

Peace & Freedom

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

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Refugees. . .



22 million and counting

SIERRA LEONE • PALESTINE • KOSOVO • BURUNDI

PLUS: SPECIAL REPORTS FROM TRIENNIAL CONGRESS

New Executive Director Joins WILPF



Lauren Draper

Mary Day Kent's life and work experience have provided her with outstanding qualifications to serve as our new Executive Director/U.S. Section Coordinator. She has lived in Latin America and speaks fluent Spanish. A graduate of Wellesley College, she has also studied translation at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C. Mary Day was staff for the Policy and Legislation program of the Friends Peace Committee in Philadelphia from 1980-1990, with responsibility for work on Central America and the Middle East. She has traveled many times to Central America for human rights delegations, refugee assistance, and research on U.S. military policy. For the past nine years, Mary Day has been the Coordinator of the International Classroom at the University of Pennsylvania Museum, where she was responsible for managing staff and volunteers, implementing programs, and fundraising. Mary Day has two children and lives in Philadelphia with her husband and her daughter. She says, "The opportunity to work for the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom seems to offer the new challenges I am seeking in their fullest dimensions." We are happy to welcome her and to meet the challenges of the new century together.

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Cover: Refugees hoping to go to other countries line up to be registered at a refugee camp in Skopje, Macedonia.

Christian Joergensen/Nenit/LAIF/Impact Visuals

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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 2000-2003 program cycle has three key campaign areas: Challenging Corporate Power; Disarmament; and Racial Justice. 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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President: Bruna Nota
Secretary-General: Michela Told
WILPF U.N. Liaison: Felicity Hill

Chair's Report

Phyllis Yingling
 U.S. Section Chair

Greetings to all readers of *Peace & Freedom*. As chair of the new interim U. S. Section Board of WILPF, I am looking forward to working with the new national board members (see page 4) the committees and staff. During this new three-year term, we will be trying out the new U.S. Section By-laws—which the restructuring committee, AKA the Change Mavens—have so effectively hammered out.

We can all be grateful to the committee for their long, long hours of work. While we now have some new and more efficient ways of operating, the basic principles and policies of the U.S. Section WILPF are still those envisioned by our foremothers at that monumental gathering at The Hague nearly 85 years ago.

I also want to thank Betty Burkes and Marilyn Clement who have contributed inspiration and information in this column, and throughout the organization, for the past three years. It is good to know that they will continue in leadership roles on the new board.

Our venerable, valiant organization will celebrate its 85th birthday in April 2000. In future issues of this magazine you will be reading more about plans to commemorate our 85 years of action. Let us know how your branch plans to celebrate our past and prepare for our future.

The strong, deep-rooted foundation for U.S. WILPF is built by each one of us: the readers of *Peace & Freedom*, the local branch members and at-large members, and the unsung volunteers who are committed to peace and justice. This organization could not exist with-

"No one ever promised it would be easy to rid the world of the scourge of war."

— U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan

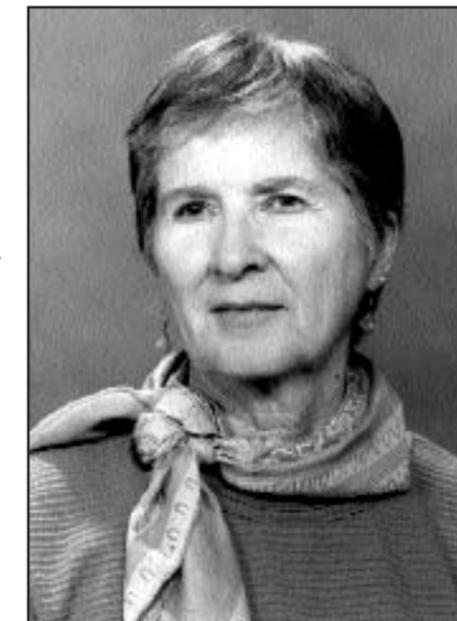
out women and men who are willing to donate their time and money.

So, give yourselves a pat on the back . . . but remember we have great challenges to meet.

The theme of this issue illustrates just one of those challenges. The plight of the more than 50 million refugees and displaced people in our world is astounding. The articles in this issue will reveal the depth of the suffering of our sisters and brothers who have been uprooted due primarily to violence and war. We will also learn of positive solutions in which we can participate.

Read on!

Our name, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, identifies us as women who care about preventing violence and war, but also as women who are committed to providing a good quality of life for individuals and communi-



ties. At the same time that we oppose war and violence as solutions to conflicts—international or individual—we must also propose peaceful means to end the injustices of exploitative and rapacious governments, corporate entities, and individuals.

What are the best strategies for alleviating the suffering of the millions of refugees and homeless people and helping them to find freedom, while at the same time actively seeking peaceful means to topple those who deny freedom?

U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan said in his address at the Hague Appeal for Peace in May, "No one ever promised it would be easy to rid the world of the scourge of war, which is so deeply rooted in human history . . . no one ever promised us that the road would always be clear, or that those sincerely committed to peace would not sometimes be deeply divided." He then went on to affirm, "It can be done. Disputes can be resolved peacefully. Wars can be ended. Even better, they can be prevented."

At our U.S. Section WILPF Triennial National Congress in June, all of us had the opportunity to participate in the selection of three campaign issues that will be our priorities for the next three years. They are:

1. Challenging Corporate Power, Asserting the People's Rights
2. DISARM! Dismantling the War Economy, and
3. Truth & Reconciliation: Uniting for Racial Justice.

By working together on each of these campaigns, along with our usual WILPF emphases, we will confront the destructive forces that undermine the hopes of those who seek a just and peaceful global community. TOGETHER, WE CAN DO IT!



Dear Editor:

I have just visited your website and printed out the strong March 26 statement about the bombing of Yugoslavia. It is a call to action and clearly states WILPF's opposition to the massive bombing "as a solution to a complex problem."

I am writing because your recent issue of *Peace and Freedom* (March/April/ May 1999) has no mention of the bombing of Yugoslavia. Though the magazine may have gone to press before the bombing began, an insert related to the dreadful events could have provided readers with much-needed information and spurred action on a local level.

Excellent as the website is, it is the magazine that reaches the membership. Perhaps rather than a neat glossy type magazine, a monthly newsletter format that keeps members informed about immediate events and actions would be more productive. In the absence of functioning local branches, we need to be informed and advised about mass meetings and demonstrations.

Judging from the magazines, it often appears as if WILPF plays no opposition role to the sanctions against Iraq, for example, or to the U.S./NATO bombing of Yugoslavia

Somehow you have got to reach the membership with your anti-war message and actions. We still think of WILPF primarily as an anti-war organization, devoted as well to issues related to violence in all its forms: racism, poverty, gender and class discrimination.

As you mention many times, the world is increasingly dangerous. It means that organizations like WILPF must tighten their focus, and be a source of factual information and make use of the Internet to develop

mass movements of people in opposition to war.

*Beatrice Fiegel
Metro New York Branch*

Dear Editor:

I object strongly to the silly childish derogatory comments aimed at, of all people, Christopher Columbus.

If Columbus had lived in the 20th century, he could be blamed for some deeds that flowed from his unprecedented accomplishments.

But the last time I checked, Columbus died in 1506, aged 55 years, in Spain, in disappointment, not realizing the enormity of his explorations.

The Americas were of course occupied, but had no relationship with the rest of the world. It was Columbus who began to create one world.

What the rest of the human race did with it, is not the fault of Christopher Columbus!

*Rhonda Hoffman
Brooklyn, NY*

CORRECTION: In the article "Iraq Suffers Under Sanctions," in the June/July/ August issue of *Peace & Freedom*, the death rate of Iraqi children was incorrectly compared to the equivalent of deaths that occurred during the Oklahoma City bombing. The correct comparison is: Iraqi children are dying at the rate of more than 35 Oklahoma City bombings a month. *Peace & Freedom* regrets the error.

Letters to the editor are welcome. Send them to Peace & Freedom, Editor, WILPF, 1213 Race Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107-1691 or email to peacefreedom@wilpf.org. Please try to keep your letters to about 300 words. We reserve the right to choose and edit letters.

New U.S. Section WILPF Board Members 1999-2001

- Phyllis Yingling, *Board Chair*
- Marilyn Clement *Program Chair*
- Sandy Silver *Treasurer/Finance Chair*
- Darien DeLu *Staff Concerns Chair*
- Robin Lloyd *Development Chair*
- Betty Burkes *Field Work Chair*
- Jan Strout *Field Work Co-chair*
- Kathleen Hughes *West - Field Work Coordinator*
- Robin Renee Blanc *Central - Field Work Coordinator*
- Lizzy Poole *Southeast - Field Work Coordinator*
- Audley Green *Northeast - Field Work Coordinator*

CAMPAIGN ORGANIZERS

- Yoshiko Ikuta *Disarmament*
- Deborah James
- Laura Partridge *Truth and Reconciliation*
- Paula Schnepf *Challenging Corporations*

EX OFFICIO MEMBERS:

- Paula Tasso *U.S. United Nations Representative*
- Regina Bircham *International Officer*
- Joyce McLean *U.S. IEC Representative*
- Linda Wasserman *JAPA President*

Congress chooses new campaigns

After a series of stirring presentations at the Triennial Congress, three campaigns were chosen for the 2000-2003 U.S. Section program cycle. Also during Congress, at a joint meeting of the outgoing and incoming boards, a fourth campaign organizer's seat was elected to the new board. Deborah James will serve in that position.* The three campaigns are:

CHALLENGING CORPORATE POWER, ASSERTING THE PEOPLE'S RIGHTS

Paula Schnepf, Chair
(508) 540-6178
email: pkschnepf@aol.com

Long-term goal: To put our economic institutions and all corporate entities under the control of a self-governing people and to develop alternatives to the present corporate system. *Short-term goals:* To educate ourselves about the roots and realities of illegitimate corporate power and wealth, and specifically about the role of giant corporations in global market economics and governance; to fashion strategies in our communities to challenge these "takings" of the people's power; to create a national event or action that will grow out of our self-education and community strategies.

During a brainstorming session at Congress, members discussed the topic "How can we have democracy when corporations have so much wealth and power?" Participants used a model for democratic conversation called a "fish bowl" to identify local examples of corporate power over citizens, and ways to begin challenging that power. The campaign committee recruited new members and liaisons to the branches.

DISARM! DISMANTLING THE WAR ECONOMY

Yoshiko Ikuta, Chair
(216) 521-7057, yikuta@aol.com

Long-term goals: To generate political demand for dismantling the U.S. war economy and to work for the election of representatives in Washington, D.C. committed to a new definition of national security, based on decent investment in social spending at home and abroad and the conversion to a peace economy. Promote the abolition of nuclear weapons and the reduction of conventional arms manufacture and export by exposing and eliminating the domination of the budget and foreign policy decision-making by war corporations.

Short-term goals: create public awareness of the choice between defense versus social spending; develop war economy analyses to educate local groups working for increases in social spending; promote student organizing; generate effective public outcry against acceptance of campaign contributions from war corporations; educating voters on positions and votes of candidates.

Brainstorming at Congress was enlivened by a discussion on the long-range and short-term goals and strategies to be used of the coming three years. Several people volunteered to coordinate action programs, and it was decided Tele-conferences will be held at regular intervals.

TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION: UNITING FOR RACIAL JUSTICE

Laura Partridge, Chair
(402) 558-0920

Long-term goals: To challenge racial

injustice through WILPF development of community dialogues and interactions to affect systemic changes. Such models of truth and reconciliation among communities will affect perceptions of racism, thereby breaking down polarization and seeding collaboration. By engaging WILPF in this active role in the community, we will affect change through legislative action in both our national and international policies. Some of the short-term goals include:

to help branches build diverse community coalitions to resolve issues involving racial injustice; create models for self education and the education of others about race — history, economic foundations, etc...; create a local and national network of leaders and activists from other organizations that will act as the unifying body for diverse groups and issues.

Brainstorming at Congress focused on identifying three areas of focus, including: internal growth—addressing practices within WILPF branches; creating a national database and doing analysis (i.e., collecting case histories) to focus on the collection and compiling of data reflecting the nature and extent of racism in the United States; international emphasis—to focus on the development of the U.N. Conference on Racism 2001.

It was also decided that the Theatre of the Oppressed techniques created by Augusto Boal would be implemented to assist in this work.

* To reach Deborah James, call (415) 436-9722 or email: deborah@global exchange.org



Intern TáMora Jones

AN OPEN LETTER TO WILPF

WILPF Sisters,

As members of the Congress Leadership Institute, we have been fortunate to learn from and work with each other and to be inspired by our activist-mentors — the dangerous women of WILPF.

It is an honor to be selected and encouraged to carry on your legacy and vision of activism. We thank you for your examples of radical ideas and actions that undoubtedly changed the world. We have listened to you and now we are grateful for this opportunity of an exchange of dialogue and ideas for change.

Our workshops not only introduced new and enhanced existing leadership and group skills, but they also provided space and time for dialogue about four “big” issues: racism, classism, sexism, and homophobia. We feel that it is essential that we share our experiences and our insights with the Congress and, in turn, with the entire WILPF body.

To borrow the idea of one of our workshop’s titles, racism, classism, sexism and homophobia are “as American as apple pie.” As we discussed in our workshops, classism is an institution that keeps racism in place — a system of divide and conquer — as is sexism and homophobia. White people who are educated about racism need to carry on the process of educating other white people, and not leave the responsibility to people of color.

These systems of oppression keep people from seeing each other as allies and keep people from organizing for change. These systems enforce the fear that inhibits our political work — and our friendships with each other as sisters working for peace and justice.

As we have grown and have been empowered by our dialogues in our Leadership Institute, we believe that

revisiting these issues and -isms and moreover, the creation of the space and time needed for these dialogues, is essential to the future of WILPF. In order to build a new century of peace and justice, it is important that this empowered consciousness be a part of all of WILPF’s ongoing direct action, thought, and work. In our workshop on classism and racism, we listed these following ways to create essential changes in WILPF:

- listen to each other and be more accepting of people of different backgrounds
- go to where people of color are
- be persistent in changing the WILPF patriarchy
- create the necessary dialogue between WILPF members
- implement dialogue workshops and sensitivity training for the entire organization, from the top down
- go to the working class
- connect with unions which are diverse
- make leaders accountable and to take responsibility for diversity
- collaborate with other peace and justice groups

We believe that these changes might bring younger people and more diversity to WILPF — the next generation that will carry on your legacies. In building a new century of peace and justice, as sisters with progressive visions of the world, we are empowered by each other. We have learned in the Institute the importance of carrying on the process of educating others. This responsibility is ours and must not be left to others. As our mentors stated during Congress, “If not now, when? If not us, who?” Thank you for your guidance, your inspiration and for the opportunity to learn from, listen to and work with each other.

*In peace,
Members of the Leadership Institute
National Triennial Congress, 1999*

During Congress, the fortuitous joining of two different groups — the Leadership Institute and the International Working Group on Racism in WILPF — resulted in a constructive exploration of the issues of racism and classism during a special, four-hour workshop.

The women in the group contributed their own experiences of racism or classism and there followed a lot of eager discussion. Most pertinent, perhaps, although the hardest to hear, were the instances of prejudice or effects of classism within WILPF. More than one woman of color described offering a suggestion in a brainstorming session and that suggestion being ignored or not written down on the flip chart. Others cited assumptions that business meetings or vigils can be held during the middle of the workday or that attending a Congress or other conference is within the economic reach of all members. Another described her frustration that her outspoken concerns about her truth-and-reconciliation process were neither acknowledged nor addressed. Others spoke about being ignored while a guest at branch meetings or social events.

To the suggestion that WILPF “Have sensitivity training sessions,” the response was, “Yes — we need more sessions like this one for the whole Congress.”

- Elenita Muniz



Triennial Congress News

Edith Ballantyne Addresses Congress



Editor’s Note: Edith Ballantyne, WILPF’s Special Advisor to the United Nations, gave a wide-ranging speech at the Triennial Congress in St. Louis that riveted the audience. Edith talked about the state of the world, outlining areas where progress has been made and covering some of the many challenges that remain. She made connections between the Gulf War and the recent action in Kosovo. She spoke on the last night of Congress, at an evening dedicated to Truth and Reconciliation. During her stirring speech, the 76-year-old activist was greeted with warm applause and a standing ovation. At one point, a young WILPF woman yelled out, “You go girl!” rousing both audience and speaker. Edith is International past president and past secretary general. Here are some excerpts from her talk.

SUCCESSSES

South Africa - “No one thought it could change, and look, it has changed. WILPF should be very proud and take credit for this success. Another success is the conclusion of the Land Mines Treaty. WILPF worked for this and there’s a real partnership between government and non-governmental organizations to monitor and collect money, and de-mine. Another thing that has come out of this is that some governments are working now on a small arms ban.”

Another success, she said, is that an International Criminal Court has been established.

Also, a world conference against racism is being planned for 2001. “We’ve succeeded in overcoming the resistance of the U.S. and many other countries” to having the conference. “We need to spread word of this on the grass-roots level. We need to campaign to get the U.S. and others to put money towards this conference.”

She said another issue is the “Recognition of women’s rights as human rights — that’s an accomplishment . . . (however) The U.S. should ratify CEDAW. Canada hasn’t ratified it yet either.”

CHALLENGES

“There’s been no advance made on nuclear disarmament. The Balkan War has in fact opened the danger to a

new nuclear arms race . . . it’s a very dangerous situation. There is real opportunity — (for example) the review conference next year on the Treaty of the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Arms. This is an opportunity on the local level to push this.

“On the economic front, things look really bad. (If we look at) economic globalization . . . The nation states are eroded and weakened— it’s not a good thing because it weakens political access and our influence disappears. If states are overrun by corporations, the powerlessness of states (is dangerous). We should be careful we don’t undermine the authority of states, but strengthen them, in a way that they understand they can’t do it without us. . .

“What is worrisome to me is that the U.N. is reaching out to big business to support it, because governments are weak . . . When Ted Turner can give \$1 billion (to the U.N.), something’s wrong. When he can do that, and not feel it.”

She then spoke of the \$1.6 billion the U.S. owes to the United Nations, but said even if it was all paid that wouldn’t be enough to bail out the U.N.

She also talked about the Gulf War. “This is the first example of a dominant power to smash to smithereens a country (Iraq) that was just coming out of a third world status,” she said.

“Every day there is a bombing of Iraq and hardly any mention of it. There is no legal basis for the no-fly zones. I’m telling you, it’s divide and rule. I would like you to really go at least back to 1989 to see what happened in the case of the Balkans . . . We’ve been so lied to and so misled — we must really dig into this and find the truth. . . Kosovo will become another small route of pipelines to bring their gas and oil through. . .”

“NATO’s bombing (Kosovo) without the approval of the United Nations — they’ve destroyed the whole international legal system. We are back to the law of the jungle and this is something we have to face.” ♦



Peace Camp kids

Felicity Hill



Chris Morin Steps Down

After two years of working to build leadership and diversity in WILPF's membership, Leadership/Outreach Coordinator Chris Morin has left her position to return to work in the field of recreation.

Chris will stay involved with the organization, and is coordinating WILPF's 85th

anniversary.

While working closely with the board committee, one of the key things Chris accomplished at WILPF was creating a manual for new groups and established branches that want to revisit their leadership skills.

"I hope they continue to look at building leadership within the organization, because we have to work on passing the torch," she said.

Chris also worked towards membership diversity. WILPF now has six established committees: a young women's caucus, women of color, lesbian and bi-sexual women, women workers and labor union women, women of faith, and rural women. The groups are still evolving, but have the people in place. "Now all we have to do is apply those leadership skills," Chris said.

Chris anticipates enjoying the position of anniversary coordinator. "I'm thinking of this as one big party," she said. "I strongly believe that as activists we don't find time for fun. It's good for one's mental health, and we need it to continue our work as activists."

—Kristen Flurkey

Triennial Congress Notes

MEMBERS AT LARGE

Members at large are WILPF members who are not affiliated with a branch. There are hundreds of us. Members at large can make a big difference if we pull together.

Members at large are invited to join an email listserv, to create a "Virtual Branch." To subscribe, go to:

<http://www.onelist.com/subscribe/wilpfatlarge>

To further organize our members, please send your address, phone, and email to Lynn Furay, 5929 Queensloch, #134, Houston, TX 77096. mail to: lfuray33@aol.com

Your suggestions are welcome.

WILPF ISSUES COMMITTEES

Asia Pacific—Ruth Cadwallader/ Carolyn Canafax
Convention to End All Forms of Discrimination Against

Women—Ione Biggs

Civil Liberties—Vivian Schatz

Corporations, Trade and Democracy—Mary Zepernick/

Virginia Rasmussen

Cuba Action—Jan Strout/ Lisa Valanti

Disarmament—Kay Camp/ Gillian Gilhool

Environment—Pat Birnie

Labor—Kathleen Kelly/ Helen Nocke

Lesbian/Bisexual/Transexual—Stormy Dillon/ Chris

Morin

Middle East—Dolores Taller/ Marty Ammar

Peace and Justice Treaty of Americas—Robin Lloyd

Peace Education—Gaby Litsky

Racism/Truth and Reconciliation—Betty Burkes and

Grace Coan

Women's Budget—Jane Midgley

NEW REGIONAL AREAS FOR WILPF

The U.S. Section of WILPF is now divided into these regional areas:

WEST Coordinator: Kathleen Hughes

Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, New Mexico, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington.

CENTRAL Coordinator: Robin Renee Blanc

Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Texas, Wyoming.

SOUTHEAST Coordinator: Lizzy Poole

Alabama, Arkansas, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, West Virginia.

NORTHEAST Coordinator: Audley Green

Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Wisconsin.

NEW JAPA EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR NAMED

Dilys Schnell Purdy began work as JAPA's new executive director in early August. She has a long history of working with Amnesty International, the United Nations and Save the Children. (see page 22 for more JAPA news.)

Sierra Leone's Humanitarian and Refugee Crises

Isha Dyfan

Sierra Leone is a country on the West Coast of Africa, with a population of just over 4 million people. For eight years, a rebel movement called the Revolutionary United Front has waged war on a successive number of governments within the country.

The fighting has triggered several waves of refugees, the first occurring when more than 190,000 people from eastern Sierra Leone fled to camps in Liberia. Another 112,000 fled to neighboring Guinea.

Women and children comprise at least 75 percent of the refugees. The refugee camps in Liberia, for example, are filled with scores of unaccompanied children; 56 percent of the refugees there are children, 23 percent are women, and 21 percent are men.

There are also internally displaced people in camps all over the country. All told, there are about 310,000 internally displaced people in Sierra Leone.

In total, the conflict has uprooted one-sixth of the country's population.

Refugees

The number of refugees and displaced persons fluctuates from time to time, depending on the intensity of the fighting in different areas of the country. Sometimes, as a result of the lull in fighting or when peacekeeping forces create safe areas, resettlement of refugees will take place. For example, immediately after the first democratic elections in 1996, UNHCR and other agencies resettled over 10,000 refugees. Others returned home in the eastern and southern parts of Sierra Leone voluntarily.

However, in May 1997, as a result of the coup d'etat by the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council, and the subsequent massive human rights abuses which took place and are still taking place, the number of refugees and displaced persons doubled and tripled in many areas.

Between June and September 1998, another 120,000 to 250,000 refugees fled to Guinea. By February 1999, the number of refugees in Guinea rose to almost 450,000.

Camp Conditions

In 1997, the African NGO Femmes Africa Solidarite sponsored a team of three women to visit the refugee camps in Guinea, Liberia and Gambia. The intention was to write a grant to get assistance for the Sierra Leone

refugees and to volunteer in the camps.

I was one of the women who made the trip, during which I observed the appalling conditions in which the refugees live. For example, the shelters for the refugees were made of sticks, blue plastic UNHCR sheets, and in some cases, mud. Some people had Indian mats to sleep on and others did not. The diet of cornmeal, bulgur wheat and oil provided to the refugees was foreign to them, and old people in particular did not eat much. Health centers were sparsely stocked with medication and most only had painkillers. There were no vaccines available for children or sanitary napkins for women.

Education for children was provided by other refugees, who were given little or no technical support.

Perhaps the most disturbing challenge for the refugees was the insecurity they face. Many of the camps are situated at places which are vulnerable to frequent cross-border raids and attacks by rebels—who will abduct men, rape women and even kill for food.

Demanding Justice

Our recommendations for significant improvements in the camps were given to the UNHCR officer in charge in Geneva. In researching the plight of the refugees, we learned that relatively little is spent on refugees in African conflict areas, while refugees in other areas receive much more.

We also know that relief agencies, particularly the UNHCR, are constantly fundraising due to lack of a resources to meet the demands posed by conflicts all over the world.

Our concern is that there is an unfair and unequal distribution of what little provisions are made by member states. In fact, many member states give very little to African humanitarian needs, compared to those in Europe or the former Soviet Union. We must demand justice and fair play in the provision and distribution of humanitarian services to refugees, no matter where they are from or where they find themselves. Finally, we must make sure refugees have adequate security and food before repatriating them, otherwise they will immediately return to the camps.

Isha Dyfan is a member of the Sierra Leone WILPF section.



WILPF Works With Refugees

Bruna Nota, WILPF International President

On May 10, the U.S. State Department issued a report on the Yugoslav war to date. It states that after nearly two months since the war to protect Kosovo's Albanians started, "Serbian forces dramatically increased the scope and pace of their efforts, moving toward a sustained and systematic effort to ethnically cleanse the entire province."

The result is that "More than 90 percent of all ethnic Albanians . . . an estimated 1.5 million . . . have been expelled from their homes."

One has to wonder whether the Kosovars would have been better off fending for themselves than having to suffer the consequences of this kind of protection.

The large number of Kosovar refugees in Macedonia is disrupting the fragile multicultural balance of that nation. In Albania, there are between 700,000 to 1 million refugees (depending on who is counting). These refugees are straining resources that were already extremely scarce. Even before the bombing began in Yugoslavia, tens of thousands of Albanians were leaving their country and going to Italy, Germany, North America, and other parts of the world.

On top of this, there are an unaccounted number of internally displaced Serbs, the overall destruction of Yugoslavia and the destabilization of the region.

Unfortunately, these events and their consequences do not occur only in the Balkans area. What is most outrageous is that this havoc is being perpetrated by a group of countries that are supposedly among the most democratic and law-abiding nations of the world. If we look closer though, we see another picture. The decision to start bombing was made without due parliamentary debate occurring in any of the NATO countries. This undeclared war contravenes most of the participating countries' own laws, NATO's own charter, and all international laws.

This situation illustrates in a most appalling way that the flow of refugees and internally displaced people increases in direct proportion to the decrease of democratic processes and of respect for the law.

Here are other examples:

In Colombia, as a result of 40 years of lawlessness

and dictatorships supported by the economic and military interests of the North, the displaced population is upwards of 1 million persons.

In Africa, there are an estimated 8 million refugees and an unaccounted number of internally displaced people, as a result of mostly "civil" wars in countries with dictatorial and arbitrary regimes. In Sudan, for four decades the government has been fighting against the southern "rebels," creating a flux of forced migration towards Kenya and Uganda. Neither of these countries is at peace, either. In Uganda, more than 90 people have been killed in "rebel" raids and 70,000 people have fled their homes since the beginning of the year. Many of the regions in Kenya are unstable. Angola, Congo, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Sierra Leone are all experiencing continuing fighting and huge refugee flows.

With the trial of the Kurdish Workers Party leader Abdullah Ocalan in the news these days, our attention is directed to the hundreds of thousands of Kurd refugees around the world and in Turkey itself. The Palestinian refugee situation has also been festering for over 50 years with no end in sight.

In the Pacific, thousands upon thousands of refugees — mostly indigenous people — have had to flee areas that are polluted with nuclear radiation. Refugees from East Timor and Burma are fleeing extremely repressive regimes. Meanwhile, the powerful states of the world seem to take umbrage to such inhumanities only when their interests are challenged or threatened.

People seek refuge when their lives are untenable in their own areas. Often this happens because of high demands over scarce resources such as water and land. More often people's lives are made unbearable (through menaces, executions, tortures, rape) so that they will



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Rights for Children

Carol Bellamy

Editor's Note: This is an excerpt of a speech delivered by Carol Bellamy, executive director of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), at the opening session of the Hague Appeal for Peace in May. It has been edited for space.

Now on the doorstep of the 21st Century, it is time for all of us to join forces and redouble the drive for lasting peace and justice—citizens, international organizations and governments alike. And we must begin with the knowledge that no effort to promote peace and resolve conflict can succeed unless children and women are recognized as a distinct and priority concern.

The possibilities for global conflagration that weighed so heavily on the minds of the U.N.'s founders have dwindled in recent years. Instead, we are witness to an explosion of smaller conflagrations like Angola, Kosovo, Rwanda—conflicts that may be geographically modest, but that pose a global challenge to peace and security.

As Graca Machel has observed, much of the world is being sucked into a moral vacuum, a desolate place where we see the desperate vulnerability of refugees and the internally displaced—where millions of children are slaughtered, raped, maimed, exploited as soldiers and exposed to unspeakable brutality.

In the Balkans, children and women account for eight out of 10 civilians caught up in the current crisis in and around Kosovo. Regionwide, as many as a quarter of a million children are affected.

Less visible in media coverage — and, for that very reason, of perhaps even greater concern — are the children and women mutilated and killed in Sierra Leone; abducted as slaves and concubines in Sudan; or subjected to myriad other forms of violence and abuse in the dozens of strife-torn countries in which UNICEF is working.

The wounds inflicted on children in armed conflict — physical injury, gender-based violence and abuse, psychological distress — are an affront to every impulse that inspired the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, history's most universally embraced human rights instrument.

And that is why the international community must loudly proclaim these horrific violations of child rights for what they are: intolerable and unacceptable.

Flagrant violations of human rights and humanitarian law — whether by direct attack, silent starvation or

forcible displacement — are not experiences that children easily grow out of. We know from long experiences that the trauma of war causes wounds in children that fester for generations.

Children have always been a part of discussions about peace and justice— but they are rarely talked about as anything but victims. Yet they have already shown that they have a role to play as catalysts for peace.

The Children's Movement for Peace in Columbia provides perhaps the clearest proof to date of the power of children's voices to bring about positive social change.

Three years ago, 2.7 million Colombian children, ranging in age from 7 to 18, took part in a special election supported by UNICEF and many local organizations. It offered them a chance to identify which child rights they deemed most important to themselves and their communities. Their overwhelming choices were the right to survival—and the right to peace.

In the process, the voices of children became the driving force behind a movement that succeeded in making peace the central issue of Columbia's ongoing political debate. They effectively gave adults a lesson in democracy—a lesson that brought millions back to the ballot box by giving them something eminently worth voting for: the well-being of their children.

Nor did the Children's Movement for Peace stop there. Its young members are talking about the need for peace to everyone who will listen — to their parents, to classmates, teachers, local government officials, the police, the media — even the country's President. And they are serving their communities as peer counselors, helping other young people cope with everything from the trauma of violence, to landmine awareness, to how to avoid unwanted pregnancy. . .

Columbia is not yet a nation at peace. But its children are helping to sow the seeds of a lasting culture of nonviolence.

I firmly believe that major progress in human development — progress towards peace — can be achieved within a single generation if the global community can muster the foresight and commitment to do what is required for children. For it is only by focusing on children that we will find the new ideas and fresh vision to break inter-generational patterns of violence and gender-based discrimination . . .

In 2001, the United Nations General Assembly will hold a Special Session to review progress towards the goals of the World Summit for Children, and to launch a new agenda, with updated goals for children in the first decades of the new century. . .

It is only by creating such a movement at the local,

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Palestinian Refugees

Hanan Awwad

What is the value of a man
Without a homeland,
Without a banner,
Without a fixed address.

- Mahmoud Darwish, Palestinian poet

The history of Palestinian displacement is often described in waves; the first during the 1948 Arab-Israeli war, when 800,000 people (whose descendants now number approximately 3 million) were expelled by the nascent Israeli State. Entire villages were torched and raised to the ground. When Jewish units were attacking the two large towns of Ramleh and Lydda, David Ben-Gurion was asked what should be done about the town's 70,000 Arabs, according to the historian Benny Morris. Ben-Gurion made a dismissive, energetic gesture with his hand and said, "expel them," and they did.

According to the U.N. Conciliation Committee, some 100,000 remained inside the armistice lines, to become a Palestinian minority within an exclusive Jewish state.

During the second war in 1967, some 350,000 left the West Bank and Gaza (U.N. estimates), almost half of them second-time refugees; others were displaced in successive wars and events.

Refugees were placed in 11 camps in what was left of Jordan in the East Bank. In one fell swoop during the six-day war, King Hussein lost control of East Jerusalem and the West Bank, now to be occupied by Israel, and thus known as the "Occupied territories."

A study on Palestinian refugees from May 1996 shows that the number of refugees has increased from 700,000 to 3 million, according to statistics from the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA). The refugees are distributed as follows: 40 percent in Jordan; 21 percent in Gaza; 17 percent in the West Bank and 11 percent in Lebanon and Syria. The study's suggested def-



inition: "A refugee is anyone whose natural home is Palestine, and who lost home and livelihood due to hostile activities." The authors further suggest that the culpability and responsibility for this displacement should be unequivocally attributed to Israel.

Slowly but surely, Palestinians have secured an official voice through the establishment of the Palestine Liberation Organization, and the Palestine National Authority. The Intifada, 1987 (uprising) united the main sectors of the Palestinian community, including the 700,000 Palestinians in exile, and some 200,000 in the United States.

Refugee Camps

Most camps were established between 1948-1953 and are scattered throughout the West Bank and Gaza, with the largest concentration in Gaza. They are administered by UNRWA which undertakes responsibility for housing, education, training and relief. Monthly supplies of flour, rice, beans, canned tomato paste are provided. Of the 367,593 refugees registered with UNRWA, most are from the Jerusalem, Ramallah and the Hebron areas.

Although many have left the camps, people there remain severely overcrowded in cramped houses, often with only two rooms housing large families, dusty unpaved alleyways, and open sewers. These are treeless and grassless areas, with no play areas for the children. In some camps, like Jelazoun near Ramallah, improvements have been made — such as paving roads and getting telephones installed — but it remains a ghetto, watched over by Israeli lookout stations and often closed by the Israeli civil administration.

Residents who were born inside the boundaries of Jerusalem; residents who return from living abroad; resident women who have married husbands from the West Bank; residents who have moved to the West Bank to live with their husbands, are all under threat of losing their Identity Cards. Family reunification is refused; children born with only one parent as an East Jerusalem resident are not included in the Population Registry. All are asked to prove that their center of life is in Jerusalem, and even in cases where every piece of information and every last scrap of documented paper is produced, residents are deemed not to live in the city. Some are asked to leave.

Currently there are some 75 families living in a makeshift building (over 250 individuals) in East Jerusalem; last year they spent the winter under canvas. As with others, they have lost all their social rights and health insurance; they cannot secure a driving license, open a bank account, or take matriculation exams. More importantly, without an Identity Card they are vulnerable to confrontation or arrest from the Israeli army. They have

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Displaced in Burundi

Regine Cirondeye

Burundi was already one of the poorest countries in the world even before civil war erupted there five years ago.

Situated in the heart of Africa, south of Rwanda, the country has a population of just over 6 million people. Languages spoken include Kirundi, French and Swahili.

Burundi has two fighting parties—the Hutu and the Tutsi tribes. Although this might look like the Rwanda pattern, the countries have completely different histories. There is a third tribe, the Twa, who are generally ignored and are often mistaken for Hutus.

For the last 30 years, Burundi has been a theatre for several cycles of violence, with a lack of social and political justice and many abuses of women and human rights generally.

In 1993, right-wing Tutsi extremist army members killed the Hutu-elected President Melchior Ndadaye and his disciples, and this action plunged Burundi into a bloody, ongoing civil war.

Burundi is one more country where most of the international indicators of a potential explosion were clear for a long time. I will name just a few:

A) Social indicators — Mounting demographic pressures, disputes over land and properties were happening for some time. Refugees and internally displaced people were fuming, angry and in misery inside the country, in neighboring countries and all over the world. Lack of an adequate justice system left a legacy of vengeance and mob justice. Young, educated business people were leaving the country en masse. Women have minimal roles in government; right now, of 25 cabinet ministers only one is a woman. There are also few women in Parliament, although women make up more than half of the total population.

Some 95 percent of the population live in rural areas of agriculture and farming.

Adult literacy is 49 percent for men and 22 percent for women. The collapse of the civil society's power and the rise of international NGOs, as well as the uncontrolled

➤ REFUGEES *continued from previous page*

been exiled from the city of their birth, and are regarded as immigrants in their own homes, who live in the city as a result of the benevolence of the State of Israel.

In April 1999, in a first test case, several Palestinian and Israeli Human Rights groups took the Israeli government to the High Court to establish its reasons for confiscating cards of six individuals.

Hanan Awwad is chair of the Palestine WILPF section.

spread of guns and fighting tools (guns, machetes, grenades, land mines) are also severe problems.

B) Economic indicators — Uneven economic development in the country means regionalism and nepotism have hurt Burundi.

C) Political / military indicators — There has been a suspension of the rule of law, and the justice system has lost independence. Public services have deteriorated, and civil servants have been corrupted, stealing public funds from customs and taxes. There is also regionalism and nepotism in hiring. Right-wing security fragments, such as

“Men get away with assassinating their wives and pretending they are regular victims of war, women are raped in total silence, and others are beaten. Young girls are taken from families . . . and disappear . . .”

guards and militia, have erupted, especially in young people.

Most of the above-mentioned indicators were at their highest level in Burundi for a long time, but timid international prevention and diplomacy was not then — and are not now — able to stop the war. Right-wing factions have claimed violence as the ultimate solution to Burundi's multiple problems. The results are classic: a war-torn country, a deeply wounded society, and of course, poor women and children.

While the leaders of the right wing live comfortably and drive brand-name limousines, many people have left the country and live in poverty in neighboring countries.

Without minimizing the suffering of these people, I chose to speak about the internally displaced refugees inside Burundi, since I got a chance to talk to them in Burundi earlier this year.

Refugees in their own country, these displaced people live under blue and white tents, property of United Nations related humanitarian agencies because they were feeling unsafe in areas where they lived for generations. They left for fear of death in places where, overnight, the country's army and police, yesterday's civilians, neighbors, close friends, and husbands became the nightmare of many people's lives. Children, parents, husbands, and

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Human Rights; Human Wrongs

Paula H. Tasso, United Nations Representative

The main role of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees is to ensure that states are aware of, and act on, their obligations to protect refugees and persons seeking asylum.

These obligations are stated definitively in The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, but most people in the developed world rarely think about their human rights and many people in the developing world are not even aware that they have any. People become refugees only after their most basic rights, and in many cases their lives, have been seriously threatened.

In 1921, the League of Nations first recognized the need for protection of refugees. In 1951, the General Assembly established the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees. The organization was to be entirely humanitarian and non-political and focus on the 1 million people who were displaced in the wake of World War II. However, starting as early as 1967 and continuing, huge new refugee populations have been created.

By 1998, UNHCR was assisting more than 22 million people worldwide. The total number of uprooted people around the world is currently approaching 50 million.

The main reason for this population growth is undoubtedly the increase in the number and frequency of conflicts. The tendency to use military force over political negotiations certainly is contributory. UNHCR can only supply humanitarian aid and hope that the governments involved in various political conflicts can reach peaceful accords.

UNHCR, meanwhile, is funded almost entirely by voluntary contributions from governments, non-governmental organizations, and individuals. Fifteen donor countries traditionally have accounted for about 95 per-

ASYLUM CLAIMS IN EUROPE IN THE LAST 10 YEARS

1988	233,900
1989	316,900
1990	441,800
1991	560,900
1992	696,500
1993	555,700
1994	330,600
1995	333,900
1996	292,500
1997	332,800
total	4,095,500

REGION	1980	1985	1990	1995	1997
Africa	3.8	4.5	7.6	9.1	10.0
Asia	3.1	6.0	7.3	7.7	7.9
Europe	0.7	0.8	0.9	7.7	6.7
Latin America	0.4	1.3	0.3	0.3	0.1
North America	0.4	1.4	0.8	1.3	0.7
Oceania	0.1	0.1	0.6	0.6	0.6
TOTAL	10.7	14.9	27.4	26.1	22.7

cent of UNHCR's total operating budget (The United States was the largest contributor.) As of June 15, 1999, the UNHCR was operating with a budget shortfall of \$155 million.

The UNHCR is currently dealing with developments in Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Albania, Kosovo, as well as Afghanistan, West Africa, the renewed conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and many more.

In addition to human decency for people in terrible situations, one must also consider that if ethnic and nationality problems are not addressed, if ethnic tensions are allowed or even encouraged to simmer, conflicts often spread.

The UNHCR now operates in 120 countries, with a staff of more than 5,600. This staff operates with an increasing element of danger to them. In the last seven years, 160 U.N. civilian personnel have been killed. In 1988 alone, 22 civilian U.N. workers were killed during the course of their work; eight were held hostage and later released.

Note: Much of the information in this article was drawn from UNHCR publications, including the magazine Refugees. For more information about getting publications from the UNHCR, please contact: UNHCR Regional Office for the United States and the Caribbean, 1775 K Street, NW, Suite 300, Washington, D.C. 20006 or email, usawa@unhcr.ch, or visit their website at www.unhcr.ch

Human Rights At Home

Cheri Honkala

While sitting in my one-room apartment thinking about what I should write, I suddenly yelled at 8-year-old Frankie to get down. Gunfire was going off again outside my window. I managed to make it into my kitchen, over the homeless family sprawled out across the tiny room where I sleep.

As the red, flashing lights of a police car passed by my window, my mind drifted to thoughts of who was being picked up that night— was it my neighbor's son? Who will be next? What is to become of my future, and my country's future?

You see, where I live in Philadelphia, welfare is the number one source of income and drugs are the second. This year, the elimination of welfare for millions of people began.

I turned on my television that night and saw the eyes of the Kosovo refugees, then looked down to the eyes of the homeless children who were sleeping at the edge of my bed. Sleeping next to them was their mother, a homeless woman recovering from triple bypass surgery.

We at the Kensington Welfare Rights Union are absolutely convinced that in order to really talk in terms of abolishing war, we must talk about abolishing poverty. They must go hand in hand. We must stop describing the wars that we see as just "evil guys" and begin to expose the real questions of wealth and power.

The undeclared war occurring in the United States is something very real and deadly. This country has the highest rate of violent crimes in the world, with an annual average of 2 million violent crimes.

In 1997, nearly 40,000 people in the United States were killed with firearms and another 110,000 were injured. In seven states, being shot is the major cause of death and injury.

We also have more prisons than South Africa did at the height of apartheid. In fact, we have more prisons than any other place in the world.

The United States is the richest country in the world, yet the gap here between the rich and the poor is one of the widest in the western world. There are 30 million Americans, including 4.9 million elderly, who cannot afford adequate food and have to go hungry.

While New York City is home to millionaires, it is also home to some 36,000 homeless people who every day dig in the trash for something to eat.

The massive growth of homelessness epitomizes the crisis we are now experiencing. Every winter, some 1,500 homeless people are found frozen to death on the

streets of the United States.

As Gandhi said, "The deadliest form of violence is poverty."

Our government spends massive amounts on the military, resulting in the real loss of human life throughout the world, through both openly declared wars and covert military operations. While military spending to destroy the lives of those abroad is increasing, the dismantling of our safety net is occurring at home.

In order for us to achieve a world at peace, a world in which no one goes hungry and homeless, we must organize those who are struggling for their very survival. This is what we are doing with our "Poor People's Economic Human Rights Campaign."

We are putting the poor of the world in a direct relationship to each other. We will no longer have the poor of one country fight the poor of another country in order to build wealth for the richest 5 percent of the world. Those of us who have lived on the streets, who have watched our children go hungry, are beginning to get organized. We will work to abolish war by calling for economic justice for all. We believe our vision is possible. We only need to organize and live what we all believe.

Cheri Honkala is director of the Kensington Welfare Rights Union.



Kensington Welfare Rights Union delegates at The Hague: From left, Jay Butz and Cheri Honkala with U.N. Representative on Extreme Poverty Anne Marie Lizin.

KWRU is spearheading the "March of the Americas" during the month of October. Going from Washington D.C. to New York City there will be tent cities and press conferences held along the route to draw attention to the needs of the homeless families from across the Americas who will be marching. For more information call KWRU at (215) 203-1945. Visit their website at www.libertynet.org/kwru/

• **ASYLUM IN EUROPE (1)**

Since the early 1980's, around 5 million people have sought asylum in Western Europe. Growing numbers of asylum-seekers are now making their way to countries in the eastern and central parts of the continent.

• **RETURN TO FORMER YUGOSLAVIA (2)**

Throughout nearly four years of war, more than 3.5 million people in former Yugoslavia received aid from UNHCR, 2.7 million of them in Bosnia and Herzegovina alone. Today, UNHCR is trying to help them return home.

• **CONFLICTS IN THE CAUCASUS (3)**

Recent years have witnessed a succession of population displacements in the Caucasus region, involving some 2 million people. Continuing conflict or political stalemates prevent them from returning home.

• **THE PALESTINIAN QUESTION (4)**

Around 3.2 million people are registered with UNRWA, the international agency responsible for Palestinian refugees. Their future remains one of the most complex questions to be addressed in the Middle East peace process.

• **GUATEMALAN REPATRIATION (13)**

Since 1984, more than 36,000 Guatemalans have repatriated, mainly from Mexico, but in a few cases also from other Central American countries. By September 1997, Mexico still hosted some 28,400 Guatemalan refugees. Organized repatriation movements were temporarily interrupted during the first half of 1997, but have since regained momentum.



• **RECONSTRUCTION IN AFGHANISTAN (5)**

Although nearly 4 million Afghan refugees have repatriated during the past eight years, around 2.7 million remain in Pakistan, Iran, India and the CIS countries. Some fighting continues in Afghanistan, but repatriation is possible to areas not affected by the fighting, mainly to eastern and southern parts of the country. A lasting peace and a national reconstruction program will enable the remaining refugees to return home.

• **REPATRIATION TO MYANMAR (6)**

By the end of 1997, only 21,000 of the 250,000 people who fled from Myanmar in 1991-92 remained in Bangladesh.

• **VIETNAMESE BOAT PEOPLE (7)**

By the end of 1997, only 2,000 boat people remained in the region, mostly in Hong Kong. Since 1975, some 839,000 Vietnamese had sought asylum, in South-East Asian countries. Some 755,000 were resettled in third countries, and 109,000 re-turned to their country of origin under the UNHCR-sponsored Comprehensive Plan of Action.

• **DISPLACED SRI LANKANS (8)**

Between 1992 and 1995, some 54,000 Sri Lankan refugees returned to their homeland from India. As of the end of 1997, some 64,000 remain in India. Due to the ongoing conflict in northern Sri Lanka nearly 800,000 persons have reportedly been internally displaced.

• **RELIEF AND REPATRIATION IN THE HORN OF AFRICA (9)**

The United Nations continues to assist about 1 million refugees in the Horn of Africa.

• **REFUGEES IN WEST AFRICA (11)**

Over 800,000 people fled their countries during conflicts in Liberia and Sierra Leone, with hundreds of thousands more displaced within their countries. Recent elections have brought stability and hope to Liberia, where UNHCR has started repatriation from Cote d'Ivoire and Guinea.

• **REINTEGRATION IN MOZAMBIQUE (12)**

Since 1992, 1.7 million Mozambican refugees have returned from other countries in Southern Africa. They must now begin to support themselves and to rebuild their own communities.

• **THE RWANDA/BURUNDI EMERGENCY (10)**

The crisis in Rwanda and Burundi created one of the largest refugee populations in the world. More than 1.3 million Rwandan and 100,000 Burundi refugees returned to their countries following the October 1996 civil war in the Democratic Republic of Congo. But tens of thousands of Rwandans remain scattered in ten neighboring countries, and Tanzania still hosts over 220,000 Burundi refugees.

Where the U.N. Helps

This map and information it contains were taken from the booklet, *Helping Refugees, An Introduction to UNHCR*, published by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR).

Wrestling With Intervention

Roberta Spivek

Editor's note: This is an excerpt from an article that first appeared in Friends Journal in 1994. The author has written a new introduction for Peace & Freedom.

The recent Serbian “ethnic cleansing” of Kosovo and the NATO bombing of Serbia have posed a serious moral challenge to people of conscience—the challenge of how to respond. Our response in such cases, I believe, must be to support both efforts to prevent and defuse conflicts and to protect human rights. While WILPF and many peace groups were quick to condemn NATO’s motives and actions, I believe WILPF has been slow to grapple with the issue of human rights and “humanitarian intervention.” One of the most promising developments at the Hague conference, in my view, was interest in development of a U.N. rapid deployment force, and U.N. Security Council reform, to allow international intervention to protect civilians in crises like those in Bosnia, Rwanda, and Kosovo.

In the five years since this article was written, those crises have confirmed my belief that pacifism has limits, and that peace activists must sometimes, reluctantly, support armed force to protect human rights.

As a lifelong peace and justice activist, I have found myself wrestling with the question of how to respond to the crises in Bosnia, Somalia, and Haiti—and specifically, whether or not to support armed intervention in those conflicts. In dozens of conversations with friends, I have found I’m not alone; many people are wrestling with the question. I hope an account of one peace activist’s struggle with questions of nonviolence, effectiveness, and moral responsibility will encourage others to clarify their own thoughts and feelings, and will contribute to greater dialogue, action, and debate.

Compelling arguments for and against military intervention to end genocide, mass starvation and other egregious human rights violations have been advanced by scholars and experts, as well as by pacifist and non-pacifist peace groups. The sheer weight of argument on all sides, I’ve found, can be overwhelming. In a recent article in *The Nation*, Princeton law professor Richard Falk poignantly sums up the dilemma paralyzing many people: “Nonintervention is intolerable, but intervention remains impossible.” Nevertheless, Falk argues, we must come to terms with what kind of action to take.

While learning “the facts” about a specific situation

is part of making an informed decision, I believe peace activists must first face more fundamental questions. Has our faith in nonviolence become a kind of dogma, to which we cling even when it has not proved to be effective? Are we genuinely open to evaluating and responding to crises in which other people’s lives, not our own, are at stake, on the basis of what is most helpful to them, rather than for the sake of our own philosophical comfort? Should our primary goal in responding to “severe human suffering” be to act to save as many lives as possible in the immediate situation, and if so, can we rule out any possible solution a priori, including the use of armed force?

Starting With Nonviolence

Everything in my activist life so far has led me to respond to the current crises from a position of nonviolence. In addition to the lessons of my own religious heritage, Judaism, my spiritual and political beliefs have been deeply influenced by Quaker lives and teachings, as well as by some of the teachings of Buddhism, American Indian philosophies, and liberation theology.

As a high school student in the Navy town of Norfolk, Virginia, during the Vietnam War, I participated in candlelight marches and peace vigils, drawn to “gentle, angry” forms of protest, and alienated by the “off-the-pigs” rhetoric of a small segment of the anti-war movement. Later as a college student, budding journalist, and feminist activist in Berkeley during the 1970s, I understood the connections between militarism, misogyny, imperialism and machismo, as various manifestations of the patriarchal values I was working to transform.

In 1984, when I joined the staff of WILPF, many of these inchoate feelings found a home in the theory and practice of nonviolence. I began meeting people who were embodying these principles in their lives, often in heroic ways. During the 1980s, theory and practice came together most powerfully for me, as for thousands of others, through the Pledge of Resistance, a commitment to nonviolently resist U.S. aggression in Central America. Challenged to deepen my own risk-taking and commitment, I traveled with Witness for Peace to the war zone of Nicaragua; participated in nonviolent civil disobedience actions; and spent a night in jail.

None of this experience had forced me to directly confront the issue of pacifism. I had not faced the contradiction between my growing belief in nonviolence, and my moral support for the Sandinistas and other

guerilla movements that seemed a legitimate response to conditions of stark poverty, repression, and brute force.

It was not until I learned that U.S. peace groups had struggled bitterly, and had lost members, over the issue of U.S. entry into World War II, that I began thinking seriously about pacifism. As I considered what position I would have taken, I realized my Jewish identity, and my family’s direct experience of the Holocaust (my mother and grandparents fled Nazi Germany in 1939; my great-aunt and great-grandmother were killed) led me to see some wars as both preventable and just.

Bearing Witness

It was against this background that I began confronting the mass media reports of rape camps, “ethnic cleansing,” and 200,000 dead in former Yugoslavia; tens of thousands of Somalis starving to death in front of the world’s television cameras while armed men looted the food shipments; and the overthrow of Haiti’s elected president, Jean-Bertrande Aristide. Like most peace activists, I am used to advocating diplomacy, negotiation, and a strengthened United Nations to resolve conflict, but increasingly, I had to face the fact that such strategies were either not in operation, or were not working.

Thousands continued to die. Peace talks failed to resolve the underlying conflicts, and seemed instead to empower those responsible for the carnage. Friends shook their heads sadly, hoping *someone* would do *something*. A disturbing number of people told me the news is so depressing, they no longer read newspapers at all.

My gut feeling of relief when U.S. Marines landed in Somalia finally forced me to face the limits of my belief in nonviolence. I am not a pacifist; I believe, as a last resort, in the notion of a “just war.” I continue to believe theoretically, in nonviolence, but when advocates of non-violent solutions lack the strength, means or will to implement them in situations involving egregious human rights violations, especially the rights to life and physical security guaranteed by the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights, I support armed force to counter armed force.

I still believe nonviolence is a powerful moral force, one that is especially effective in sowing seeds of long-term peace and reconciliation. But my reading of history has led me to conclude that nonviolence is not an effective tactic in responding to armed force, except in rare cases when it has been implemented as part of an ongoing, well-planned campaign. To advocate only nonviolent situations in other cases seems to me to be tantamount to doing nothing, to taking a purely symbolic stand.

Barriers to Clarity

In reaching my difficult conclusion in favor of intervention, it has helped to identify some of my barriers to

clear thinking. It also has been helpful to recognize two emotional forces that finally overcame all others for me: the issue of moral complicity and responsibility and the Holocaust.

As a woman with no particular expertise in the Balkans, Africa, or the Caribbean, one of my first hurdles lay in believing in my right to make this decision. I found the process of dealing with issues of military strategy, international law, diplomacy and U.N. peacekeeping intimidating. I believe this is a particular obstacle for women, who are vastly underrepresented in the ranks of foreign policy decision-makers.

In response, I began educating myself.

I called people I knew or was referred to national peace organizations; I clipped articles; I tried to find out what opposition activists in Haiti and the former Yugoslavia themselves were saying through people in contact with them.

Learning from other people has been crucial. The process, however, has taken a great deal of time, which might have been saved by the peace movement taking a more active educative role.

History of Intervention

As most peace activists know by heart, the record of U.S. military intervention has been grim. In Vietnam, Haiti, Grenada, Panama, the Gulf War, the “Indian Wars,” and many other cases, “national security,” racist, or corporate

Continued on page 21 ➤



Impact Visuals

Faces of Kosovo



WILPFers Join Thousands to Protest Bombing

Yoshiko Ikuta

The journey to Washington, D.C. for the Cleveland WILPF branch began during a Good Friday Inter-Faith Peace March. As we chanted "Stop the bombing" in front of the Federal Building in Cleveland, it became clear that we need a consistent presence and a major nationwide mobilization to stop the war in Yugoslavia.

Working with other groups, we formed an ad-hoc coalition and immediately organized a weekly presence on Tuesdays. Our Congressman, Dennis Kucinich, who chose to take a courageous stand against this undeclared war, asked us to support his efforts. A candlelight procession was organized and in a driving rain, 500 people marched across a bridge.

Later, we heard about the Emergency Mobilization to Stop the Bombing organized by the International Action Center in Washington, D.C. We decided to organize a bus to Washington.

On June 5, when our bus arrived in front of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial the sky was blue and a soft breeze helped us feel refreshed. The pre-march rally began with the children's choir from the Bruderhof Community.

There were speeches by several speakers from Yugoslavia as well as Vietnam veterans, passionately appealing for the immediate halt of the bombing. They reminded us that one-sided vilification of Serb leaders was not helping to bring about a peace accord, but rather intensifying their resolve to resist any pressure from NATO.

Ramsey Clark, former attorney general and current head of the

International Action Center, took the podium. He has visited Iraq several times in spite of the sanctions and recently came back from a trip to Belgrade. He spoke about the unjust nature of the bombing, and the immense suffering it is causing innocent civilians.

Lucius Walker, the director of Pastors for Peace / IFCO gave a comprehensive speech, making connections between other conflicts and injustice against Cuba, Central America and other parts of the world.

An insatiable appetite of corporate greed for more profit and more control over Eastern Europe drives the Yugoslav bombing. It is a form of punishment for the countries that

Protestors estimated that at least 5,000 people attended the march.

As I stood in the middle of a bridge over the wide Potomac River, I could not see the beginning or the end of our procession. As far as my eyes could see, I saw waves of flags, signs, and people. To my delight, I saw WILPF sisters from eastern states proudly holding up our banners.

As I walked back to our bus, I felt invigorated and supported by thousands of people. I felt that I am not alone in this struggle, that it is not just a few peace and justice organizations crying in the wilderness, but a wide-based mobilization. Although the powers-that-be attempted to manipulate the outcome of this demon-



stand up against global economic networks dominated by the U.S.

Walker also made the connection between the billions of dollars spent for this massacre and the cutbacks of billions of dollars for social programs at home.

As we proceeded along the two-mile walk to the Pentagon in the summer sun, the fears and concerns we had over the last minute refusal by authorities to give us a permit for our march gave away to celebration.

stration by refusing a permit for our demonstration route, we stuck it out.

We must continue to work and keep shouting "Peace not War" and "People not Profit."

For detailed accounts of the speeches made on June 5, please refer to the International Action Center web page: <http://www.iacenter.org>.

Yoshiko Ikuta is a member of the Cleveland WILPF Branch.

➤ WILPF AND REFUGEES *continued from 10*

leave a resource rich area to the dominant interests, generally with active trading in the international capital markets. The obscene linkage between consumption, greed, exploitation of people and earth, repression of populations, the weapons industry, and the refugee flow makes all of us complicit in this dismal scenario.

WILPF is trying to respond to some of these problems, both in concrete ways and in its lobbying stance. Here are just three concrete examples:

The WILPF Section in Albania worked day and night since the beginning of the war to respond to the needs of the traumatized and hapless human stream that arrived from Kosovo. They organized a small refugee camp in one of the villages where they had already been working for the last three years to encourage civilian disarmament. They had been successful in starting some processes towards a culture of peace and non-violence both in the village and in the school. They integrated adaptations of these courses in the refugee camp program, since they see that, violence breeds violence, and animosity among refugees as well as between refugees and Albanians is increasing as the days go by. Funds have been raised in Switzerland and Germany, and are expected from Canada for this work.

In June there was a one-week training on conflict prevention and conflict management, and plans for the

refugee camps are proceeding apace.

The Colombian Section is working both in Bogota and in Cartagena with displaced people, integrating conflict management courses into very practical projects, such as a food cooperative and environmental reclamation.

In Sierra Leone, the small remaining group in Freetown, aided by the larger Diaspora group, is preparing a plan for a durable peace negotiation that would include many of the active elements of civil society and, in particular, women.

Trauma counselling work is an integral part of the work that all three sections are doing or contemplating.

But we must also act on an individual basis. We all need to review the way we conduct our lives. We also need, as WILPFers, to provide both moral and financial support to the Sections that are working in these areas, and to WILPF's International office, which has been nurturing their efforts in countless ways. We need to increase our ability to help them concretely.

Because WILPF is not a humanitarian organization, but a political one, the work that continues to take high priority is, of course, the pressure we must exert to change the basic existing political and economic conditions. We must replace exploitation and war with a regime of justice and peace.

Please, make sure that you are an integral part of these efforts, in your life, in your community and internationally. ❖

➤ WRESTLING WITH INTERVENTION

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interests have prevailed, often wearing a humanitarian mask. These precedents have led many of us automatically to rule out even the idea of intervention, accepting the argument, in political scientist Stephen Shalom's words, that "bad countries don't make good interventions," and that genuinely multilateral intervention in a world dominated by a single superpower is an illusion. However, by not intervening to protect the victims of aggression, others have argued, the world has intervened on behalf of aggressors. Faced with instances of genocide and severe human suffering, they insist, we cannot fail to act. I agree with this view. What we must do is develop criteria for genuinely humanitarian intervention, reforming and strengthening U.N. peacekeeping operations, and including the rights of soldiers/peacekeepers to be sent into situations that will, as far as possible, minimize their risks. Unlike those who have accepted wars defined in terms of "national interest," humanitarian reasons seem to me the only good justification for asking soldiers to risk their lives.

Most U.S. feminist and peace groups oppose military intervention, arguing that violence breeds violence, and

war breeds war. While I agree philosophically with that argument, I find most of their solutions faltering on the issue of enforcement. Like Dr. Lynne Jones, a British anti-nuclear crusader, I believe intervention opponents bear a moral responsibility to propose viable alternatives; like her, "I long to hear what these are."

Taking Responsibility

With only 50 years elapsed since the world's refusal to intervene in the attempted extermination of the European Jews, it is not surprising that Jewish voices are among the loudest calling for armed intervention to end crimes against humanity. For me, ultimately, the question of nonviolence versus intervention has been settled in my *yidische nishama* (my Jewish soul).

While the process of decision-making will be different for everyone, what is important is that we engage in the process— that we don't avoid issues just because they are complicated, but that we face them, and try to work them through.

Roberta Spivek was the editor of Peace & Freedom from 1985 to 1991, and again in 1998. She is a long time WILPF member.

JAPA Executive Director

Steps Down

Eurydice Kelley, former JAPA Executive Director

The Jane Addams Peace Association (JAPA) was founded in 1948 to honor Jane Addams, a Nobel Prize-winning activist and founder of WILPF.

JAPA works to perpetuate the spirit of Jane Addams' love for humanity and devotion to the cause of world peace, to promote projects consistent with these aims, and to collect funds necessary for the execution of these aims through the educational programs of WILPF and JAPA.

JAPA, which was started by WILPFers in Chicago, is now defined as The Educational Fund for Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and it funds much of the educational work of International WILPF, U.S. WILPF, and sections and branches all over the globe.

In January 1997, then Executive Director Karen Gellen hired me as JAPA's financial administrator. Upon Karen's resignation, I became the fourth executive director in JAPA's 51-year-history. I had a tough act to follow.

Ruth Chalmers, the first executive director, oversaw the work of JAPA for 42 years. She raised the bulk of JAPA's current assets, which total about \$1.4 million. She inspired the trust and confidence of many WILPF women. Ruth, who is now a member of the JAPA Board of Directors, has exhibited incredible commitment to JAPA and WILPF over the past 45 years.

Ruth was succeeded by Andrea Spencer-Linzie, who consolidated and computerized JAPA's complicated structure of funds and created an efficient new book-keeping system. Karen also expanded JAPA's Planned Giving Campaign.

My one year and seven months as executive director have been a privilege. In mid-August, I left my position at JAPA to begin law school full-time. During my tenure, I particularly enjoyed working with the Board of Directors, which meets twice a year. As WILPF's 501c3, JAPA accepts tax-deductible gifts for WILPF's educational work. The board spends much of their time ensuring that we honor donors' wishes regarding the way we manage and distribute funds.

One of the other highlights of my job has been the Jane Addams Children's Book Award Ceremony. For the past 45 years, JAPA has been granting this award to children's books that most effectively promote world community, peace, justice and equality. For the past two years, the award ceremony has been held in New York City, with publishers donating copies of the winning

books to neighborhood school children. The children have been able to read the books in school, and prepare questions for the authors in advance. At the award ceremony, the children demonstrated interest and enthusiasm. One young boy made a point of such important detail to an author that she vowed to alter the next edition of her book.

I am grateful to have had this opportunity to work for a movement I deeply believe in; to have known WILPF women and the incredible work they have done; to have gained a deep understanding of how a non-profit foundation works; and to have been partners with WILPF women. I remain your partner and ardent supporter in the work that lies ahead.

➤ RIGHTS FOR CHILDREN *continued from 11*

hope to guarantee the right of every child to a full, healthy and peaceful life in which children can develop to their fullest potential. . . .

It is why UNICEF insists that every peace agreement must include specific reference to the demobilization of child soldiers and their reintegration into society.

It is why we must move toward ending the use of children as killers and cannon fodder, by continuing to press fiercely for an international requirement that raises the age of recruitment to 18.

It is why we must secure a dramatic reduction in the availability of small arms and light weapons, which only serve to sustain war and conflict — and whose portability is a major factor in the ease with which children are transformed into combatants. It is why we are fighting so hard for full implementation of the global ban on anti-personnel landmines, which continue to kill or maim more children than soldiers, while thwarting post-conflict reconstruction and development.



Carol Bellamy, right, with young people at The Hague Appeal for Peace.

UNICEF/Jeremy Horner

It is why UNICEF is so insistent on the need to fight atrocities against children and women, including rape as a weapon of war, by deploying a permanent, fully empowered International Criminal Court.

My fellow citizens, if the world is to achieve the lasting peace and security to which we all aspire, we must begin investing now in the well being of today's children—and in the generations of children to come. ❖



PeaceEducation

Balkan Children Model Peace

Yvonne Simmons

I have been making Peace Journeys to the Balkans to work with families, women, children, and orphans of diverse ethnic groups for more than five years.

In 1993, the grass roots Peace Journeys program began with support from WILPF in Portland, Oregon, International WILPF, several churches and individuals.

War has a devastating effect on the psyche of young children who have lived through such horror, destruction, and fear. The children often re-enact the war in their play by destroying all they create and make, including their animals and environment.

I've realized over the years, though, that children often give hope for the future and strength to their family members, who are sometimes incapable of seeing an end to the violence.

Of the many inspiring stories of working with children, my experience during the siege of Sarajevo in 1995 is memorable. Because of the increased danger, the Peace Center office where I worked downtown was moved to Otoka, a neighborhood in Sarajevo where I lived in an apartment I called *mirovni stan* or "peace flat." There were four, seven-story apartment buildings where many refugee children lived. The buildings faced the river and there was a space in front that had been planted with vegetables, with a place for the children to play. Every day they would call to me outside my window to come play with them.

When I work with children, I use the principles of WILPF Peace Camps and incorporate crafts, songs and interactive and non-competitive games into my programs. Often there

has been little else organized for the children, and I have found them hungry for knowledge and ready to learn.

We would generally form a circle, singing action songs in Bosnian and English, playing games and making crafts with whatever we could find. The children loved the Hokey Pokey. Their mothers and other family members would hang out of the windows and passersby would stop and smile.

You have to remember that all the children were underweight. There was no water, electricity, gas and very little food. Schools were closed because of the bombing and snipers. The children would come to the door with bouquets of flowers that they had picked.

Eventually, we had to stop the outside activities because only a hundred meters away a bomb struck a group of children, killing and wounding them. We were too much of a target out in the open.

Almost every day I traveled to



Yvonne Simmons says children in her Peace Journey groups often give hope to their parents.

the center of Sarajevo on a U.N. bus to work at various centers for women and children, and at an orphanage. I also worked with the elderly. On one particular day, it had been raining

and I arrived home to Otoka at dusk. In front of our building, where the children played, they had made a little model village of mud and sticks. It was about 15 feet long and 7 feet wide. A road circled the village, with mud and stone bridges over tiny rivers of water. There was a forest made of leafy twigs from the privet hedges. Houses were made of sticks, stones and tiny pieces of concrete rubble collected from bombed-out buildings. Flower gardens were made from pieces of flowers.

I was very moved by how the refugee children had rebuilt their lives and their homes. They had created a model village in which the homes were intact and the people could live in peace. It was their answer to the destruction and insanity of war, and that image will always be with me.

When I am in Sarajevo, I still meet and work with some of these young people. They remember the songs, the games and the beading we did, and they are always excited to

see me. We helped each other through that very dangerous time, when Sarajevo was like a prison where guards would bomb and shoot at us every day. Because they are children, they are adjusting much easier to the aftermath of the war than their parents are.

For more information about Peace Journeys, please contact Pat Hollingsworth of the

Portland WILPF branch at (503) 289-2097 or claypat@aol.com

Yvonne Simmons is a member of the Portland WILPF Branch.

STUDYING PEACE

Reflections from the Hague Appeal for Peace

Millee Livingston

Wearing T-shirts that said "War-Child," some 1,500 children from war-torn countries around the world attended The Hague Appeal for Peace. They were among the 8,000 people who attended. To me they were truly the conference's main focus.

Most memorable were their stories, music, dance, and songs. They made it all the more clear and urgent that we, as adults, need to bring the message home that war is to be no more—and that a sustainable peace needs to be attained.

The core session program I attended was, "Studying Peace: Founding and Launching a Global Campaign for Education Towards a Culture of Peace." It was co-chaired by Magnus Haavelsrud, from the Norwegian University of Science and Technology, and Betty Reardon of the U.S. Teachers College, Columbia University, and included a panel of educators from Palestine, Jerusalem, Japan, Latin America, Canada, South Africa, and the United States.

When the discussion was open to the attendees, WILPF's Children's Peace Camp concept was introduced. Most of the 250 special flyers we had about Peace Camp (prepared by Fullerton Community College) were distributed. They were well received. Contacts were made, and our Peace Camp packet is being prepared to be sent. It was the consensus of the workshop that there will be a campaign to have peace education in all the schools of the world.

Panelist Archbishop Desmond Tutu spoke of the need to start with children, but not to forget parents' education towards a peace culture. Said Betty Reardon, "We need teachers of courage who will change the system."

Most people I met were pleased we have been doing Children's Peace Camps for the past 14 years. We were interviewed for the BBC radio news program and made an important contact, through Bruna Nota, with WILPF women in Russia to go to a Peace Camp.

Workshops at the conference were divided into four strands, each strand weaving toward the central web of peace. Approximately 90 core sessions of the strands were: "The Prevention, Resolution and Transformations

of Violent Conflict," "Disarmament and Human Security," "International Humanitarian and Human Rights Laws and Institutions," and the "Root Causes of War/Culture of Peace." Sub-workshops dealt with related topics of the core sessions. Another strand was devoted to some 100 Global Forum meetings; another was on Cultural Programs with 50 events such as videos, film, music, stories, and songs. There were Over 1,400 organizations had over 200 display booths.

William Pace, Secretary General of the Hague Appeal for Peace, opened the conference and introduced Cora Weiss, a full-time peace activist from the United States, who introduced the panelists. Aung San Suu Kyi, who is under house arrest in Burma, sent a video message. The UNIFEM Peace Torch was delivered to the Hague from women in African zones of conflict.

Most impressive was the Sarajevo Drum Orchestra, performed by Children of War, and the closing, with a heart-wrenching song and talk by Judy Collins.

Thursday was devoted to staffing the WILPF International Supermarket booth. More contacts made; more Peace Camp flyers distributed. Thanks to Carol Johnson, from WILPF Portland, for fantastic management of this booth. It was gratifying to meet our sisters from England, Holland, and Germany

who were also helping.

Friday I attended the WILPF programs, "Engendering the Peace Process: Women and the Peace Building Process," chaired by Babsi Lochbihler, former International WILPF Secretary General. The panel looked at the role of women in the peace process from a feminist perspective. The WILPF program, "Globalization and Its Impact on Women and Their Families" brought home the economic negatives that affect us all. Panelists shared their experiences and more networking continued.

The closing session heard from Kofi Annan, Secretary General of the United Nations, who received a loud and clear message of "No to War and Yes to Peace." We can only hope we gave him the courage to bring this message back to the United Nations.

For me, this was a most rewarding experience and the first International Conference I attended. There is great hope in the young adults and children. We need to carry it on!

Millee Livingston is a past National WILPF Board Member and the Peace Camp Coordinator.



Argentinian delegates at The Hague. WILPF Section President Maria Pagano is at center.

WILPF Peace Camp Manual Completed

By the time you read this notice, the new, all-inclusive Peace Camp Manual will be completed and if not published yet, on its way. It was written by members from the Peace Camp Coordinator's Collaborative, which includes WILPF camps from Los Angeles, Fullerton, Fresno, Santa Cruz, Grass Valley/Auburn, Seattle, Honolulu, Detroit and St. Louis, with additional information from non-white WILPF camps in Berkeley and Chico.

This manual, intended as a guide for groups who are starting a new peace camp in their community, and/or for people working with an established camp, is based on our effort to share with others our many experiences, both successes and "growth opportunities." The manual is intended as a starting point. Each peace camp is different, but similarities exist. We have attempted to raise sensitive issues in as non-biased a way as possible—giving voice to "both sides." Committee members are dedicated to spreading the word by sharing their love of doing peace camps.

The manual deals with: 1) mission statement, goals,

Creating a Ripple of Peace

Sherry A. Wells

Imagine children playing peace games, instead of war games. Imagine them learning cooperation, instead of competition. Sounds like a better world, doesn't it? At the Detroit WILPF branch we are helping to create that world with our innovative Peace Camp program.

In the summer of 1994, I saw the St. Louis WILPF Peace Day Camp brochure at a regional conference held in Detroit. I had been looking for a secular version of the kinds of summer bible schools that many churches run, and this was it. I sent for a copy of the St. Louis manual.

Our branch wound up taking the peace camp concept and disseminating it around the entire Detroit metropolitan area, which has a population of about 3 million people. Instead of sponsoring a one-week peace camp, we do training around the region to encourage the creation of multiple day camps. One summer we had at least six peace camps going on in the region.

Our workshops last for four hours. We've found the format which works best is to have a local peace activist, such as our own Lillian Genser, inspire and energize us for the first hour. During the next three hours we have fun with examples of peace exercises to do with children, taught by Mary Carry (who goes into schools to

and philosophy; 2) the organizing body; 3) site selection; 4) participant population; 5) pre-planning, program overview, food, transportation; 6) finance and fundraising; 7) media/advertising/community outreach; 8) staff and volunteers, recruitment, interviewing, training; 9) registration, sample forms, parent letters etc.; 10) curriculum planning; 11) closure, celebrations, thank you's and evaluation; 12) resources.

It is our hope that many more WILPF branches will try to do peace camps. It can be a way to find recognition throughout our communities, bring parents and younger blood into WILPF, and create WILPF members for the future. If we are an organization dedicated to creating a culture of peace, it is imperative that we reach out to young people. It is the intent of our committee to show other WILPF members that peace camps can be done fairly easily, and be a resource for information and questions.

For your copy of the manual please contact:
Millee Livingston, WILPF Peace Camp Resource Center,
11251 Tahoe St., Auburn, CA 95602-9235.
Phone: 530-823-2224, Fax: 530-888-0535
or email: mlivin5387@aol.com

For more Peace Education Information contact:
Gaby Litsky, 512 Buena Vista Ave, Santa Cruz, CA 95062.
Phone: 831-429-8221, or email: das@sasquatch.com

teach conflict resolution skills to educators). We take one lunch break, and then finish with a panel of actual peace camp directors talking about what worked for them and answering questions.

This approach does not greatly tax our own membership, yet reaps an achievement and publicity far beyond our investment. Local news stories and photos about area peace camps regularly include mention of WILPF as the originator of the peace camp concept. We recommend our approach to branches in other metropolitan areas.

We have also added teen peace camps, counselor training and a resource library at a local church. We also plan to bring the campers together for activities such as Hiroshima Day, where children could present the cranes and doves they made during camp.

Some organizers of more traditional summer camps have heard about our work and incorporated many of the peace camp ideas into their programs.

Our workshop/manual combination is like a pebble tossed into water: The reach of the ripples is ever widening with the message of peace, getting along and taking care of the Earth.

Sherry Wells is a member of the WILPF Detroit Branch. For more information on spreading the word about peace camps, call her at (248) 543 5297.

Science and Human Rights

Theta Pavis, Peace & Freedom Editor

Since 1977, the Science and Human Rights Program of the American Association for the Advancement of Science has worked to quantify large-scale human rights violations.

“When the Guatemalan Truth Commission says that 200,000 people were killed or disappeared, where does that number come from?” said Patrick Ball, deputy director of the Science and Human Rights Program. “What scientific basis does it have?”

The Science and Human Rights Program builds computer systems that map patterns, trends and magnitudes of violations. It all starts with getting people to tell researchers their stories.

The stories then get fed into databases that can keep open narratives in a computer-coded format, so that statistical analysis can be done. Ball said the testimonies get picked apart and coded; all of the victims, all of the violations that happened, and who all the perpetrators were get coded and then go into a database that can count them.

Ball has created databases and done statistical interpretations of human rights violations in Haiti, Guatemala and South Africa for truth commissions there. In January, he published the book *State Violence in*

Guatemala 1960 -1996, A Quantitative Reflection, based on his work.

This year, Ball has been to Albania twice to do surveys of the Kosovar refugee population. He said one person’s story might make a good 30-second sound bite on CNN, but 10,000 well-documented stories can go into a document that can affect policy.

Ball said statistical information can “provide a way out of the moral equivalence trap.”

For example, during apartheid in South Africa, Ball said the Reagan Administration in the U.S. often tried to argue that the African National Congress and the apartheid government were equally violent— so that neither party could really be judged.

“They try to create a moral equivalent between the parties—and it’s false,” Ball said.

That’s where statistical research comes in.

The program also helps scientists around the world who suffer from human rights violations.

Ball’s Guatemala book can be read online at:

<http://hrdata.aaas.org/ciidh/qr/english/qrtitle.html>

The Guatemalan Truth Commission report is also online: <http://hrdata.aaas.org/ceh/report/english/>

For a copy of Ball’s book, send \$10 to the American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1200 New York Avenue, NW, Washington, D.C. 20005.

RESERVATIONS FOR 1999

JANE ADDAMS PEACE AWARD BOOKS

Since 1953 Jane Addams Children’s Book Award books have been offered to branches at the cost of a total of \$9.00 per book, which includes shipping and handling. The retail value of the books usually are from \$18.95 to \$24.95 including shipping and handling.

By donating these books to schools, public libraries, and other educational facilities branches can improve their resources, circulate ideas of peace, justice, freedom and equality and gain visibility in the community. (Copies of your media event are appreciated.)

Each year the Awards are selected by a JAPA national committee on September 6th, the anniversary of Jane Addams’ birth. Later in the year the awards are presented to each author and illustrator or representatives of the award publishers at a special celebration at the Jane Addams Peace Association office in New York City.

Because the supply is limited, we are asking branches to reserve books now. We hope to meet the demand, which grows every year, by offering the books in sets. At this point, we do not know how many award books will be chosen. Last year, 1998, there were five award books (one set-5x \$9.00 = \$45.00).

To reserve your sets, please clip and return the reservation slip to:

WILPF Peace Camp Resource Center
11251 Tahoe St., Auburn CA 95602-9235.

Reservations are also accepted by telephone: 530-823-2224

By fax 530-888-0535 or by email: mlivin5387@aol.com

Attach separate sheet if more space is needed.

RESERVATIONS FOR JANE ADDAMS CHILDREN’S BOOK AWARDS

PLEASE PRINT

Branch Name

Shipping Address

Billing Address (If different)

Phone Number, email, and Contact Name

Institution(s) to receive books

number of sets reserved

Deposit \$

Balance Due \$

Please make check payable to: Jane Addams Peace Association

You will be notified of the amount of Balance Due before shipment is made.

Triennial Congress In Action



Bottom left: Felicity Hill • All others: Lauren Draper

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

Remembering Betsey Fehrer

Paula Tasso

Betsey Fehrer (no one ever called her Elizabeth) was an intelligent, highly educated, culturally aware, and much-traveled woman. Her background was European (she was born in Munich); her father was an artist and her mother an educator. Betsey received her Ph.D. in Biopsychology (with a special focus on Ophthalmology) in 1934 and promptly went to work for the Tennessee Valley Authority. From there, she went on to teach at some of the most prestigious universities on the East Coast. She finished her career in education in 1975, when she retired as Chair of the Psychology Department at Brooklyn College.

Obviously, Betsey had lived a good and rewarding life. But she soon began moving in another direction when she joined WILPF. It was to be her passion for the rest of her life.

The way Betsey told it, she was talking with a friend about bird watching and good bird-watching areas. The friend, a member of WILPF, mentioned Spain, and Betsey realized she knew nothing about the Spanish Civil War or about global politics in general. That was the catalyst.

Betsey joined WILPF and chaired the NY Metro branch for some time. She also served on the National Board (at one point as treasurer) and represented WILPF at the United Nations for almost two decades. She took great pleasure in her international awareness.

Betsey also knew how to have fun. A charming dinner companion and a faithful friend, her interests in art and theater remained with her for a very long time.

WILPF will miss all she had to offer. Betsey passed away at the age of 90. She was a tireless supporter of WILPF and left the organization a bequest.

Donations may be made in honor and memory of Betsey Fehrer to the Jane Addams Peace Association, 777 United Nations Plaza - Sixth Floor, New York, New York 10017.

Paula Tasso is WILPF's United Nations representative and a longtime WILPF member.



Remembering Anne Florant

Felicity Hill, WILPF U.N. Liaison

Anne Florant was the backbone of the New York Metro branch - and for any of you who have done your WILPF historical reading, this has traditionally been the most radical, outspoken and courageous branch in the United States.

Anne fit right in here, because she was a radical woman, with deep insights and a hope for change that did not leave her. Up until her last days, she was asking for WILPF's position papers on Kosovo and devising ways to pass on the nuts and bolts of the branch to the new employee, Stephanie, from her bed.

Anne was one of the representatives to the United Nations and I was lucky enough to get to know her.

Although extremely frail looking, Anne was also a picture of style and grace and will be long remembered for her extraordinary earring collection and the way she carried colors, hats and her sharp, sharp mind. It was such a pleasure to go out with Anne. On the anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Anne and I decided to cruise along to an event that Blanche Wiesen Cooke, a great friend of Anne's, was speaking at. We stopped in for a coffee in a cafe and we chatted about the internal workings of WILPF, the differences between our generations and generally agreed with each other about lots of things. I understood from that conversation that Anne had lived through times when change seemed so very close — real change, political change, movement inspired change. She said that it was easy to feel cynical in these times, but what point was there in that?



Anne died at home, and she wasn't in pain. She had experienced pain when she was first diagnosed with lung cancer, but it was managed. This helps me feel less saddened by the passing of this great woman.

Anne Florant made a generous donation to the WILPF U.N. Office in New York, in the name of Edith Ballantyne, before she died.

Donations may be made in honor and memory of Anne Florant to the New York Metro WILPF Office, 339 Lafayette Street, New York, New York 10012. ♦

Remembering Vivian Hallinan

Alice Hamburg

How do I remember Vivian Hallinan? As a Civil Rights advocate, willing to go to jail with her sons for demanding fair employment and racial equality on San Francisco's Cadillac Row in 1966.

- As an activist who, in 1968, brought down the house when she addressed the National Mayor's Conference in Milwaukee, calling on them to demand greater investment for social needs.
- As a woman who traveled widely, stumping for her husband Vince, who was running as the Progressive Party presidential candidate in 1952, and who happened to be in jail at the time.
- As an organizer, in the 1960s, along with Jeannette Rankin, of a 5,000 woman brigade up the snowy streets of Washington D.C. to the steps of Congress in the "Feed the Cities Not the Pentagon" campaign for WILPF.
- As an activist traveling to Chile in support of "Mothers of the Disappeared," where they were all tear-gassed by the police. Or in the Soviet Union and Cuba, where she



was a guest of their women's committees. Or to Nicaragua, where she was an honored guest at the 1984 Presidential Inauguration of Daniel Ortega.

• As hostess in her large, beautiful home in Marin, where she not only entertained world leaders such as W.E.B. DuBois and Paul Robeson, but also, with Vince, hosted annual picnic and swimming parties to benefit the People's World.

I will remember Vivian as the warm, affectionate mother and grandmother, who, along with Vince, taught their sons to stand up for their beliefs.

I recall it was my privilege to work for peace and justice with two generations of Hallinans, with Terry during the Vietnam War and with Vivian during the cold war. Through the years, she worked tirelessly for world peace, whether through WILPF or other organizations.

Alice Hamburg is a member of the Berkeley East Bay WILPF Branch.

➤ BURUNDI

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friends were killed. Houses were looted; women raped.

The displaced live in unhealthy camps. Since they are not sure about how long they will be staying, farmers do not have the courage to plant crops, and as a result, they rely on humanitarian aid for everything.

Burundi is a concentration of displaced people and the spontaneous regional division of Hutus and Tutsis concerns a lot of the national and international community. No one knows if they should encourage or discourage these divisions and try to make them live together again.

Today, after five years of an ongoing war, the current political mood is for reconciliation/negotiations and general power sharing, from representation to involvement of the political opponents. There is a political belief that this is a "possible mission," and some steps towards the recovery of the justice system can be seen. But there is also a mass of tired and discouraged Burundians, especially young people, who hardly collaborate now.

Pressure from neighboring countries and an embargo on Burundi — a land-locked country — has left Burundi's economy on its knees.

There is also a lot of silence about the ongoing problem of violence against women. The attitude is often that there are more important concerns to address in bringing peace to the country. Rape is often denied outright.

Yet women are strongly organized in Burundi, and a fledgling section of WILPF is being created. Many are

fighting for women's rights. To silence them, Burundi and some funding NGOs use the classic tools, such as cutting their funding. Some active women are targeted, and women are excluded from the political arena.

In the meantime, men get away with assassinating their wives and pretending they are regular victims of war, women are raped in total silence, and others are beaten. Young girls are taken from families, on their way home or to school, and disappear.

The fight for women's rights in Burundi has a long way to go, but the determination of women in Burundi left me feeling there is no turning back. Your support would be appreciated.

The address of WILPF Burundi Branch is: W.I.L.P.F. Burundi, c/o Centre des Femmes, Old East Building 1er Etage, B.P. 6180 Bujumbura Burundi, Africa. email: wilpfburundi@hotmail.com.

(Some of the information in this article is from the Pictorial Atlas of the World, 1993 Ottenheimer Publishers, Inc. and the "Progress of the Nations -1996," a publication of the United Nations Children Fund.)

Regine Cirondye, a human rights and women's activist before she left Burundi for personal and political reasons, moved to Canada in 1994, where she became an advocate for women and children and is a member of the WILPF Toronto Branch. Mother of three, she organized a WILPF branch in Burundi.



Branch Action News

Leslie Reindl, Branch Action Editor

When asked by a reporter why she worked so hard [on issues of peace and justice], 84-year-old **Portland** WILPF member Sophia Loving answered, "Because I'm alive!" Then she quoted Martin Luther, "Here I stand—I can do no other."

WILPFERS IN THE NEWS:

Fresno's Pamela Lane-Garon had her conflict-resolution program at Bethune School featured in *Education News*. The **Minnesota Metro** Arts committee provoked a two-page *St. Paul Pioneer Press* article on female circumcision after it presented a performance workshop on the topic.

WILPFERS HONORED: **Fresno** member Louise Erickson was honored on her 90th birthday. Alice Hamburg, **Berkeley**, was chosen to receive a Berkeley Community Fund award for making a substantial contribution to the quality of life in Berkeley. **Santa Cruz** member Seema Weatherwax was named Woman of the Year for her district, and took part in festivities at the California Capitol.

KOSOVO: All branches raised concern over the bombing in various ways, and most newsletters reprinted WILPF International's letter to the governments of NATO member states and members of the U.N. Security Council protesting the war. Most also urged members to participate in the June 5 National Day of Protest, either by going to Washington, D.C. or attending a home rally/protest.

Santa Cruz WILPF was the first group in a Santa Cruz coalition to take direct action, with a vigil at the

town clock. On short notice, **Cape Cod** devoted part of its April 15 *In Your Face* cable television show to Kovoso.

IRAQ: Concern for the people of Kosovo and of Serbia, and outrage against the NATO bombing, may seem to have pushed Iraq out of people's consciousness, but this is not true of WILPFers. All branches continue their demonstrations, protests and letters to Washington, D.C. about the horrors the sanctions are causing.

MOTHER'S DAY: Mother's Day 1999 brought another wonderful round of activities honoring all people, but especially mothers. **Berkeley** participated in a walk and speeches, with a local filmmaker shooting an hour-long video to be shown on cable TV. **Minnesota Metro** sent its annual busload of members to the Mother's Day demonstration at the ELF communications site in Wisconsin (Maggie Drew celebrated her 80th birthday by being among those arrested). **Santa Cruz** women wore costumes from the period of the original Mother's Day in 1870, and handed out cards depicting sunflowers (the symbol of Abolition 2000) at their table downtown. Afterward, they had an action and sang "Let's make war no more." They also went to a congressman's office and left Julia Ward Howe's Mother's Day Proclamation.

Cape Cod presented its annual Jane Addams Dinner, with WILPF dancers presenting the world premier of "We Are the Mothers of Many Daughters," a story about the origins of Mother's Day.

USING THE ARTS FOR JUSTICE: **Minnesota Metro's** Arts committee had its inaugural performance of its

workshop "I See Hope in Your Eyes," a story about female circumcision abroad and at home. Those attending received a 20-page information and resource guide. The play was performed at the National Congress on June 24. The **Cape Cod** Boal Theater group had a successful first production of its invisible theater at the post office on tax day.

RACISM, CLASSISM, MULTICULTURALISM:

Greeley is working on creating an Eracism program for their city. The new **University of California Santa Cruz** branch (UCSC) organized a week-long celebration of Mayan culture, which included an art exhibit, talks on indigenous land rights, how to connect multicultural communities internationally, and a sacred, full-moon dance. **Cape Cod** is working on a multicultural, multiclass alliance around the Women's Budget. The Young Leaders Caucus of **Minnesota Metro** sponsored a series of community circle dialogues on the public policy issues of housing and segregation.

HUMAN RIGHTS:

Boulder's Nina Johnson's report on what progress has been made on human rights since the Human Rights Declaration of 1948 was reprinted in the **Colorado Cluster** newsletter. Boulder endorsed a letter to President Slobodan Milosevic and Minister of Education Jova Todorovic about the new University Law passed in Yugoslavia in August 1998. It gives deans of colleges total responsibility for hiring and firing and changing schedules of courses; the deans are being appointed by the government.

Santa Cruz brought attention to the women of Afghanistan on International Women's Day by veiling themselves in black and parading through the mall with messages pinned to their clothing. When accosted by security guards in the mall, they said they could dress as they wished and brandished their charge cards.

BRANCHES REDESIGN THEMSELVES: **Cape Cod** has instituted what it calls "functionaries"—people who serve the functions that keep the branch running smoothly. The positions are: convenor, treasurer, area coordinators (3), newsletter editor, newsletter mailing, mailing list maintainer, resource coordinator, and publicity person. These are all volunteer, non-elected positions. **Detroit** has adopted a team approach to leadership and reports that it is working well. Some positions are president, coordinator, recording secretary, and committee chairs. **Santa Cruz** is working on a team leadership plan.

Reacting to the arrival in Oakland of the "Urban Warriors" (the U. S. military's training program), **Berkeley** member Madeline Duckles organized a resistance group of more than 30 organizations. The group protested at the City Council, organized high school students and other young people, occupied the mayor's office (during which 22 people were arrested) and led protests throughout the week, especially at a location where the military had an arms exposition. The **Berkeley/East Bay** newsletter declares, "These protests generated more public understanding of the danger of militarism and produced numerous letters to Congress opposing defense spending."

GOOD NEWS DEPARTMENT!

This is a new prominent feature in the newsletter of the **Berkeley/East Bay** branch. It contains items such as Kaiser Permanente bowing to public pressure and keeping a hospital open and reopening an already closed one; the fact that Augusto Pinochet will be under guard far into the future; and news that a California congresswoman is cosponsoring a new bill to close the SOA. The newsletter editor asks readers to send in more "good news" items.

TOPICS OF MEETINGS:

Germantown heard from a speaker on "Understanding the Media Age," who examined the bids for power in the electronic age and discussed the implications. **Catonsville** had a report from a person with the National Council of Churches, East Timor Working Group on the latest developments in East Timor. **East Bay** welcomed a speaker on "Globalization and How It Affects Us Locally" at their annual review and planning meeting in April. "WILPF Power in the United Nations" was presented to the **Portland** branch in April, by a person who received WILPF training at the U.N. In May there was another presentation on "Zambia Open Community Schools," about schools organized by a **Portland** WILPF member to offer free schooling to children unable to afford uniforms and books at regular schools in Zambia. The director of the Racial Justice Project of the Northern California ACLU spoke to **Santa Cruz** in June, addressing among other issues the DWB (Driving While Black or Brown) bill, which asked the police to record the race and ethnicity of all motorists stopped and searched. (The governor vetoed the bill.)

LEGISLATIVE ALERTS:

East Bay—Military budget, nuclear

missile defense, Cassini flyby, and the emergency supplemental bill for disaster relief for Honduras, with money to come out of domestic programs (what else?). **Portland**—The School of the Americas, signing of the Land Mine Treaty, Hanford nuclear waste cleanup. **Fresno**—Ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty in 1999. Fresno reprinted the names and addresses of "the Neediest and Greediest Companies" from Co-op America's Anti-Sweatshop Campaign: Disney, Esprit, Guess?, J.C. Penney, K-Mart, Nike, Wal-Mart, Victoria's Secret, and May Company. **Santa Cruz**—Military budget, air pollution from SUVs, East Timor HR97 and 1063—freezing military assistance until Indonesia helps disband paramilitaries in East Timor and reduces its troop presence and closing loopholes that allow the Pentagon to give combat training to Indonesian military. **Boulder**—Military spending. **Cape Cod**—Clean Election Law.

To contact Leslie Reindl, write: 1233 Ingerson Road St. Paul MN 55112-3714.

Sandra Brown and Lucille Berrien's great grandson were among some 40 people who attended an event organized by the Milwaukee branch to honor veteran WILPF members and introduce new members to the organization. The event raised money for scholarships and helped the Milwaukee branch double its mailing list.



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