

Peace & Freedom

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

January/February 1999

www.wilpf.org • Vol. 59 • No. 1

Disarmament Now!



**“I was born with hopes
of a peaceful world”:
Nuclear disarmament
rally, New York City,
July 12, 1982.
What kind of world
has this child
seen in the 16 years
since that day?**



Peace and Freedom is published 6 times a year by the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), U.S. Section. Subscriptions: \$15/yr.; free to WILPF members. Submissions are welcome, but please query first.

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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.

National Program: WILPF envisions a world free of violence, poverty, pollution and domination a genuine new world order of peace and justice. WILPF’s program stands firm for disarmament and against oppression. The 1997 2000 program cycle has four key campaign areas: Disarmament; Ending U.S. Intervention; Racial Justice; and Women’s Rights/Ending Violence. Each campaign area focuses on local and national effectiveness in creating lasting social change.

WILPF has sections in 37 countries, coordinated by an international office in Geneva. U.S. WILPF carries out its work through grassroots organizing by WILPF branches, coordinated by a national office in Philadelphia. WILPF supports the work of the United Nations and has NGO (Non Governmental Organization) status. We invite all people who support our goals to join us.

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FEATURES

DEPARTMENTS

Disarmament Update12 U.S. Section News4
Scandal in Washington: U.S. Military Truth and Reconciliation5
Spending13 Fall Speaking Tour6
WIND Campaign Supports Cuba Tour8
New Agenda Initiative14 International WILPF News9
The Hague Appeal for Peace14 U.N. Report11
“Depleted Uranium... WILPF Action21
Another Pentagon Cover-up?”15 Campaign Planning21
WILPF Urges Atomic Energy Agency Pledging to WILPF26
to Refocus Its Priorities16 Branch Action24
Militarism and Globalization17 Peace Education27
From the Army to Peace Activism22
Central Vermont WILPF
Joins Abolition Campaign23
Outer Space:
The Next Nuclear Frontier?25

Cover: Members of WILPF’s Japanese section at the “D.C. Day of Action” at WILPF’s 27th International Congress, July 29, 1998.

Photograph: Roberta Spivek

A Legacy of Activism . . . and Unfinished Business

Betty Burkes, President, WILPF U.S. Section

A few weeks ago we went to New York City to celebrate the 25th anniversary of Sweet Honey in the Rock. Bernice Reagon, founder of the vocalist group, led a new song about greed.

"I've been trying to think about how to talk about greed... trying to find a way to talk about greed."

Like many Sweet Honey songs, the voices and sounds combine to inspire critical thinking. Their music transforms an evening of entertainment into a deep personal experience of belonging to the long tradition of struggle and resistance in this country.

For days now I've been trying to think about how to write about disarmament, trying to find a way to write about it. Thinking about disarmament recalls for me the beginnings of WILPF and the women who risked their lives to find a way to talk about disarmament and peace.

Grounded in the history of the anti-slavery movement, suffrage and workers' rights, the meeting in The Hague was an expression of the participants' sense of self-empowerment and responsibility. These courageous and wise women physically ventured into the midst of a world war to think, talk and organize for disarmament and, eventually, for peace.

From the beginning, women in WILPF found unity and solidarity about the causes of war, and the responsibility their privilege provided for them to actively seek to influence the institutions of power. We know that their efforts were huge and that, even though they failed to affect the decisions of the mighty white men of Europe and the U.S. regarding disarmament and peace, they planted a few seeds for change.

Since then, women have protested many wars and the proliferation of weapons without much success. The earth is four thousand, six hundred million years old. Men have enough bombs now to destroy all this in only minutes, and the U.S. government continues to spend four billion dollars a year building nuclear weapons.

Patterns of violence move within the culture, touching us all. They poison our relationships, our ability to empathize and to act in our own best interests. Consider:

- 90% of war casualties since World War II have been

civilian, most of them women and children.

- A gun takes the life of a child every two hours in the United States. 50,000 children were killed by firearms between 1979 and 1991—the same number as men killed in the Vietnam War and women murdered by their batterers during that period.

- 80% of the world's 14 million refugees are women and children.

- The average homeless American is 9 years old.

- A child born in New York today is less likely to live to age 5 than a child born in Shanghai.

The hope of disarmament raised by the end of the so-called "cold war" has been dashed by the failure of the nuclear powers to take steps towards the abolition of nuclear weapons. The addition of India and Pakistan to the list of nations possessing such weapons reminds us that disarmament remains a hope deferred.

Clearly, the work begun by our founders in 1915 to dismantle militarism and to

change the values that sustain capitalism is unfinished. However, the movement for social justice that they strengthened is the mainstay of WILPF today. The lives of Mary Church Terrell, Marion Davis, Ruth Sillman, Margaret Moseley, Mildred Olmsted, and Margaret Shapiro give my activism meaning and continuity. I am grateful, as Vincent Harding points out, that "they are with us to help us live in the light; help us walk in the light; here to help us be enlightened in the fullest and deepest sense of that word, to help us walk in the truth."

Undoubtedly, I will be trying to think about how to write about disarmament for a long time to come. ❖



Mailbox Alert!

- Watch for a special mailing in late February containing national board ballots and candidate profiles; National Congress registration forms; and information on WILPF restructuring.
- U.S. WILPF will publish five issues of *Peace & Freedom* this year. Look for your next issue (and meet our new editor, Theta Pavis), in April.



U.S. Section News

U.S. SECTION CONGRESS, JUNE 23-27

St. Louis WILPF has the honor of hosting the 1999 WILPF Triennial Congress. Reserve June 23 to 27 for the Gateway City! The Congress will be held on the campus of Webster University in Webster Groves, Missouri, near St. Louis. More details to come. See you in St. Louis!

A program book is being planned. Watch for details.

SPRINGTIME IN IRELAND, NORTH AND SOUTH

Planning is underway for a WILPF trip to Ireland, North and South. Witness the peace process; meet with women of many backgrounds building peace at many levels. Organized by Irish WILPF. Tentative dates: May 2-10. Cost: Around \$1,000, excluding airfare. In the U.S., contact Beth Trigg: <btrigg@people-link.com >; (215) 438-3468. Space is limited; call or e-mail immedi-



Seven interns and volunteers worked at WILPF's national office last fall. Many thanks go to (clockwise from top left): Jacqueline McCafferty (volunteer); LaVange Barth (intern); Sonal Soni (intern); Rebecca Newton (intern); Ann McGill (volunteer); Aldwyn (Wendy) Hamilton (volunteer); and Firial Aberra (intern). They worked on Truth and Reconciliation, outreach, fundraising, Peace & Freedom, and numerous other projects.

Call Chris Morin at (215) 563-7110 for WILPF internship and volunteer opportunities.



Longtime WILPF volunteers (l to r) Minnie Jaffe, Celia Daldy, and Miriam Seidler were honored at a Sept. 12 national WILPF celebration in Philadelphia. The "Celebration of Women's Activism Across the Generations" featured a video tribute to the honorees and to several younger WILPF women, tributes by their daughters and by WILPF staff members, and a poetry reading by WILPF member Sonia Sanchez. The special event raised \$7,000 for WILPF's work. Special guests included international president Bruna Nota and U.S. section board members, in town for the fall national board meeting.

Anne Ivey

ately for more information.

TRANSITIONS

It is with great appreciation and deep sadness that I say goodbye to Beth Trigg, Andrea Sáenz, and Roberta Spivek, who have served WILPF so very well. Their dedication, not only to the tasks they were assigned but to WILPF itself, is something that must be honored and replicated. We need more young women like them in the leadership of WILPF. Beth and I worked together over the past four years to double the WILPF budget, providing more money for WILPF's programs. Andrea put our Peace and Justice Treaty work on the map with our huge delegation to Cuba and our fall speaking tour. Roberta's long history with WILPF and her excellent skills made it possible for us to further our progress in producing a first-class magazine. All of these elements together have helped us to grow and diversify our membership and increase our credibility. Their deep dedication to WILPF and its best instincts even when it stumbles is a model for us all. ❖

Truth and Reconciliation

Strategy Session

Last February, the United Nations adopted a resolution to convene a World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance, to be held in 2001. One active participant will be WILPF, which has been looking since 1996 into the Truth and Reconciliation Commission model used in 30 countries, most recently in South Africa, to see if it can help us come to truths about racism here in the United States. Two information sessions were held, one in November 1997 in conjunction with New York University Law School, the other last May during a Hate Crimes Summit in Atlanta (*see box*).

On November 5, invited by WILPF, 25 leaders and activists met in Washington D.C. to begin to strategize on how to make Truth and

many other organizations.

Telling and listening to the truth are two themes that describe the day-long meeting. The group struggled to come to terms with what exactly “truth and reconciliation” meant to each person at the table, and what strategy can represent all minority groups in the United States. Many pieces of the truth about race and racism provided the foundation upon which we carefully began to construct a dialogue about reparations, repentance, guilt, slavery, white privilege, equality, colonization, reconciliation, violence, power, lies, communication, taxes, capitalism, and justice.

The term “reconciliation” became troublesome since there isn’t a positive history of racial relationships in this country to which we can reconcile. Who was reconciling with whom, and for what? The idea of reparations was also discussed. Should part of a strategy be to ask for reparations, and if so, what kind? Duplicity and opposition to the truth characterize

U.S. racial relations. Truth is limited to our perspective. How do we change and develop our perspective? How do we communicate the truth to people who don’t want to hear it? Can a system reform itself? These and many other questions emerged.

Several resources were suggested to help us learn more about each other’s history. They include Angela Davis’s *Women, Race, and Class*; Howard Zinn’s *A People’s History of the United States*; Dr. Ron

Takaki’s *A Different Mirror*; Dr. Ben Jokanna’s *The Route—The History Lesson*; Vincent Harding’s *There Is a River*; the HBO film, “*The Trial of James Earl Ray*,” and the PBS series, “*Eyes on the Prize*.”

The meeting showed the complications anticipated by all in convening a Truth and Reconciliation model in the United States. But, best of all, it showed a desire and courage to move on in dialogue with each other. We agreed to maintain contact through a T&R “news fax-line,” and to meet again in early ‘99.

Truth and reconciliation is a bold endeavor. The November meeting was another step taken by WILPF to make the realities of racism a conscious thread that weaves through every program and integrates our understanding of peace and justice. ❖



WILPF’s Marilyn Clement, Betty Burkes, Grace Coan, and Terry Fitvuye-Micus at November “Truth and Reconciliation” strategy meeting.

Reconciliation happen in the United States. Oscar Sanchez of the AFL-CIO’s Latin America Committee served as host. Participants represented the Unitarian Universalists, Taiwanese Americans United, Coalition of Labor Union Women, African Women’s Alliance, and

From reports by Betty Burkes, Jackie McCafferty, and Marilyn Clement

Last May, WILPF activists Rebecca Rangel (San Jose WILPF), Karen Job (Cleveland WILPF), and Marilyn Clement (executive director) joined hundreds of anti-racist activists from around the country in Atlanta, for a “Hate Crimes Summit” organized by the Center for Democratic Renewal. WILPF, a cosponsor, led a workshop on Truth and Reconciliation which helped form the basis for our meeting with national organizations in November. We were struck by the stories of hate crimes from many sectors of the population, and by the breadth of the new forms of racist hate running rampant in our society. And we met many people who are eager to work with us in a positive effort to use the “truth and reconciliation” language as a means of organizing for justice in the context of the United States.

Marilyn Clement

WILPF Tour Moves Hearts and Minds

Robin Lloyd, Chair, WILPF Drug Policy Committee

WILPF's fall speaking tour, "*America/North and South: Women on the Realities of War and Drugs*," got off to a controversial start. Within the WILPF board there was concern that U.S. WILPF had not "taken a stand" on drug policy and thus was not in a position to organize a tour around the subject. The dilemma was resolved by removing the original phrase "war on drugs," and reframing the tour's concept around militarism and intervention.

"What WILPF is doing in this tour is excellent. You need to reach enough people and urge them to talk with their representatives to take action to change, because ultimately the policy is made at this end."

Pierre LaRamee, Editor, NACLA Report on the Americas

The tour started in Los Angeles on October 23 and ended in New York on November 10. I joined in Washington, to relieve WILPF Peace and Justice Treaty coordinator/moderator/translator/driver and mother hen Andrea Sáenz of some of her duties, and to videotape the proceedings. Everyone agreed that Andrea did a great job.

Reports from local WILPF activists Carol Cutler in L.A., Darien DeLu in Oakland, and Lynn Furay in Houston were enthusiastic. The organizers had arranged an interesting mix of venues, some where the speakers were the presenters, and others where local staff presented the impact of current drug policy on marginalized people in the United States. Learning happened both ways.

Each speaker complemented the others. All were courageous. Omayra's life as a member of civil society is very difficult. She lives in a coca-growing community in southern Colombia occupied by the army and overrun recently by guerillas. Her family has not been able to remain together, a source of anguish for her during the tour. Leonilda, who joined the tour in Houston, is from a region of Bolivia occupied and terrorized by the military. She was filled with a passion inflamed by the recent injustices she has seen committed against her community, where 13 members have been killed and 280 detained

by the police. Catalina, a mother of five from the Apurimac River Valley, had never been to Lima, much less out of the country. Her community, too, has been deeply affected by the "war on drugs"—which, all the speakers said, is a war on the poor.

Marsha Burnett of Vermont completed the cycle. Candidly, she described her addiction, her efforts at rehabilitation, the birth of her twin girls during a time when she was still on cocaine, the death of her husband from

AIDS, and her own infection. Her story cut through the pretense that there is any serious drug rehabilitation for poor people in this country. The racism underlying U.S. drug policy was an implicit message of the tour.

In Los Angeles, the most memorable experience was at the Watts Labor Community Center where a large, multiracial audience, well-versed in the *contra* cocaine scandal, was vocal in its solidarity with our Latin American sisters. The L.A.

WILPF branch and Scripps College also welcomed the tour. In the San Francisco Bay Area, presentations at the University of California and SF State University reached an audience of 150. Visits to the Pesticide Action Network, a drug information center, and a dialogue with women were moving encounters.

In Houston, Lynn Furay and G. A. Robison of the Drug Policy Forum of Texas had arranged visits to two university classes of mainly Spanish-speaking students, as well as discussion groups, a potluck, and a public meeting. In Washington, although an issues briefing at the Dirksen House Office Building was poorly attended,



WILPF staff member

Andrea Sáenz

speaks at a

Unitarian

Universalist

church forum

in Houston.

Omayra Morales (Colombia)

Secretary, Andean Council of Small Coca Leaf Growers/ Project on Gender and Sustainable Development



“Why do we cultivate the coca leaf? Because the people who want it come directly into our communities and purchase it from us. Nobody comes into our communities to buy corn. Coca’s the only product we can sell to support our families.

“In Colombia, we’ve had aerial fumigation since 1994. When it began, Colombia was the third largest provider of coca leaves; now, we are the first. So fumigation has not served its stated purpose; instead, it has created destruction and war.

“We want coca taken off the list of hazardous substances because then we can market the beneficial products of the coca leaf. We want to no longer be criminalized as farmers, nor do we want consumers in the U.S. to be put in jail. What is needed is social investment.”

Leonilda Zurita Vargas (Bolivia)

Executive Secretary, Six Peasant Federations of the Tropics/Women’s Division

“The peasants that live and grow coca in the Chapare region came here as migrants because of neoliberal reforms. They are miners who were thrown out of work; farmers impoverished by the *El Niño* effect in their regions; and the poor and unemployed from the cities.

“Since April we have had 7,000 troops in our area. They have been forcibly eradicating the coca but also cutting down our food crops. As women we are most affected by the military. The men, our husbands, flee to the mountains for fear of arrest, and we stay with our children and suffer the abuse.

“We organized a march this summer, 6,450 miles to La Paz, asking our government to demilitarize the Chapare region and to respect our human rights. We see this as not a fight against drugs but a fight against peasants.

“The coca leaf is part of our economy and our culture. We use it for medicine, gum, teas ... and, every year, 70 tons is grown to sell to Coca-Cola.”



▶ a brown-bag lunch at the Mott House brought out a large number of women from Washington-based NGOs, and from Sen. Paul Wellstone’s office. The evening included a potluck at St. Aloysius Church.

On a one-day jaunt to Baltimore, the women met with community organizers working on antidrug and anticrime issues, arranged by WILPF members Marliese Diaz and Betty Robinson. It was an eye-opening exchange for both sides. An evening session was sponsored by Physicians for Social Responsibility.

In New York City, the women

spoke at Judson Memorial Church, Hunter College, Columbia University, and *The Nation* Institute, and met with the NACLA staff. Building on contacts made by WILPF U.N. volunteers Teresa Hutsebaut and Alejandra Pero, the speakers met with a U.N. drug policy official who agreed to contact regional offices in their countries, making the U.N. locally accessible to the women to discuss alternative development projects.

Linda Gross of People-Link, a progressive public relations firm hired to build up media contacts, called the tour a success. Speakers appeared on a live TV show,

“*Santana en Vivo*,” in Los Angeles; were interviewed by National Public Radio’s Mandalit del Barco, Pacifica National News, and the Institute for Alternative Journalism; and met with Segio Munoz of the *Los Angeles Times* and the editorial ▶

WILPF’s fall speaking tour was cosponsored by and received generous support from the Drug Policy Foundation, the Peace Development Fund, and the United Methodist Church, Women’s Division.

Catalina Barbosa (Peru)
Representative, Ashaninka Organization
of the Rio Apurimac



“We have cultivated small amounts of coca for our own use since my grandfather’s time. We chew it to help with the work. As time went by, we saw that coca leaf brought a better price than other crops. It was the only product that could help us meet the needs in our community.

“The Peruvian government says fumigation is not allowed, but they are fumigating anyway. It affects the vegetation, food crops, and animals, and it pollutes the rivers. Women miscarry. We’re seeing the destruction of the Amazonian ecosystem.

“There are 51 NGOs in Peru working on alternative development projects, but we haven’t seen anything. If any aid comes, it should go to the community organizations.”

Marsha Burnett (Burlington, Vermont)
Harm reduction and HIV
prevention activist; former drug user



“When you’re caught in the grip of addiction it drives you. I was self-medicating myself with cocaine for many years. There were times I wanted help and there were no beds available. Eventually, I got AIDS.

“When women users are in crisis the first thing they do is snatch your kids away. I would like to see more comprehensive programs for women and children. Also, we need new legislation on needle exchange. It saves lives.

“We need to start a movement at the grassroots because the policy won’t change unless the people demand it.”

CELEBRATE INTERNATIONAL WOMEN’S DAY IN CUBA

WILPF and Hermanas: Sisterhood in Central America and the Caribbean, are organizing a delegation to Cuba for diverse women involved in women’s health issues. The trip is tentatively scheduled for the week of March 8, International Women’s Day. Our program will include visits to Havana and Santiago de Cuba, the heart of the African diaspora in Cuba; a conference on our theme; and site visits with women’s organizations and women in the Cuban health system. Options include an 8-day/7-night program, primarily based in Havana, or an 11-day/10-night program in both cities. We will also celebrate IWD with our Cuban sisters and visit significant cultural and ecological sights. Our travel to Cuba will be licensed by the U.S. Treasury Department. Approximate costs will range from \$1200-1500.

Bilingual guides will accompany the delegation. Spanish fluency is helpful but not required.

For more information or an application, contact the WILPF national office at (215) 563-7110 or wilpf@wilpf.org. To speak with delegation coordinators, call Shad Reinstein, (206) 783-8188; Deborah James, (415) 436-9722; or Jan Strout, (609) 448-3819.

TOUR *continued from page 7*
board of *The Houston Chronicle*. In New York City, Omayra was “beamed” to Spanish-speaking countries via satellite hookup on CNN International.

Action: The big question now is follow-up. Women want to build this link between north and south. We know there is a crisis in our inner cities which are unfairly targeted by the repressive U.S. drug policy; now we also know how that policy is damaging women and families in supply countries. WILPF’s Drug Policy Committee is planning to present a campaign proposal for our next program cycle. Please contact me with your ideas, action plans, and networking contacts. Write or call: Robin Lloyd, 300 Maple St., Burlington, VT 05401; (802) 862-4929; e-mail: rlloyd@together.net.❖



Planning and Implementing WILPF's Program

*Bruna Nota,
International President*

Since our 27th Congress last summer, WILPF's international officers have been busy planning and implementing the rich program approved by the membership. A number of activities are being planned.

Capitalist globalization. In the Asia/Pacific region, Aiko Tokusue and Cherry Padilla have worked

hard to organize a one-week session that will regroup women from the region (including the Philippines, Nepal, Sri Lanka, India, Australia, Aotearoa, and Malaysia) in October to discuss the impact of capitalist globalization in their countries and in their lives.

The international globalization committee is also busy finalizing WILPF's working paper on globalization, including the input received at Congress, for WILPF's use at the Hague Appeal for Peace in May. Siba Fahoum from Lebanon has translated the draft paper into Arabic and published it in a daily newspa-

per. I am working on a Spanish translation, with the help of volunteers.

WILPF committee on worker's rights. Our work with the International Labor Organization (ILO) needs to be planned, and fundraising done, in order to bring women with grassroots experience to Geneva for a Tripartite Meeting on Maternity, and to the ILO annual meeting. This committee will also be involved in preparing, with the Costa Rican section, a pre-International Executive Committee seminar on "Women ►

"Woman to Woman" in Denmark

Toni Liversage, Danish WILPF

Inspired by a similar group in Sweden, the Danish section of WILPF started the group "Woman to Woman" in 1995 to collect money for women's groups in former Yugoslavia. Since then we have supported such groups in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia, and Kosovo. Last year, at an international women's peace meeting in former Yugoslavia, we established contacts with two women's groups in Kosovo, "Aureola" and "Elena."

Held every year since 1992, these international meetings have been organized by Women in Black from Belgrade, which has actively protested against the wars in Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina since 1991. They have stood weekly, dressed in black, in silent protest in the center of Belgrade, and have helped young men who didn't want to take part in the war. They have also recently developed close contacts with women in Kosovo.

Around 200 women participated in last August's meeting. We came from all parts of former Yugoslavia and from

the rest of Europe, as well as from the U.S., Israel, and India. From Kosovo came 20 women who were much affected by the war being waged at that time in Kosovo. Among other things, we decided to organize joint Women in Black protest demonstrations against the war in Kosovo.

Danish WILPF organized a demonstration, together with Amnesty International on that date. We held a silent demonstration in the center of Copenhagen, carrying signs with mottoes like "It is also your responsibility" and "Nonviolence is a human right." We also distributed a handbill which told about the situation in Kosovo.

Because of the critical situation and the threat of NATO bombing of Yugoslavia, we organized a new protest demonstration on October 8, where the central motto was "No to NATO Intervention." One of our handbills pointed out the difficult conditions facing the forces in civil society in Kosovo and the rest of Serbia working to find a



Copenhagen, Sept. 8: Danish WILPF members protest the war in Kosovo. "This is also a way of working for disarmament," writes member Toni Liversage.

solution to the conflict with peaceful means. "These conditions will certainly become worse in the case of a NATO-intervention," we noted. "For instance, the vice-president of the Serbian parliament, Vojislav Seselj, has threatened three named opposition groups, including Women in Black in Belgrade, in the event of a NATO attack."

International support for Women in Black and other groups in former Yugoslavia is very important. The Danish section of WILPF will continue its work in this respect. For more information, contact: Toni Liversage, Morlensesvej 26; 2840-Holte, Denmark; <liversag@post8.tele.dk>. ❖

Workers, Globalization, and Human Rights.” Funding is needed. Outreach to trade unions is important.

Women’s Budget booklet. A working group is working on this project, which also needs funding. We are starting to keep a tally of women’s volunteer work to recognize the value of women’s unpaid work.

Africa work. We have requests to start groups or sections in Tanzania and Burundi. The members of our Sierra Leone section are still dispersed around the world, because of continuing uncertainty as to their safety. Regina Birchem has been working with the African Policy Information Centre to organize a roundtable of women from war-torn countries to share their experiences.

Asia work. In addition to the Asia/Pacific Regional Consultation in Tokyo this year, we are organizing, with the energetic help of Krishna Patel, a February peace seminar in Ahmedabad, India.

Europe work. We have been asked to organize a roundtable dialogue on Kosovo among women from ex-Yugoslavia, and to conduct a fact-finding mission in the Balkans.

This work and our work in Africa insert themselves into a wider program, “Women as Peace Builders,” which is meant to research, educate, and influence how women act and how our abilities are used in peacebuilding efforts in conflict zones around the world.

Latin America work. An intensive exchange is occurring within the Latin America sections to further WILPF’s work on “The Peace and Justice Treaty of the Americas” and to highlight its potential impact on respect for human rights and on reducing (dismantling?) the capitalist globalization agenda. I plan to visit Costa Rica in November ’98 and all the South American sections in early ’99. ❖

RECENT ACTIVITIES AND UPCOMING EVENTS

Tania Connaughton Espino, 1998 human rights intern, Geneva office

1998

28 Sept-3 Oct

ILO Tripartite Meeting on Export Processing Zones (EPZs), Geneva. Olga Carrillo of Costa Rican WILPF’s committee on women workers spoke about the situation of women in EPZs in Costa Rica.

10-12 October

WILPF’s European Women’s Conference on Nuclear Weapons and Security Needs took place in Vienna (see p. 20)

23-25 October

Regina Birchem (international vice-president) gave a well-received lecture in Munich on “Globalization and Militarization.”

24 October

(UN Day!) Seminar: “Human Wrongs, Human Rights.” The British section invited the 1997 and 1998 human rights interns (Sonja Wölte and Tania Connaughton Espino) to speak about the U.N.’s work on human rights.

28 Oct-1 Nov

Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) meeting in Warsaw. Barbara Lochbihler (secretary general) spoke on gender and conflict resolution.

30 Oct-1 Nov

Round Table on “Spirituality for Conflict Transformation,” organized by the World Alliance of YMCAs, was attended by Noriko Tada (disarmament/development intern), who gave input on WILPF’s work.

7-14 November

Women Engendering the Peace Process in the Middle East. Edith Ballantyne (Middle East Committee chair) participated in a 3-day mission to Jerusalem and met with the WILPF sections in Palestine and Israel.

8-9 November

3rd Women’s Conference Against Capitalist Globalization, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. International Vice-President Cherry Padilla led a workshop.

20-21 November

Nuclear Disarmament Put to the Test: New Developments Demand a New Agenda. Edith Ballantyne (special advisor/past president) spoke at this Stockholm conference organized by the NGO Committee on Disarmament.

26-29 November

Peace is a Human Right: International Peace Education Conference, a preparatory event for the Hague Appeal for Peace. Noriko Tada attended.

23-27 November

Intergovernmental Working Group of Experts on the Human Rights of Migrants. Tania Connaughton Espino followed this meeting.

10 December

Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Bruna Nota wrote to the U.N. Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, on women’s economic, social, and cultural rights.

1999

8 March

International Women’s Day Seminar: Militarization of Outer Space. WILPF will organize this seminar and present a statement to the Conference on Disarmament (CD).

15 March - 23 April

55th Session of the Commission on Human Rights. WILPF will follow the Commission and arrange a human rights training program parallel to the session.

end of July

Women Worker’s Seminar, organized by the Costa Rican section. The 3-day seminar will take place before the IEC meeting.

early August

International Executive Committee (IEC) Meeting in San Jose, Costa Rica.



Challenging the Arms Trade

Paula H. Tasso, United Nations Representative

For decades, peace and justice organizations and the disarmament community, both in and out of the United Nations, have focused on the alarming possibilities and certainties of our increasingly radioactive world. Endless effort has gone into educating ourselves and others about the dangers of nuclear weapons, and on promoting a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and a Non-Proliferation Treaty. We have worked on linking radiation contamination and shipments of nuclear waste, to worldwide health hazards. We have protested and marched and will continue to do so. But what have been only marginally noted are the many terrible consequences of the so-called “conventional weapons.”

Small arms are revolvers and pistols, rifles and carbines, submachine guns, assault rifles—basically, weapons that can be used by one person. *Light weapons* are heavy machine guns, hand-held mounted grenade launchers, anti-aircraft and anti-tank guns, launchers of anti-tank and anti-aircraft missile systems, mortars of calibres of less than 100 mm—basically, weapons that are used by more than one person. That’s the standard inventory, but other weapons, such as homemade fuel explosives, knives, and machetes, are also used. Landmines are also named as weapons, but they fall in a somewhat different category.

In today’s conflicts and in those of the last decade, most civilian casualties, an estimated 80 to 90 percent, are caused by small arms and light weapons. Most of these civilians are women and children. These figures are appalling in themselves; the more we learn about what has happened in Albania, Liberia, Somalia, Burundi, Rwanda,

Bosnia, Kosovo, Mozambique, and other places, the horror becomes too much to bear. Generations of human beings have been damaged. The destabilization of countries is, in large part, due to the sudden availability of massive quantities of lethal light weapons. The international community has just begun to deal with the aftermath, and to devise programs to disarm populations so that economic and political development can proceed.

Where do they come from, all these weapons? The answer is—from everywhere, both legally and illegally. Many nation-states want to sell their old weapons because they need the monies. The inability of states to provide governance and security creates a demand by citizens seeking to protect themselves, in addition to promoting local conflicts.

During the Cold War, government-sanctioned sales outlets encouraged a proliferation of producers of small arms and light weapons. These industries (many of them “cottage industries”) search for export markets in order to dispose of their product. Some peacekeeping and post-conflict operations have resulted in the incomplete disarmament of former combatants. With the arms industry-driven expansion of NATO, and a new demand for state-of-the-art weapons, the old equipment will be freely given or leased to new members.

There is now a serious attempt to develop registries for small arms and light weapons, to make it more feasible to get a scope of the problem. This work is beginning with the U.N.’s newly invigorated Department of Disarmament, and includes many organizations. The European Union has developed a

Code of Conduct for weapons sales. The British-American Security Information Council (BASIC) is working on a major project in this area, Human Rights Watch is pioneering field research into the flow of weapons, the World Council of Churches is playing a role. In Washington, D.C., WILPF participates in an Arms Transfer Working group, a coalition of disarmament groups which has been promoting legislation to establish a Code of Conduct to limit U.S. arms sales. But because weapons policies are tied into larger issues of development and human rights, this is a complex problem, not quickly solved.

Resources for action:

- *Light Weapons and Intra-state Conflict: Early Warning Factors and Preventive Action.* Edward J. Laurance. (New York: Carnegie Commission.)
- *Fortress America.* William Grieder. (HarperPerseus, \$22)
- *The Arms Trade Revealed: A Guide for Investigators and Activists.* Lora Lumpe and Jeff Donarski. Arms Sales Monitoring Project of the Federation of American Scientists. (202) 675-1018; www.fas.org/asmp. \$12.
- “*The Human Cost of America’s Arms Sales*” (videotape). \$19; \$50 for a series. Center for Defense Information (CDI), 1-800-CDI-3334; www.cdi.org. Contact CDI for a program schedule and list of stations carrying its weekly television show, “*Arms Defense Monitor*.” Online, subscribe to CDI’s listserve, majordomo@cdi.org.
- “*Arms Trade News*” (newsletter). Council for A Livable World, (202) 546-0962; www.clw.org. ♦



Disarmament Update

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Felicity Hill,
WILPF Director of Liaison to the United Nations
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Indian writer Arundhati Roy captured the feelings we often have when it comes to disarmament work, whether that be about nuclear, chemical, biological, or conventional disarmament, or the disarming of our economies and psychologies. In her brilliant article, "The End of Imagination" (*The Nation*, 9/28/98), she wrote: "There's nothing new or original to be said about nuclear weapons. . . . So those of you who are willing: let's pick out parts, put on these discarded costumes and speak our second-hand lines in this sad second-hand play. But let's not forget that the stakes we are playing for are huge. Our fatigue and our shame could mean the end of us . . . Of everything we love. We have to reach within ourselves and find the strength to think. To fight."

The military/corporate/industrial/bureaucratic/academic complex remains firmly entrenched in the permanent war economy. The mentality of militarism runs rampant throughout many cultures that reward violent behavior as "natural" or "inevitable," particularly in men. This mentality runs from children's war toys to the actual legacy of the permanent war economy, which is weapons. Increasingly, spurred on by organizations like WILPF, the non-governmental (NGO) world is finding the strength to fight militarism by infusing the corridors of power with unbearable pressure, and by empowering citizens to demand an end to the trade in death and destruction.

Nuclear disarmament

There are 36,000 nuclear weapons in the world, many on hair-trigger alert, floating around on submarines or buried in silos. Russia has 22,500, the U.S. has 12,000 in the U.S. and about 150 in Europe; France has 450, China has about 400, the U.K. has 160, and Israel is believed to have about 100. These weapons represent the most perfect sadism humankind has concocted. Their complete abolition is the only answer. The fact that India and Pakistan recently tested nuclear weapons should galvanize the international community into action and should force the five declared nuclear weapons powers to enact what they promised in 1968 in the Non-Proliferation Treaty: an end to the nuclear arms race; nuclear disarmament; and a treaty on general and complete disarmament.

The fact that the five nuclear weapons States (the U.S., U.K., France, Russia and China) have held the Non-Proliferation Treaty in contempt for so long, indicating that they have no intention of disarming, is the

reason India and Pakistan were tempted to join the club. Condemning India and Pakistan for wanting to join the club is important, but WILPF has sought to bring the focus back onto the need for complete and total nuclear disarmament by noting that proliferation was inevitable while nuclear weapons continued to hold the prestige they do in the international community. Those who hold nuclear weapons up as the symbol of power need to be under as much pressure as India and Pakistan (and Israel for that matter) to use the Model Nuclear Weapons Convention written by NGO experts and submitted to the U.N. by Costa Rica.



In November, we saw the splitting of NATO members in the General Assembly on the issue of nuclear disarmament. Despite U.S. pressure on its friends and allies, 12 out of the 16 NATO countries did not vote against the New Agenda Coalition resolution calling on the nuclear weapon States and nuclear-capable States to take immediate steps toward the elimination of nuclear weapons (*see page 14*).

This is a very good sign that our movements for the abolition of nuclear weapons and the negotiation of a Nuclear Weapons Convention are making a difference. NATO is undergoing a review of its nuclear policy, which will be discussed at its April meeting in Washington, D.C. WILPF women all over the world lobbied their governments and have contributed to this success. Our WIND campaign is leading in these activities, with the magnificent support of WILPF sections in many countries.

Chemical and biological weapons: The poor man's nuke

There are literally thousands of chemical and biological weapons in storage and some in hiding. Weapons of mass destruction have an interdependent relationship. Because Israel has nuclear weapons, Iraq says it felt threatened and justified in creating a biological weapons program. Where both countries got the technology to create these weapons is easily answered. ➤

► In a letter to U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan to urge his participation in easing tensions in the Gulf, WILPF wrote: "If there are any chemical or biological weapons or production facilities in Iraq, bombing these sites could be devastating for the entire region. Biological spores know of no borders and can be carried by the wind very easily."

The Biological Weapons Convention entered into force in 1972 and was the first international agreement providing for a genuine measure of disarmament. It prohibits the development, production, stockpiling, and acquisition of biological weapons, and mandates their destruction. Unfortunately, it does not have a verification regime. The Chemical Weapons Convention entered into force in 1992. Both Conventions have stigmatized these weapons.

Landmines

Despite the International Campaign to Ban Landmines, every 22 minutes someone is killed or maimed by a landmine. The success of the landmine campaign is an inspiration to us all. The treaty has now been ratified and the task of demining the world continues. Only two billion dollars per year for ten years is needed to remove 20 million landmines in 64 countries (less than the cost of a single B-2 bomber).

Small arms and light weapons

After the passage of the Organization of African States' Convention on Illicit Weapons Trafficking in November 1997, NGOs globally pushed for additional action. Their efforts resulted in the passage of a resolution in the Economic and Social Committee (ECOSOC) of the U.N. in Vienna calling for an international convention against illicit trafficking, and the inclusion of arms smuggling on the agenda of the Group of Eight (G8) Summit in Birmingham, U.K. last May.

An essential but often-ignored component of peace agreements is a disarmament or weapons registration program. U.N. studies have shown that merely buying back weapons actually begins a new arms trade, and that, crucial to any demobilization campaign, is investment in the retraining of soldiers. Breaking the link between the man and the weapon begins with providing alternative forms of security — political, social, and economic.

A new international action network is emerging and will be launched in May at the Hague Appeal for Peace, inspired by the landmines experience. Keep your ear to the ground for news.

Since the U.S. is the biggest producer and exporter of weapons that kill and mangle, U.S. organizations have been working for a decade to establish a Code of Conduct which restricts arms exports. After the Gulf Massacre, an Arms Transfer Working Group formed and is attempting to reform U.S. arms export policies by edu-

continued on page 16

SCANDAL IN WASHINGTON: U.S. MILITARY SPENDING

The ink is barely dry on the \$272 billion FY99 Department of Defense authorization bill, yet President Clinton, the Pentagon, and members of Congress have started an all-out push to increase military spending over the next five years. The President is expected to seek and receive over \$4 billion in emergency supplemental spending for military programs in FY99. The Pentagon is expected to request budget increases of \$15-20 billion for each of the next several years. This would be in addition to the \$22 billion in new military spending that was planned for the next five years under the terms of the 1998 "balanced budget" agreement.

Since the end of the Cold War, the global community is spending, on average, 30-40% less on military programs. However, U.S. military spending remains at 82% of its Cold War levels and consumes nearly 45% of all discretionary federal funds. The U.S. currently spends far more than the combined military budgets of all its potential adversaries (i.e., Russia, China, Iraq, Iran, Libya, North Korea, Cuba).

The process of authorizing and appropriating funds for FY99 military programs was no different than in

years past. Members of Congress continued to approve spending for weapons production and military facilities in their home states that the Pentagon did not ask for. Taxpayers will have to pay billions of dollars in years to come for procurement, maintenance, staffing, and operations of these facilities. During debate on the budget, Sen. McCain (AZ) noted that "pork-barrel spending is at an all-time high," with 95% of the \$200 million in new, unrequested military construction add-ons going to states or districts of appropriations committee members.

Reprinted from the *Washington Newsletter*, issue # 626, November, 1998, published by the Friends Committee on National Legislation (FCNL). For information, contact FCNL, 245 Second St., NE, Washington, D.C. 20002; (202) 547-6000; e-mail: fcnl@fcnl.org; web page: www.fcnl.org; Legislative Action Message: (202) 547-4343.

Action:

WILPF's "Budget Literacy Packet" includes information for study and action, including FY98 income and expense "pies," a succinct 2-pager on plans to privatize Social Security, and news of Women's Budget Project activities. Available for \$5, from WILPF's Legislative Office. ❖

WIND Campaign Supports New Agenda Initiative

Felicity Hill, WIND Coordinator

Since June 9 of last year, WILPF's Women Insist on Nuclear Disarmament (WIND) campaign has focused on supporting the New Agenda Coalition, the most imaginative and determined governmental initiative on nuclear disarmament we have seen in a long time. The coalition, a new grouping of governments, has urged the "speedy, final, and total elimination" of nuclear weapons by the nuclear states and nuclear-capable states, *now*.

The governments of Ireland, South Africa, Mexico, Egypt, Slovenia, Sweden, Brazil and New Zealand devised the strategy of building a new center-ground coalition for nuclear disarmament.

(Slovenia has since withdrawn, under U.S. pressure.) In Geneva, WILPF met with the governmental representatives to find out what kind of NGO support we can give.

WIND was launched in 1997 as WILPF's contribution to the

Abolition 2000 Campaign, a network (of which we are a founding member) of more than 1,000 NGOs working for nuclear disarmament. WIND mobilizes women in the peace movement to work towards using international law and the United Nations to achieve disarmament. So far, WIND has focused primarily on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), the only international forum focusing on nuclear weapons in a multilateral framework. The Dutch, French, German, Australian, and Lebanese sections have been particularly active. We have also urged sections to support those who have been imprisoned for their anti-nuclear activity, and to campaign for a ban on Depleted Uranium (DU) weapons. Thanks to Pat Birnie of the U.S. section for her excellent work on this issue.

For a copy of WILPF's resolutions on all things nuclear, contact me at WILPF's U.N. office.

Looking towards the future

The WIND campaign will continue until the year 2000, bringing pressure to the Non-Proliferation Treaty Review Process, supporting New Agenda Coalition activities,

and agitating for the end of the nuclear age on the local level. The positive moves we see from Germany and Switzerland toward abolishing nuclear energy are very good signs that need to be built upon.

WIND will work towards mobilizing a global women's anti-nuclear presence in the buildup to the next NPT review session in April. We are also looking at the possibility of another week of activities August 1-6.

Resources for action

To get involved with the WIND campaign, contact Felicity Hill at (212) 682-1265, or flick@igc.apc.org. For excellent updates on nuclear policy, contact:

- British-American Security Information Council (BASIC): (202) 785-1266; basicus@aol.com; www.igc.apc.org/basic;
- Nuclear Information and Resource Service (NIRS), (202) 328-0002; www.nirs.org

Additional resources include:

- Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, (617) 354-4337; www.idds.org
- The NGO Committee on Disarmament, (212) 687-5340; www.igc.apc.org/disarm/
- "Bombs Away!" (newsletter of the Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy). (212) 818-1861; www.ddh.nl/org/ialana. ❖

The Hague Appeal for Peace

Carlota Lopes da Silva, Dutch section

WILPF is active in preparations for The Hague Appeal for Peace, an end-of-the-century peace conference and campaign dedicated to the delegitimization of war, and the development of a culture of peace, set for May 11-16 in The Hague, The Netherlands.

The conference marks the 100th anniversary of the First International Peace Conference in 1899. International workshops and presentations will focus on four themes: international humanitarian law and

human rights; conflict prevention/resolution/transformation; disarmament; and the root causes of war.

International WILPF's Barbara Lochbihler, Felicity Hill, and Edith Ballantyne are preparing workshops on themes 2, 3, and 4, and on a gender perspective on the whole process. The Dutch section is participating in preparations at the national level. With Women for Peace, we are working to create a women's encounter, organize a small market for WILPF fundraising, and help with logistics. We will host a



European regional WILPF meeting and celebrate Aletta Jacobs, a founding mother of WILPF and of the Dutch section.

The Hague Appeal for Peace is a great opportunity to strengthen our work. For a registration booklet and/or the conference newsletter, contact Karina Woods, U.S. Coordinator, 43 Nisbet St., 3rd Floor, Providence, RI 02906; (401) 751-8172; kwood@igc.apc.org. ❖

“Depleted Uranium... Another Pentagon Coverup?”

Pat Birnie, Chair, WILPF
Environment Committee

The Pentagon is so excited about the potential of its new depleted uranium (DU) weapon that it is circumventing its own documents indicating that DU is a primary cause of “Gulf War syndrome.”

Depleted uranium is a radioactive and chemically toxic waste made from extracting the element U-235 from uranium ore. A cheap, abundant heavy metal, DU ignites spontaneously and has a half-life of 4.5 billion years. It is made into tank armor and into armor-piercing projectiles called “kinetic energy

**Researchers believe that
depleted uranium is
a major cause of
“Gulf War syndrome.”**

**About 315 tons
were fired, contaminating
people and land.**

penetrators,” which are launched from aircraft and tanks. First used in the Gulf War in 1991, these projectiles are in the arsenals of 20 countries.

The most deadly effects come from huge amounts of aerosolized uranium dust released from the intense fires caused upon impact. Carried by wind or water, the DU dust can enter the body via inhalation, ingestion, or wound contamination. Among the short and long-term health effects are kidney and

liver problems, immune system dysfunction, reproductive problems, birth defects, and cancer. Personnel who spend a long time near tank armor and stockpiled DU shells can become contaminated, as can those who install armor or who work in shell production facilities or testing ranges.

During the Gulf War, an estimated 315 tons of depleted uranium were fired, contaminating hundreds of thousands of people and vast land areas. Independent researchers believe that DU ingestion is a major cause of “Gulf War syndrome.” Except for a few vehicles, there has been no cleanup by Allied forces of contaminated land, shells, or other equipment. Those living in contaminated areas continue to breathe or ingest DU dust. This contamination will linger for centuries. Never-before-seen leukemias, birth defects, and other ailments are now being reported in those areas.

Before the Gulf War, high U.S. military officials knew of the likely effects of DU and advocated protective measures and monitoring of military personnel. No military personnel were warned or protected. The Pentagon denied that many service personnel were contaminated, although recently it has admitted that several thousand may have been exposed to small amounts of DU. The Pentagon wants to expand military uses of this new weapon, and to avoid the huge health and environmental cleanup costs that could be required.

Under international law, five international conventions prohibit the use of weapons and tactics



Maternity and child hospital, Iraq, January 1998. In addition to widespread hunger and disease in Iraq resulting from U.N.-imposed sanctions, are Iraqis and U.S. soldiers also facing the deadly effects of depleted uranium weapons?

which cause unnecessary or aggravated devastation or suffering; indiscriminate harm to noncombatants; or long-term and severe damage to the environment.

Action:

Contact President Clinton, your elected officials, and the United Nations, urging that all uses of DU be banned internationally; all DU-exposed personnel receive treatment and compensation; all contaminated sites be cleaned up; and all DU be isolated as radioactive waste.

Source: “Case Narrative: Depleted Uranium Exposures,” Dan Fahley (March 1998), containing reports from U.S. government sources obtained by Freedom of Information Act requests. Available from Military Toxics Project: (207) 783-5091; www.miltoxproj.org. For more information, contact Pat Birnie at (520) 908-9269 or birnie@gci-net.com.

WILPF Urges Atomic Energy Agency to Refocus Its Priorities

Edel Havin Beukes, Norwegian section

On October 10-12, participants from several European countries gathered in Vienna for a “European Women’s Conference on Nuclear Weapons and Security Needs” organized by WILPF.

Dr. Rosalie Bertell of the International Institute of Concern for Public Health, based in Toronto, gave a presentation on “Health, Nuclear Power and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA).” Working groups addressed issues of abiding concern to the European peace lobby. They included NATO’s expansion into eastern Europe, and the proposed Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe’s (OSCE) Charter on European Security.

The conference sent three delegations to the Vienna-based international agencies, the IAEA, the OSCE, and the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty Organization (CTBTO), to present WILPF’s views. David Kyd, information offi-

cer of the IAEA, appeared more ready to listen to concerns about his agency’s role in advancing the interests of the nuclear industry than we have come to expect from that agency’s spokesmen.

Among the issues we raised was the 1959 pact entered into between the IAEA and the World Health Organization (WHO). Our concern was that WHO, the world’s public health watchdog, had subjugated its concern for the world’s health to the nuclear industry’s public relations interests.

From Dr. Kyd’s remarks we concluded that the IAEA would not oppose a revision of the pact’s text, if the WHO would raise the issue. Regarding the vexatious issue of the growing mountain of radioactive waste, Dr. Kyd seemed to share our concern that it be stored under conditions permitting permanent monitoring and control. He also seemed to concede that there are no safe levels of exposure to radioactivity. The

fallacy of a safe level was established by the self-appointed body of physicists and engineers of the International Commission on Radiological Protection, who set the standards for permissible levels of such exposure.

An ominous development is the recent decision by the European Commission (EURATOM) to permit the use of radioactive waste in consumer products — a decision that follows the use of depleted uranium in military ordnance by the United States, which steadfastly denies that these waste products might be implicated in “Gulf War Syndrome.” About the effects of the depleted uranium rained over the population of Iraq, we can only guess. Dr. Kyd’s only comment in this regard was that he didn’t believe that the European program had gone into effect yet.

There would appear to be every reason for WILPF to step up its efforts to expose the risks the world’s public is subjected to because of a misplaced concern for the interests of the nuclear industry. ❖

DISARMAMENT *continued from 13* cating congressional and executive branch personnel. Stigmatizing individual weapons producers has also become a useful tool for exposing warmongers. Our very own Kay Camp was arrested outside Lockheed Martin last year demonstrating against Lockheed’s production of nuclear weapons and arms exports. (See p. 11 for more on these weapons.)

Globalization

WILPF has been exploring the instability caused by capitalist globalization. The Multilateral

Agreement on Investment (MAI) has not been finally defeated and fuels the military corporate complex. Projects related to “National Security” and arms production are exempt from the MAI provisions. This means that one of the only ways to stimulate a national economy or provide jobs without having to open your borders to competition is to engage in military production.

Space: The final frontier?

The U.S. Space Command shamelessly declares that space is the “warfighter’s edge.” Its Vision for 2020 asserts: “The two principle

themes of U.S. SPACECOM Vision are dominating the space medium and integrating space power throughout military operations As space systems become lucrative military targets, these will be a critical need to control the space medium to ensure U.S. dominance on future battlefields.” These sentiments are politically scary and contravene the 1967 Outer Space Treaty. WILPF is urging the establishment of a Preventing an Arms Race in Outer Space group to convene in the Conference on Disarmament in Geneva. ❖

Militarism and Globalization

Barbara Lochbihler

Secretary General, International WILPF

MILITARISM AND HUMAN RIGHTS

If we think about militarism and human rights, different pictures come to mind. For those Congress participants who have survived a war or are from current conflict areas like Colombia, Sierra Leone, Kosovo, the Middle East, and the Caucasus, the cruelties experienced and witnessed are deep and existential. Others experience human rights violations caused by militarism in a less direct but persistent way:

- The waste of resources which cannot be used for basic needs
- The environmental destruction caused by the military, and its effects on our health
- The use of guns by children
- The sexual misuse and torture of women by military personnel
- The starvation of children suffering an embargo
- The destructive influence of militarism on value systems

The list can be prolonged endlessly. It shows the many ugly faces in which militarism appears, and that the right to peace as a human right is far from being understood by politicians and the wider public.

HOW MILITARISM RELATES TO GLOBALIZATION

In order to develop their investment strategies, transnational corporations (TNCs), the main actors of globalization, need the assurance of political stability and security. It is an old story that military force, either from abroad or within a country, is one of the instruments for TNCs. National armies and military alliances have to ensure that the interest of TNCs, the recolonization of the world, are met first.

The negative conse-

quences of globalization are deepening the worldwide gap between rich and poor, and also threaten peace. The growing polarization between the rich and poor has forced people to migrate. Politicians and nation states are limiting the free flow of people and the labor force, as they are not limiting the free flow of capital or finance. We are witnessing an enormous increase in the militarization of the police and border forces around the rich countries, like western Europe and the U.S. We have an increase of human rights violations and the use of violence to keep foreigners without economic power outside rich countries, and more police brutality and overcrowded prisons against poor people within a country. Racist propaganda is used increasingly to divide people.

There is no coherent global political framework [confronting] the main motors of globalization: the economy, finance, and technology. But it is important to point out that global trends are not natural events, but [desired] results of a net of economic/political interests.

Global security strategies have to adjust to these developments. The problems of transformation in eastern Europe and of “development” in many countries of the South, have created a power vacuum or led to the erosion of state structures. The drive for autonomy and secession by different ethno-political groups has led to new intrastate conflicts.

Despite the many good U.N. documents from world conferences on a new understanding of security, we do not see a fundamental shift away from the concept of military superiority among powerful institutions.

Credit: Roberta Spivek



WILPF members call for increased attention to the human impact of globalization, July 29, 1998, Washington, D. C.

Excerpted from an address delivered at WILPF's 27th International Congress at Goucher College, Baltimore, Maryland, July 27, 1998

NATO'S NEW ROLE

What has happened that NATO can promote itself nowadays as the peace organization we all were waiting for? This collective defense alliance has added new functions of cooperative security, like crisis management in Bosnia, and the NATO Cooperation Council. NATO has become responsible for overall security issues, while the U.N. and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), a regional security organization, have

alliances like NATO, and armies big and small, march in tandem to make these structures stick.”

WHATEVER HAPPENED TO CONVERSION?

Let's look at the two huge military-industrial complexes in Russia and the U.S. built up during the Cold War.

Russia had three national conversion plans. None has been followed through. Systematic implementation was difficult against the

are many successful examples of small and medium-sized businesses which benefited from the program. But in 1994 the government started cutting the program. Today, you need to show the primary military value of a dual-use product [*ie.*, having both civilian and military use—*Ed.*] in order to get subsidies.

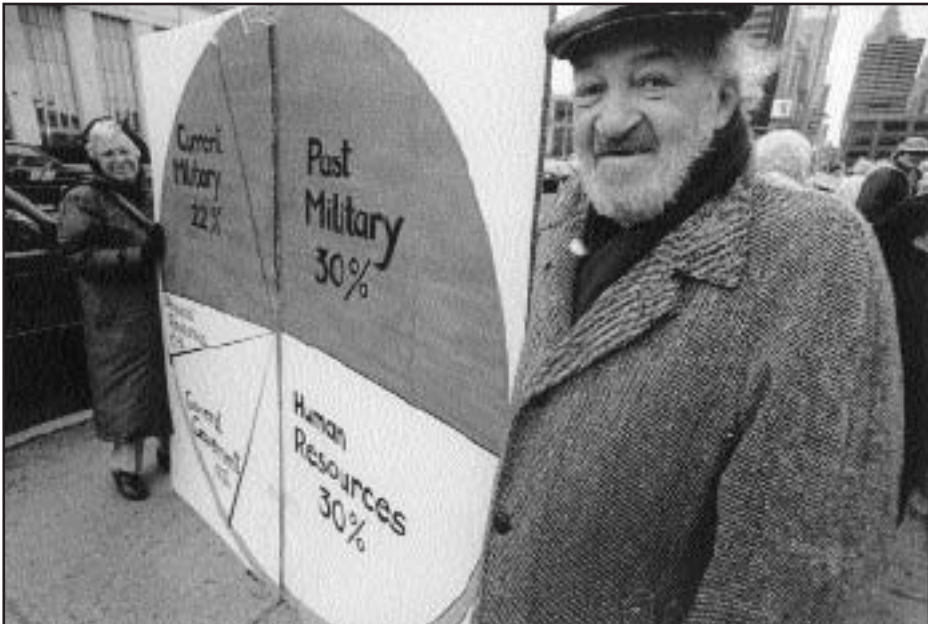
At the same time, the Clinton administration speeded up concentration within the arms industry, through measures like an increase in the promotion of arms exports. The financial institutions of Wall Street supported this process. As a result, three mega-arms companies dominate the market. In western Europe there is still a lot of national competition. We see mergers and acquisitions as well, but this process has not found its end yet.

FINDING NEW MARKETS

The promotion of arms exports to all regions of the world is an ongoing trend barely controlled by the few instruments we have on arms transfers control. The work for a European Code of Conduct, with its weak wording, looks like a “fig-leaf” barely covering the political will of most governments to help the arms industry to make profits.

The recent expansion of NATO paved the way for a huge new subsidized outlet for arms exports. For U.S. companies, the expansion will bring estimated sales of \$8 to 10 billion in fighter planes alone, and a total weapons market of \$35 billion over the next decade. The arms industry lobby was hard at work, pressing Congress and the Pentagon for billions of dollars in federal subsidies for the arming of potential NATO members, even before the first three candidates for NATO expansion were selected. In 1995-96, Boeing-Mc Donnell Douglas spent \$1.3 million on lobbying Congress to support NATO enlarge-

Credit: Harvey Finkle



Center City WILPF activists Miriam and Bill Crawford illustrate U.S. budget priorities, during annual “Tax Day” action, Philadelphia.

been weakened. More and more classical U.N. tasks of peacekeeping and peace consolidation are directed towards NATO, under the leading power of the United States. NATO is developing more and more as the world's police, which leaves other institutions with a role to play as “soft” institutions, dealing with arms control, cooperation, and security-building initiatives.

As Canada's Tony Clark has pointed out, “If NAFTA, MAI, etc. are designed to make the world safe for the TNCs, than surely military

strong influence of the arms industry and government itself to keep the *status quo*. Many forms of investment, which the government does not have, are needed for successful conversion. Currently, 40% of the people in Russia live under the poverty line.

In the U.S., the government announced in 1993 the world's biggest conversion program, nearly \$20 billion. It was a thoughtful program which included worker training and advisory centers for small and medium-size enterprises. There

ment. It received \$7.8 billion in foreign military sales contracts.

The result will be a new arms race in eastern and central Europe, with catastrophic results on the budget of the weak economies of the new member states

TNCs AND THE PRIVATIZATION OF THE WAR BUSINESS

There is a growing influence of TNCs in international institutions like the U.N., via supporting national foreign policies which fit their interest. The U.N. Secretary General himself has invited the business sector to take a more active role within the U.N. We have to follow these developments with great care.

We are witnessing an increase in the dissolution of state structures, which also means an erosion of the monopoly of violence by the state. This change has concrete effects on peace work on the spot, making distribution of humanitarian aid and practical conflict resolution impossible.

As I said earlier, the main interest of TNCs is a stable environment for their investments. In some cases

phenomena, but we see an increasing global trend in the “new security industry,” which is of service to whomever can pay.

In his book *The Transformation of War* (1991), Martin van Crefeld, a war theoretician, comments: “As used to be the case until at least 1648, military and economic functions will be reunited. . . . In [the] future, “war-making entities” could look a lot like they did in the feudal past — tribes, city-states, religious associations, private mercenary bands, and commercial organizations such as the East India Company in the time of the British empire.” We need to be alarmed and informed about these developments.

THE CHALLENGE FOR WILPF

How can we realistically build a global peace order vis-a-vis the ruling neoliberalism?

A peace organization like WILPF has to renew its commitment to the principles of anti-militarism and at the same time further develop concrete proposals. We must get involved in the expansion of instruments of peaceful conflict

conflict resolution and termination than provide a seal of approval on the decisions of a few major powers.

The U.N. and the regional associations already provide a framework for dealing with international conflict. The scope of “state sovereignty” in protecting actions within state borders has been shrinking over the last several decades. But further changes in these institutions are required —subjects which require much discussion. The central question on an international level is: Why have existing norms and agreements not been implemented, and who and what hinders the rule of law? What are the inherent blockages within the U.N. system to building structures to build peace?

A world peace order needs regional elements as well. The OSCE is taking a leading role in showing a possible way for promoting minority protection and human rights and building democratic structures. The Organization for African Unity has established a new mechanism for conflict solving. It has monitored more than 60 elections and is discussing ways to intensify African capacities for peacekeeping.

What does democracy mean on an international level? What would a democratic constitution look like on a global level?

This short list indicates the magnitude of the political changes needed in the relations of the major powers to the U.N. and the regional organizations—in the U.S. above all, but within other major powers as well. To bring about such change is the most challenging task that lies before those who seek the end of war.

[Finally,] approaches to conflict resolution will not be taken seriously without even an attempt to distribute to distribute global wealth in a just way. The United Nations needs to take back economic issues, which it has been “outsourcing.” ❖

How can we realistically build a global peace order in an era of neoliberalism?

they do conflict prevention work in order to meet their interest. In addition, they don't hesitate to use the military, paramilitary groups, and private armies to maximize their profits. A prominent example is Shell's involvement in Nigeria, but there are many more. The weakening of state authority or even the implosion of states gives space to a new market. Paid security experts and mercenaries are not a new

resolution and collective security.

This leads to a series of questions about how we look at the U.N. How do we push for genuine reform of the world's peace institution? What does constitutional control mean on an international level? Who controls the Security Council? We need to discuss if and how we want to continue with our Security Council campaign. The Security Council must be able to do more in

Nobel Laureates Seek Code of Conduct

“From 1987 to 1993, the number of people in the world with incomes of less than one dollar a day increased by 100 million, to a total of 1.3 billion people. One billion people in today’s world are illiterate, and around 800 million go hungry every day. Nearly one-third of the inhabitants of the developing countries, most of which are in sub-Saharan Africa, are not expected to survive to the age of 40.

“A world without poverty is not a utopia; it is a goal attainable in the near future.

The United States is responsible for 45% of all weapons deliveries in the world.

“In 1995, world military spending totaled nearly \$800 billion dollars. If we redirected just \$40 billion dollars of those resources over the next 10 years to fighting poverty, all of the world’s population would enjoy basic social services, such as education, health care and nutrition, reproductive health, clean water, and sanitation.

“Since the end of the Cold War, many industrialized nations have reduced their defense budgets. As a result, those countries’ arms merchants have turned to new clients in the developing world, where the majority of conflicts take place today. The United States stands as an extreme case. Currently, the U.S. is responsible for 45 percent of all weapons deliveries in the world. In the past four years, 85 percent of U.S. arms sales have gone to undemocratic governments in the devel-

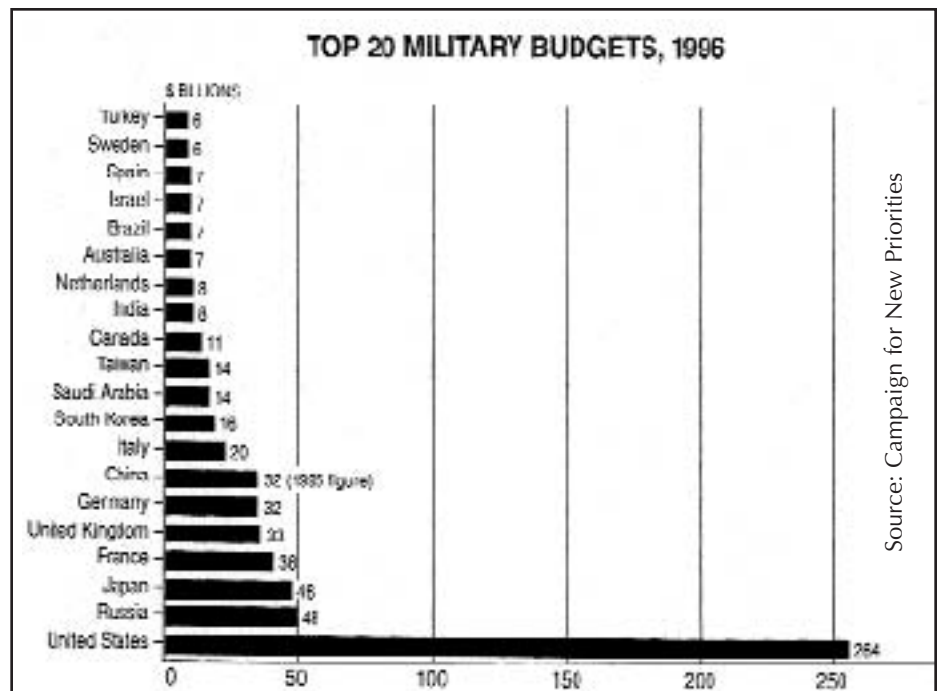
oping world. During Clinton’s first term in office, his administration gave \$35.9 billion to the militaries of nondemocratic governments for arms and training—an average of \$9 billion per year. This figure represents 82 percent of the \$44 billion in total U.S. military support for developing nations.

“For many industrialized countries, economic prosperity is seen as partially contingent upon a thriving military industry. Armament production is viewed by many as indispensable for technological development and as a vital source of employment. World leaders must accept the fact that we cannot let the free market rule the international arms trade.

“Toward this end, on May 29 my friend Don Gann of the American Friends Service Committee and I met with six other Nobel Peace laureates, to publicly unveil an International Code of Conduct on Arms Transfers. This

Code would prevent undemocratic governments from building sophisticated arsenals. Governments which systematically abuse internationally recognized human rights through practices such as torture or arbitrary executions would not receive military training. Countries who commit genocide would not be able to buy munitions. Governments engaged in armed aggression against other countries or peoples could not buy missiles. States that support terrorism would be prevented from acquiring weapons. All nations would be required to report their arms purchases to the United Nations.

“Ten years ago, who would have thought that the nations of the world would agree to a Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty or a ban on anti-personnel landmines? Why, then, should the dream of a Code of Conduct on Arms Transfers be any different?” ❖



From a speech by Oscar Arias, former president of Costa Rica, to the American Friends Service Committee, November 15, 1997. See page 11 for resources on the arms trade.



Building an Effective Campaign

Chris Morin

Leadership/Outreach Coordinator

What would you do if a potential disaster was being placed in your backyard and “your backyard” was the state of North Carolina? As a WILPF member, you would organize to prevent disaster. Kitty Boniske, a member of WILPF’s Asheville, North Carolina branch, is actively involved, along with other branch members, in a campaign to stop the production of MOX, “mixed oxide fuel.” A mixture of plutonium and uranium, MOX would be used to fuel nuclear reactors. Duke Energy, North Carolina’s largest utility, wants to use MOX fuel. The issue affects not only Asheville but the entire Southeast.

The issue

The Department of Energy (DOE) wants to make experimental MOX fuel, using plutonium from dismantled nuclear weapons. The rationale is that making plutonium into fuel will contain this waste, a byproduct of nuclear warheads. But

plutonium is also dangerous, with a chance, however slight, of serious accident.

Once again, we have a large institution, the DOE, trying to push forward its hidden agenda, the selling of dangerous fuel, onto an uninformed public, despite the long-term effects of high-level nuclear waste. Unfortunately, these are the issues that WILPF branches have to get involved in, and, fortunately, they do.

The branch

Kitty Boniske, a WILPF member since 1985, lives “off the nuclear grid” in a solar-powered home. She has been working to “denuclearize the planet” for many years. The branch formed in 1985 after a U.S. Section Congress was held in Asheville. “Mary Kay Laird actually got the branch started,” Kitty recalls. “The original members met at the Congress and we were impressed with these wonderful women. After a few meetings, we decided we wanted to form a branch.”

hood Dinner was founded. Several times a year, women have come together over a potluck dinner to get to know each other and to share their concerns. Kitty and her branch have been taking on the big issues ever since.

The campaign

A campaign is different from a program. A program revolves around organizing single, unrelated events, such as a demonstration or a forum. A campaign **provides an escalating series of actions over a period of time focused on an issue, in order to achieve specific goals.**

Steps to building a campaign include:

1. Self-education on the issue
2. Choosing a focus
3. Setting long and short-term goals
4. Determining who the proponents (allies and supporters) are
5. Determining who the opponents (those you need to convince) are
6. Conducting an analysis and evaluation

Asheville WILPF members have been *educating* themselves about MOX fuel by working in coalition with the decade-old Blue Ridge Environmental Defense League. A local environmental leader, the league initially organized citizens to oppose plans to place a high-level nuclear waste dump in North Carolina. The growing coalition also includes the Western Carolina Alliance, WAND, Physicians for



Asheville WILPFers Brita Clark, Kitty Boniske and Leah Karpen, with Blue Ridge League’s Lou Zeller and UNC student Carly Walker (left), who is studying the campaign.

using MOX as reactor fuel requires processing plutonium, creating new plutonium-laced waste, exposing workers to it, and releasing it into the environment. Transporting plu-

One of the first issues the new branch focused on was race relations. With only a few local organizations where women of different races could get together, a Sister

From the Army to Peace Activism



In eleven short years, Baltimore WILPF member Ellen Barfield, 42, has grown from being politically and socially knowledgeable, to becoming a committed activist.

After graduating from West Texas University with a B.A. in animal science, Ellen enlisted in the U.S. Army. During her 1977-81 tour she lived in Germany and Korea, working as a heavy utility mechanic. Ellen's interest in environmental issues and feminism was heightened through a local progressive bookstore in Germany run by the wife of an Army officer. Ellen values what she learned in the Army, including the economic realities causing many people join.

After returning to the Texas Panhandle, Ellen became involved in and then lived with members of the Amarillo antinuclear group, Red

River/Amarillo Center for Peacemaking, on a peace farm across from the Pantex nuclear weapons plant. The group researched and publicized nuclear warhead assembly at the plant. Although the plant has not closed, the peace farm workers effectively pushed for it to admit its role in chemical contamination of the surrounding area.

Ellen's involvement with WILPF began while living on the peace farm, where several people were active WILPF members. A speaking tour visit by then-legislative director Isabel Guy also encouraged her to join. After moving East she became active with the Baltimore branch. Recently, Ellen organized visits to local community groups for WILPF's "D.C. Day of Action" during the International Congress.

A staff member of a progressive bookstore, Ellen belongs to "about 30" organizations working on issues ranging from the death penalty to disarmament. She spent several months in Leon, Nicaragua, running

a play therapy clinic at a local hospital, and has traveled to Iraq twice out of concern for the ongoing effects of UN-sponsored economic sanctions. Through her involvement with the group Voices in the Wilderness, she risked arrest last January to bring antibiotics to people suffering from the effects of Gulf War-related radiological assaults (see *P&F*, March/April '98).

In September, Ellen walked with the Interfaith Pilgrimage of the Middle Passage, which is holding a year-long peace walk around the Americas and Africa, visiting places where the slave trade was practiced. The walk helps African Americans carry the spirits of their ancestors back to Africa, and causes the white participants to reexamine their own racist behavior. For Ellen, the experience was extremely powerful. She felt the ground which the group traced was made sacred by the blood and struggle which occurred upon it.

Ellen and her husband, an anesthesiologist, are now hoping to travel to Haiti with Doctors Without Borders, and to spend six months working in areas of extreme medical need. ❖

LaVange Barth, WILPF intern

► Social Responsibility, and the Carolina Peace Resource Center.

"The best thing we can do right now is get the information out," says Kitty. "Once plutonium is accepted as a fuel, there will be no stopping its production for profit. We want to reach public officials, as well as the public. People are not evil; they are just not knowledgeable." A public meeting on "Savannah River and the Plutonium Economy" was held in mid-November.

Kitty thinks of the coalition's *long-range goal* as ridding the planet of nuclear weapons and nuclear power. The *short-term goal* is to "get the message out" by June, when the DOE will produce an environmental

impact statement. The campaign's organizing committee is composed of people from three different states, so they "meet" over conference calls. A face-to-face meeting was scheduled for December. Since the first step of a campaign is to educate, one possible strategy is to put together a "road show" to discuss this issue, using the town meeting format.

Opponents to stopping the production of MOX most likely will be the stockholders of Duke Energy. One strategy for swinging stockholders is to start a stockholder's initiative, in which some stockholder can place the issue on the ballot at the company's annual meeting. WILPF national board member Pat Birnie,

an expert on stockholder initiatives, is acting as a consultant for the MOX campaign.

Applying the democratic arts

A campaign is not separate from remembering to "practice the democratic arts"—using consensus decision-making, meeting facilitation, leadership-building, and conflict resolution skills—in our activist work. Throughout a campaign, meetings need to be facilitated and decisions made. Conflicts will arise and should be resolved respectfully. Many tasks will need to be delegated so that more work can get done and new leaders can rise to the surface. ❖

Central Vermont WILPF Joins Abolition 2000 Campaign

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Esther Farnsworth
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Building on our long history of speaking out and taking a stand against militarism and of working for the nuclear freeze, Central Vermont WILPF has focused on a Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons for the last two years. We are doing much of our work in coalition with other groups, which we have found to be an effective way to be a strong voice. Once in a while our name gets lost in the process, but in the long run the campaign has increased our membership and brought more people to our monthly meetings. Foundations have been generous in giving grants to our coalition.

Our activities started when the Raging Grannies from Central Vermont WILPF built a float for the big Northfield Labor Day Parade in 1997. We sang songs about peace and the abolition of nuclear weapons, and took first-runner-up prize.

We worked with the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) to design and distribute a brochure and bumper stickers about the abolition of nuclear weapons. We sold sunflower seeds and included the Abolition 2000 statement in the package.

Central Vermont WILPF, Vermont AFSC, the Unitarian-Universalist Society, and the Vermont Folk Rocker planned and took part in the "Vermont Walk for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapons," a 93-mile walk from Montpelier, the state capitol, to Springfield, Vermont. Along the way, we engaged thousands of walkers and watchers in talking about the abolition campaign. Writer Jonathan Schell and Dr. Victor Sidel from the Physicians for Social Responsibility were among those speaking at our daily rallies.

The Rev. William Sloane Coffin spoke about the urgency of abolishing nuclear weapons to a group of 100 at our Hiroshima Day commemoration last summer. The steps of our Capitol building provided a wonderful amphitheater for our program. The Winooski River, two blocks away, provided the living water where we floated wooden boats with candles to honor those who lost their lives in the atomic bombings, and those who have lost their lives in the testing and manufacturing of nuclear weapons.

Last summer and fall we distributed information and asked for signatures on a nuclear abolition resolution. Right now we are in the middle of a campaign to put the resolution on the March Vermont Town Meeting Ballot. Thirty-five Vermont towns are organizing and collecting

the required number of signatures, and we hope that, by March, most of the towns will be ready to vote on the abolition of nuclear weapons.

"Down by the Riverside," our weekly public access cable television program, has featured anti-nuclear activist Helen Caldicott, members of Physicians for Social Responsibility, and programs from the Center for



Raging Grannies Kathleen Kelly and Lucy Nichols help Central Vermont WILPF win a prize at the 1997 Northfield (VT) Labor Day parade.

Defense Information (*see page 11*). Recently four of our members talked about nuclear weapons and Arundhati Roy's essay, "The End of Imagination" (*The Nation*, 9/28/98) on our local progressive radio station, WGDR. Our members also write op-ed letters and letters to the editors about nuclear issues.

Drawing from Montpelier and surrounding communities, Central Vermont WILPF is over 25 years old. About 30 members are active in the branch. We try to connect a lot of the issues, and have worked for racial justice, health care, and against U.S. intervention in Central America, among other things. Our TV program has focused on both ROTC and on childcare. We have welcomed The Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons, as an opportunity to do WILPF work at a time when the public is yearning to rid the world of these hideous weapons. ❖

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Esther Farnsworth is a coordinator of Central Vermont WILPF. For information on the campaign, contact her at (802) 223 2240 or efarns@together.net; or contact AFSC at (802) 229 2340; afscvt@together.net.



Branch Action News

Leslie Reindl, Branch Action Editor

HUMAN RIGHTS

Most reporting branches participated in or sponsored events celebrating the 50th Anniversary of the signing of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. **Fresno** had an all-day, citywide celebration. **Minnesota Metro** included a 50th Anniversary art exhibition in its annual meeting. **Portland** urged members to support a letter campaign to get Father Roy Bourgeois and other School of the Americas protesters interviewed on the Oprah Winfrey show. Send letters to The Oprah Winfrey Show, P.O. Box 909715, Chicago, IL 60690.

INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS

WILPF's 27th International Congress in Baltimore last summer was the main topic of discussion at many meetings. Augusto Boal's "Theater of the Oppressed" received much attention, and several branches will be exploring use of this dynamic way of involving "spectators." More about this in the next "Branch Action."

At a Nov. 7 meeting hosted by the **Palo Alto/Peninsula** branch, the eight branches of the **Northern California cluster** held a panel discussion on "Turning the WILPF International into Local Action." They invited especially people who attended the Congress to come, and found that some were not members of WILPF but were ready to join. Action ideas included: start a travel fund to help young or new members



Dozens of WILPF members traveled to Columbus (GA) Nov. 22 to join a rally calling for Congress to close the U. S. Army's School of the Americas, whose graduates include numerous human rights abusers. Over 7,000 people protested, and 2,300 committed civil disobedience at the action.

get to WILPF congresses; learn how to use consensus decision-making; invite young women to present topics of interest to them; get serious about military budget work. Speakers included Judge (and WILPF member) LaDoris Cordell, who spoke on the ballot initiative process, and author Anne Loftus, whose *Witness to the Struggle* recounts Dust Bowl days and a history of the labor movement in California.

YOUNG WOMEN'S CAUCUS

St. Louis reported on meetings of the Young Women's Caucus held at the International Congress. The Young Women's Caucus of **Minnesota Metro** changed its name to Young Leader's Caucus, to reflect that men are also welcome. It started a recruitment drive and plans to have study groups and intergenerational dialogues.

INCREASING PARTICIPATION

Detroit has begun a team mode of leadership to make tasks smaller to fit into members' lifestyles. The

teams are: "Maintain" (collaborations, cosponsorships, joint efforts); "Manage" (communication, mailings, office procedures); and "Program" (issues related to WILPF, calendar, and expanding awareness of the video "Arms for the Poor").

GLOBALIZATION AND ITS EFFECTS* (*worship of the bottom line, loss of our humanness—Ed.)

Los Angeles presented a program on "The Accelerating Movement to Privatize Social Security—and How to Stop It"! **Germantown** reported on the Women's Budget Project, which analyzes privatization of social security. **Tucson** reported on "Our Suffering Public Schools."

Detroit arranged two appearances by Cecilia Zarate-Laun, co-founder of the Colombia Support Network (Madison), to discuss "The Myth of the Drug War in Colombia and Corporate Globalization—Linked?" **Berkeley/East Bay** is cosponsoring a film series on the theme, "Women Speak Out." Films include Marilyn Waring's "Who's Counting: Sex, Lies and the Global Economy."

LIFESTYLE CHANGES

Santa Cruz published two essays by a member about the need for humans to change our way of life. This may be part of a new campaign, "Looking Ahead for the Planet's Health."

A **Fresno** WILPF member initiated an 8-week self-facilitated course on voluntary simplicity. Participants are using a course book from the Northwest Earth Institute in Portland, by Dick and Jeanne Roy. The branch advertised a CSA

(community-supported agriculture farm) in its newsletter.

Tucson asks members to bring back issues of progressive magazines to meetings for a sharing table.

NUCLEAR ISSUES

A big part of a recent **Portland** program was the issue of the Hanford nuclear waste site and the legacy of the bomb. Several Portland members attended a DOE hearing on disposal of plutonium and made statements opposing the use of plutonium for mixed oxide fuel (MOX) for nuclear power plants (see p. 21).

Cape Cod and **Santa Cruz** are participating in the "Tooth Fairy Project" (see p. 29), which is tracking the change in global exposure to radiation following the Chernobyl nuclear disaster and leaks from U.S.

nuclear plants.

The topic at **Rockaway's** annual luncheon was "No Nukes Is Good Nukes! Can We Pull It Off?" by Professor Karl Grossman.

Fresno is advertising a renewed boycott against Nestle, this time because Nestle is capitalizing on the movie "Armageddon" with a "Nuclear Chocolate" candy bar, complete with a "Chocolate Chain Reaction" logo.

PEACE—CAMPS AND FAIRS

At its peace camp last summer, **Los Angeles** gave examples of peace heroes (e.g., Jane Addams, Paul Robeson, Dolores Huerta, and Rachel Carson). Campers then talked about their own heroes, who included parents and friends. Campers also explored the theater games of Augusto Boal.

Santa Cruz's peace camp included aboriginal dream painting, quilt making, and a "peace bus" skit. Passengers included Mother Teresa, Rosa Parks, Eyore, and several "valley girls." **Detroit** offered a training workshop for peace camp leaders and provided a comprehensive how-to-do-it manual. **Portland** helped with a November Children's Peace Fair.

AND PEACE EDUCATION

Fresno pursued implementation of the peace curriculum the Fresno Unified Schools adopted a few years ago but has not implemented very well. In June members met with the superintendent, and in August they presented 51 Jane Addams Peace Award Books to the school district at the school board meeting.

Santa Cruz has a new project: Jane Addams's Peace Prize Scholarships, with two scholarships of \$250 to be awarded annually. In reaction to the Religious Right's campaign against gays and lesbians, the branch offered a panel which included a lesbian, a gay man, someone who is bisexual, and a family member of a gay person, to discuss and answer questions. ♦

OUTER SPACE: THE NEXT NUCLEAR FRONTIER?



NY Metro coordinator
Tina Bell at WILPF press
conference

On October 15, 1998, exactly one year after NASA launched the Cassini Space Probe, WILPF's New York Metro branch organized a press conference at the United Nations to call attention to the nuclearization and weaponization of outer space. Speakers included Alyn Ware of the Lawyers' Committee on Nuclear Policy; author Joseph Mangano; and author and State University of New York journalism professor Karl Grossman.

The speakers noted specific government actions that have undermined the Outer Space

Treaty of 1967, which the U.N. calls the "basic framework of international space law," and related treaties, including the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. The U.S. Space Command, for instance, has stated in its *Vision for 2020* that it is "dominating the space dimension of military operations . . . integrating Space Forces into war fighting." Alyn Ware called attention to the lack of implementation of a 1997 U.N. resolution calling for re-establishment of an Ad Hoc Committee on the Prevention of an Arms Race in Outer Space (PAROS). Karl Grossman emphasized the dangers of the Cassini Probe, which is carrying 72.3 pounds of plutonium and is scheduled to fly by earth on August 18.

Journalists from 15 international media outlets, including *Newsweek*, attended and asked numerous questions, noting the urgency of the issue, with outer space seen as "the next frontier to weaponize." For more information, contact Tina Bell, NY Metro WILPF Coordinator, at (212) 533-2125.

Wanted:

Photographs/Newsletters

WILPF (volunteer) photographers: See your work in *Peace & Freedom!* Action photographs and close-ups (especially those reflecting WILPF's diversity) are needed for "Branch Action" and *Peace & Freedom*. Black-and-white shots reproduce best. Send to *P&F*, WILPF, 1213 Race St., Philadelphia, PA 19107.

Branch chairs and newsletter editors: Are we on your newsletter mailing list? Send branch news to: Leslie Reindl, 1233 Ingerson Rd., St. Paul, MN 55112.



A New Year's Pledge with a Difference

Beth Trigg, Development Coordinator

The millenium countdown is well underway. Here's my own shameless exploitation of millenium frenzy.

As we enter 1999, you can make a New Year's resolution to support peace, justice, and social change before the clock rolls over to the year 2000. You can start off the next millenium providing consistent, dependable support for all of WILPF's programs by making a monthly pledge for 1999.

If that's not enough to motivate you, we'll throw in a free "Listen to Women for a Change" bumper sticker if you make your pledge to WILPF right away (before February 15).

We hope to build our pledge program with a major campaign throughout 1999, with the goal of starting the year 2000 with reliable monthly support. Your pledge will support all of WILPF's programs throughout the year, and ensure a stable financial base upon which we can build for the future.

To make it even easier to support WILPF, electronic, or "paperless," pledges can automatically transfer your gift to WILPF each month from your checking or credit card account to WILPF's general operating budget. When you make an electronic pledge, you can extend your support of WILPF indefinitely, and never have to fill out another piece of paper to continue lending your support to WILPF. We continue the electronic pledge until you tell us to stop. Many WILPF members have already given regular support for several years by this method. Of course, for you neo-Luddites, we

will still send out old-fashioned pledge books to use for sending in your monthly support to WILPF by U.S. Mail. Whatever method you use, when you make your pledge to WILPF, you will no longer receive any regular WILPF funding appeals, only reports and membership renewals.

WITH LOVE AND SOLIDARITY

By the time you read this, I will have cleaned out my purple office and said goodbye to my position as development director on the national WILPF staff. Although I am deeply committed to national and international organizing, at this point in my life I feel most energized to work in making a change at a community level, rather than as a national staff member of WILPF.



I am so grateful to have found WILPF and have met all of the amazing, incredible, fabulous women I have found in this network. Thank you from my heart to all of the women who opened your homes to me; told me your stories; shared your wisdom, experience, and expertise; affirmed my work and held me to such high standards; offered criticism and advice when needed; shared moments of joy; and supported me through difficult times in my life and work.

One of the things I love about WILPF is that my assumptions are

constantly challenged. My understanding of issues is often broadened or transformed by conversations with WILPFers – and at the same time, my core commitment to building a peaceful and just world is constantly affirmed by the community of WILPF members. I thank you, WILPF members, for this: for questioning assumptions, for exploring new ways of thinking, and for joining together as women in the struggle for justice and peace, for creating a space in which I could find a home. I will miss the intellectual and emotional challenge of keeping up with the whirlwind of information and activity which swirls daily through 1213 Race Street; I will miss working with WILPF members as an everyday part of my life; and I will miss the constant learning process that has defined my time on the staff.

I do intend to keep in touch and to stay active in WILPF. Please write me at 5501 Wayne Avenue #303, Philadelphia, PA 19144, or e-mail me at btrigg@people-link.com. ❖

Start off the New Year by renewing your commitment to peace, and help us start off the new millenium with a sound financial base.

To make a pledge to WILPF, just fill out the enclosed pledge form (see insert) and mail it back to WILPF. Call the development director at the national office (215) 563-7710 if you have any questions.

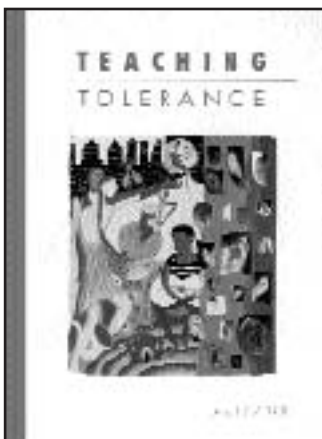


Resources for Building a Culture of Peace

Teaching Tolerance

Reviewed by Jane Weinstein

Violence can be words—words which carry messages of racism, anti-Semitism, homophobia, ageism, or classism. *Teaching Tolerance*, a 64-page magazine published by the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), addresses these difficult and critical issues. Published twice a year, it is free to educators and SPLC supporters. Distributed to more than a half-million educators in the United States and in 70 other countries, the magazine is part of a “Teaching Tolerance” project the SPLC developed in response to an alarming increase in hate crimes among youth.



Anyone concerned with building a world where children, youth, and adults respect and care about each other will be impressed by the quality of the articles. Regular features include book reviews and an idea exchange. Many articles are written by classroom teachers and typically report about ongoing experiences in classrooms.

Teachers interested in social change and in increasing their students’ conflict management skills will find new and empowering ways to infuse their classrooms with concepts, ideas, and practices that help students cope with conflicts. Research shows that when we model a respectful and caring attitude for young people, the learning curve increases. I find *Teaching Tolerance* a continual support. It helps me see that I am far from alone in my daily trials and errors to provide a stress-free environment, so undercut by

popular media culture. I can identify with stories of how others are working to instill values to help our country’s future citizens problem-solve without violence.

The Teaching Tolerance project has also produced a fantastic video, called “*Starting Small*,” which is available free to early-childhood educators. School video-and-text kits come with five copies of a book which can be used by small faculty study groups to further understand and implement the concepts expressed in the video. “*Starting Small*” cuts to the heart of equity issues. It takes viewers into a variety of early childhood classrooms where teachers are consciously modeling ways to help children broaden their sensitivity and understanding about race, physical differences, and culture — differences that often are uncomfortable and divisive. The book includes a great resource list of tolerance-related books, videos, and other materials appropriate for early-childhood educators.

Other resources include video-and-text kits on “*The Shadow of Hate*,” a history of intolerance in America and struggles to overcome it, and “*America’s Civil Rights Movement*.”

If you don’t already receive *Teaching Tolerance*, you may wish to subscribe. If you already subscribe, get a copy for the teacher who wants to change his or her classroom practices but needs support. To receive *Teaching Tolerance* or the other kits mentioned, request a copy, on school letterhead. Mail or fax it to: Teaching Tolerance, 400 Washington Ave., Montgomery, AL 36104; fax: (334) 264-3121. For on-line information, visit www.SPLcenter.org/teachingtolerance.

Jane Weinstein, a Portland (ME) WILPF member, is a pre school teacher and a member of WILPF’s national Peace Education Committee.

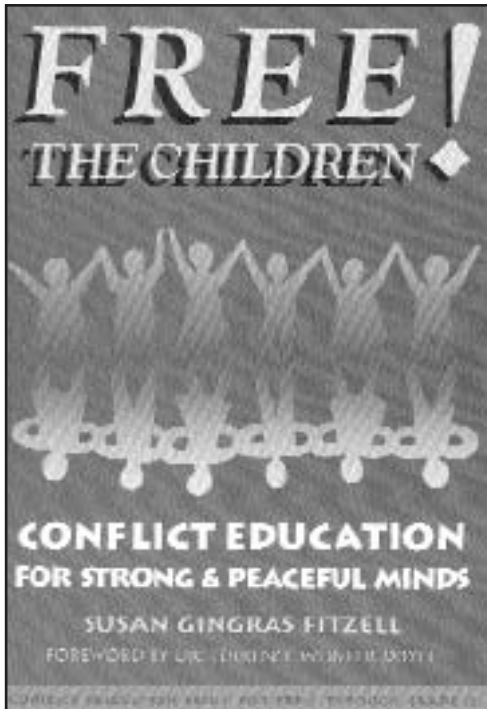
**This Peace Education section
is funded by the Jane Addams
Peace Association.**

Free the Children: Conflict Education for Strong, Peaceful Minds.

Susan Fitzell. New Society Publishers, 1998.
Available in bookstores or, call 1 800 567 6772 for ordering information.

Reviewed by James B. Boskey, editor, Peace Studies

Susan Fitzell is an excellent storyteller with a strong message about the raising of psychologically and morally healthy children.



Drawing on a wealth of wisdom about the processes of child development and effective educational techniques, she uses a model she calls "conflict education" to promote the interests of children in becoming effective citizens in a world they

can help to reshape.

By conflict education, Ms. Fitzell means a good deal more than is usually included under this and similar headings. She is talking about not only providing children with the skills to manage their conflicts, but assisting them in internalizing the fundamental principles needed for the operation of a just society which grants each member respect and the opportunity to maximize his or her capacities.

The book begins with a brief overview of the basic approach that Ms. Fitzell is recommending. It focuses on five components: modeling (demonstrating appropriate conduct); relationship (developing good connections between individuals); conditioning (developing the right approaches as instinctive); empowerment (strengthening decision making and taking of responsibility); and skills (ways to implement the above lessons).

The rest of the book looks at how these components can be incorporated into a child's life at different ages by both parents and teachers. Separate chapters are dedicated to preschool/kindergarten, lower elementary, upper elementary, junior high, and adolescent children. Each

section is supported by carefully selected bibliographic information for additional reading and models of age-appropriate activities and approaches.

As mentioned at the beginning, Susan Fitzell's greatest strength is as a storyteller. Her examples are marvelous teaching tools, explaining her approach more clearly than any classical didactic presentation could. My only negative comment about this book is that it is too brief. The introductory section could have been greatly expanded, and each chapter would fully justify a book of its own. If you are raising a child or working with someone else's children, this is a book not to miss.

Peace Education Committee Report

Gaby Litsky, Peace Education Chair

WILPF's Peace Education Committee met at last summer's Congress in Baltimore and discussed several areas that we felt would be important to work on this year. One area is establishing a Peace Education Materials Library, which will live at Millee Livingston's house. Anyone out there who has good materials to donate, please write a short review of the material and send it, along with the material, to: Millee Livingston, 11251 Tahoe St., Auburn, CA 95602.

We also started working on plans to provide a Peace Camp for children at this June's WILPF National Congress in St. Louis. There will be a Peace Camp at the Congress; watch for details.

Our third project is the writing of an official "Peace Camp Manual." This was undertaken by the Western Region Peace Camp Coordinators Committee, and I am happy to report that the first draft has been completed. This draft will be reviewed by committee members and rewritten, and then some pilot camps, using the manual, will give feedback before it is published and distributed to branches. There was talk about making a "how-to" video. Any filmmakers or videographers out there?

We are also considering what major campaign to propose for WILPF's new program cycle, to be decided at the Congress. Peace education is so very important; it is our future. I also see it, cloaked in the term "nonviolence," as a way to attract younger women with school-age children to WILPF. These are the women who will carry WILPF on to the next century.

If you have ideas or would like to join the national Peace Education Committee, please write to me: Gaby Litsky, 512 Buena Vista Ave. Santa Cruz, CA 95062; e-mail: das@sasquatch.com.

Gaby Litsky is an early childhood educator and member of Santa Cruz WILPE.

Teaching Nonviolent Action to Children

Richard Wendell Fogg,
The Center for the Study of Conflict

To secure a world with more nonviolence, we should teach nonviolent action to children. Nonviolent action includes power that sometimes causes people to act against their wishes, and not only by persuasion and negotiation. Few adults teach their children or their students to use nonviolence as power. The reason for this lack is probably that nonviolence would enable young people to win more often in disputes against adults.

For example, in the late 1960s, even without instruction, 200 girls in a high school in Medford, Massachusetts, wore pants to school, in nonviolent defiance of the school's dress code. The principal would not suspend that many students, and the code was changed. Most people today would agree that the students' demand was justified. Indeed, nonviolence is based on appealing to standards of justice. If young people get what they want in disputes with adults for what is moral by most people's standards, they will grow up appealing to justice. Yet adults will suffer the embarrassment of backing down, and many lack the strength to do so. They believe that their authority will be damaged. Actually, it is likely to be increased.

Modeling and reinforcement should be used to teach nonviolence to the young. Modeling by joining a nonviolent campaign is common. However, modeling by using

nonviolent action [with] one's children or students also brings about learning. A three-year-old refused her father's request to help unload the car after a trip. The father sat on the curb and said he would stay there until she helped. She did. Similarly, at the first meeting of his classes, the late Manmath Chatterjee, a sociology professor at Antioch College, used to ask his students what they wanted to learn. Frequently, no one would have anything to say. Then Chatterjee would perform a silent sit-in all period, waiting for an answer. If he got none, at the end of the period, he would say, "If you don't know where you are going, any road will take you there." At the next period, students would have answers.

Young people use nonviolent action on their own. Adults need to reinforce it. As babies, we cry and make big, powerful parents do what we want them to do. As adolescents, most of us rebelled; doing so resembles civil disobedience. When some high school students did not do their homework, their teacher asked them why. They said that he had given assignments of different lengths to the class members, and that they themselves had been given more than the other students. He reduced the length of their assignments, but more importantly, he reinforced their act by telling them that they had been performing nonviolent action, that this was good, and they should do it on other occasions. ❖

Reprinted from "The Third Alternative," The Center for the Study of Conflict, Inc., Fall Winter 1997.

Tooth Fairies Needed

Proud WILPF mothers, grandmothers, aunts, teachers and others are needed to help collect baby teeth for the "Tooth Fairy Project," a new study of levels of radioactive Strontium-90 (Sr-90) in baby teeth around the world. WILPF is working with the Radiation and Public Health Project (RPHP) and epidemiologist (and WILPF member) Dr. Jay Gould on this project.

The project replicates a baby tooth study conducted 40 years ago, which documented a 100-fold increase in levels of Sr-90 (a nuclear fission product) in St. Louis baby teeth after 1951. WILPF and its St. Louis branch were heavily involved in that study, which was a crucial part of the successful campaign to end above-ground nuclear testing. Branch activist (and later U.S. section president) Yvonne Logan directed the survey for several years and helped collect thousands of teeth for the study.



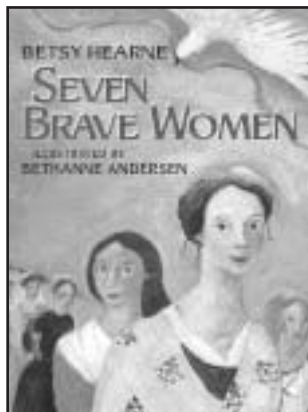
WILPF is helping collect teeth from 20 countries including Japan, Sweden, Russia, and the United States. Last summer, the U.S. section office sent "Tooth Fairy Project" action packs to every WILPF branch.

Information on how much radioactivity is entering our bones is crucial for determining whether nuclear power plants and weapons facilities are affecting our health and contributing to America's cancer epidemic. The current study will examine the effects of low-level radiation over time, which Gould believes is potentially more harmful than a single, large exposure. If the study provides compelling clinical evidence of a radiation/cancer connection, RPHP hopes to create a national dialogue on radiation and public health, much like the debate on tobacco.

RPHP needs to collect at least 5,000 teeth from all parts of the country for the study to be statistically significant. For collection envelopes or more information, call RPHP at (305) 531-1445 or <jbbrown@icannet.net>, or track their progress and download the envelope at RPHP's website, www.radiation.org. ❖

1998 Jane Addams Children's Book Award Winners

The Jane Addams Peace Association (JAPA) held its annual celebration on December 11 in Manhattan to honor outstanding children's books expressing themes of peace, social justice, world community, gender, and racial equality. The Jane Addams Children's Book Awards have been given annually since 1953, with winners determined each year by September 6, the anniversary of Jane Addams' birth. A national committee chaired by Ginny Moore Kruse (School of Education, University of Wisconsin at Madison) selected the awards. Committee members included Marilyn Hurley Bimstein, Mary Elting Folsom, Debby Langerman, Serena Murray, Cathie Reed, Judy Wallace, Patty Wong, Pat Wiser, and Laurie Wright.



Two winners and four honor books were formally acknowledged this year. The winning books are *Habibi* by Naomi Shihab Nye, and *Seven Brave Women* by Betsy Hearne and Bethanne Andersen. The Honor Books are *The Circuit* by Francisco Jiménez; *Seedfolks* by Paul Fleischman; *Celebrating Families* by Rosemarie Hausherr; and *Passage to Freedom: The Sugihara Story* by Ken Mochizuki and Dom Lee.

Habibi (Simon & Schuster) is the story of 14-year-old Liyana Abboud, whose life revolves around family and friends in St. Louis until her Palestinian father and American mother decide to move the family to her father's hometown, Jerusalem, near his Arabic-speaking relatives. Liyana's passion for life, language, justice, and humanity leads her into a series of dramatic experiences, including a deepening secret friendship with a Jewish teenager named Omer. Nye's lively prose is filled with humor, imagery, tragedy, compassion, and insight.

Seven Brave Women (Greenwillow/William Morrow) is a picture book written by Betsy Hearne and illustrated by Bethanne Andersen. Family history meets fine art in

this tribute to women throughout seven generations, from a great-great grandmother to the narrator, a young girl today. Each fictional foremother is placed within the context of her time by the girl. Hearne writes autobiographically, relating details about these women's lives, naming a war which was fought in each woman's lifetime and repeating the phrase, "...but she did not fight in it." The artwork is subtle, effective, and inspiring, as is the narrator's final statement about all the choices open to her today: "There are a million ways to be brave."

The Circuit (University of New Mexico Press) is a series of memorable autobiographical works of short fiction. *The Circuit* involves a young boy and his Mexican-born family as they experience the hard life of field work, the continuous interruption of the children's formal education, and the many health risks of migrant life.

Seedfolks (Joanna Colter/Harper Collins), a short novel of linked first-person narratives, gained Honor Book status for its remarkable fictional glimpses of an impoverished, ethnically and racially diverse urban neighborhood. Conflicts and connections due to a community garden's emergence alter attitudes and actions.

Photographer/author Rosemarie Hausherr created the photo-essay *Celebrating Families* (Scholastic Press.) Fourteen American families are profiled in photographs and words, showing some of the variety of today's homes and family members. No one family structure is presented as a norm, leaving room for readers to celebrate their own families.

Passage to Freedom: The Sugihara Story (Lee & Low Books) portrays the moral courage of Japanese diplomat Chiune Sugihara in 1940 while he was assigned to a post in Kaunas, Lithuania. Sugihara's 5-year-old son relates the events surrounding his father's unauthorized decision to sign visas for Jewish refugees trying to flee from Europe to Japan through the Soviet Union. Lee's emotionally charged illustrations are reminiscent of images from World War II newsreels.

To purchase seals for the winning books or the books themselves, or for more information about the awards, contact Eurydice Kelley, JAPA Director, at (212) 682-8830 or japa@apc.org. ❖

**"There are a million ways
to be brave."**

Profile of a Jane Addams Award Author

“I hadn’t intended to be a writer.”

**Mildred Pitt Walter,
1997 Honor Book Winner**

Mildred Pitt Walter, a previous winner of the Jane Addams Children’s Honor Book Award, warms to the subject of history.

Walter, a teacher turned writer, was born in 1922. An African American, she grew up in Louisiana when discrimination was not subtle, when she was unable to try on clothes in a store or drink from water fountains that white people used.

“We lived our own separate lives,” she said. In spite of the discrimination, she said, people still expected the children to do great things.

As a teacher in Los Angeles, she saw black children who needed to read books filled with characters they could relate to, and she talked to a publisher to see what was available for black children. With little to offer, he suggested that she write them. So she wrote her first book, *Lillie of Watts*.

“I hadn’t intended to be a writer,” she recalls. Since then, she has written several books, including *Second Daughter: The Story of a Slave Girl*, the 1997 Honor Book winner.

The book is told from the perspective of a 15-year-old slave girl and is based on the story of a slave who sued her owner under the Massachusetts Constitution. She won that suit.

Second Daughter was long in coming, says Walter. She first did research for the book in the 1970s, but felt she couldn’t write a book because she wasn’t in tune with the characters. The characters came from Africa and lived in a strange world away from their own language, culture and families.

Walter took her first trip to West Africa in 1977. She returned not only with a sense of her characters, but with a sense of herself, too.

“I’m unique,” she said. “I can take the best of both cultures.” Yet she was disappointed when people who looked like her kept their distance because she was from America.

Over the years, Walter said, African Americans

have experienced cycles of hope and despair. In the 1960s, there was hope in the civil rights movement and laws that banned discrimination. Then came Presidents Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan, under whom, Walter said, the nation suffered from “benign neglect.”

Today, it isn’t legal to discriminate, but Walter said a subtle discrimination still exists. When she cashes a check, including travelers’ checks, she must show two I.Ds. Black men, she said, are particularly suspect, with police stopping them often simply because they are black.

“Something is wrong,” she said. Besides discrimination, Walter said, the United States has never resolved the problem of taking people from a different continent, subjecting them to slavery, and then thrusting them into freedom with nothing but the clothes on their backs. “People don’t really understand the true legacy of slavery,” she said.

On the part of the government, said Walter, “there is a lack of willingness to plan and see what is needed for all Americans, to bring all of them up so everyone feels they are getting their share of the pie,” she said.

“We can’t even have affirmative action,” she said. “We have never been compensated for slavery.”

Nevertheless, she said African Americans are strong people. “In spite of that, we strive and we struggle and we hope.”

Walter now lives in Denver, where she continues to write. ❖



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Adapted from an interview by Becky O’Guin that appeared in The Colorado Daily. Reprinted with permission.

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