get my hope from my courageous Afghan sisters who manage to fight for their rights within and against an oppressive culture.

“We have a proverb that ‘testing someone who has already been tested is a mistake.’ It is no mystery where the Taliban stand on women’s rights. They publicly humiliated, tortured and executed women in the name of Islam. Well, the supporters of negotiation with the Taliban may argue that talks will take place with so-called ‘moderate Taliban.’ But who are the moderate Taliban and how is the moderation measured? By the number of innocent people they have killed and still kill or by the methods they use to kill (hanging vs. beheading). I think negotiations not only waste money and time, they undermine justice. It is a game that is being played with peoples’ emotions.”

—BELQUIS AHMADI
Women’s rights advocate based in Kabul