

Peace & Freedom

MAGAZINE OF THE WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM

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- LAUREN CARASIK: JUSTICE IN GUATEMALA?
- GWENDOLYN HALLSMITH: MONETARY ECOFEMINISM
- WINONA LADUKE: THE MILITARIZATION OF INDIAN COUNTRY
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At Santa Cruz' Jane Addams Peace Camp, campers sounded out a version of "Stomp" to find out what different materials sounded like when beating out various rhythms with chop sticks. Photo: Gaby Litsky

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The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)

has been working since 1915 to unite women worldwide who oppose oppression and exploitation. WILPF stands for equality of all people in a world free of racism, sexism, and homophobia; the building of a constructive peace through world disarmament; and the changing of government priorities to meet human needs.

WILPF has sections in 42 countries

coordinated by a secretariat in Geneva. WILPF carries out its work through grassroots organizing by WILPF branches. WILPF supports the work of the United Nations and has consultative status with ECOSOC.

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Living with the Precautionary Principle

By Laura Roskos, U.S. WILPF President



What exactly is the alchemy of mission and membership that gives WILPF its analytic edge and endurance? How do we, as current WILPF members, exercise the stewardship necessary to protect WILPF's relevance for future generations?

In accordance with the resolution approved at our 2011 Congress, the Earth Democracy issue committee has integrated themes of food democracy, the human right to water and health, and the rights of nature and renewable energy under the organizing principle of guardianship. Using funds from WILPF's internal mini-grant program, they've launched a national speaking tour for Carolyn Raffensperger aimed at teaching communities how they can apply the Precautionary Principle, widely in use globally, to their local situations through municipal ordinances. Briefly stated, the Precautionary Principle seeks to prevent harm to the environment and the public health of communities. It aims to stay a step ahead of environmental degradation and chemical trespass by legitimizing actions of guardianship, i.e. restrictive actions exercised by people in the community and by government, who are authorized to rely on their best judgment in the absence of conclusive scientific data about the environmental impact of any given action.

The strategy of turning theoretical concepts, like the Precautionary Principle, into on-the-ground reforms has been popular with WILPF women through the decades and the lived experience of the many WILPF members who, like contributor Celia Scott, have held public office. Inhabiting elected or appointed positions in government is one means of leveraging WILPF values to make positive change in the world. In this issue we hear from a range of women who are doing just that, from Winona LaDuke who suggests ways in which the military's "green economy" initiatives can be redirected to benefit native communities to Madeleine Rees's plan for connecting the dots toward the creation of an international legal framework that would more clearly outlaw excessive military expenditures. Winona and Madeleine, as well as other contributors to this issue, demonstrate that real change happens when we engage with existing systems of power and domination. But engagement takes its emotional toll, just as non-violent resistance and civil disobedience do.

Guardianship over WILPF requires that we create our organization as a generative organism sustainably fueling the activism of our members, in whichever manner they choose to engage. Guardianship requires that we respect our organization, its aims and principles and its structures. And it all begins

with members.

According to our section's by-laws and the international WILPF constitution, membership in WILPF rests on two pillars: support for WILPF's aims and principles and payment of dues. The exchange of money in the form of annual dues is a superficial sign of a much more significant commitment. And while membership dues comprise an important revenue stream for the organization, it is one that will never by itself provide enough revenue to support our educational and advocacy work.

The Precautionary Principle seeks to prevent harm to the environment and public health of communities.

In going over WILPF's accounts, it always amazes me that so much social change can be made with very little money—if there are enough people who understand and actively support our principles. It's our principles and aims, as manifest in our program,

which will engage newcomers and keep old-timers, like me, involved and giving freely of our time and energies. The Spring 2012 issue of *Peace & Freedom* contained the full text of WILPF's program as approved by members at the 2011 International Congress, and the aims and principles can be found online at the Join WILPF section of our new website, www.wilpfus.org. A shared understanding of our aims and principles provides the basis of trust that enables us to act effectively in a rapidly changing world.

Just as the Earth Democracy mandate evolved as a result of thinking deeply about how interconnections among people, the planet, and law can support WILPF's vision of human security, we need to think about how we give each other feedback. Our communications can provide us with the sense of personal security we need to feel emboldened, constant, and sure in our activism. Many of us are aghast at the state of the world. We are frightened by the corporations that seemingly control so much of our lives with impunity; we are dismayed by the disregard for the earth's beauty and finite resources; we are horrified by the capabilities of high tech weapons to keep killing at a depersonalized distance. These emotions are not sustainable without the support of a loving and beloved community.

Young women who have come of age in this age of post-empire economic collapse seem to have responded by emphasizing kindness and empathy. They are aware that they don't know what burdens another carries into a conversation or gathering. So, they ask gentle questions. They tend to be extremely polite. And, they tend to emphasize the positive, giving props

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Rio+20: Profits for Political Elites, or Real Change?

By Nancy Price

In 1992, 12-year-old Severn Cullis-Suzuki spoke passionately to delegates in Rio de Janeiro at the U.N. Conference for Sustainable Development (known as the Earth Summit) saying: “I’m fighting for my future... I am only a child, yet I know if all the money spent on war was spent on finding environmental answers, ending poverty, and finding treaties – what a wonderful place this would be.”

At the summit’s end, Pres. George H.W. Bush and 177 world leaders agreed to three international treaties addressing global warming, the rapid loss of species, and saving soils from increasing destruction. They also agreed to Agenda 21, a comprehensive plan for “international cooperation to accelerate sustainable development through national policies” for “combating poverty, changing consumption patterns, addressing demographic dynamics and sustainabili-

ments, the private sector, civil society and other groups to achieve global sustainable development goals and other measures to address the rapidly deteriorating environment and strengthen global environmental management, tighten protection of oceans, improve food security, address increasing inequality and the entrenched poverty of billions of people, and promote a “green economy.”

In closing the three-day event, Brazilian President Rousseff stressed this was the most participatory conference in history, a “global expression of democracy,” and a demonstration that “multilateralism is a legitimate pathway to build solutions for global problems.” Yet leaders of the most powerful nations—the U.S., U.K., Germany, and

Russia, were absent—the youth delegates walked out, and indigenous peoples staged a counter-summit and issued a declaration that the green economy is a “crime against humanity” that “dollarizes” Mother Nature and strips communities of their rights.

The formal U.N. language used in “The Future We Want” is telling: the word “encourage” appears 50 times, the phrase “we will” only five; “support” is used 99 times, “must” just three times; and a pledge to pursue “sustained growth,” a primary cause of ecological destruction, occurs 16 times.

The challenge going forward is to ensure that the “green economy” and “sustainable development” are based on fundamental principles of social and environmental justice and human rights, and are not just ways to further profits for the financial, corporate and political elites at the expense of people and nature.

Nothing short of a paradigm shift is needed.

The alternative People’s Summit and Indigenous Peoples Earth Summit issued its own platform: Earth Democracy—A Vision Rooted in Indigenous Wisdom Outside the formal U.N. Conference. The Indigenous platform concludes by saying: “Mother Earth, wounded and racked by pollution-induced fevers, is imploring us to change paradigms. Only a path which rejects the green economy as privatization of nature; decolonizes life, land and the sky; defends life and liberty; respects human rights; guarantees Indigenous Peoples’ rights, honors Mother Earth and protects the sacred will save the world and allow us to



Severn Cullis-Suzuki



Women march in Rio.

Photo: Nathalie Eddy, GGCA. Special thanks to www.wedo.org. All rights reserved by WEDOworldwide

ty, protecting and promoting human health conditions, and promoting human settlement development.”

Twenty years later at Rio, Severn lamented “promises made two decades ago have not been honored... and we have not achieved the sustainable world we knew we needed 20 years ago.” Many scientists, public health and development experts have worried that little has really been accomplished, citing the failed U.N. climate negotiations (Kyoto 1997, Copenhagen 2009, Durban 2011) to show how hard global consensus is, even when we’re faced with imminent crisis.

This June at Rio+20, heads of state and ministers of 190 nations adopted the final declaration entitled “The Future We Want.” Moreover, \$513 billion was pledged by govern-

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The Evolution of an Ecofeminist

By Celia Scott

To address the question of “Whatever happened to Ecofeminism?” I found myself looking backward in time to my family origins and personal evolution. I first discovered the words “ecofeminist” in a 1990 book titled *Reweaving the World: The Emergence of Ecofeminism* edited by Irene Diamond and Gloria Feman Orenstein. I remember thinking to myself, “Oh, that’s what I am!” I had found a label for what I had been practicing for over 20 years.

Growing up as a third generation WILPFer, with a grandmother who marched for women’s suffrage, and a mother who marched with my grandmother at the age of 10 (and also went with her in 1917 to witness the seating of Jeannette Rankin, the first woman elected to the United States Congress) it is not surprising that the “feminist” part of “ecofeminism” came quite naturally to me. I took it for granted that women should be active in public matters, and should work together to accomplish social and political change in the world. When the traditional question was posed to me by my high school fencing coach (“What do you want to do when you grow up?”) I unhesitatingly responded that I wanted “to make the world a better place.” At that time my response was grounded in the social justice issues with which my upbringing had made me so familiar.

There are many strands to the gradual expansion of my natural feminism into “eco” feminism. I have pondered how a child born in Manhattan and raised in the midst of the Detroit urban conglomeration (Highland Park, Mich.) became devoted to protecting Mother Earth and all species.

Another memory come back to me from when I was 5 years old and we planted a “victory garden” in our small Michigan backyard during World War II. After digging in the earth, I proclaimed to my parents that it was the “happiest day of my life.” Perhaps I was expressing what E.O. Wilson has termed “biophilia,” the innate connection to the earth that resides within all human beings. The cherry tree and Lilies of the Valley in that backyard became my friends.

That early strand was reinforced as I grew up and spent time outdoors in the woods and on lakes at summer camps in upstate Michigan. My connection to nature continued to deepen as time passed. During my college years, my first

independent excursion to the West on an American Youth Hostel bicycle tour through the Canadian Rockies was one of many adventures that expanded my geographic range and awareness of the incredible beauty and magnificent wildlife that is the gift of abundance from Mother Earth.

These early experiences coalesced into conviction during the two years I spent as a graduate student in the mid 1950s at the London School of Economics. Living once again in a major urban conglomeration, I discovered that the English countryside was still accessible to an urban dweller through thoughtful land-use planning that valued the preservation of the fields and farms and small villages that surrounded London. The English Town and Country Planning Act, passed after World War II, led to the creation of the London Greenbelt, a model that had tremendous influence on my own thinking.

The organization of the London transport system also encouraged and enabled people to travel by public transportation to the end of the line into the countryside, where one could walk on public footpaths through the idyllic land, which was so valued in England. As a student in those days I was able to explore all of England, visit its great cathedrals and small villages without ever using an automobile, except for occasional hitchhiking. It was an eye opening experience.

Returning to the eastern U.S., I found a path to translate those experiences and convictions into action by obtaining a Master’s degree in city planning at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Shocked by the urban sprawl and thoughtless destruction of the natural environment accelerating in the United States of the 1950s and 1960s, I was determined to find a way to counter that trend.

Moving to Santa Cruz, California with my family in 1969, following

two years in East Africa, (another eye-opening experience which both deepened my connection with the earth and expanded my awareness of the deep poverty in which so many people live), I began my “on the ground” education as an environmental activist/ecofeminist.

Over the years that followed, I became an advocate for coastal protection, for the creation of the Santa Cruz City Greenbelt, and an environmental attorney. I also served on



**The cherry tree and
Lilies of the Valley in a
backyard Victory Garden
became my friends at age 5.**

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Monetary Ecofeminism: Reinventing the Economy with Complementary Currencies

By Gwendolyn Hallsmith

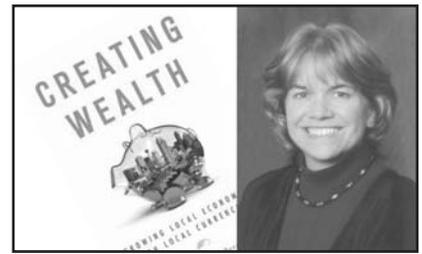
Money. Our relationship with it defines so many aspects of our lives that most of us have an unconscious aversion to even discussing it in polite company. We choose our livelihoods, our homes, our recreation, sometimes even our important relationships, with money as a reference point. Our sense of self-worth can be inextricably tangled up with money – how much we earn, what we have inherited from our family, what we leave to our children and grandchildren. The very definition of state, national, and international progress is reported in monetary terms, governments spend most of their time allocating it to different priorities, wars are fought, prisoners taken, lives ruined, all in the name of money.

So it might come as a surprise that the type of money we use has characteristics that exacerbate the tensions we feel about its role in our lives. We think of money as a neutral means of exchange, just a recordkeeping mechanism that helps us value different goods and services. Look in any economics textbook, and it will say that money is a means of exchange, a unit of account, and a store of value. But all these functions are things that money *does*, the essence of the money we use, what it is, hides beneath these abstractions.

What is money? At its very foundation, money is an *agreement*. It is an agreement we have made as a society to use something – whether it is sparkly gold coins, paper notes or cowrie shells – as a means of exchange. It lives in the same space as contracts, marriages, laws, and treaties. The current agreement we have in place was only born about 40 years ago; the type of money we are using now is a relative youngster on the international scene. Back before the U.S. unilaterally took the world off the gold standard in 1973, gold served as an international basis for money. Since that time, virtually all the money we use on a daily basis is based on bank issued debt. That means that every dollar bill, Euro, Peso, Kroner, Yen, and Ruble brings with it the expectation that it will earn interest – it comes into existence through the issuance of debt.

The positive interest built into the monetary system has a subtle, almost invisible, corrosive effect on human relations, the natural world, and all of the goods and services we rely on for our lives. Bank debt money is artificially scarce; the interest paid forces competition into arenas where once, before everything was monetized, other types of relation-

ships flourished. When an artificially scarce currency creates and reinforces what has become a brutally competitive economy, we need to ask what might be possible if we used different types of money.



Gwendolyn Hallsmith and her book

In Montpelier, Vermont, we have introduced new means of exchange that are not artificially scarce, and that foster cooperation rather than competition. Time currencies are exchanged among members whenever a transaction is desired between two parties. So, in the Onion River Exchange (Montpelier's Time Bank) if I need a ride to the airport, and you are willing to give me a ride, we'll agree on an amount of Community Credits (the name of the currency units, which in this case are measured in time) to exchange for the service, and off we go. You get the credits for driving, and can use them for other things offered in the system – which include just about anything people spend time on.

At its very foundation, money is an agreement...we have made as a society to use something – whether it is sparkly gold coins, paper notes or cowrie shells – as a means of exchange.

Meals are cooked, you can get bookkeeping assistance or babysitting for your children. Electricians, dentists, lawyers, computer geeks, massage therapists, hair stylists, all offer services through the Onion River Exchange.

We have also piloted a food currency, where food growing, preparation, distribution, storage, and serving are the basis for the values in the system. Everyone needs food, and the time and productivity that go into making it available can be a means of exchange, a store of value, and a unit of account. In addition, it drives a market for food storage, and adds value to jobs and professions that are typically underpaid.

The city played an important role in the creation of these two systems, responding in part to the critical need for more elder care. In Montpelier, over 50 percent of the population is over the age of 50, with three times the number of people who are over 90 as the rest of the U.S. population. Our elders have a lot to offer, in addition to their need for more care, and the Time Bank, with a Care Bank program developed with a grant from the U.S. Agency on Aging, has

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Modern Day Slavery in America

By Tanya E. Henderson

With approximately 27 million victims, modern day slavery has become the third most profitable criminal enterprise of our time, second only to guns and drugs. Globally, more than twice as many people are in bondage today than were collectively enslaved during the entire history of the Atlantic slave trade.

While many Americans may like to believe that slavery ended in 1865 with the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment and the Emancipation Proclamation, according to the U.S. Department of State between 14,500-17,500 people are trafficked into the U.S. from overseas each year. They estimate that no less than 5,000 U.S. citizens fall prey to slavery each year. Nearly three out of every four victims are female and half of all modern-day slaves are children.

Following the end of the Cold War, as borders collapsed and globalization exploded, the trafficking of people increased dramatically. Because of its wealth, unlimited economic opportunities and “free-market” society, the United States became a key destination for slave traders.

Legalized slavery in America may be abolished but modern day slavery is prosperous in every state in our nation. Between 1999 and 2004, documented slavery cases were reported in at least 90 U.S. cities. Different from historical slavery, modern day slavery cuts across nationality, race, ethnicity, gender, age, class, and education-level. Additionally, today’s slave can be bought for a few hundred dollars when the average slave in 1850 would have cost the equivalent of \$40,000 in contemporary money. As a result of their cheap cost, modern day slaves are viewed as disposable, easily replaceable, and in some cases, it is more cost effective for the slaveholder to purchase new slaves than to feed, shelter and provide medical care for their current victims.

Where Are They?

Modern day slaves work as migrant laborers harvesting crops, as seamstresses in garment factories, as nannies in the homes of wealthy, and as common laborers (construction, landscaping, etc.) so deeply in debt to their traffickers that their obligation can never be repaid.

Increasingly, the enslaved are women and children—mostly teenage girls, and younger—caught up in the global sex industry of prostitution, pornography and pedophilia. Worker visas issued by the U.S. government for household employees of Diplomats or foreign nationals—who have immunity from criminal and civil charges—create heightened opportunities for trafficking. Domestic workers currently make up the second largest group of trafficking victims in

For information, see National Underground Freedom Center at www.freedomcenter.org/slavery-today, or Free the Slaves at www.freetheslaves.net. Also see page 9 for Action Steps.

the United States. Slavery on America’s farms and in agriculture comes in at a close third.

Under U.S. laws, human trafficking is divided into two major categories: (i.) sex trafficking in which a commercial sex act is induced by force, fraud, or coercion, or in which the person induced to perform such an act has not attained 18 years of age; and (ii.) forced labor which is defined as the recruitment, harboring, transportation, provision, or obtaining of a person for labor or services, through the use of force, fraud or coercion for the purpose of subjection to involuntary servitude, peonage, debt bondage, or slavery. Both are illegal. Under the Trafficking Victims Prevention Act (TVPA) of 2000, and its subsequent Reauthorization Acts of 2003, 2005, and 2008, trafficking is a punishable crime that can include sentences of life imprisonment and harsh economic sanctions for perpetrators of the crime as well as other stakeholders involved in the trafficking enterprise.

Nevertheless, because of the hidden nature of the crime, the shadow economies surrounding trafficking, huge deficiencies in data (no one knows the exact number of people enslaved in the U.S. although a conservative estimate is 50,000), and an overall denial of the problem, the criminal prosecution of human trafficking and slavery is dismal. More often than not crimes of trafficking go unpunished.

According to the U.S. Department of Justice, between the years of 2001- 2005, a mere 555 suspects were investigated for human trafficking and slavery offenses, and of those only 75 defendants were actually convicted. When one considers that roughly 50,000 people a year are victims of slavery in the U.S. each year, 75 convictions over a five-year period is in itself criminal! (A Northeastern University study found that between 73-77 percent of local, county and state law enforcement think trafficking is rare or non-existent in their communities.)

So, what can be done? The enslavement of human beings will likely persist so long as the root causes of trafficking and slavery—such as severe economic disparity and inequity, discrimination against women, and political and environmental instability—remain unresolved. Yet there are many important ways that concerned citizens can take action to reduce or eliminate slavery in the U.S. In fact, a number of human trafficking cases were first identified because a nosy neighbor, a service provider, or attentive passerby called attention to a possible case of human slavery.



Image: Sri Lankan Model U.N.

Tanya Henderson is the former WILPF National Director.

The Chixoy Dam: A Time for Justice

By Lauren Carasik

The year 1982 was a tragically bloody time in the remote village of Rio Negro, in the Guatemalan highlands. In four separate massacres, over 400 innocent people were savagely murdered by the Guatemalan military and paramilitary forces.

These unspeakable atrocities occurred in the context of widespread violence in Guatemala (from 1975-1985) including four regions in which the United Nations concluded that the Guatemalan government committed genocide. The indigenous Maya Achi people of Rio Negro were specifically targeted in order to clear the path for an international development project that precipitated the violence and wholly failed to meet one of its centrally stated goals: alleviating poverty in the local communities.

The village of Rio Negro, along with 32 other communities, was slated for destruction for the construction of the Chixoy Dam, a development project funded by the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank. Some villages up and down river from the proposed dam site reluctantly complied with orders to vacate, while others were less amenable to being forcibly displaced from their ancestral homes.

The inhabitants of Rio Negro were unwilling to trade their way of life for the poorly conceptualized resettlement community of Pacux, a gritty neighborhood on the outskirts of a town called Rabinal. Pacux was located far from their beloved river and without consistent access to potable water. It was also a day's hike from their once thriving and close-knit community. Impatient with the resistance of the village, the military silenced the peaceful opposition through the murder of

men, women and children.

On one particularly brutal day, March 13, 1982, some 177 women and children were bound together and marched up a steep hill to the clearing at Pacoxom, a beautiful setting with a panoramic view of the idyllic valley below. After separating out a few children to be enslaved by the paramilitary forces that would help kill their families, the remaining women and children were slaughtered without mercy. On the 30th anniversary of the March 13 massacre, I attended a moving ceremony to honor and remember the dead at the massacre site. The community's anguish was palpable, co-existing with the hope and the resistance of a people determined to uncover truth, preserve memory and demand justice.

With unparalleled tenacity and courage, survivors of these massacres have labored tirelessly to ensure that their loved ones are not forgotten and that their ancestral lands are restored. Despite unrelenting threats, intrepid leaders Carlos Chen and Carlos Tecu Osario have demanded accountability and reparations for the atrocities committed against their people. Three decades have passed, yet the massacre survivors and those displaced from neighboring villages have seen only empty promises – none have been made whole for the harms inflicted on their communities, their lands and their spirits.

On June 19th and 20th of this year, the Inter American Court of Human Rights held a hearing in the case of Rio Negro survivors against the state of Guatemala, which



"Do not forget" (*No Olvidamos*) says the poster at the commemorative site, and painted messages such as this one on the side of the building keep the memory of the destruction of the town and its inhabitants alive.

labored tirelessly to ensure that their loved ones are not forgotten and that their ancestral lands are restored. Despite unrelenting threats, intrepid leaders Carlos Chen and Carlos Tecu Osario have demanded accountability and reparations for the atrocities committed against their



Carlos Chen, left, whose pregnant wife and two children were murdered, and Carlos Tecu Osario who witnessed the massacre and was subsequently enslaved, are two who lead the demands for accountability and justice.

— Author Photo

has yet to release money necessary to allow survivors to rebuild their communities and heal from the unspeakable harms they have suffered.

Advocates continue to wage a battle against the impunity of the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank. The fight is being waged through the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, despite the

Commission's summary rejection of their petition. An appeal is currently under review. The case against the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank sets an important precedent for the accountability of international organizations, especially those whose stated mission is to alleviate poverty. International human rights standards should be applicable to *all* international institutions. We need to send the message that no one is above the rule of law.

The atrocities in Guatemala are not just a Guatemalan problem, and they demand an international solution. The U.S. has had bloody hands in Guatemala dating back before the 1954 coup that ousted the democratically elected president Jacobo Arbenz. Multilateral development institutions that funded the Chixoy Dam (despite widespread reports of egregious human rights abuses in the region) also bear some responsibility for the carnage that ensued. The member states of these institutions should not escape accountability.

Impunity cannot be allowed to prevail. The state of Guatemala and international organizations must be held to account for the violence perpetrated against the Maya Achi villagers. The courageous survivors deserve swift and full justice: reparations must be paid to foster healing and promote justice without further delay. For more information, please see <http://www.rightsaction.org>.

Lauren Carasik is a Clinical Professor of Law and Director of the International Human Rights Clinic at Western New England University School of Law. She can be reached at lcarasik@gmail.com.



Thirty years later, an altar at the massacre site is one way survivors keep alive the memory of the 400 people killed at Rio Negro. — Author photo

12 STEPS FOR TAKING ACTION TO END HUMAN TRAFFICKING

1. Contact your Senator and demand the immediate passage of S. Bill 1301 the “Trafficking Victims Prevention Reauthorization Act of 2011.” This is the most recent reauthorization of TVPA.
2. Educate yourself, so that you can better educate others! see www.polarisproject.org or www.sharedhoped.org to learn more about this complex problem.
3. Advocate for better resources and training for child welfare agencies. Tell your Congressperson to pass H.R. Bill 2730 the “Strengthening the Child Welfare Response to Trafficking Act.”
4. Write to your local, state, and federal-level representatives and ask them to argue both for better human trafficking trainings for police and other government employees and for better services for victims.
5. Buy slavery-free goods at www.madebysurvivors.com. These products are made by major anti-trafficking organizations around the world.
6. Ask your representative to vote yes for H.R. Bill 2795 the “Business Transparency on Trafficking and Slavery Act,” which requires large companies to report the measures they take to address slavery within their business.
7. Tell your Congressperson to support H.R. Bill 4567 the “U.S. Contractors Liability Act,” which gives the U.S. government authority over federal contractors and employees who commit human trafficking offenses outside of the U.S.
8. Spread the word! Educate your community about human trafficking, especially those who could encounter human trafficking victims and survivors. To find anti-trafficking groups in your area go to MeetUp.com. Or start one of your own.
9. Contact your Congressperson and advocate for H.R. Bill 2982 the “Human Trafficking Reporting Act,” which requires states receiving specific federal funding to provide information about arrests and prosecutions of the crimes of trafficking.
10. As a foreign-language speaker, offer your language skills as an interpreter or English teacher.
11. Donate clean clothing in good condition to organizations that help people find work in the professional world. Donate working electronic devices, like computers or cell phones, to similar organizations.
12. Donate your time and professional skills to anti-trafficking efforts or to survivors of human trafficking.

For steps 10 - 12, call the National Human Trafficking Resource Center to connect with anti-trafficking services in your area. Find out how you can help by calling 1-888-373-7888. Find your Congressperson at www.house.gov/representatives/find. Find your Senator at www.senate.gov.

How to Make Law Relevant, Practical, Effective?

By Madeleine Rees, Secretary General

How many times do we look at what is going on in the world, from the horrors of a now declared civil war in Syria, to the apparent posturing and politicking in the negotiations for an Arms Trade Treaty, and wonder how on earth we got to this? Everyday we can see the lack of any real progress on nuclear disarmament and the continued depletion of the world's resources. We ask ourselves how, after the creation of the U.N., the promises of peace and security and the plethora of international laws to fulfill those promises (and to prosecute individuals who commit atrocities) nothing seems to have changed except that there are now greater risks to the civilian population — on all fronts — than ever before.

There are as many explanations as there are conflicts. Overall, it brings the concept of law and regulation into question. Why bother with something that can be so easily side stepped, subverted or misinterpreted? Yet, I don't think we can give up on the law. Laws are a tool for achieving our objectives of real peace, real security and the assertion of the primacy of human rights. That was one of the reasons I joined WILPF; there are few organizations that have so consistently stuck to the message of peace and how to get there.

The law can be one of our tools, but we have to demystify it and make it accessible. It must be capable of accurately describing and reflecting the real needs, rights and responsibilities of both the individual and the State, so that we can all feel that it is relevant, practical and above all effective. Right now it seems that it is not. How can it be that we have laws which are supposed to prevent crimes against humanity and still consider it legitimate to contemplate the use of nuclear weapons? How can we have laws which require States to ensure "the maximum use of available resources" to provide for health care, employment and welfare, and still allow the monstrous budgetary allocations for weapons while funding for everything else is slashed?

One of the reasons is that the law has evolved to regulate particular areas: from war, to trade, to human rights, and the environment, and each has its own little highway with few roads actually connecting the issues. As a result, there is no big picture, just small bits here and there waiting for the grand design to see where they should all be leading and what that would look like. That's why when States send their trade delegations to negotiate the Arms Trade Treaty, they have no idea what gender-based violence would have to do with it.

To try to build that bigger picture, and to strategize as to how to get there, WILPF convened an expert meeting of

lawyers in December 2011.

On the issue of nuclear weapons: We looked at what there is in terms of regulation and control, and then we studied human rights and international humanitarian laws and applied them. Yes, it's been done before but both the law and opinions change, and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) has now stated that the use of nuclear weapons would be in breach of International Humanitarian Law (IHL). The human rights lawyers argued that there were serious implications in the costs of their production and in the consequences of their use. The Environmentalists had a clear case! The criminal lawyers pushed the issue by looking at genocidal intent; which if you think of it, the very possession of such a weapon with an intention to use it automatically places you in the category contemplating the commission of genocide.

We looked at the intersection between laws around war and human rights, and examined the arms trade from the same perspective, finding that the test of "reasonable foreseeability" should prohibit the sale of arms to States where those arms are likely to be used to commit human rights violations, or violations of IHL or gender-based violence.

We also looked at the doctrine of "the responsibility to protect," which has been much maligned because of the way it has been used to justify armed intervention. But when we study it, we see that that's what it actually is.

Pillar One of the responsibility to protect asserts the primary responsibility of States to protect their populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. Pillar Two contains the commitment of the international community to provide assistance to States in building capacity to protect their populations from these mass atrocity crimes and violations and to assist States under stress before crises and conflicts break out. Pillar Three can lead to intervention "when a State is 'manifestly failing' to protect its populations, should peaceful means be inadequate, through the Security Council and in accordance with the Charter." There is much that can and must be done to promote pillars One and Two so that using Three is not necessary.



The author

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The Militarization of Indian Country

By Winona LaDuke

Native America and Indigenous communities are heavily impacted by the U.S. military and that story has not been told.

So it is that I wrote my book, *The Militarization of Indian Country*, as a debt to my father Vincent LaDuke, who was a conscientious objector to the Korean War. Native Americans have the highest rate of military enlistment of any community in the United States, largely because of the dire economics of Indian Country, but also because of a very complex relationship with the military. Native America has the highest rate of living veterans of any community in the country.

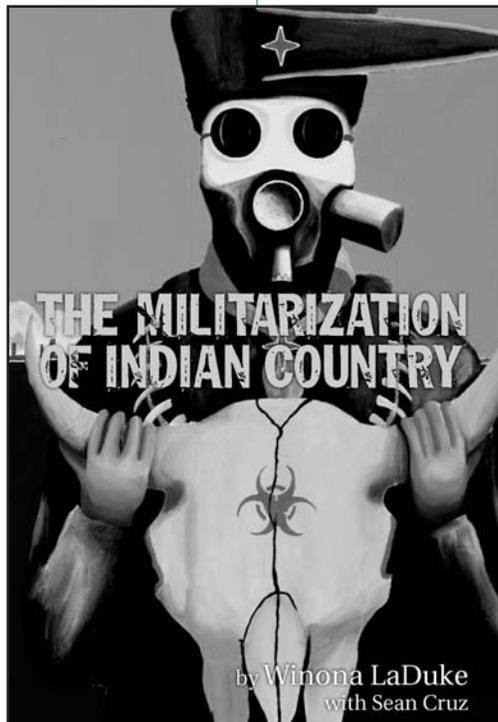
The U.S. has historically appropriated Native American imagery for the military. Indeed, Native nomenclature in the U.S. military is widespread to this day. From Kiowa, Apache Longbow and Black Hawk helicopters to Tomahawk missiles, the machinery of war has many Native American names. In military parlance, hostile or enemy territory is referred to as “Indian country,” or “Indian territory,” nomenclature that is widely shared by the American public. Leaving a military base is often referred to as “going off the reservation,” and is used also to describe or characterize problematic or out-of-control behavior. When the U.S. went after the world’s most notorious terrorist, Osama bin Laden, they named the operation after Apache freedom fighter Geronimo – and most of the American public seemed O.K. with that.

OCCUPIED LAND

The modern U.S. military has also taken our lands for bombing exercises and military bases, and for the experimentation and storage of some of the deadliest chemical agents and toxins known to mankind. A large number of tribal reservations in the western U.S. and Canada are also named after military bases. The Department of Defense states that as part of carrying out its mission to defend America, “certain activities—such as weapons testing, practiced bombing and field maneuvers—may have had effects

on tribal environmental health and safety as well as tribal economic, social and cultural welfare.”

Indeed, the military is one of the largest landowners in the United States – with some 30 million acres of land under its control, much of which was annexed or otherwise stolen from Native peoples. The states with the top two federal land holdings are Nevada and Alaska. These land holdings represent takings under the 1863 Ruby Valley Treaty with the Shoshone and the Alaskan Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971, respectively. The military also reigns over more than 200,000 acres of Hawaii, with over 100 military installations.



ALASKA: AN OCCUPIED TERRITORY

Alaska Natives have felt some of the most widespread and deepest impacts of the military. Alaska has over 200 Native villages and communities and almost as many military sites. The military holds over 1.7 million acres of Alaska, much of this within the traditional territories of Indigenous communities in the north. Seven hundred active and abandoned military sites account for at least 1,900 toxic hot spots. Five out of seven Superfund sites in the state are a result of military contamination. There are also 700 formerly used defense sites in Alaska, and they tell a history of the cold war and every war since. The levels of radioactive and persistent organic pollutants remaining in the environment impact

people who are dependent upon the land for their subsistence way of life.

WESTERN SHOSHONE TERRITORY

In 1940, President Roosevelt created with a stroke of his pen the 3.5 million acre Nellis Range. After World War II, this bombing range would be absorbed into the nuclear weapons complex concentrated in Nevada, described as the largest “peacetime” militarized zone on earth. The Western Shoshone would disagree. In 1951, the Atomic Energy Commission created its Nevada Test Site within Western

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The Lessons of Wisconsin and Michigan

By Marybeth Gardam

Many of us are still thinking about the results of Wisconsin's recent recall election and why Gov. Walker was returned to power after such a long and determined effort to oust him. The answer may well be a strategy that seems much in vogue in our culture: "divide and conquer."

Walker was recorded *saying* this was his winning strategy during his campaign. He successfully turned many unemployed and under-employed Wisconsinites against unions and public employees, and drove a wedge between the 99 percent who should have been standing together. I heard Jesse Jackson remind a crowd this winter: "When we stand together, we win ... and they know it."

Many a progressive organization has fallen victim to the same kind of divide and conquer mentality, even from the inside. Sometimes our greatest enemy is that type of division, which alienates and paralyzes people.

Part of the problem in Wisconsin might be geography. Wisconsin, much like Iowa (where I live) is divided between the more liberal cities and the more conservative country towns. While Madison, Milwaukee and other cities were appalled at Walker's tactics to demonize labor, most of the state — especially in more conservative rural towns — has been swayed by the trash talk about unions over the past 40 years, and especially during Walker's tenure.

Both our states have a lot of work to do if we are to tackle the differences between town and country and spread the word about why it is in ALL our interests to support unions and real democracy. WILPF could play a strong role in this, since we have the history and experience to do this.

Uniting People, in Towns & Cities

We could do this through supporting local groups like the Farmers Union, Buy Local Campaigners, Anti-Big Bad Bank Groups, Homeless Advocates and Occupy, and by making presentations to the AAUW and the League of Women Voters, and even tabling at farmers markets. "WILPF Applauds the 99 percent Standing Together" has a nice ring to it. We could offer the soon-to-be-updated

Corporate Study Course, which outlines the benefits to all workers of solidarity and union organizing. Moving out of our comfort zones — and beyond our cities — to conduct Corporate Study courses in more remote towns could help as well, and we could try to work in collaboration with other like-minded groups that may already have a foothold in those communities.

We need to counter the mindset that we must rely on big corporations for jobs, because they are the only ones who can provide good high-paying jobs with "benefits" for our kids.

That reality has come about because we have, as a country, continuously given preferential treatment to big corporations; with tax subsidies, TIF credits, preferential treatment in government contracts, narrowed access for distribution of goods, and the unregulated way that a dozen or so mega corporations control nearly all of the brands that are available to Americans in the predominant retail, grocery, hardware and office supply chains, including

Being there for one another in these dark times means everything. Being able to count on one another, whether in the workplace, with afterschool programs or within our own branches, can make or break a movement and its spirit.

the ever-present "Big Box Stores." The myth of the "free market" continues. And there is a lot of fear about going it alone that benefits the 1 percent. We can remedy this and give small businesses a chance to pay better wages and succeed on a larger scale by supporting local living economies and demanding an end to corporate welfare. We'd need both the political will and the economic strategies available to shift priorities, and in the interim things would likely get worse before they got better.

To stick to it, the way our union grandparents stuck through hard economic times, we'd have to be able to lift up an inspiring vision of how life might look in this different non-corporate reality. And vision is hard to come by these days. WILPF's job is fanning the political will.

For their part, I believe unions have let some of their less tangible worker benefits fall by the wayside. It used to be that unions strove to get their members the best possible hourly wages, vacation and benefits from employers, but they also offered members more up-close-and-personal community support as a practical benefit of membership. One of my friends described union meetings that were held

in her grandfather's home, a big three-story house in Queens, New York. On the first floor the union meeting was in order, with all the members (usually men) in attendance. Upstairs, English lessons and American culture lessons were offered for the wives, to make it a little easier to "get along" in this New World. In the basement a priest would be teaching Gaelic to the children, so they wouldn't lose touch with the language of their ancestors.

These old time unions made their members feel supported in ways that went well beyond continuously escalating wages. They had to, because there were rough years when wages simply would not budge. Unions helped pay for funerals, wedding gifts and baptism gifts and "help" (not just monetary) from union members for families experiencing trauma or illness. Meals would arrive from unknown union members, prepared for families of striking workers or for families with other troubles.

These are the blessings of community and solidarity that we could replicate in lots of different kinds of neighborhoods. Being there for one another in these dark times means everything. Being able to count on one another, whether in the workplace, with afterschool programs or within our own branches, can make or break a movement and its spirit. What if we just took on a neighborhood and really began to help identify needs and link resources to meet them?

While pushing for better hours, working conditions

WILPF members should stand especially with Benton Harbor, a battlefield of profits over people and using economics as an excuse for further eroding civil rights and democracy.

and higher pay and benefits is vital for raising the tide for all boats, sometimes the unions pushed in ways that were as unsustainable as the corporate profits were. Sometimes they put company owners (of smaller and midsize companies) into disadvantageous situations so they could not compete with the mega corporations. The unions may have played into the hands of corporations, by unwittingly supporting the model of huge corporate entities and the wealthy elite who run them. That's not to let devastating anti-union policies and sentiment off the hook. The system was, and is, increasingly rigged.

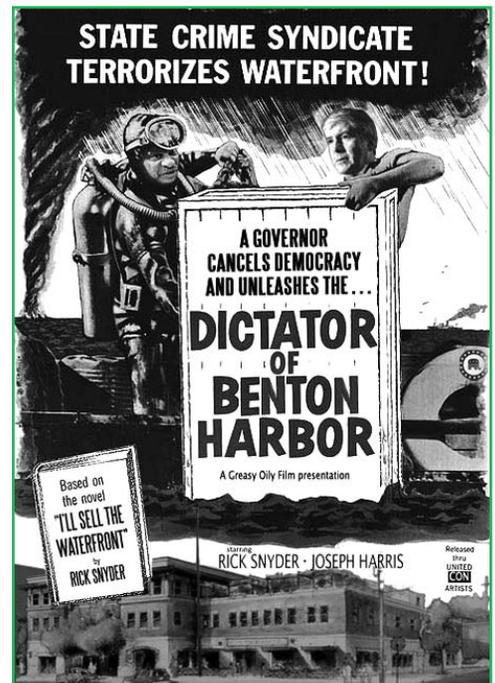
But even more chilling than Wisconsin's recall election results is what's happening in Benton Harbor, MI. There, a repressive conservative governor took action

against democratically elected town council members and the Mayor when they began to act in ways that elevated unions and sought to advance the needs of the poor. This spring, an emergency financial manager fired the entire local government. It was apparently easy to take this draconian step in Benton Harbor since

there was almost no news coverage and barely a peep from the rest of Michigan, in part because it's such a poor and predominantly African American community. Importantly, this tactic has set a dangerous precedent that can be used to threaten local governments of *all* kinds, in many situations around the country. The great civil rights issue of the 21st Century is Corporate Personhood, and the great question remains: who is a person?

With trade organizations and corporations calling the shots, a GOP that is determined to undermine unions and workers rights, and many governors in their pockets, it's entirely possible that the Benton Harbor model will become a new tool for punishing any cities which insist on honoring union contracts and giving preferential treatment to small businesses.

WILPF members across the country should stand with non-profits, with nuns, with teachers, with homeless advocates and organizations in solidarity with unions and people in need. We should stand especially with Benton Harbor, a battlefield of profits over people and using economics as an excuse for further eroding civil rights and democracy. Write letters to the editor and act to keep the specter of stolen democracy in the minds of the public! Work through WILPF or in collaboration with WILPF, with Move To Amend or labor councils or churches. Do the math ... we are the 99 percent!



Poster designed by, and used courtesy of, Nonni9999. Visit her blog, Hysterical Raisins at <http://mikk2.wordpress.com/>

Marybeth Gardam, is Chair of WILPF's Corporations v Democracy Issue Committee.

Journeys to the Generative Economy

By Marjorie Kelly

Many of us live with a “TINA” view of our economy: There Is No Alternative to capitalism as we know it. But all over the world a new kind of economy is already sprouting – a generative economy: one that serves the many rather than the few, one that creates the conditions where all of life might thrive for generations to come. What creates the foundation for this new economy is ownership, alternative forms of ownership that are focused not on maximizing financial income, but on creating the conditions for life.

In writing my new book, *Owning Our Future: The Emerging Ownership Revolution*, I journeyed across the U.S. and Europe to visit some of the most promising emerging examples of what I call “generative ownership” – the kind of ownership suited to living on a finite planet, and working together cooperatively in ways that benefit us all.

There are many kinds of generative ownership, including cooperatives, employee ownership, foundation ownership of large corporations, municipal ownership, and emerging social enterprises. Among the most exciting are these forms of community ownership.

1. COMMUNITY-OWNED BANKS: Like credit unions in the U.S., building societies in the U.K., and cooperative banks found across the globe these banks are owned by their depositors. At a time when the mega-banks of the U.S. were receiving billions in bailouts, the vast majority of the nation’s 8,000 consumer-owned credit unions needed none. In Europe, the cooperative banking sector holds 21 percent of all deposits. In the Netherlands, the enormous Rabobank holds 43 percent of the country’s deposits. These cooperative banks are run democratically in the interests of their customers. (<http://www.eurocoop-banks.coop/?nav=2>)

2. COMMUNITY-OWNED WIND: Lynneten Wind Farm, stands offshore in Copenhagen harbor. Here three turbines are owned by a local utility, four by a “wind guild.” Wind guilds are owned by small local investors who joined together to fund and own wind installations, with no corporate middleman. Denmark today generates 20 percent of its electric power from wind, more than any other nation. Many

credit that success to the grassroots movement of the wind guilds. (www.windustry.org/communitywind)

3. COMMUNITY-OWNED

FORESTS OF MEXICO: Here the rights to govern and profit from the forest are often held by indigenous peoples, like the Zapotec Indians of Ixtlan de Juarez in southern Mexico. At Ixtlan the problems that bedeviled other forests in Mexico, such as deforestation and illegal logging, have become relatively unknown. The reason is community members have incentive to be stewards, because forest enterprises employ 300 people harvesting timber, making furniture, and caring for the forest. Community forests represent 60 to 80 percent of all forests in Mexico. Worldwide, more than a quarter of forests in developing nations are managed by local communities.

(www.yellowwood.org/Keeping%20Wealth%20Local.pdf)

4. COMMUNITY LAND TRUSTS: The Jewish National Fund, a public but nongovernmental institution was established over a century ago to hold land that, as its founder said, would be “the property of the Jewish people as a

whole.” Today the fund still holds title to substantial land in Israel, overseen by trustees who lease portions to kibbutzim and others who use it in the public interest. Mexico once had the “ejido” system, involving

village control over communal land. And traditions of common land ownership were known in ancient China and Africa. Today these traditions survive in the British custom of the town common in New England. There are also community land trusts in the U.S. where a cluster of families own their homes, while a community nonprofit owns the land beneath those homes. In the housing crisis that began in 2008, community land trust homes in the



We’re at the beginning of an unseen ownership revolution. Visiting these places, as I do in my book, is a journey into the territory of the possible, a kind of advance scouting expedition for the collective journey of our global culture.



<http://www.clnetwork.org/>

The generative economy is more than a hopeful idea. In many ways, it's already here, emerging in largely unsung, disconnected experiments all over the world.

U.S. had foreclosure rates one-tenth those of traditionally owned homes. (www.cltnetwork.org/)

5. EMPLOYEE-OWNED BUSINESSES ROOTED IN COMMUNITY: In Cleveland, Ohio, a city experiencing the bleakest form of economic decay, a new model of worker ownership is taking shape. The Evergreen Cooperative Laundry is a model that is beginning to spread across the country. At this green laundry – supported by stable contracts with anchor institutions such as hospitals and universities – employees buy into the company through payroll deductions and can build a \$65,000 equity stake over eight or nine years. Other companies in the Cleveland project include Ohio Cooperative Solar, expected to employ 100, and Green City Growers, likely to become the largest urban food-producing greenhouse in the nation. Organizers envision a group of 10 companies creating 500 jobs over five years – in a city where the poverty rate is above 30 percent.

The generative economy is more than a hopeful idea. In many ways, it's already here, emerging in largely unsung, disconnected experiments all over the world. As crisis after crisis is spun off by today's dominant form of ownership – the publicly traded corporation, with ownership shares trading on Wall Street – alternative forms are at the same time emerging. We're at the beginning of an unseen ownership revolution. Visiting these places, as I do in my book, is a journey into the territory of the possible, a kind of advance scouting expedition for the collective journey of our global culture. It's a journey into the generative economy – an economy whose fundamental social architecture tends to

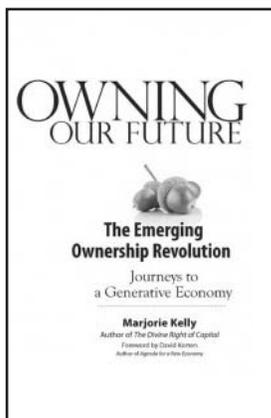


Author Marjorie Kelly advises private businesses on ownership and capital design for social mission. She is a fellow of the Tellus Institute, a 35-year-old nonprofit research and consulting organization in Boston.

Photo: Copyright © 2012 Marjorie Kelly

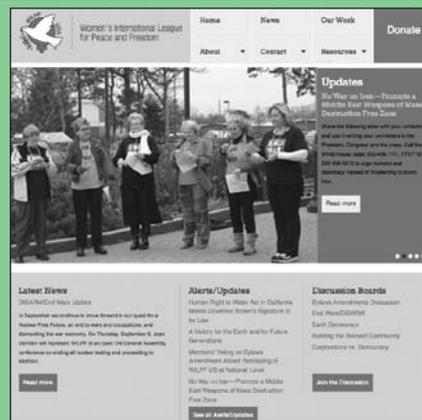
create beneficial rather than harmful outcomes. It's a living economy that has a built-in tendency to be socially fair and ecologically sustainable.

The change these emerging experiments represent is fundamental and enduring because it involves ownership. That is to say, what's at work is not the legislative or presidential whims of a particular hour, but a permanent shift in the underlying architecture of economic power. ❖



Adapted from *Owning Our Future: The Emerging Ownership Revolution* (Berrett-Koehler Publishers, 2012), by Marjorie Kelly. For a longer excerpt see www.OwningOurFuture.com. Available in paperback or ebook from your local bookstore or Amazon.com. WILPF members planning to use the book in a reading group can obtain a free copy from KellyInfo@Tellus.org.

**WILPF has a new, re-designed website:
www.wilpfus.org
Visit to participate in on-line discussion boards.
Let us know what you think of the new design at dialogue@wilpf.org**



Remembering Marii Kyogoku Hasegawa

September 17, 1918 - July 1, 2012

By Sandy Silver

One year after her birth in a tiny seaside city near Hiroshima, Japan, Marii and her family moved to the U.S. She and her sisters attended schools in California and she graduated from the University of California at Berkeley in 1938. After the start of World War II, over 110,000 Japanese Americans living on the West Coast were forced to leave their homes, stripped of their rights as citizens and interned in “relocation camps.” Marii and her parents were swept up in that hysteria and sent to the Topaz Relocation Camp in Utah.

Marii made it known to everyone that she was drawn to WILPF because of its vehement protests against the internment camps. Her lifelong membership in WILPF U.S. included serving on the national board and as President from 1971 to 1975. During her presidency, she courageously travelled to Hanoi with an international delegation of women. Since it was illegal at that time for Americans to travel to North Vietnam, she used her Japanese passport.

In 1996 she was awarded the Niwano Peace Prize, presented annually by the Buddhist Niwano Foundation to people who have contributed to inter-religious cooperation furthering the cause of world peace. Just as Jane Addams donated the money from her Nobel Peace Prize award to WILPF, so too did Marii donate her \$100,000 cash prize to WILPF.

During her acceptance speech, she said: “It is with humility and gratitude that I accept the ...Niwano Peace Prize. I am not a person of renown as were previous recipients. I do not have the academic qualifications nor the honors

Past Presidents Remember Marii

Mary Zepernick (1989-1993): *Marii was the heart and principled center of the steering committee during my presidency.*

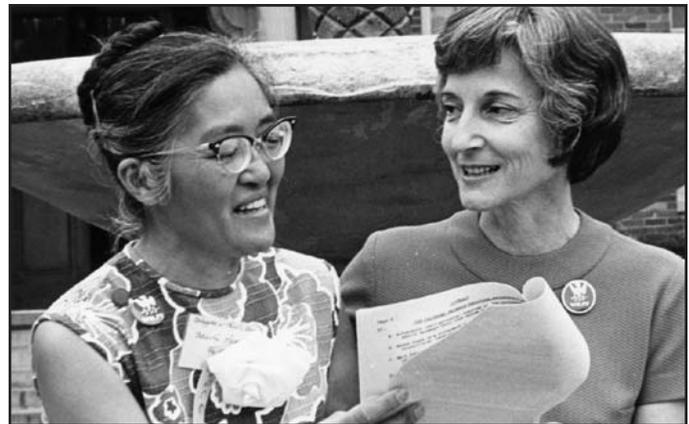
Betty Burkes (1996-1999): *I too remember her with deep respect and appreciation. I remember Marii as the great arbiter of the “middle way.” May her wisdom, patience and integrity inspire the next generation of young women activists and be a guiding light for each of us in our pursuit of truth, reconciliation and redemption.*

Phyllis Yingling (1999-2001): *It was such a joy to be with Marii and to be uplifted by her always positive outlook.*

Chris Morin (2005-2008): *Even though Marii led a long life, it is always a sad day when another hero leaves this earth. We do need more heroes.*



Releasing doves in New York City and with Kay Camp and the Vietnam Peace Declaration in 1971. Dove Photo: Janet Scagnelli



of professional education of those who have previously received this award. I accept this great honor on behalf of the ordinary women and men who steadfastly work for peace, freedom and justice in the face of great difficulties. For those who continue their work in the face of seeming hopelessness and who strain every fiber of their ability despite all setbacks.”

Marii's dedication to WILPF also extended to setting up two annuities with the Jane Addams Peace Association (JAPA). She received quarterly payments from JAPA for more than 20 years. U.S. WILPF, International WILPF and JAPA will share the remaining principal in her annuities. To carry on the legacy of Marii Hasegawa, her family has notified us that contributions can be made in her memory to JAPA.

A documentary film of her life, *Marii Hasegawa: Gentle Woman of a Dangerous Kind*, can be ordered from www.smallstepsfilms.com.

Sandy Silver, a Life Member of WILPF, is an active member of the Santa Cruz Branch of WILPF. She served as the Co-President of WILPF U.S. from 2002 - 2005 and is currently the Co-President of JAPA along with Judith Joseph of the Burlington, VT Branch.

The WILPF Middle East Committee has had a lengthy internal discussion regarding Hamas and its relationship to peace talks in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. We want to expand that discussion to the rest of WILPF, which is why this article and the accompanying one by Ellen Roser are appearing in Peace & Freedom.

Middle East Committee Looks at Hamas

By Barbara Taft

Organizations change over time. Ellen has described Hamas in a brief history below. In the last Palestinian election, deemed fair and legitimate by international observers, Hamas was chosen as the government by the Palestinian people. Israel and the U.S. have since de-legitimized the results, calling Hamas a terrorist organization and only talking with Fatah, the minority party.

We must recognize the legitimacy of democratically-held elections. Where a party represents a significant portion of a population, talking with their opposition will not lead to productive discussions on major issues. This is especially true in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict.

Recognized elder statesman of the Israeli peace movement, Uri Avnery, has noted that, in a conflict, you must speak with the enemy; conflicts aren't solved by speaking with your friends. Israel says Hamas is their enemy and

uses that as an excuse for not moving the peace process forward. If the goal is to achieve peace, then this is self-defeating.

We believe sufficient changes have taken place in the outlook of Hamas to make it both a legitimate partner in peace talks and a proper representative of more than half of the Palestinian people. Hamas is a social service organization, containing structures that are political in nature. It would serve the cause of peace to remove the organization from the U.S. terrorist watch list and include them in future peace talks. Additional information is on the Middle East Committee portion of the WILPF website, and we are producing a booklet on the issues involved. We urge you to look at the materials and add your voice to the discussion.

Barbara Taft is co-chair of WILPF's Middle East Committee. She can be reached at beejaysite@yahoo.com

What is Hamas?

By Ellen Rosser

Hamas is not a terrorist organization. Like Fatah, it is a Palestinian political party. Like Fatah, it accepts the two-state solution and peace with Israel. And, like Fatah, it has an armed branch not under the control of the political branch. Hamas is part of the Palestinian democracy and should be removed from the U.S. terrorist list.

Hamas was founded in 1987 by paraplegic Sheik Ahmed Yassin as an offshoot of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood. Israel supported its founding as an alternative to the PLO, which Israel totally rejected at that time. The peace activist Uri Avnery has described both the Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas as "pragmatic and non-fundamentalist" and has stated that Israel should talk to Hamas.

The Hamas Charter of 1987 called for one large Islamic Palestine, which could be won by jihad, but in which Muslims, Christians and Jews would live together in harmony. Hamas, like the PLO, had no anti-Semitism, but both parties wanted to recover the land lost to Zionists who began settling in Palestine after the Balfour Declaration of 1917. By 1948 most of the Palestinians had been driven out

of the newly formed state of Israel. Some Palestinians have been fighting since 1920 to prevent Zionists from taking over Palestine. Hamas, however, gave up the one-state solution and accepted the alternative and more realistic two-state solution to the conflict.

In 1995, Sheik Yassin had "no objections" to a proposal that would make Jerusalem the capital of both Palestine and Israel to be governed by the religious leaders of the three Abrahamic religions and including the rebuilding of the Temple of King Solomon at the north end of the Temple Mount/Haram al Sharif. Then, in June 2004 towards the end of the second Intifada, Sheik Yassin stated that Hamas would end armed resistance in exchange for a Palestinian state in the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem, and Hamas then began a unilateral ceasefire with Israel. That policy has since been maintained by Gaza Prime Minister Ismail Haniyeh and other Hamas leaders.

Although Hamas was unified under Sheik Yassin, after his assassination by Israel in 2004, Hamas' two branches became independent of each other. Hamas, the political



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Even Conservatives Agree: A Corporation is Not a Person

By Mary Laan

On January 21, 2010, the U.S. Supreme Court made a big mistake: It said that corporations are entitled to constitutional rights and said money is equivalent to speech. This was the famous “Citizens United Decision.” Move to Amend of South East Wisconsin, which grew out of a Milwaukee WILPF meeting at Rose Daitzman’s home in April, 2010, wants to reverse this decision by means of a U.S. Constitutional Amendment that states a corporation is not a person, and money is not speech.

We have teamed up with the national Move to Amend movement (www.movetoamend.org). A major part of our literature and understanding of the issues, however, is attributable to WILPF and our 17-year history of studying corporate personhood. (Kaitlin Sopoci-Dunlap, Move to Amend’s national coordinator, was on WILPF’s corporate personhood committee at one point.)

In its Citizens United Decision, the Supreme Court also said that speech should not be limited and therefore the spending of money (i.e., speech) should not be, either. According to the judges in this 5-4 decision, the spending on issue ads, which do not endorse or recommend against a candidate, could be anonymous. This opened the door to unlimited, anonymous money in politics.

Money is a way of expressing oneself, but it is not equivalent to speech. It is a metaphor for speech. Money and speech just are not the same thing. But certainly money enables speech in this society...and that’s a big problem. If money equals speech, then no money equals no speech. Less money equals less speech. And in the end, money has more of a voice than our votes do.

What about “corporate personhood,” or the idea that a corporation has Constitutional Rights? It is our “unalienable rights” that define us as human, according to our Declaration of Independence which states: “These rights are inherent in being human, and make us sovereign, or rulers, rather than the King or Queen being the only sovereign.” So who’s the ruler now, when corporations have Constitutional rights, too? Who is sovereign? At this time in our history, corporations have more rights and privileges than “We the People” who invented them in the first place. This is clearly wrong.

We want to change the whole idea of corporate personhood and money as speech, as do 68 percent of Republicans, and 87 percent of Democrats, and overall – 80 percent of the entire U.S. public – according to an NBC/Washington Post poll.

Move to Amend’s purpose in going to West Allis, Wisconsin, with our referendum, was to prove that the opposition to the Citizens United decision by the Supreme Court

in 2010 was nonpartisan; that is, that it stretched across all boundaries politically. I believe we did that.

By a 70 percent margin, the people of West Allis (who voted 55 percent for Gov. Walker in the Wisconsin gubernatorial election -- not the recall) agreed that a Corporation is not a person and money is not speech on a recent referendum. (West Allis was unusual in voting for Walker, considering they are part of Milwaukee County. The majority of Milwaukee County, where Scott Walker was the County Executive, voted against Walker.) We therefore consider West Allis to be a community that leans to the right. So in this predominantly conservative area, which is mostly working class, this particular ballot probably had an unusually high Republican vote, since it was held during the Republican presidential primary.

Our Move to Amend group obtained 4,234 signatures in 58 days in order to get it on the ballot, and our response was predominantly positive from the people who we asked to sign. About 80 percent of the people we asked to sign actually did so! We were more than astonished when Tea Party members supported us. We feel the referendum result of 70 percent was better than a poll, because we assume people take voting more seriously.

WORKING ON THE GROUND

Although people did not know Citizens United by name, they were familiar with the decision by the Supreme Court in 2010 that ruled a Corporation is a person and money is speech, and most said it was an unbelievable decision. It is clear that the Supreme Court has lost some of its prestige, at least with these voters. Most people laughed about it, and about the fact that the Supreme Court said money was speech. The majority of the people we spoke to were also very angry about money in politics, and many voiced the opinion that they didn’t think we’d ever get a constitutional amendment, but were willing to sign and try for it.

Move to Amend of South East Wisconsin decided to go to West Allis because we needed to practice doing this work in a smaller community before going for a referendum on the ballot in Milwaukee. It was the first time my husband Jim Ito and I spearheaded anything political, or did anything more political than work for President Obama to get elected, or attend an anti-Walker rally. We did plenty of that. But we had never attempted organizing on our own, or running a petition drive.

Sura Faraj, a member of our group, came up with the idea of going to West Allis, because it would prove conservatives are against corporate personhood and money as speech.

Another reason was that there was petition fatigue in the area, especially since senate recall petitions had been circulated in our own neighborhood and the nearby areas. In Wisconsin, we not only were trying to recall the Governor, but five Republican Senators, two of whom did actually get recalled. Another reason was that our own neighborhood really wouldn't prove much, as everybody knows it's a pretty liberal area. So we went for practice and proof: practice in organizing, and proof that it was a nonpartisan, or trans-partisan, issue.

The majority of the American public is very much against corporate personhood and unlimited money in politics.

We were able to stop getting signatures about two days before the 60-day deadline, as we had plenty. We went to the City Council of West Allis for their endorsement, but they all said, "We don't want to get political." Once it was going to be on the ballot, however, they endorsed it, and I think that was because they saw how many signatures we got, and how their constituents felt.

Next we are going for Milwaukee County – but we know we couldn't possibly get 64,000 signatures in 60 days. There just aren't enough people on our team at this time. Instead, we are going to try another route, through the County Board. At this point, we can refer to the Los Angeles City Council, the New York City Council, and the Madison, WI/ Dane County WI referenda, all of which have passed similarly worded resolutions. There are 137 municipalities nationwide that have passed, or are in the midst of working on passing, a referendum such as ours and Madison's. We are making good headway and probably have a big enough majority on our side to override any possible veto by the County Executive.

With regard to the national level, there are six proposed constitutional amendments in the Senate or House. All of these bills are inadequate in one way or another. The only bill that covers both corporate personhood and money is not speech is Bernie Sanders', but his unfortunately leaves PACs and SuperPACs out by limiting the type of corporation covered to "for-profit" ones. Of course, PACs and SuperPACs are the main problem, so that's what makes his bill inadequate.

We are happy, however, in West Allis to have contributed the only referendum that has been put forward in a working-class, primarily Republican community. I think this is very important in that it does prove that the majority of the American public is very much against corporate personhood and unlimited money in politics.

Mary Laan, a member of Milwaukee WILPF, can be reached at marylaan@yahoo.com.

➤ LAW

Continued from page 10

After this work was completed, WILPF U.K. came to Geneva and we made the case that the U.K. was in breach of its human rights obligations by spending so much on the Trident, but slashing the budget and jobs. (Some 70 percent of those cuts fell on women.) This has never been done before, but WILPF did it and no one has stood up and said we were wrong.

The outcome document is on the web site of RCW and we are doing a "user-friendly" version and a video with Q and A's for non-lawyers to use.

I am not so naïve that I think of the law as a panacea, but, at its best, it can be used to reflect the better intentions of human nature. Together, we can use the law as a tool to help in WILPF's overriding ambition to bring peace.

Madeleine Rees is Secretary General of WILPF International. She can be contacted at mrees@wilpf.ch.

➤ HAMAS

Continued from page 17

party, has no control over Izzadin Qassam, the armed branch. Al Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade, Fatah's armed branch, is on the U.S. terrorist list. Fatah is not, for it is well known that Fatah has no control over Al Aqsa Martyrs' Brigade. Comparably, Izzadin Qassam, which killed four Israeli settlers in 2011, could be on the U.S. terrorist list. Hamas should not be.

Indeed, Hamas is remarkably self-controlled. After it won the election in Palestine in 2006, Israel attempted to overthrow it by arresting all the Hamas legislators in the West Bank, including Dr. Assis Dweik, who wanted to be the "Gandhi of Palestine." Next, the U.S. instigated an attempt by Mohammed Dahlan of Fatah to overthrow the Hamas leaders in Gaza. In December 2008, Israel attempted to destroy Hamas in Gaza in "Operation Cast Lead," even though Hamas had been doing a rather good job of preventing small parties from shooting Qassam rockets into southern Israel. Israel failed, though it killed many civilians in the attempt. Through all of these attempts, Hamas has patiently and steadfastly endured and has continued to maintain its unilateral ceasefire with Israel unless attacked inside Gaza. Moreover, Hamas, like 20 Arab countries and all the Muslim countries (including Iran), continues to offer peace to Israel through the Arab Peace Initiative of 2002. It is indeed reprehensible that Hamas is still on the U.S. terrorist list.

Ellen Rosser is a WILPF member and part of the Middle East Committee. She has spent many years in the Middle East.

Telling Our Stories for WILPF's Centennial – and Beyond

By Judy Adams

Is your branch looking for ways to celebrate WILPF's 100th anniversary in 2015? Why not establish a one time, or even better, an ongoing oral history project to interview your older branch members and preserve their stories?

With digital recording devices it is easy to record, transcribe, and preserve an interview series to capture the history

**Take the challenge:
Give voice to peace.
Get hooked on history!**

of your branch and its members' work, and make it available to others for research and inspiration. Archival repositories (such as your local historical society, university, or the Swarthmore Peace Library) are there to accept your materials. Just add enthusiastic interviewers from your branch, and willing members who want to talk about what led them to their work for peace and justice. Ask them what has kept them going in this lifelong effort.

In 1979, seeking a way to become acquainted with the fantastic older women in our branch in Palo Alto, California (and to make my own modest contribution to the branch), I began tape-recording one of our longtime members as we worked together at the local Peace Center. My interviewing skills were rusty, and my equipment poor, but I was immediately "hooked" on the process, and inspired by her stories. It was a life-changing experience for me, and over the next 10 years I continued doing interviews. I taught students at Stanford and San Jose State University about the history of the peace movement and women's essential roles in it as well as the history of WILPF and other peace groups. I also provided training in oral history skills. Our local project grew to become a national project with WILPF branches throughout the U.S. contributing interviews with more than 90 women peace activists.

Using portraits of each interviewee, done by our project's volunteer photographers, we put together a slide show for community events to honor the women and recruit new WILPF members. A San Francisco women's reader's theater group (MotherTongue) created a performance based on the interviews. In 1991 we published a book with excerpts from 23 of the interviews, *Peacework: Oral Histories of Women Peace Activists* (Twayne Press Oral History Series/G.K. Hall).

But the enduring legacy consists of the interviews themselves, which are now being digitized at Stanford University's Archive of Recorded Sound, where I have donated the collection, making it accessible to researchers. In reviewing our project materials at Stanford, I'm returning to interviews that weren't fully transcribed when we made selections for our book, and hope to complete all transcripts by 2015. In the process, I've become re-energized and inspired once again by the stories of these wonderful women, their combination of pragmatism and idealism, and their spirit.

This is all to say that your branch can do the same, and it's a valuable and exciting way to add to the historical record of WILPF and honor your members' peace work. To "challenge" branches to contribute interviews for the centennial, I participated in a workshop at last summer's 30th Congress in Chapel Hill. For the workshop, I updated the detailed oral history guidelines I had prepared for my classes. Those guidelines and excerpts of interviews are posted on the WILPF Advancing Women as Peacemakers website: ja1325.org (see the "Highlights" links). A full guide to our collection at Stanford is available at:

www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/c8k35s1p

Please contact me if you'd like help getting started on your own project for the centennial. The rewards are significant and you will be contributing to the living history of WILPF. Take on the challenge and give a voice to peace.

Judy Adams is a member of Palo Alto WILPF and is CEO of a small Silicon Valley company that develops software for the visually impaired.

Searching for WILPF's History

Help us locate family members of the following women interviewed by the project in the 1980s:

Anna Burke, Kay Camp, Clara Gilbert, Margaret Gilstrap, Audrey Keller, Mary McCorkle, Mary McWhorter, Frances Millhauser, Janet N. Neuman, Louise Robison, Betty Segal and Ann Stenzel, and interviewers June Havirack and Sharon Pederson.

Contact Judy at judy@jbliss.com or phone 888-452-5477 toll free and leave a message (at JBliss Low Vision Systems), my home office.

“What is so dear to me about all these good women who work for peace: . . . They never gave up. They never stopped. We lost a lot of women; they died and the peace movement didn’t.”

“In their own words”

MARII HASEGAWA

(interviewed by Judy Adams in 1987, when Marii was 69. See *Marii remembrances on page 16.*)



Photo: WILPF

“I stayed with WILPF because it was the one organization where peace and freedom were linked, and I felt that was very important. The two issues are inseparable. I think that one of the things that women bring to the peace movement as a whole is their ability to work hard, and sometimes that is to the disadvantage of the woman. I’ve always felt, for instance, that so many movements just push women aside except for their ability to send out mailings and all that kind of work. When it comes to decision-making or even in public appearances they always to turn to men.

“What keeps me active is habit; it’s a good habit. I just keep thinking of all that needs to be done and try not to get discouraged. I keep on trying, really trying to get young people involved; to see them drop out makes me feel that I failed. You have to look to the future and young people are the future. Unless we are willing to be active, there might not be a future.”

— from *Peacework*

FIONA ST. JOHN

(interviewed by Margaret Jacobs in 1986, when Fiona was 61. She passed away in 2009.)

“I strongly feel that a person can do something, and should do something – not should, can! I also think that if I don’t do it, it won’t get done. I don’t do things all myself; I’d get help from wonderful, ordinary people. A lot of



Photo: © Reneé Burgard

my friends had a cynical reaction to peace; they’d say, ‘You don’t have peace yet, so what good is all of your peace work and your organization?’ I have had that taunt thrown at me many, many times. My comment to them, which I strongly believe and still believe, is that we’re still here. They’re not looking at the entire picture; they were seeing that we hadn’t created a utopian, peaceful world yet. But my point was that they very well could have been blown up and there wouldn’t be any world. But they always figured life as being static. My point was that we’re still here and able to make some kind of contribution to the world in a peaceful fashion.”

— from WPOHP interview. Used with permission, Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom Collection, ARS.0056. Courtesy of the Stanford Archive of Recorded Sound, Stanford University Libraries, Stanford, CA.

ENOLA MAXWELL

(interviewed by Judy Adams in 1985, when Enola was 64. She passed away in 2003.)



Photo: © Reneé Burgard

“Peace and civil rights were not always connected for me; most blacks got involved in civil rights way before peace work.... But when I came to San Francisco I got involved in peace. In the seminary where I was going, many of the young men were conscientious objectors. At that time I joined Women [Strike] for

Peace and WILPF. We were doing demonstrations against the Vietnam War and marches and leafleting. In my capacity as a lay preacher I was doing draft counseling and counseling for conscientious objectors. . .

“You can’t win with guns. I was a Martin Luther King person.

“I have nothing more important than speaking for justice and equality.... I’ll tell you what is so dear to me about all these good women who work for peace: it is that they have been there all of these years. They’re going to be there until they die. They never gave up. They never stopped. We lost a lot of women; they died and the peace movement didn’t. The peace movement goes on and on. Nobody can say anything that has not been said by these women.”

—from *Peacework*

► RIO+20

Continued from page 4

“live well” and create the “future we want.”

Seventeen-year-old New Zealander Brittany Trilford speaking at Rio+20 challenged delegates saying: Are you here to save face, or are you here to save us? I stand here with fire in my heart. I am confused and angry at the state of the world, and I want us to work together now to change this. We are here to solve the problems that we have caused as a collective, to ensure we have a future.”

The new WILPF Earth Democracy Issue Group has embraced as one framing principle of our campaign the concept of Guardianship of Future Generations, inspired by Indigenous wisdom. “Guardianship” makes clear that those living now are responsible to protect humanity and the web of life for future generations. Elaborated on by Carolyn Raffensperger (Science and Environmental Health Network), communities could carry out an inventory of the commons of nature, appoint a legal guardian of the commons, and enact the Precautionary Principle to prevent harm when scientific evidence is inconclusive that a certain practice or product will not cause harm.

By early fall, the new materials for Earth Democracy’s website and subcommittees will be posted. Join the Earth Democracy listserv (earthdemocracy@wilpf.org) to stay in touch and join the movement. Indeed, a new multilateralism

SOURCES AND MORE INFORMATION

Go to www.democracynow.org to see these clips: “At Rio+20 Severn Cullis-Suzuki Revisits Historic ’92 Speech, Fights for Next Generation’s Survival,” 6/21/12; “Are You Here to Save Face-or Save Us? Brittany Trilford, 17, Addresses World Leaders at Rio+20,” 6/21/12; and “Green Economy & Why Planet’s Survival Requires Undoing its Economic Model,” 6/25/12.

See also: Ear to Earth blog, 6/23/12,

<http://eartoearth.org2012/06/23/rio-20/>; “Rio+20 Earth Summit: Campaigners decry final document,” *The Guardian*, 6/22/12; “The Rio Earth Summit: is it destined to fail the world?” *The Telegraph*, 6/19/12.

More information at: Indigenous Environmental Network on Rio+20 at <http://indigenous4motherearthrioplus20.org/> and Building the Peoples Summit Rio+20 at <http://rio20.net/en/>

is underway as some nations, leaders and peoples come together around a common agenda, or take action in their own countries to create the “future **WE** want.”

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Nancy Price is a member of WILPF’s Earth Democracy Issue Committee. She can be reached at nancyprice39@gmail.com.

► ECOFEMINISM *Continued from page 5*

local planning commissions, and was elected in 1994 to the Santa Cruz City Council. My campaign motto was “Make Peace with Each Other, Make Peace with The Earth.”

A vision quest in the California desert in 1989 (based on Native American teachings) reinforced a growing conviction that without more spiritual connection with the earth, protecting the world of nature through planning and regulation would not be a sufficient basis for our culture to make a fundamental change of course. I resonated with the principles of deep ecology.

Despite good reasons for pessimism, looking around today in my community I find optimism that ecofeminism in practice is well and alive. I see so many women younger than I am deeply engaged, often as leaders, in what are environmental and nature-oriented activities and organizations.

Measuring the depth and quality of their commitment is beyond the scope of this essay. I can only speculate that perhaps it is a response to the growing threats to the integrity of nature that we face today: climate change, ocean acidification, the accelerating loss of species worldwide, increased destruction of natural habitats, pervasive chemical pollution of the air and water; it’s a long list. Perhaps it is “biophilia” – that “innate tendency to focus on life and lifelike processes,”—a tendency that many women as bearers and nurturers of children, tend to possess instinctively.

On a recent sunny afternoon, I was walking on our City Greenbelt lands known as The Pogonip, when I saw a woman walking toward me with a huge umbrella over her. As we drew closer, I saw a tiny baby bound to her chest, protected by the umbrella from the strong sun. She told me that her baby was only one month old. Awed, I walked on with an uplifted spirit and confidence for the future of ecofeminism.

The work of an ecofeminist is demanding and challenging. The words of Rachel Carson, from her book *The Sense of Wonder*, are the best advice that I know: “Those who contemplate the beauty of the earth find reserves of strength that will endure as long as life lasts.”

Immerse yourself in nature, follow your heart, resolve to protect and defend mother earth, find others to support your work, deepen your knowledge of the earth, and know that what you do makes a difference and is worthwhile. And when you need renewal, take a walk in a green place, and commune with the trees, the mountains, the rivers, the lakes, the ocean, the sky, the birds, and all the living beings that are our companions on this planet. Mother nature is our best friend and our best teacher.

.....
WILPF member Celia Scott, an environmental attorney, served on Santa Cruz’s City Council and was mayor in 1997-1998.



Jane Addams: Champion of Workers' Rights

by Mary Hanson Harrison

This spring Hull House celebrated Jane Addams' connection to worker's rights as well as the Jane Addams Peace Association Children's Book Awards (JACBA). We gathered on April 28th, just a few days before a May Day parade filled the streets of Chicago.

As Dr. Marianne Baker announced the results of the JACBA Committee selection, two little girls unveiled some of the award-winning books—connecting us once again to the profound and stirring words and images of the authors and illustrators. The themes of the 2012 books—desegregation, ending hunger, peace, voting rights, and immigration—resonated throughout the morning.

Louise Knight, Jane Addams biographer and WILPF member, talked about the powerful and long-lasting effects of Addams's own political awakening and the

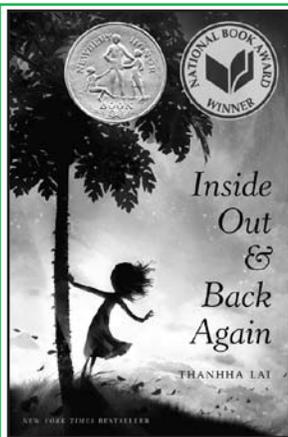
essential connection between the labor movement and the very foundation of our democracy. "In *Democracy and Social Ethics*, Addams wrote that 'unless all men and all classes contribute to [achieving] a good, we cannot even be sure it is worth having'." (As quoted in *Spirit in Action*, by Knight). At the time Addams wrote that, the poor were being exploited and among the poor, of course, were many children. Addams's raised the consciousness of the people to the inevitable ruin of our democracy if we did not deal ethically with poverty.

During our ceremony, Larry Spivak, the regional director of AFSCME Council 31 Cook County and president of the Illinois Labor History Society, spoke of Addams's key role in supporting the labor movement. For the most part, he noted, her labor activism has gone unheralded but she was at the center of the Pullman Strike in 1894 and the Chicago Stockyard Strike in 1904; trying as always to get justice for workers, in particular women. As a labor historian, Spivak showed that the present is often a reflection of the past. Also in attendance were folk singer and union activist Bucky Halker, and fellow union activist Paul Durcie. Louise Knight opened up a discussion with the audience and Halker later closed the program by leading the crowd in a rousing rendition of "Solidarity Forever."

Mary Hanson Harrison is a professor of literature and co-chair of the Peace Education Committee of JAPA. She was the 2008 WILPF Congress Coordinator in Des Moines, IA.

2012 JANE ADDAMS CHILDREN'S BOOK AWARDS

On October 19, 2012, the 59th Annual Jane Addams Children's Book Award Ceremony will be held in New York City. It's a free event that is guaranteed to inspire everyone. Please join us if you possibly can! Branches can order the winning books now at our website (www.janeaddams-peace.org) by downloading an order form—or use the one at right.



Inside Out & Back Again by Thahna Lai was named one of this year's Honor Books for Older Children. As the Vietnamese war reaches 10-year-old Ha's family in Saigon, she and her mother and brothers flee for America. Told as a series of free verse poems, Ha's journey is eloquent, heartbreaking and humorous as she finds her footing through her first year as a refugee.

Photo: Harper Collins

BRANCH ORDER FORM

These specially priced sets are sold only to branches for donations to schools or libraries.

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New York, NY 10017

Please call (212) 682-8830 with any questions.

Deadline for orders: November 30, 2012

This Peace Education section is funded by the Jane Addams Peace Association.

New Book Examines Race and History in WILPF

By Melinda Plastas

My journey writing the book, *A Band of Noble Women: Racial Politics in the Women's Peace Movement* (Syracuse University Press, July 2011) began when I was a college intern in the Philadelphia WILPF office in 1981. At that time I was dazzled by the complex and stellar history of the organization and honored to participate in the daily operations of WILPF, including the launching of the STAR campaign. As a staff member from 1982 to 1984, I participated in numerous organizational conversations and programs that focused on the question of race and WILPF. In the late 1980s I also interviewed WILPF members and staff who attended the "Undoing Racism" workshops that occurred across the country. All of these experiences caused me to wonder how race has influenced WILPF from its founding.

In *A Band of Noble Women* I explore how WILPF shaped – and was shaped by – the racial politics of the first four decades of the 20th Century. Although founded by women, we must of course realize that race and gender contributed to the manifestation of WILPF. To this end, the book provides a revised history of the founding years of the organization, one that places race at the center of the narrative. It examines the life histories of six women, three white and three black, who made significant contributions to the racial politics of the organization and the nation. The women include Emily Greene Balch, Anna Melissa Graves, Rachel Davis Dubois, Addie Hunton, Alice Dunbar-Nelson, and Jessie Fauset. I also detail the work of four WILPF branches (Philadelphia, Cleveland, Washington, D.C. and Baltimore) which all had vibrant interracial committees during the years between wars. The book, I believe, provides an opportunity to consider WILPF's successes and failures as the organization confronted the manifold issues of racism, militarization and women's freedom during this period.

In researching and writing the book, I needed to determine what aspects of race I would examine. I was reminded from the debates within the WILPF of the 1980s, that we need to be clear about what we mean by "race" and "racism." I was also guided in part by WILPF member and leading national black social reformer Addie Hunton's 1930s statement that: "there can be no world peace without right local relations." In essence, Hunton urged that to achieve peace all the vestiges of American racism from the interwar

era must first be eliminated. To this end, I considered WILPF's interface with race and racism in three areas. The ideological racism of the early 20th Century, namely scientific racism, is addressed. I also assess the political leadership WILPF provided on central racial justice issues including lynching, U.S. involvement in Haiti and Liberia, and Jim Crow segregation in housing, employment, and education. Finally, the book takes up WILPF's uneven and fraught attempts at racial integration within its own membership and leadership. Class also figures prominently in the history of WILPF's relationship to race.

The factor that allowed a significant number of African American and white WILPF women to coalesce in interracial committees was not only their interest in disarmament and racial justice, but also their middle-class status. It was as self-proclaimed "noble women," that they were able to work cross-racially and contest, for instance, racist housing covenants in Cleveland and sponsor interracial disarmament car caravans in the Greater Delaware Valley.

As *A Band of Noble Women* reveals, complex political, intellectual and social relations emerged among WILPF, African American women's reform politics and black internationalism more generally during the interwar years. We see this most vividly perhaps in the 1926 interracial WILPF investigative mission to Haiti. When Emily Greene Balch and Addie Hunton, two nationally prominent political reformers, led the Haiti mission, they publically united the political power of the primarily white women's peace movement and the black women's club movement. The very presence of WILPF Haiti mission, in its racial diversity and female leadership, challenged U.S. Jim Crow politics and paternalism. Yet, Addie Hunton herself would later resign from WILPF because of the slow pace of organizational racial integration. This early work of WILPF, although rife with tension and contradictions, did prepare the organization to join and offer leadership to the emergent civil rights movement of the 1940s and 1950s. With a more complicated and thorough history of the role of race in WILPF, I believe the organization can move forward more confidently in its ongoing efforts to keep the work for peace and freedom united. The work for freedom from racism, as Addie Hunton lamented in the 1930s, cannot be ranked second to the work for peace.

Melinda Plastas teaches in the Women and Gender Studies Program and Cultural Studies program at Bates College in Lewiston, ME. In addition to her work and interest on race and peace, she is also researching human rights and the global tobacco industry. She can be contacted at mplastas@bates.edu.

Report from the Treasurer

By *Eva Havlicsek*

Here you will find an abbreviated Profit and Loss statement for the first six months of 2012. As you can observe, we are still experiencing a tight financial balance, however we do have resources available.

We have established a three-month reserve fund invested in PAX funds and adopted the accompanying policy that this fund would be used only upon the certain closure of WILPF national activities. Obviously, it is our hope never to use this fund.

We are hopeful that in the future we will be able to establish another fund to be a contingency fund, available for short turn-around time in addressing immediate national or international crises. At this point we do not have enough disposable income to establish this fund.

Branches are reminded that mini-grants are available to use for local member initiated projects; deadline for the fall funding cycle is October 30. Program chairs will be able to give additional information concerning criteria for these grants. At the National level, our program has required outside funding, which we have specifically solicited for Issue Committee projects.

Member donations and membership renewals are our major funding sources. Unfortunately, these are not sufficient to cover our operating expenses and we have stayed afloat only through the generous support of major donors. My hope is that through monthly pledges members may be able to increase donations and allow us to more accurately estimate of what resources we have to budget each year.

Members who make monthly pledges and annual donations to WILPF during the year are automatically considered renewing members that year. For those who wish to make tax-deductible pledges or donations to WILPF, those funds must go through JAPA, our 501c3 sponsor. Donations to JAPA cannot be used as member renewals, so an additional donation to WILPF is required.

Monthly pledges can be made through the WILPF website, or by check or credit card mailed to the national office. Please contact the national office for assistance in establishing your pledge. Our Director of Operations is taking responsibility for recording pledges, whether direct or through JAPA, and is responsible for sending yearly statements to those pledging through JAPA.

There has been some confusion in the past regarding membership status, donations and pledges. We are hard at work straightening our membership database so that we can contact members in a timely manner regarding renewal

INCOME & EXPENSES: JAN THRU JUNE 2012

INCOME:

Royalties & Honoraria:	529.28
Membership Dues:	18,973.00
Branch Contributions:	1,617.00
Events & Initiatives:	55,804.00
Individual Contributions:	21,472.09
Memorials & Bequests:	1,755.00
Funding thru JAPA:	43,270.00
Change in Market Value:	4,671.63
Other Income:	760.85

Total Income: \$148,852.85

EXPENSE:

Postage & Printing:	5,574.67
Board Expense:	2,397.36
Mini-Grants:	2,418.51
Issue Committee:	2,133.82
Events & Initiatives:	57,386.66
Dues & Memberships:	250.00
Advertising & Promotion:	195.00
Bank Charges:	1,973.35
Computer Supplies:	175.24
Computer Maintenance:	226.00
Member Rebate to Branches:	1,662.00
Office Expense:	2,297.98
Employee & Intern Expense:	65,210.49
Professional Fees:	16,113.18
Web Redesign:	12,480.00
DIA & Web Hosting:	2,459.40
Rent:	3,900.00
Telephone:	850.62
Fees, Licenses, Registrations:	109.00
Miscellaneous Expense:	97.19

Total Expenses: \$177,910.47

status. Please be patient while we bring our records up to date. Please feel free to contact Ria Kulenovic, Director of Operations, at the National office with individual questions regarding membership and financial support status. ❖

See coupon on back page for an easy way to pledge!

▶ INDIAN COUNTRY

Continued from page 11

Shoshone Territory as proving grounds for nuclear weapons. Between 1951 and 1992, the United States and Great Britain exploded 1,054 nuclear devices both above and below ground there. Western Shoshone is the most bombed nation on earth.

HAWAII - OCCUPIED PARADISE

Since the end of World War II, Hawaii has been the center of the U.S. military's Pacific Command. It's actually the center of the military's activities over more than half the Earth, from the west coast of the United States to Africa's east coast, from the Arctic to Antarctica, covering 70 percent of the world's oceans.

The island of Kaho'olawe was the only National Historic site also used as a bombing range. Finally, after years of litigation and negotiations Congress placed a moratorium on the bombing, but after \$400 million in cleanup costs, much remains to be completed.

Among the largest military sites in Hawaii is the Pohakuloa Training Area, a 108,793-acre bombing range between the sacred mountains of Mauna Kea and Mauna Loa in the center of the big island, Hawaii. At least 7 million rounds of ammunition are fired annually at that base alone. The military proposes to expand the base by 23,000 acres, under the Military Transformation Proposal, and has a plan to bring Stryker brigades into the area. The military is hoping to acquire up to 79,000 more acres in total—so far.

GETTING YOUR HOMELAND BACK FROM THE MILITARY

Recovery of lands from the military/industrial complex is complicated. For a tribe to recover land, this means that the land is first transferred from the Defense Department to the Secretary of Interior. The Secretary, in turn, has to agree that the lands are suitable for public domain. The question is, how to get it cleaned up?

In 2009, the U.S. Air Force cracked the top 20 list for renewable energy consumers in the United States, following the cities of San Francisco and Portland, Oregon.

The U.S. military presently derives 9.8 percent of its power from renewable and alternative energy sources, which is higher than the national average.

As one of the largest ticket items in the federal budget, the military occupies a key strategic position in the development of markets for renewable energy and locally produced foods.

Since 2008, the military has increased its efficiency in office buildings and housing and has just received around \$400 million from the Obama Administration for new research on renewable energy and to broaden applications of



green technologies for their facilities.

Largely under the mandates of reducing costs and securing reliable and local energy sources, the Cannon Air Force Base in New Mexico has been purchasing wind power since 2002. Other bases purchasing wind power include Fairchild Air

Force Base in Washington State, which gets nearly 100 percent of its energy from renewable sources, and Ellsworth Air Force Base, which has been buying wind power from the Rosebud Sioux Tribe.

The largest new solar panel installation on an industrial building is a military facility. Of particular note in cost savings and innovation is work underway at Fort Irwin, in the midst of the Mojave Desert. When Brigadier General Dana Pittard assumed command of the fort, he noted that most of the troops were housed in rented tents, using air conditioners powered by diesel generators at an annual cost of around \$3 million.

The reality is that both the money and innovation potential in the military dwarfs all other domestic budgets, and this fact creates an enormous opportunity to establish a 21st century Marshall Plan for the green economy, *as a matter of homeland security.*

A CALL FOR A HOLISTIC REPURPOSING OF MILITARY RESOURCES

There is a real opportunity to train veterans to create or to take advantage of opportunities to build a self-reliant, sustainable U.S. economy. In very real terms, the skill sets learned during military service can be reapplied to environmental, renewable energy and food systems work, creating countless opportunities for Native American veterans to exercise self determination at home in their communities. The military provides some of the best training grounds for the green economy. An engineer trained in the military has skills that transfer to civilian wind or solar installations. The military also possesses some of the most advanced technologies in renewable energy that are not yet available to civilians. For instance, the military is developing some of the best mid-sized wind technology in the world, and this could well be used in Native communities.

Indeed, on the White Earth Reservation we have used this model to adapt the skills of military engineers to help with a civilian installation of a 75-kilowatt Lolland wind turbine. There are new training programs offered to military personnel post service, and more of those could focus on building these types of skills.

NO CORN, NO PHILOSOPHY

My father would say to me: "Winona, I don't want to hear your philosophy if you can't grow corn."

My father would have said that we should focus invest-

My father would say to me: “Winona, I don’t want to hear your philosophy if you can’t grow corn.”

ments to train and employ our veterans to work on projects that produce healthy food for local consumption, that create local sources of alternative energy, and that result in cleaner air, water and land for all living things. I think he is right. That is long-term security.

Addressing the reality of militarization and its impact remains a very essential survival strategy for Indigenous communities and the veteran’s community. At the same time, we must demand the implementation of the U.N. Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples as reflected, in part, by the military’s broad impact on indigenous peoples worldwide.

In recognition of the impact of the military on Indigenous peoples, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, passed by the General Assembly in September 2007, specifically states that:

- 1) Military activities shall not take place in the lands or territories of indigenous peoples, unless justified by a relevant public interest or otherwise freely agreed with or requested by the indigenous peoples concerned.
- 2) States shall undertake effective consultations with indige-

nous peoples concerned, through appropriate procedures and in particular through their representative institutions, prior to using their lands or territories for military activities.

After all, peace is predicated upon a sense of justice and access.

Author of six books, Winona LaDuke founded White Earth Land Recovery Project. An Anishinaabekwe (Ojibwe) enrolled member of the Mississippi Band Anishinaabeg, she lives and works on the White Earth Reservations, and is Executive Director of Honor the Earth. Order her book from http://nativeharvest.com/winona_laduke.

SOURCES

- Interview with Kaho’olawe Commissioner Craig Busby, January 17, 2009.
 - Winona LaDuke, “Homeless in Hawaii: More Land for the Military than for Hawaiians,” *Indian Country Today*, August 3, 2004 (<http://renew.com/general56/homesles.htm>)
 - U.N. General Assembly, United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples: resolution / adopted by the General Assembly, October 2, 2007, A/RES/61/295 (<http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/471355a82.html>).
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► CURRENCIES *Continued from page 6*

helped keep our elders active and engaged in our community, rather than needing increasing nursing home care.

In Vermont, we also have a commercial barter system called VBSR Marketplace that is sponsored by the Vermont Businesses for Social Responsibility. It allows businesses to trade goods and services among themselves without using bank debt money. This type of system has run successfully in Switzerland for over 70 years, and has been shown to have a beneficial impact on the Swiss economy – and no, it’s not just watches and chocolates! Swiss businesses can keep people employed when the economy takes a downturn because their businesses are not reliant on debt financing to stay open.

The devaluation of women, human relations, and nature are the key targets of the eco-feminist critique, and yet there has not been a lot of work done to make the link with the monetary system we use. Right now, we have a monoculture of money, and a big part of the way we can re-create the economy so that it fosters cooperation, caring relationships, sustainability, and community life is to create an ecosystem of currencies that provide abundance in the areas we need it – all the aspects of our lives where time, care, and health are the most important assets.

In the Onion River Exchange, Montpelier’s Time Bank, if I need a ride to the airport, and you are willing to give me a ride, we’ll agree on an amount of Community Credits (the name of the currency units, which in this case are measured in time) to exchange for the service, and off we go. You get the credits for driving, and can use them for other things offered in the system – which include just about anything people spend time on.

Gwendolyn Hallsmith is the co-author, with Bernard Lietaer, of a new book called Creating Wealth: Growing Local Economies with Local Currencies (New Society Publishers, 2011). She serves as the Director of Planning and Community Development for the City of Montpelier, Vermont.



BranchAction News

Edited by Georgia Pinkel

It doesn't seem possible that it's coming up on the 11th anniversary of the war in Afghanistan and the first anniversary of the Occupy Movement (in its myriad forms). Meanwhile, as we move into the home stretch for state and national elections, WILPF continues to be in the forefront of movement politics. With issues of voter suppression, two different views of economics and the role of government in turning around our economy, and the continued "War on Women" and the poor – our members are active across the country. A special note of congratulations to our new branch in Sioux City, Iowa – Welcome!

I urge you to subscribe to some of the great newsletters our branches produce. This time we have input from the West Coast, including: Los Angeles, Santa Barbara, Sacramento, Santa Cruz, Peninsula, the Sierra Foothills branch, Monterey County branch; Portland and Ashland, OR. From the Midwest: Des Moines, Iowa; St. Louis, MO; Minnesota Metro Branch, Madison, WI. From the East Coast: Central Vermont, Pittsburg, PA, Triangle Branch, NC, Cape Cod, Boston and Washington, D.C.

BEST PRACTICES

Consider publishing reminders in your newsletters so members will renew their National membership, as well as support your local efforts; **Triangle**, **Portland**, and **LA** all do this. **Cape Cod** regularly publishes the WILPF Mission Statement. **Santa Cruz** publishes the names of renewing members monthly, as well as the Letters to the Editor written by WILPFers. On September 8, **Des Moines** participated in a Global Dance Action on behalf of Women's Rights. Triangle Branch's Wake-Up Call radio program airs every Wednesday 5 - 6 pm EDT and can be accessed at www.trianglewilpf.org. **Cape Cod's** Chris Morin reminds us to take care of ourselves in order to be able to do our work: "Take time to breathe, to engage with nature, to sing, dance and love, or whatever makes your soul soar. There are times to take the lead and times to follow the leader. We need both." We are also encouraged to check out www.theendofpoverty.com to see their 10 solutions to End Poverty, a topic rarely discussed these days as we concentrate on the "middle class" decline. **Cape Cod's** shared their "3 Steps to a Better Vision for the Branch"—June: Evaluation and Connections; July: Dreams and Goals; August: Action Plan. **Santa Cruz** and **Portland**, OR, make annual gifts of JAPA Children's Books to local schools and libraries.

Peninsula is taking a survey of its members to help make planning decisions around focus, willing and interested volunteers, time and scope of meetings. **MN Metro** had its annual retreat in July with a theme of "In a World in Crisis, How Can We Challenge Power?" **Santa Cruz** celebrated with a summer gathering and watermelon feast, reminding us that it's important to have fun in the work.

NEED MUSIC FOR A SPECIAL EVENT OR FUNDRAISER?

Try Anne Fenney on labor issues (www.annefinney.com), Betsy Rose for Peace Witness and Activism (www.betsyrose-music.org), the dynamic duo "Emma's Revolution" (www.emmasrevolution.com), or the composer and performer Linda Allen (www.octoberroseproductions.com). Check out their websites to sample their music or schedule an event.

CALENDAR AND MOVEMENT EVENTS

Check WILPF's Peace and Justice Calendar under Resources at www.wilpf.org. **LA** prints the entire text of the Declaration of Human Rights each December. Susan B. Anthony's birthday in February holds a special place in the hearts of Portland and it was celebrated this year at member Mary Rose's house with tea and song. In March, the 101st anniversary of International Women's Day was commemorated by **LA** with a luncheon featuring Congresswoman Maxine Waters. **Santa Cruz** celebrated all day with three events: "Celebrating Young Women," which included a panel of young women joyfully serenaded by the Grannies, a dinner that raised awareness about local hunger, and a Take Back the Night march. **Monterey County** tabled at the Women's International Fair. April's Tax Day prompted actions in **St. Louis**, **Cape Cod**, **Santa Cruz**, **Santa Barbara** and **Peninsula**. In May, **LA** launched a Women's Peace Walk as a way to recapture the original intent of Mother's Day. **Monterey County** participated in the local 4th of July parade with signs focusing on "exercising our rights" adding the right to affordable healthcare while carrying fake barbells, etc. **Central Vermont** joined with the Worker's Center in their July 4th parade. August's Hiroshima/Nagasaki date was observed by **St. Louis** with a pot luck and the traditional candle boat ceremony; **Portland** co-sponsored a local memorial; **Ashland** organized four days of meaningful events to remember both events – featuring a Nuclear Maze and Memorial Flame, the Rogue Valley Peace Choir and Peace Journey Travelers, the Japanese Association of Southern Oregon Choir and a Native American Drumming group; while **Monterey County** floated lanterns on the bay after Japanese taiko drumming, music and poetry. In **Des Moines** the branch hosted "From Hiroshima to Fukushima: the Nuclear Question." **Central Vermont** worked with the Buddhist Fellowship, while Pittsburg showed *Nuclear Savage*

Send your news for Branch Action to G. L. Pinkel, 2718 Falk Rd, Vancouver, WA 98661
or by email to glpinkel@gmail.com.

at their local theatre. Both **St. Louis** and **Portland** hosted events honoring Women's Equality Day in August.

CORPORATE POWER

"Scratch any issue you care about and be assured that one or more corporations are involved." These are now watch words for Move to Amend (founded by WILPF/POCLAD and Mary Z.) at **Cape Cod** as we all work together to undo the impact of Citizens United. **Los Angeles** is also active in their local Move to Amend, while **Santa Cruz** continues to focus on the local Occupy Our Food. **Des Moines** held the 5th Annual Strong Feisty Woman Award Banquet in September and learned about localization and cooperative housing.

SPECIAL EVENTS

Retired Colonel Ann Wright spoke on the "Ethics and Effects of Military Drones" in **St. Louis** as part of the Ethical Society's programming. Sameena Nazir, founder of PODA (a Pakistani NGO on human rights) toured the U.S. with stops in **Boston, Portland, ME, Cleveland, Detroit, Pittsburg, Santa Barbara, St. Louis and Des Moines**. Carol Urner spoke on "Global Disarmament" for **St. Louis's** Annual Meeting. Theresa El-Amin (formerly of **Triangle**) was so inspired by attending the Commission on the Status of Women meetings as part of the Local2Global program that she organized a new WILPF branch when she returned to her new home in Athens, GA. Madeleine Rees, International WILPF Secretary General, spoke to **Cape Cod** (and a total of 100 people) in March. Sacramento participated in a call-in discussion hosted by the Committees of Correspondence on "The Causes and Consequences of the Wars on Women."

Monterey County hosted a program on "Non-violence Bringing Change: Moving Burma to Democracy."

LOCAL

St. Louis continues Women in Black vigils monthly. **Cape Cod** regularly hosts the "Art of Dissent: Open Mike Night" with signups to speak or perform. This is also filmed for broadcast on local Access TV. Check in with Kristen@outermostpottery.com to learn how your branch can do this. **LA** held a "Connect with WILPF" event hoping to best their record of the 2nd highest renewal rate in the country last year. **Santa Cruz** held a public program to discuss State Budget Problems and three tax initiatives, another on "Fraudclosures," and the "Movement for Immigrant Rights" as part of their evening Public Programs Series. **Sacramento Valley** held a vigil in opposition to a local natural gas storage project and a rally against fracking. **Sierra Foothills** will focus on getting out the



Folding Peace Cranes was one of the activities at Santa Cruz's 2012 Jane Addams Peace Camp. Photo: Gaby Litisky

vote and voter registration this election year. **Santa Barbara** called for actions on eight California issues. **Des Moines** is actively involved in the Justice Reform Consortium dealing with the criminal justice system. Emma's Revolution (*see above*) sang at the **Washington, D.C.** Move to Amend event. **Pittsburg** helped both the city council and the county to pass resolutions against Citizens United.

PEACE

St. Louis will participate in the 11th Annual National Conference for the U.S. Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation. **MN Metro** hosted a talk on shifting the funding from war to other pressing needs. **Cape Cod** participated in the Global March to Jerusalem in solidarity with Palestinians as a fundraiser (10 percent of which goes to National) and hosted a Peace Conference in September at the local Community College. Joining global protests in February, **LA** spearheaded a vigil at the L.A. Air Force Base's Space and Missile Center in support of the U.N. Global Nuclear Disarmament Treaties. In the same vein, **Santa Barbara** held a vigil at Vandenberg Space Command to protest ICBM testing. There was great rejoicing when a ICBM launch was cancelled one day before its scheduled launch on March 1. **Santa Cruz** awarded its annual Peace Doll to Celia Scott for her local work, which she has been doing since 1969. They also held the 16th annual Peace Camp in August of this year. **Peninsula** reminds us that there are more contractors in Afghanistan than American troops. **Boston** is gathering signatures to amend the Constitution with a version of Japan's Article 9 to abolish war as a political tool. **Wisconsin** held a vigil to Stop the Drones at the gates of Camp Williams/Volk Field and also held the 2012 Alternative Peace & Freedom Dinner.

WHAT WE'RE READING AND WATCHING

Books

Dissent: Voices of Conscience – Ret. Col. Ann Wright and Susan Dixon, 2008; *Shock Doctrine* – Naomi Klein; *New Jim Crow* – Michele Alexander [paperback]; *Sister Citizen* – Melissa Harris Perry; *The Political Mind* – George Lakoff; *The Lonely Soldier: The Private War of Women Serving in Iraq* – Helen Benedict. (Professor of Journalism at Columbia University, her latest book is *Sand Queen*, a novel about women serving in Iraq. For more, visit helenbenedict.com).

Video

Pink Smoke over the Vatican, a documentary on the Roman Catholic Woman Priest ordination movement.



WILPF member Laurette B. Freeman of Montclair, NJ, was honored by Essex County and the County Division of Senior Services during Older Americans Heritage Month on May 15.

Photo: Glen Frieson

► PRECAUTIONARY *Continued from page 3*

at every turn when a project is going even reasonably well. In 2009, two such women, Jessie Bombasaro Brady and Robin Rose co-authored the Welcoming Statement now routinely used to open WILPF meetings. The statement emphasizes the concept of “safe space,” a concept that many of us, sadly, do not know how to establish or maintain.

The Ruckus Society, which trains activists for extreme civil disobedience often involving significant physical prowess and risk, has spent considerable effort studying the group dynamics and organizational cultures that enable the sorts of actions they teach. Among the issues they point to as key “security risks” for politically radical groups trying to establish safe spaces for radical activists are gossip and behaviors that disrupt established group decision-making protocol.

Realizing the exponential capacity of electronic mail to amplify rumors and quickly spread misunderstandings, the International Executive Committee created the first WILPF e-mail protocol in 2007 to guide members in mindfully using the medium to promote cooperation and transparency in the organization. Similar protocols have been adopted by our Section, and while the protocols offer numerous suggestions for eliminating the venom from electronic communications, they offer only guidance, not consequences. Because engaging in gossip also offers the tantalizing prospect of intimacy and the sense of being in an inner circle—in other words, it creates the community we all need to support our outlier politics and radical actions—it is unlikely to cease altogether. So the question becomes, how do we salvage the bonding power of gossip without destroying our organizational structure? The WILPF members who organized the communications workshop presented at the International Congress in Costa Rica (including WILPF U.S. board member Sydney Gliserman) offered these suggestions: 1) Take responsibility for staying informed about WILPF’s positions and many activities by reading official communications such as the various e-newsletters, 2) Check the WILPF website frequently and when in doubt about the facts, 3) Don’t infer too much—remember that electronic communications lack context, gesture and inflection, which combined carry 93% of the meaning of any verbal exchange.

The Ruckus Society’s counsel on rule-breaking is even more challenging. The Ruckus Society exists to help activists effectively “question authority” yet they set a high bar for intragroup relations, recommending that “if there is a group member continuously disrupting your ability to campaign and function . . . gossiping about other group members, failing to do their tasks, and/or rarely following decision-making protocol—it is okay to ask them to stop, and, if they don’t, ask them to leave.”

When a WILPF member fails to pay her dues, she has effectively left the realm of organizational decision-making, losing her ability to participate in committees or run for office.

But what of those who fail to support or, indeed, actively oppose WILPF’s aims and principles?

WILPF’s constitution, which includes the aims and principles, can be changed by a vote of the delegates at an international congress. Dissent about the aims and principles has a designated channel for its expression.

WILPF’s established decision-making structures provide a place for new and sometimes contrary thought to gestate. These democratic processes allow WILPF to adapt to cultural shifts and political crises and channel our members’ diverse views into a stronger organization. Applying the tactics of guardianship internally, we can ensure that WILPF will continue to be a resource and place for future generations of activists to connect with each other. ❖

The Mangrove Tree: Planting seeds of change

Inspired by Dr. Gordon Sato’s work in Hargigo, Eritrea, and the impact one person can have on the global community, children’s book author and illustrator, Susan L. Roth and co-editor Cindy Trumbore created a colorful picture book, *The Mangrove Tree*, to tell the story of his work. It won a Jane Addams Peace Award for books for younger children in 2012.

With its theme of ecological preservation and the symbiotic relationship between humans and nature, the book reflects the authors’ admiration for Dr. Sato’s low-impact and low-cost solutions to global warming and world hunger.

Roth says, “My own resources and abilities are small, but if by doing that which I can do modestly well, i.e. writing and illustrating and speaking to children about world problems and realities, I can increase children’s exposure to some of these very serious issues, then I can feel that I am beginning to participate [in a solution] in a way that is appropriate for me.”

The authors hope to convey three messages: “You can turn a terrible experience into something positive. Dr. Sato . . . turned his experience of deprivation and innovation . . . into a project to help impoverished people become self-sufficient. . . . [T]he answer to poverty doesn’t have to involve a lot of money. And a small effort . . . can have big, global implications.”

Authors’ interview excerpted by permission of Lee and Low (www.leeandlow.com/p/mangrove_tree.mhtml).



The authors and their book: Cindy Trumbore, left, and Susan L. Roth, right, who also did the illustrations.

Ashland WILPF Visits Pauling Library

By Keri Seidel and Jill Mackie, Ashland WILPF members

The Ashland, Oregon branch of WILPF has always been involved in Ashland's International Women's Day event, and we were the principal organizer for the 100th anniversary celebration last year.

This year we decided to take a break and celebrate in a different way. Branch Facilitator Jill Mackie proposed a road trip to Oregon State University to visit the library of Ava Helen and Linus Pauling. Two-time Nobel Prize winner Linus Pauling is widely regarded as one of the greatest scientists of all time. He and his wife, Ava Helen, were also peace activists, and he won the Peace Prize for his efforts to achieve nuclear disarmament. Both were members of WILPF, with Ava Helen holding

Some members discovered correspondence to Ava Helen from WILPF members they had known decades before.

the office of National Vice-President for three years.

With assistance from WILPF member Linda Richards, Ph.D and Scholar in Residence at the Pauling Library, we planned our visit.

Twelve of us carpoled the 225 miles to the University to arrive just in time to attend a lecture by Linda about the human rights struggle against threats of nuclear war and contamination. Her lecture attracted so many students that the room was completely packed. Linda told us that the Pauling Collection has provided a wealth of data for her research into historical events of the anti-nuclear movement, and she shared some of her findings with us during the lecture.

The following day our group was honored to have a private tour of the Ava Helen and Linus Pauling Special Collection. The Pauling Collection is one of the world's largest collections and includes personal and scientific papers, research materials, correspondence, photographs, awards and memorabilia. We viewed the original petition for nuclear disarmament presented to the United Nations (three large bound volumes) containing the signatures of more than 9,000 scientists and Nobel laureates from around the world. It was this petition that led to the ban on atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons in 1963—the first nuclear treaty of the nuclear era—and led to Linus Pauling's Nobel Peace Prize award.



Many members commented that they felt as though they were walking through the Pauling's lives as we passed through the library stacks. One member said she especially appreciated learning so much about Linus's great regard for Ava Helen's intelligence and her dedication to peace. The most memorable moment for all of us occurred when we were allowed to hold the Nobel Peace Prize. We knew it represented a lifetime of peace activism.



Fran Petschek holds the Nobel Peace Prize won by Linus Pauling.

Photo: Jill Mackie

After the tour, the group was allowed access to Ava Helen's WILPF correspondence and paperwork. Each member worked with one file at a time and alerted the group when something of particular interest was found. We discovered Ava Helen's lifetime WILPF membership certificate, her membership card, and a WILPF statement in support of Linus Pauling's anti-nuclear work during an investigation by the House Un-American Activities Committee. We also discovered a handwritten copy of her speech from the 1959 International Congress of WILPF. Some members discovered correspondence to Ava Helen from WILPF members they had known decades before.

It was a meaningful trip for all of us. We felt honored to be connected—through WILPF—to two such incredible individuals. The experience has given us the courage and energy to continue working for a peaceful and nuclear-free world. More information about the Pauling Special Collection is available at osulibrary.oregonstate.edu (special collections). ❖

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At Santa Cruz' Jane Addams Peace Camp, Naturalist John Ribble helped campers understand how deer move, eat and hear in the forest.
Photo: Gaby Litsky

Take the \$10 Pledge Challenge

If just 10 percent of our members pledged \$10 a month, WE COULD COVER ALL OUR OFFICE EXPENSES. Pledge now as part of our 2012 effort, and become a 10 for 10 Club member.

Two easy ways to accept the challenge and support WILPF:

- At www.wilpfus.org Click "Donate" (Online pledges save us bank fees.)
- Return the form below.



When you pledge to WILPF, your membership status remains current as long as you continue your pledge. No more renewals.

I accept the challenge:

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WILPF Through JAPA for WILPF (Please check one) Pledges include a subscription to *Peace & Freedom*.

WILPF U.S. Section, 11 Arlington Street, Boston, MA 02116