

Peace & Freedom

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

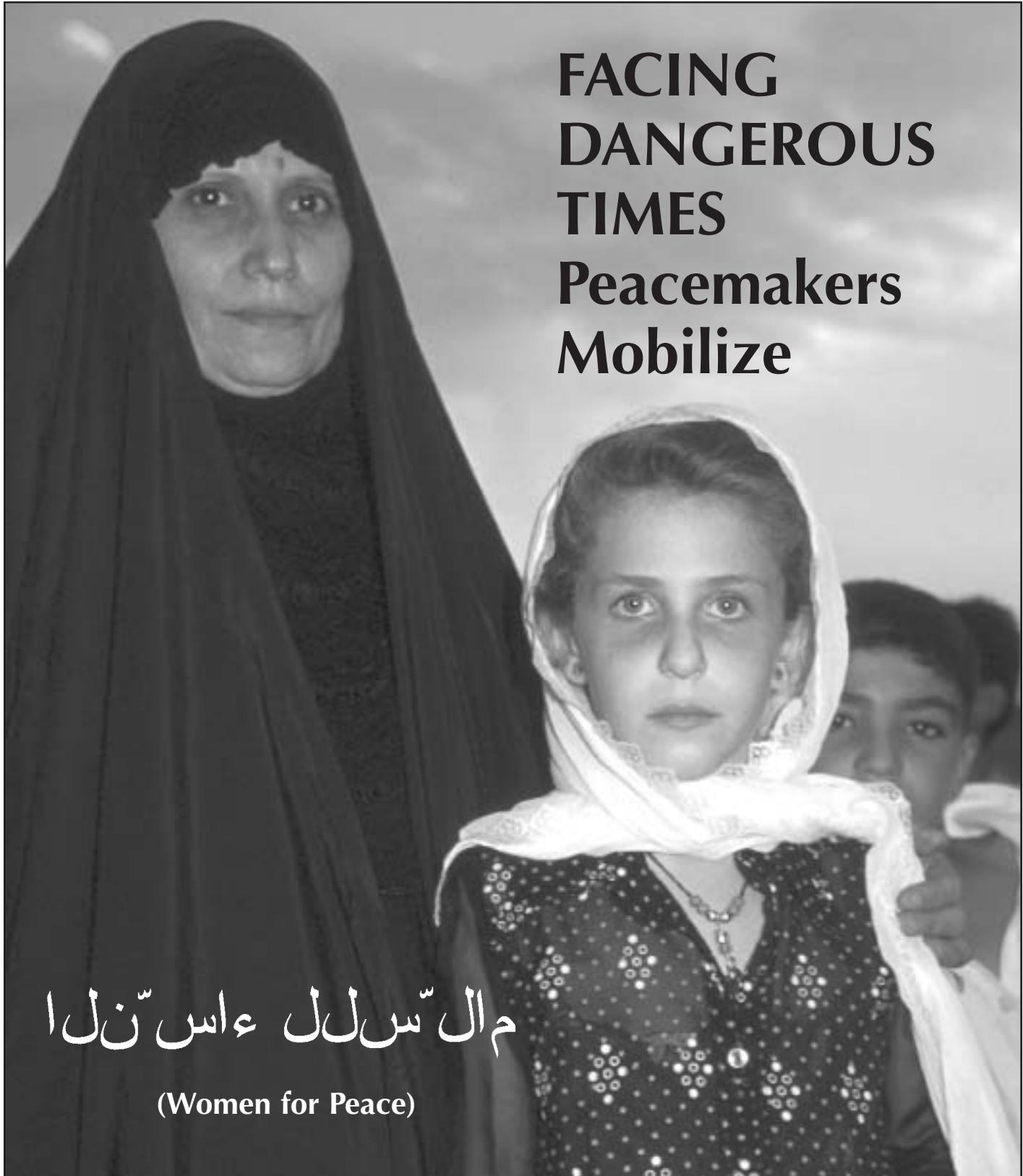
Winter 2003

www.wilpf.org • Vol. 63 • No. 1

FACING DANGEROUS TIMES Peacemakers Mobilize

مَا لِ سُلْلَ عَاسَّ نَلَا

(Women for Peace)



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With demonstrations, tabling to gather signatures, and a Women to Women letter, WILPF members are letting their voices be heard against preparations for a war against Iraq.



photo Ann Powers

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Peace and Freedom is published by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), U.S. Section. Submissions welcome; please query first.



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Bill Thomson has been involved in anti war and nonviolence activities since the Vietnam era. A frequent visitor to the Middle East, including Iraq, Israel/Palestine, and Jordan, he has organized visits by international trauma experts to train Palestinian mental health professionals in the West Bank and Gaza. Thomson is himself a clinical psychologist in private practice, specializing in the treatment of psychological trauma. Since 1972, he has been on the faculty of the University of Michigan Dearborn, where he teaches clinical psychology and nonviolence/violence.

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 four key campaign areas: Challenge Corporate Power Assert the People's Rights; Disarmament; Uniting for Racial Justice: Truth, Reparations, Restoration and Reconciliation (UFORJE); and Women and Cuba. 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.



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On Disarming Despair

Darien De Lu, Co-President

How can a democratic activist help but feel discouraged? I would like to think the recent front-page feature in *The New York Times* on Elliott Abrams, President Bush's new director of Middle East Affairs and a pardoned player in the Iran-contra scandal, signaled a new era of forgiveness. An era of allowing convicts to put their criminal past behind them once they have shown themselves willing to reform. After all, with nearly two-thirds of young African-American men entangled in the prison system at some point in their lives, we certainly need a new attitude in order to re-integrate ex-cons as contributing members of society.

But even I, a dedicated optimist, can see that the *Times* report, complete with photos, names, and positions of Reagan-era figures indicted — then — for crimes and installed — now — in high federal office does not reflect any positive development. The word *impunidad* — impunity — which I'd heard previously only in the context of Latin American political corruption and death squads, leaps to mind.

So, how to keep going? By enjoying a potluck meal with friends, by tabling and meeting other U.S. voters who care, by taking a walk in the snow or the first greening of spring, by helping construct a satirical giant puppet for the next demo — by learning from women before us! We can find many ways to persevere, as women have for millennia. As we prepare to celebrate International Women's Day in March, let us also celebrate the knowledge that our sisters have always developed means for restoring hope — and, even, enthusiasm.

Yes, *women* have done this, because they have had to! Women were, and are, the ones left with the children to raise in hopeless situations: after the war, the crop failure, the plague, the flood. Sometimes men were there, still alive, to help. But always, the women have persisted, struggling with their children toward a future.

We in WILPF are heirs to this carefully preserved tradition of perseverance—as important in peace and justice work as it is in raising families and holding together communities. These days, hopelessness is (as my favorite radio activist says) “widely available.” Yet to give in to it is a self-indulgent privilege of the well off, born of social isolation. The poor African farmer surveys the losses to a crop caused by some mishap, feels sadness, and does not give up. She does what she can, what she must, to salvage the harvest and feed her family. She cannot afford the luxury of surrendering to hopelessness.

Nor can we. For an hour or an evening we may sink into it, but — connected as we are to other people and to

the world — we too know we cannot give in to despair! I have heard some say things like, “It would be better if they just drop the bomb and get it over with!” These are words of loneliness, of hopelessness; what mother can look at her children and think that?

The necessity to go forward does not mean we don't cry. I take the time to sit with a loving friend, talk of how it should be, and we cry hard. Renewed, we get back to work!

I remember a peasant woman, a *campesina* from Honduras, who saw a friend of mine becoming down in the mouth upon hearing the latest news of horrors in Central America. “Don’t be sad!” she encouraged. She switched the radio to something with a beat and declared, “Let’s dance!” She knew that soon enough, she would be heading back to that frightening place—a place still much worse off than where I live, here in Brave New World U.S.A. Yet she could dance and persevere.

Can we do any less? Take a hand, take a breath—and take action! ♦



Save the Dates! May 9-11, 2003

Join us Mothers' Day Weekend for the WILPF West Gathering at the Asilomar Conference Center on the beautiful Monterey Peninsula in California.

It has been six years since the Western Branches last met. Here's our chance to renew our energy and network at the grassroots level—a great opportunity for all of us who could not go to the National Congress in Vermont.

We're planning plenary sessions with Branch sharing and updates on the four National Campaigns, followed by workshops and news from the national and international leadership.

The Conference Center is wheelchair accessible; child care will be available by request. For information, contact Millee Livingston: phone (530) 823-2224; email milleelivingston@hotmail.com or Nancy McClintock: phone (831) 394-1378; email nmclintock@igc.org

Working for Peace in a Time of War

Disarm! Campaign Leadership Team

WILPF has worked for peace, freedom, and a world without war since its inception, when that small group of intrepid women, many of them from countries that had not yet granted them the right to vote, gathered in a valiant effort to stop World War I before it began.

They failed but, undeterred, worked relentlessly to establish the League of Nations and the rule of international law. War has followed upon war, large and small, but the WILPF women who came before us never stopped building for peace, human rights, and human security—and neither can we. Through both times of war and of relative peace we must press on.

We have now entered another extremely difficult period. The harshest of the Cold Warriors are back in power, and they speak unabashedly of “an American century” and of global domination, of pre-emptive strikes, of first use of nuclear weapons even against non-nuclear states, of circumventing the United Nations charter, and of undermining the disarmament treaty system. During these past few months, WILPF members have put much of their energy into stopping the planned invasion of Iraq and pressing the United States to work diplomatically through the United Nations.

Across the country, WILPF members are vigiling, marching, calling on congressional representatives, and participating in citizen inspections of nuclear and suspected biological weapons facilities in the United States. Some of us are committing civil disobedience by seeking to deliver petitions for peace at military installations or by taking water pumps, toys, or medicines to Iraq. Indeed, our own Disarm! co-chair, Ellen Barfield, left in mid-December to spend six weeks in Iraq. She carried with her a letter from WILPF to the women of Iraq (see page 6). At the same time, we continue to work doggedly at our long-term objectives: dismantling the war economy, abolishing nuclear weapons and war itself, encouraging men and women of conscience in Congress, and reaching out to our neighbors and those with whom we often disagree, exploring their suggestions for building peace in this often violent world.

Building Peace by Unmasking the War Industry

For decades we in WILPF have been working for conversion to a peacetime economy that promotes adequate spending on human needs. Many thought we were moving in that direction with the end of the Cold War, but now a new, nebulous “war on terrorism” devours our resources. We need to unmask the perpetrators and bene-

ficiaries of the war economy (see page 12) as we continue to press for a sustainable economy of peace.

Our WILPF office at the UN, in its Reaching Critical Will campaign, has prepared a new, 25-page booklet, *The Dirty Dozen: Partners in Mass Destruction*. It offers the grim lowdown on 12 of the multinational corporations, and one university, that profit from nuclear weapons production at the taxpayers’ expense. These companies include aerospace giants such as Lockheed Martin, Northrup-TRW, Boeing, and Raytheon, which are also involved in research and development of “missile defense,” military satellites, and weapons in space. *The Dirty Dozen* also contains information on the close ties between the Pentagon and these industries as, together, they campaign for war. This booklet should be widely distributed; we plan to send a master copy to every branch early in the new year.

Several branches are already involved in research and action regarding their local military industries. By the time you read this, the Disarm! leadership team should have the *MILCORP ConneXion Research/Action Manual* we have been developing over the past year available for branch use. This guide is designed to help

WILPF members shine a spotlight on the weapons industries in our own backyards and proposes alternative ways in which tax monies could be spent to bring jobs, health care, education, and housing for all to our communities. (Both *The Dirty Dozen* and the *Research/Action Manual* can be downloaded from the WILPF website, www.wilpf.org, or ordered from the national office.)



WILPF activists from the Durham and Chapel Hill, NC area demonstrated and tabled on UN Human Rights Day, Dec. 10, 2002.

photo Ann Powers

Building Peace by Abolishing Nuclear Weapons and War Itself

We continue to labor for the abolition of

nuclear weapons, and for adequate inspections to ensure compliance with the treaties banning biological and chemical weapons. WILPF is joining Canadian non governmental organizations in organizing international inspections of U.S. biological and nuclear weapons facilities. We will continue to work with Reaching Critical Will for ratification of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, for a biological weapons inspection protocol, and for an end to the militarization of space. We will also oppose missile defenses such as the stepped-up "son of Star Wars" currently pushed by President Bush, and weapons and nuclear power in space. Members are invited to bring WILPF proposals for a ban on weapons in space to their representatives in Congress, and to encourage them to take positive action on this issue before it is too late.

Building Peace with Our Friends in Congress

Although Congress seems increasingly to be owned (via campaign contributions) by those who profit from war, there remain men and women of conscience in Washington who are ready to join us in taking principled stands for a better future. The next two years will require much courage, creativity, and determination of us all.

Several months before 9/11, the House Progressive Caucus, under the leadership of Representative Peter De Fazio (D-Oregon), submitted a proposed Federal budget that would have immediately cut 20 percent from the Pentagon's budget and 10 percent from the CIA's budget over the next ten years, as well as sharply cutting back Energy Department appropriations for nuclear weapons development. The money saved was to be shifted to social spending—a giant step in the direction of the model created in WILPF's Women's Budget. Eighty Representatives voted in favor of this proposed budget. Most of them remain in Congress, so now we need to work with them to build for dramatic future shifts from a war economy devoted to promoting the "national interests" of a few to one promoting real security and human rights for all.

Dennis Kucinich (D-Ohio) currently heads the Progressive Caucus and has proposed a Department of Peace that includes a Cabinet position. Some 30 representatives have joined Kucinich in suing the President over abrogation of the Anti-ballistic Missile Treaty without congressional assent. Copies of HR 3616, a bill he introduced banning weapons in space (along with improvements WILPF suggests for the 2003 version) can be downloaded from the WILPF website and presented to members of Congress and their staffs.

WILPF has other friends in Congress as well. A surprising 133 Representatives—both Republicans and Democrats—voted against the act authorizing war with

Iraq. Rep. Barbara Lee (D-CA) presented an alternative Resolution on Iraq, which called for inspections under the UN but did not authorize going to war. An equally surprising 72 representatives voted for it. In the Senate, only 23 members voted against war powers for President Bush, but it is with those 23 that we can continue our work for ratification of the nuclear test ban treaty, fulfillment of our obligations under the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, and a return to the United Nations disarmament process, which the Bush Administration is currently flouting. Step by step, we must build for a better future with congressional allies from all political parties.

Even with a House controlled by enthusiasts for aggressive war-making and global domination, the last session of Congress offered small victories for peace. The ban on research and development of "mini nukes" was left intact, and leaders put the brakes on the development of nuclear "bunker busters" and resumption of nuclear testing. The next session of Congress will provide even more challenges to our goals, however, with further cuts in domestic spending and an ever-escalating military budget expected. We hope that this year every branch will have an EYE on Congress point person mobilized to alert members to contact their senators and representatives about important bills coming up. For more information, contact Valerie Mullen at vmullen@together.net.

The Months Ahead: What You Can Do

The year 2003 should be a time of relative peace in the world, during which the United States could be working with and through the UN to build a global community focused on sustainable development, racial justice, environmental protection, and enforceable international law—including an International Criminal Court. Instead, we find ourselves expending most of our energy simply to restrain the hawks who would lead us into death and destruction. Nevertheless, we must not cease our efforts to create a world without war. We are excited about our new Listening Project, with an initial training session scheduled for the end of January in Philadelphia. We hope it will help us reach out to those who have difficulty articulating and sharing publicly their concerns for peace.

We invite all WILPF members to investigate the website and click on the sunflower to read more about the Disarm! Campaign. Please communicate with our leadership team (whose emails are provided at the website) to let us know what you are doing in your community to achieve our campaign goals. If you do not have Internet access, please contact program coordinator Jen Geiger at the National Office (215) 563-7110. ♦

A Letter to the Women of Iraq

WILPF has launched an initiative called "Women to Women." The project involves promoting a letter from women in the United States to the women of Iraq (*see below*). With this project, we are declaring that we will not participate in making war against the people of Iraq, and are publicly stating our commitment to oppose the U.S. government's push toward such a war. Acknowledging the level of suffering that these women have faced due to sanctions and military action, we pledge to work for a just and lasting peace with Iraq.

We will be collecting thousands of signed letters to present publicly as part of our activities on International Women's Day, March 8, 2003.

What you can do:

- Collect signatures in your community
- Publicize the initiative to your local media
- Copy and distribute the letter widely among friends, family, neighbors and coworkers

Please send signed letters to: WILPF National Office, c/o Jen Geiger, 1213 Race Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107-1691. Contact Jen with questions at: (215) 563-7110 or jengeiger@wilpf.org.

Women to Women

Women's International League for Peace & Freedom
United States Section
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To the Women of Iraq:

We, women in the United States, declare our opposition to the proposed "pre-emptive strikes" by our government against your country. We reject the planned efforts for "regime change" by the United States and Britain.

We are committed to working toward a just and lasting peace and pledge to do all we can to prevent an escalated war on your country, recognizing that the United States' war against Iraq has not stopped since 1991.

We are appalled by the devastating effects of sanctions instituted by the United Nations and perpetuated by the interests of the United States, and we are committed to working toward ending them. They are a crime against humanity.

As women we know that it is the women in a society who bear the greatest responsibility for the well-being of children, for tending them when they are fearful, malnourished, sick, or in pain.

As women—as mothers and daughters, grandmothers and aunts, as sisters—we are reaching out to you, offering our friendship, support, and strength. You are not alone in the struggle for peace and justice.

We pledge to do everything within our power to prevent further suffering for you, your children, and all of the Iraqi people.

We call on women everywhere to join in nonviolent action to end current military operations and prevent future attacks. We are committed to doing the same.

We offer whatever support we can provide, directly to you, in these very dark and dangerous days.

Yours in peace,

See Historic Footnote, page 23

Sobering Statistics

In November 2002, in preparation for the International Executive Committee Meeting in New Zealand (*see page 20*), International WILPF sent all sections a questionnaire about disarmament and their country's military. The following is the U.S. section's researched response. This information lends perspective to current events and may be useful to memorize and cite when arguing against warmaking and for disarmament.

United States Information

Demilitarization & Disarmament Workshop

A. What is the annual military expenditure?

- In 2001 it was \$316 billion.
- In 2002 it was \$360 billion.
- The request for 2003 is \$396 billion.

B. How many people are in the armed forces and what is the breakdown?

- The total number of people in the U.S. armed forces as of November 2002 is 1,456,412, broken down as follows:

- Army: 487,928
- Marine Corps: 174,644
- Coast Guard: 37,726

- Navy: 386,417
- Air Force: 369,697

- In 1997, the U.S. military provided training to 168 nations. Of these, 73% were in the developing world. Of the 123 developing countries to which the United States provided training, 42% were non-democratic regimes.

C. What is the total population?

- The total population of the U.S. is estimated to be 284,796,887.

D & E. What weapons or weapons components are used in the armed forces in your country?

- The U.S. military employs space systems, aircraft, aircraft systems, land systems, ships, smart weapons, dumb bombs, naval combat systems, missiles, nuclear systems, missile defense, and intelligence systems.

- As of September 2001, the enduring stockpile of strategic and tactical nuclear warheads numbered 9,600. This number is down from 23,000 during the Bush I-Gorbachev years.

- The U.S. also uses "non-lethal" weapons, such as tear gas, which are used to confuse, disorient, or momentarily distract potentially threatening persons.

- The U.S. has attack and fleet submarine powered by nuclear generators that carry missiles and torpedoes.

- The military operates a variety of aircraft carrying conventional, cluster, guided "smart bombs," air-to-air, air-to-ground and high-tech cruise missiles.

F. What is the value of weapons and weapons-related exports?

- The U.S. accounts for half of all arms exports.

- As a leader in arms exports to the world, U.S. exports for 2001 were approximately \$4 billion 562 million, with about 65% of sales going to developing countries.

- Cash transfers called "economic support funds" are given to countries of strategic importance to pay for U.S. weapons. Billions of dollars worth of surplus not controlled by the U.S. State Department is given to allies.

Continued on page 13 ➤



Burlington, VT, WILPF members Marcia Mason and Robin Lloyd gather signatures for WILPF's letter to Iraqi women on the Church Street Marketplace in downtown Burlington. They are pushing a baby stroller that members Jesse Sunquist and Lucy Gluck "retrofitted" to become the "Cradle of Civilization." It bears a sign saying IRAQ: HOME OF THE THREE WISE MEN AND THE GARDEN OF EDEN and WHY BOMB THE CRADLE OF CIV-

ILIZATION? In the cradle are stand-up cutouts of Kathy Kollwitz's black and white lithographs. Robin says, "Pushing this cradle around, with or without fliers to hand out, is a nice, low-key way to make the point that there are other people in Iraq besides Saddam Hussein."

Committee Corner

Around and about WILPF



MIDDLE EAST SECTION HEAD TOURS U.S.A.

Compiled from branch reports

Last September, Aliyah Strauss, Israel section president, visited 11 U.S. WILPF branches — Cleveland, Cape Cod, Boston, Ann Arbor, Detroit, Madison, St. Louis, Los Angeles, Portland, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C. — during a month-long tour to educate people in the United States about the Israeli and Palestinian peace movements.

Her visits included retreats, dinners, antiwar marches, attendance at religious services, and presentations to WILPF members, peace groups, and the general public. Among other topics, she discussed her 30-year involvement with Arab Israelis and efforts at dialogue with the Palestinians. The WILPF Israeli section works with the women's peace organizations Bat Shalom (Israeli) and the Jerusalem Center for Women (Palestinian), pursuing their common cause in spite of the occupation, closures, house demolitions, and the aggressive stance of Israeli settlers on one side and the second Intifada and suicide bombs on the other. Aliyah's activities were covered by the national tabloid *People's Weekly World*, the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, and several other local newspapers.

The following are excerpts from Aliyah Strauss's inspiring talk to the Boston Chapter of WILPF on September 13, 2002:

"There are five reasons for wanting peace in the land I've chosen to live in—my five grandchildren. And Palestinian grandmothers want the same. The peace movements in Israel and Palestine are alive and well and working toward getting officials back to the negotiating table.

"The basic tenets of the Mideast peace movement are very much those of WILPF. Women have always been very active. Bat Shalom/Jerusalem Center have participated in recent and ongoing civil society and peace initiatives. For example, representatives from the city of Rome are looking for proposals for peace to fund. Bat Shalom/Jerusalem Center just learned that of 70 proposals submitted, theirs was the only joint Israeli-Palestinian proposal.

"In November 2000, 10 women's organizations formed the Coalition of Women for Peace (www.coalitionofwomen4peace.org), which includes WILPF, Bat Shalom/Jerusalem Center, and Women in Black (an action group begun in 1988). The Coalition is

large and varied and includes both men and women from Peace Now, youth movements, alternative media sources, and other groups. All agree on the following principles: an end to the occupation; establishment of the state of Palestine, side by side with the state of Israel, based on the 1967 borders; recognition of Jerusalem as the shared capital of two states; Israel's recognition of its share of responsibility for the results of the 1948 war and for finding a just solution to the Palestinian refugee problem; opposition to the militarism that permeates Israeli society; equality, inclusion, and justice for Palestinian citizens of Israel; equal rights for women and for all residents of Israel; the full involvement of women in negotiations for peace; social and economic justice for Israel's citizens; and integration of Israel in the Middle East region.

"There is a comparable Palestinian peace movement. Palestinian peace groups, including WILPF's Palestine Section, are working for democracy, accountability, and transparency in their government.

"A new survey shows surprising support for a non-violent Intifada. Two years into the current Intifada, this groundbreaking survey reveals that: an overwhelming majority of Palestinians would support a large-scale nonviolent protest movement, most would participate in its activities, and an overwhelming majority of Israeli Jews believe the Palestinians have a legitimate right to seek a Palestinian state—provided that they use nonviolent means.

"This issue has been largely untouched by previous research. The survey reveals astonishing support on both sides for nonviolent protest, yet underlines the differences in the way that protest is perceived by both societies. While the survey (commissioned by the NGO Search for Common Ground) shows both publics are skeptical that nonviolent action will be adopted, SCG believes the findings reflect the potential that nonviolence could play in ending the cycle of violence.

"Israeli public opinion is dovish. The Israeli public wants to get back to normal, wants peace and quiet. Eighty percent of Israelis acknowledge that the Palestinian state is inevitable. Sixty-five percent agree that all or most settlements must be dismantled and should not be an obstacle to peace. The majority of settlers would leave if given financial compensation.

"However, government policy is hawkish. Negotiations are against their basic ideology. The majority of Israelis support Prime Minister Ariel Sharon, which is a paradox. Israel and Palestine are caught in a dilemma. Israel wants to dismantle the Palestinian state and believes there should be no reward for terrorism. Suicide bombers have hardened Israeli hearts. Palestinians feel that they played the game (the peace process) but no one paid any attention to what was really happening in the territories. The suicide bombers and terrorism caused the entire world to take notice, but

boomeranged because they gave Sharon and the Israeli government an excuse to increase military action.

"We need a new language of peace that can win mass support. It needs lots of grassroots work, which we haven't done.

Four camps have to make peace—two peace camps and two hawkish extremist camps. One-sided strategies are popular. There is a need for support from people in the United States. Push your policy makers to criticize the Israeli government and to demand nonviolence from both sides."

* * *

Special thanks are due to WILPF members who volunteered their assistance to the tour: Joan Eklein, Dorothy Poor, Lea Zeldin, Laura Dewey, Gillian Gilhool, Joan Weisman, Marlene Santoyo, Mary Rose, Barbara Drageaux, Vicky Knight, Libby Frank, Odile Hugonot Haber, Mary Day Kent, and many others.

ANTI-DEATH PENALTY COMMITTEE

Jen Geiger

As the government of the United States sits poised to invade another country, it has already declared war on the human rights of its own citizens. Today almost 4,000 men and women sit on Death Row in the United States. A disproportionate number are people of color, and an overwhelming majority were unable to afford an adequate defense. Frighteningly, the United States is the only Western industrialized nation that retains capital punishment, and one of just a handful of countries that execute people for crimes committed as children.

These statistics are morally outrageous, but it is important to remember that the death penalty is not merely public policy but a reality for human beings—some guilty of the crimes for which they were convicted, others innocent of the charges for which they are now sentenced to die. Moreover, capital punishment has long served collectively to oppress the poor and people of color.

In any case, is state-sanctioned execution ever appropriate? Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. stated, "Capital punishment is society's final assertion that it will not forgive." Has



WILPF Israeli section president Aliyah Strauss, left, with Libby Frank, member of the WILPF Middle East Committee, Philadelphia Branch and co-coordinator of Aliyah's U.S. visit.

Lawrence Geller

the United States then given up on rehabilitation in favor of revenge? Even if punishment is a proper form of justice, what is the logic of killing to reinforce that killing is wrong?

As we struggle to prevent war abroad, we must not forget the injustices occurring at home. We in the Anti-Death Penalty Committee consider it our duty to expose the bias in capital sentencing, raise public awareness, and permanently repeal capital punishment statutes.

You can get involved in the fight to end capital punishment by working to change the laws and by reaching out to those imprisoned on Death Row. To reach the WILPF Anti-Death Penalty Committee, contact chair Lynn Furay at lfuray33@aol.com, or write her at 5929 Queensloch Dr., Houston, TX 77096. For more information, visit www.deathpenaltyinfo.org; to connect with an anti-death penalty group in your community, visit www.ncadp.org/html/affiliate_links.html. To correspond with an inmate, contact the Death Row Support Project at (260) 982-7480.

Jen Geiger is WILPF's Program Coordinator.

LESBIAN/GAY/BISEXUAL/TRANSGENDERED COMMITTEE

Chris Morin

During this time of impending war and fear of terrorism, single-issue committee work may seem trivial. So it's good to keep in mind that all of our issues are connected. Those of us working for better health care, housing, education, racial justice, and equal rights need to stay focused on our goals rather than surrendering to the supposed "greater cause" of fighting terrorism. For although the LGBT community has made some gains over the years, we cannot afford to sit back on our laurels. The Bush Administration has used fear to "unite" the country, and this fear has shifted the focus away from domestic needs. The people have allowed the U.S. government to assume more power, which the administration is now using to take away individual rights. We cannot assume that the LGBT community will not be affected by this trend.

It is with these thoughts in mind that WILPF's LGBT Committee continues its early stages of organizing. As a cyberspace committee, we face unique communication challenges, but we are off to a great start. We held a productive workshop at the National Congress last June, at which we set some goals. The committee retains two main objectives. One is to serve as a liaison to national WILPF, keeping the organization abreast of the LGBT political scene and legislative issues. To that end, we plan to post legislative updates and actions on the WILPF website as well as on the listserve. The other objective is to address

Continued on page 21 ➤

The World Made Safer or More Dangerous? THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE BUSH ADMINISTRATION'S BLUEPRINT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY

Philip Berryman

On September 20, 2002, the Bush Administration released *The National Security Strategy of the United States of America* (NSSUSA). Presidents are mandated by law to produce such a document, which outlines an assessment of security needs and how they should be met. They are usually of interest only to the military, the defense industry, and foreign policy specialists.

NSSUSA, however, is different because it came a year after the 9/11 attacks, the toppling of the Taliban in Afghanistan, and as the administration was seeking to prepare the U.S. public and the world for an attack to overthrow the Iraqi regime. According to press accounts, the primary author of NSSUSA was National Security Advisor CondoleEzza Rice, but President Bush himself helped shape the document so it would be understandable to the “boys in Lubbock.” It provides the outlines of a new stance in the world. One of the most disconcerting elements of this plan is a declaration that the United States will strike “terrorists” and “rogue” states “pre-emptively,” if it deems it necessary.

As I see it, this unprecedented position is both illogical and arrogant, and, if implemented fully, could have disastrous consequences globally.

Rogues, Terrorists, and Perpetual War

According to NSSUSA, both rogue states and terrorist networks are determined to acquire weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and to use them for their own purposes, particularly against the United States, which they “hate.”

Although there has been speculation about the possibility of terrorist use of nuclear weapons for decades, what is new is the existence of such organizations, particularly Al Qaeda, which would probably not hesitate to use them if they could. However, the “usability” of nuclear weapons (and other WMDs) is quite different for states and stateless groups. Suppose a state, such as North Korea, has a nuclear device and is capable of delivering it with a ballistic missile. Any missile fired at the United States would be spotted by satellite monitoring and would invite massive retaliation. Pyongyang could be reduced to cinders. A missile has a “return address.” To launch one against the United States (or its allies) would be suicidal.

The situation of a terrorist organization (say, Al Qaeda) is quite different. If it had a nuclear device it

would presumably be far easier to deliver through stealth assembly rather than on a missile, especially if its militants regarded participation in suicide missions as a badge of honor. Suppose a terrorist group then boasted of what it had done. How could the United States retaliate in kind? It could not; such a terrorist group has no “return address.”

While no regime would directly use a WMD against the United States if it did not want to invite massive retaliation, might it not consider passing on materials, expertise or delivery vehicles to a terrorist group? Only if it could do so and leave no traces. That could hardly be assured. In short, states—no matter how much they may fit NSSUSA’s description of “rogue states”—would have every reason *not* to be involved in passing WMDs to terrorist organizations.

From beginning to end, NSSUSA fuels the sense that the United States is in a dangerous world, faces new and multiple threats, is already engaged in a war, and must be prepared to wage it in many places and over a long time. Ominously, it notes that “The United States has long maintained the option of pre-emptive actions to counter a sufficient threat to our national security. The greater the threat, the greater is the risk of inaction—and the more compelling the case for taking anticipatory action to defend ourselves, even if uncertainty remains as to the time and place of the enemy’s attack.” This latter self-declared right has been described as the “Bush Doctrine.”

As mentioned, military might is only marginally relevant to the new threat from Al Qaeda and any potential similar networks. The crucial element in addressing it is gaining effective cooperation from numerous other governments, which have their own constraints. Assertion of American military might unilaterally is likely to make such cooperation more difficult—or even impossible.

USA: Part of the World Community— Or Above It?

Even before the release of the NSSUSA, the first few months of the Bush presidency showed a tendency that was soon labeled “unilateralist.” The administration was quite willing to act alone in, for example, rejecting the Kyoto treaty and the International Criminal Court, both the products of years of work by virtually all countries

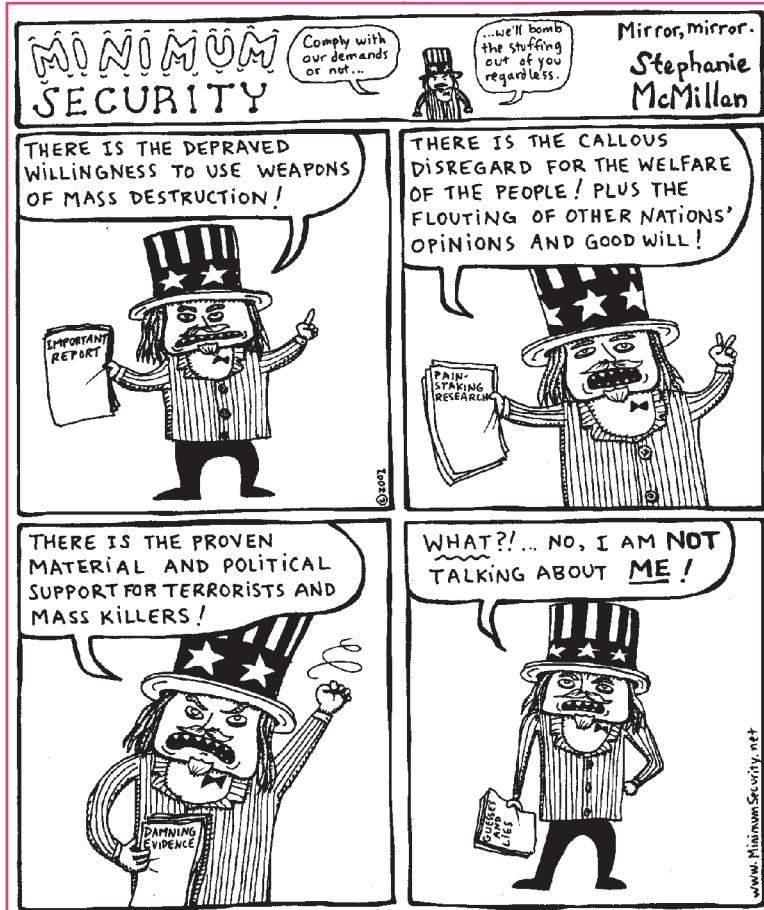
led by those in Europe that NSSUSA calls “friends.” It is not unfair to summarize the emerging Bush policy as: We will act with others if possible, alone if we think it necessary or desirable.

Certainly the declared right to “act preemptively” seems to indicate that the United States believes that it operates according to its own rules. This sense of being above the rest of nations is especially evident in the NSSUSA’s expressed attitude toward the international community. While recognizing that “no nation can build a safer, better world alone,” it treats the United Nations as one

more wrench in the toolbox. Seen from the rest of the world, this stance is astonishing. Certainly the United Nations has flaws, but it is the institutional forum precisely for those nations to deliberate issues that transcend national boundaries. Americans who dismiss the UN as an “ineffective debating society” usually mean that other nations sometimes resist doing the will of the United States. No other head of state but the U.S. President could stand before the UN and tell it that it would have to do his bidding or risk being “irrelevant.”

Most eloquent is a paragraph toward the end of NSSUSA, which declares “We will take the actions necessary to ensure that our efforts to meet our global security commitments and protect Americans are not impaired by the potential for investigations, inquiry, or prosecution by the International Criminal Court (ICC), whose jurisdiction does not extend to Americans and which we do not accept.” The driving force behind the International Criminal Court was a number of European governments that wanted a permanent court for dealing with crimes against humanity. Its target would be government officials, including heads of state, guilty of human rights crimes, when their own countries are unable or unwilling to bring them to justice.

Behind the creation of the ICC is the longer-range



goal of reaching an international system that operates by rules formulated by all and adhered to by all. Otherwise the danger is that the rules will be set by the strongest—the United States—in an arbitrary and ad-hoc manner.

The clear and larger message of NSSUSA is that the United States reserves the right to decide to accept or reject the deliberations of international bodies based on its own convenience, and that it does not anticipate a movement toward a world in which the same rules apply to all, including itself. Instead, the NSSUSA stance is that the United States is judge and jury of the rest of the world, as shown in the U.S. government’s

declared right to accept or reject international institutions (including the United Nations), to engage in acts of war in other countries unilaterally, and to maintain a military force far in excess of any other nation or combination of nations.

The document assumes and reinforces feelings of United States superiority. The one indisputable area in which the United States is Number One is military might. Similarly, its economic power gives it a preponderance in institutions including the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. It is that power that enables the president to issue an ultimatum to the United Nations and to declare the U.S. right and intention to make unilateral military strikes if it so chooses.

Overall, the NSSUSA invokes genuine fears but leaves them vague and invokes a simple sense of American moral superiority to seek unquestioning assent to a stance and set of policies that are, ultimately, likely to make the world more dangerous.

Philip Berryman is a writer and translator living in Philadelphia.

(Editor’s Note: This essay was excerpted from a longer version, which critiques the NSSUSA in detail.)

Challenge Corporate Power, Assert the People's Rights

Campaign Statement on War Against Iraq

The Campaign Leadership Team

The proposed war against Iraq would make a mockery of democratic decision-making while furthering a U.S. corporate agenda.

Who decides what action should be taken by the government of the United States of America? By what authority does the President claim the right to take the country to war? By what right do elected representatives in Congress abdicate their responsibility to their constituents, who are communicating their opposition to this proposed invasion by overwhelming majorities? The corporate media have uncritically repeated the warmongers' lies and propaganda. They have reported that the administration is "lobbying the American public," which is exactly the opposite of the appropriate relationship between a president and "We the People" in a real democracy. It is the people who are responsible for discussing, debating, deciding, and instructing our elected officials. This rush to war benefits corporate interests while violating the consent of the governed; it eviscer-

ates civil rights; it further highjacks resources essential for meeting human needs; and it compounds the death and destruction wrought upon the Iraqi people for more than a decade.

War is profitable for military contractors and other parasites. How are corporate interests served by making war in Iraq? A military victory would immediately enable the U.S. government to control Iraq's oil reserves, including the power to abrogate Russian and French contracts to purchase Iraqi oil. Establishing permanent U.S. military bases in Iraq would expand and further solidify U.S. power and influence in the Middle East and Central Asia, much as it has in Europe and elsewhere since the end of World War II, with U.S. bases in Germany, Japan, and more than 100 other countries. The progression of U.S. unilateralism—including the current administration's unprecedented statement of its intention to "go it alone," if necessary, with a "pre-emptive strike"—exposes its goal. Namely, to impose its hegemonic designs wherever and whenever the U.S. Empire chooses

"War Is Just a Racket"

Major Gen. Smedley Butler, U.S. Marine Corps

War is just a racket. A racket is best described, I believe, as something that is not what it seems to the majority of people. Only a small inside group knows what it is about. It is conducted for the benefit of the very few at the expense of the masses.

I believe in adequate defense at the coastline and nothing else. If a nation comes over here to fight, then we'll fight. The trouble with America is that when the dollar only earns 6 percent over here, then it gets restless and goes overseas to get 100 percent. Then the flag follows the dollar and the soldiers follow the flag....

There isn't a trick in the racketeering bag that the military gang is blind to. It has its "finger men" to point out enemies, its "muscle men" to destroy enemies, its "brain men" to plan war preparations, and a "big boss," super-nationalistic capitalism.

It may seem odd for me, a military man, to adopt such a comparison. Truthfulness compels me to. I spent thirty-three years and four months in active military service as a member of this country's most agile military force, the Marine Corps. I served in all commissioned ranks from second lieutenant to major general.

And during that period, I spent most of my time being a high-class muscle man for Big Business, for Wall Street and for the Bankers. In short, I was a racketeer, a gangster for capitalism....

I helped make Mexico, especially Tampico, safe for American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank boys to collect revenues in. I helped in the raping of half a dozen Central American republics for the benefits of Wall Street. The record of racketeering is long. I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers in 1909-1912 I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916. In China I helped to see to it that Standard Oil went its way unmolested.

During those years, I had, as the boys in the back room would say, a swell racket. Looking back on it, I feel that I could have given Al Capone a few hints. The best he could do was to operate his racket in three districts. I operated on three continents.



Major General Butler (1881-1940), pictured above, was awarded two Medals of Honor.

Excerpts from a passage in America's Armed Forces, Part 2: In Time of Peace: The Army (1935).

Action Alert

Abolish Corporate Personhood is the theme of national actions by WILPF's Campaign to Challenge Corporate Power, Assert the People's Rights. One of our goals is to influence the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) to abandon its position that corporations deserve the right of free speech.

We believe that the Constitution's Bill of Rights exists exclusively to protect the rights of living human beings. Since 1886, however, U.S. courts have adopted the premise of "corporate personhood"—the claim that corporations, as a type of legal "person," deserve the protections of our Bill of Rights. Armed with the right of free speech, corporations have legally corrupted our political system through lobbying and virtually unlimited campaign donations; thwarted citizen efforts to inform the public about products by exercising a corporate "right" *not* to speak; and monopolized public discourse with the corporate perspective through control of the mass media.

The ACLU defends free speech for corporations. In fact, it filed a brief this year in a California lawsuit supporting the free speech of the Nike Corporation! The case, *Kasky v. Nike*, may be heard by the Supreme Court in the upcoming year. We want the ACLU to change its position, so we are urging WILPF members and branches to act now. The ACLU and WILPF have long been colleagues and allies. We respectfully believe that the ACLU can, and should be able to, distinguish between actual human beings and corporations without compromising First Amendment protections for their intended beneficiaries — We the People.

WHAT YOU CAN DO:

- WILPF members who belong to the ACLU can initiate or join efforts in their local ACLU chapters to reverse the ACLU position.
- Write to the ACLU asking that it change its position on corporate speech and corporate personhood. Consider telling them that you will reconsider (or re-evaluate) your membership if they continue to hold and defend this position. The address is: American Civil Liberties Union, 125 Broad Street, 18th Floor, New York, NY 10004-2400; (212) 549-2500.
- Legal briefs requesting the U.S. Supreme Court to inter-



vene in *Kasky v. Nike* were due at the end of October 2002, so it is urgent that you let the ACLU know immediately how you think they should act. Please send a copy of your letter(s) to Jen Geiger at the Philadelphia office (1213 Race St., Philadelphia, PA 19107) so we can track WILPF's efforts in this campaign.

FOR MORE INFORMATION:

- Details and analysis about *Kasky v. Nike*, corporate personhood, and corporate free speech can be found at www.ReclaimDemocracy.org
- The contact person for WILPF's Abolish Corporate Personhood legal/research working group is Doug Hammerstrom, who can be reached at (707) 884-1826 (in California) or via email at thehahas@mcn.org
- For any other information, contact WILPF's program coordinator, Jen Geiger, at the WILPF office: (215) 563-7110, or via email at jengeiger@wilpf.org

► STATISTICS

continued from page 7

- An example: In 2000, the United States sold 80 F-16 Fighter jets to the United Arab Emirates for \$6.4 billion.

G. Where are weapons exported to?

- 68% of weapons sold are to developing nations—a large number of which have poor human rights records.
- The top five recipients of U.S. weapons and training in 1997 were Taiwan, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Turkey, and Egypt.

H & I. What weapons or weapons components are imported for use in the armed forces in the U.S.? Where are they imported from?

- The U.S. incorporates components from other countries including Israel, South Africa, India, Brazil, Argentina, South Korea, and Egypt and collaborates in the development and manufacture of weapons. ♦

World Summit on Sustainable Development

Unspoken Agenda: What about the Military?

Regina Bircham

The United Nations-sponsored World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) was held in Johannesburg, South Africa, from August 24 to September 4, 2002. A follow-up to the 1992 "Earth Summit" in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, its objectives were to evaluate progress in protecting the environment and ensuring sustainable development since Rio; to set firm goals for implementing the major Rio agreements; and to identify the necessary mechanisms to ensure that those goals are achieved.

Some 14 WILPF members participated at the Summit, hailing from Philadelphia to the Philippines and all over the world. They also took part in a Civil Society Global Forum, an Indigenous People's Summit, and many parallel events. Their diverse and dynamic roles included presenting papers, serving on panels, and staging workshops.

While in "Jo-burg," we were hosted by Mzwanele Mayekiso, an often-imprisoned anti-apartheid activist who is now on the faculty of Witswatersrand University. Before the official WSSD began, we participated in an intensive three-day teach-in at the university organized by the International Forum on Globalization and other peoples' and human rights groups.

Traveling as part of a Global Exchange Reality Tour coordinated by Deborah James of WILPF-USA, I found Johannesburg to be an amazingly suitable context for the WSSD. The legacy of apartheid—the imposed racial and economic segregation of European and non-European groups—is still blatantly evident. This can be seen in the way the city is designed, and in many of the remaining social and economic arrangements. For example, the UN conference itself was held in the new financial district of Sandton, a wealthy bourgeois suburb. There, the banks and financial institutions are surrounded by luxurious hotels and other amenities. Within walking distance is Alexandria, one of many black townships whose residents still live in shocking poverty.

THE MAIN EVENT

The Summit's scope was enormous, dealing with the totality of health and survivability of the Earth's ecosystems in a world that now includes many pressures less prominent a decade ago—including economic globalization, the World Trade Organization, and genetically modified organisms. Negotiators focused on five main

areas: water and sanitation; energy; health; agricultural production; and biodiversity and ecosystem management. Their task: to build on the three pillars of sustainable development identified in Rio: namely economic development, social development, and protection/restoration of the environment.

Some of the Summit results were positive. For example, governments promised to restore the world's depleted fish stocks by 2015 and to halve, by 2015, the proportion of people without access to safe drinking water. But too often, many of us felt, the cause of the problems being addressed was offered as their solution. The implementation document supports existing neoliberal economic arrangements and doesn't consider the negative effects of globalization, with its growing inequities and privatization of resources and public services.

UNSPOKEN TRUTHS

Though the Summit purported to focus on sustainable development, one area delegates refused to discuss was the role of the military in reinforcing inequality and draining global resources. Nations such as Norway

attempted to press the topic without success. Thus, it could not even be debated. Instead, the United States defended its corporate agenda and vehemently opposed setting environmental goals and timelines for moving into non-fossil fuel and nonnuclear energy sources. This



Military presence could be felt at demonstrations in Alexander township and in Sandton (Johannesburg), South Africa (see photo opposite page).

photo Yuki Kidokoro

stance is consistent with its dominant model of security and development, which requires enormous expenditures

for military activities in national budgets in order to control access to resources.

The predominant form of globalization and development, like South Africa's apartheid, requires a strong military and police force that can be called global apartheid. "Apartheid" described the institutionalized inequality between whites and non-whites. Similarly, "global apartheid" reflects the growing gaps between the world's rich and poor. Apartheid in South Africa required spending on an oppressive security state, including the huge tanks called hippos, prisons, executions, exiling, and spying. Today's global apartheid requires spending for missile defense and laser weapons, control over information and cyberspace, and curtailing of civil rights.

Currently, national military budgets exceed \$800 billion, with

the United States budget accounting for nearly half of that figure. In the face of extreme poverty, preventable and curable diseases, and lack of access to basic human needs, this

fact should be considered a crime against humanity. By some, it is: a group of South African economists is suing their own government, saying it is violating the country's constitution by using tax money to purchase advanced military equipment when South Africa currently faces no aggressor and has no obvious reason to defend itself.

These ominous facts contributed to a decision at the



WILPF members Edel Havin Buekes and Regina Bircham, at left, shown with other members of the Peace Caucus at the WSSD. Other WILPF participants at the summit included Philo Morris, and Theresa Fitzgibbon, Philadelphia; Joan Poss, Barby Ulmer and Vic Ulmer, California; Deborah James, US WILPF Board; Evelyn Mauss, Rockaway, NY; Marta Benavides, El Salvador; Fides Sinankwa, Burundi; Edel Havin Buekes, Norway; Annika Walinder, Sweden; Vicki Tauli Corpus, Philippines; Pauline Tangiora, Aotearoa, New Zealand; Gyung-Lan Jung, Geneva.



recent WILPF IEC meeting to direct more energy toward the environment at our next Triennial Congress, with a possible focus on water supplies (*see page 20*).

Meanwhile, in WILPF's ongoing work, we need to articulate more clearly the effect of military budgets and actions, which pollute the environment and deplete natural resources.

Editor's Note: For more information on the WSSD, visit www.johannesburgsummit.org.

Regina Bircham is chair of U.S. WILPF's Africa issue committee. She is a former WILPF International Vice President and member of the WILPF National Board.

New Dues Policy Approved

At a meeting November 1-3, 2002, the WILPF National Board approved the following change to the dues structure for branches: \$20 of \$35 dues and \$10 of \$15 dues collected by each branch from new members will be sent to National. In addition, all monies sent are to include complete names and addresses for both new members and renewals. As needed, the treasurer and membership person for each branch will coordinate this effort. This change will help us to create consistency across WILPF and help all of our branches to grow.

“Millions for Reparations”

UFORJE Joins N’COBRA to Support National March for Reparations

Adjoa A. Aiyetoro

During the weekend of August 16-17, 2002, members of UFORJE and WILPF staff members joined with the National Coalition of Blacks for Reparations in America (N’COBRA) in a “Millions for Reparations Demonstration and Protest” in Washington, D.C. and participated in other activities in support of the demand for reparations for African descendants in the United States. The call for Millions for Reparations in late 2001 by the National Black United Front (NBUF) and the December 12th Movement (D12) was a follow-up to the World Conference Against Racism (WCAR).

The weekend began with Black Friday, August 16, a day on which N’COBRA specified we were to spend our money only with Africans and African descendants and spend our time considering the issue of reparations. The day’s highlight was a standing-room-only Reparations Forum at Plymouth Congregational Church that was attended by more than 1,300 people. This forum, organized by N’COBRA, showed the breadth of support across the country for reparations in the African-American community.

Minister Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam was the keynote speaker. Other speakers included Imari Obadele of the Republic of New Afrika, who issued the 1987 call for the formation of N’COBRA; Charles Ogletree, co-chair of the Reparations Coordinating Committee; Gary Grant of the Black Farmers Association; Maulana Karenga, recognized as the founder of Kwanzaa; Ron Daniels of the Center for Constitutional Rights and the Institute of the Black World; Senghor Baye of the United Negro Improvement Association (UNIA); Harriet Frost of the Rosewood (Florida) Idella Carrier Foundation; Conrad Worrill of NBUF; Malik Shabazz of the New Black Panther Party; Damu Smith of Black Voices for Peace; Hilary Shelton of the NAACP; and Omale Yeshetule of the African Peoples Socialist Party. I spoke as chair of N’COBRA’s Legal Strategy Commission.

The presentations provided the audience with strong arguments in support of reparations. Frost discussed the destruction of the African-American community; Grant attested to the taking of Black farmers’ land; and many speakers addressed issues surrounding slaves’ forced

labor; loss of rights to culture, language, family, and other aspects of identity; denial of education and health care; disparate treatment in the criminal punishment system; and the continuing vestiges of slavery experienced by African descendants in virtually every aspect of life. Damu Smith and Minister Farrakhan eloquently articulated the linkage between the demand for reparations and the demand for peace, urging resistance to the so-called “War on Terrorism” and the possible invasion of Iraq.

As I peered into the virtually all-Black audience, I saw the usual white allies. I wondered how it felt to be white in a sea of African descendants who were often enraged in their insistence on justice for crimes against humanity—crimes committed against African peoples by oppressors who were, overwhelmingly, white. As the crowd was dispersing, some of these white allies came up to me, sharing words of support and encouragement. Understanding the demand for reparations in the context of a racist, class-based society that made its wealth and name on the backs of people of color, these progressive whites had heard the color-coded message and reiterated their support.

Saturday morning, August 17, WILPFers joined N’COBRA at Lincoln Park for a Sacred Gathering organized by UNIA with N’COBRA support. The gathering dedicated the day to Marcus Garvey in honor of the 115th anniversary of his birth, as well as in recognition of other African ancestors who had suffered the abuses of slavery, fought against slavery itself and/or struggled to end its continuing vestiges. For me, a product of the 60s, the best part of this day was our march from the park to the Capitol, where the demonstration called by NBUF and D12 was being held. We chanted movement chants tailored to reparations: **WHAT DO WE WANT? REPARATIONS! WHEN DO WE WANT IT? —NOW!!** Perhaps 100 strong, we made a small yet impressive sight as we moved up East Capitol Street.

The rally on the Capitol Mall was full of contradictions, and therefore uplifting to some while demoralizing for others. The mere fact that between 5,000 and 10,000 people, largely of African descent, gathered on the mall in support of reparations was inspiring and confirming. Yet, some were disappointed because they saw the crowd as small in comparison to the call for “Millions.”

Demonstrators rallied for reparations on the Capital Mall in Washington, D.C.

The tension of what to do with white allies was intensified as some speakers vented rage and hatred at “the system” and “white people” without apology, and often without context.

In an attempt to avoid the “usual suspects” as speakers for the reparations movement, the organizers of the August 17 rally on the Mall offered few who actually addressed the history and status of the reparations movement and the role of reparations in healing the rage, racial divisiveness, and other harms attendant to chattel slavery and its continuing vestiges. And although the proceedings were broadcast to millions via C-SPAN, the organizers had not apparently conceived the program as a public relations tool that could be used to build the movement. Instead, the speakers were a mixture of those who did speak substantively on the issues, including Congressman John Conyers, Minister Farrakhan, and Ron Daniels; those who spoke mainly to rally people to join the Reparations Movement, such as Dorothy Benton Lewis, co-chair of N'COBRA; and those who spoke largely in racial epithets of their disdain for white people, such as Malik Shabazz, Pam Africa of MOVE, and Charles Barron. Sometimes it felt as if we were in the kitchen talking honestly about slavery and its lingering remains, devoid of the usual wrappings we use in so-called “polite society.”

The jury is out on the long-term impact August 16 and 17 will have on the Reparations Movement. Clearly, the weekend provided yet another opportunity to speak to people throughout the country about reparations, and to make clear that this is a compelling issue with which society must wrestle. It also exposed the often unspoken racial tension between whites and African descendants—a tension that includes “white allies,” not simply those who are silent or actively racist. It was, therefore, a contribution to our discussion on how to heal a society so injured by racism, which continues to display the deep and painful wounds of slavery and its vestiges. It established a place from which to continue the important work of UFORJE—United for Racial Justice: Truth, Reparations, Restoration and Reconciliation.

Adjoa A. Aiyetoro is a member of the UFORJE National Campaign. She is chair of N'COBRA's Legal Strategy Commission and co chair of the Reparations



TAKE ACTION

- **Support H.R. 40.** Numbered to remind us of the “40 acres and a mule” promised, but never delivered, to formerly enslaved people, the Reparations Study Bill has been introduced by Rep. John Conyers (D-MI) in every Congress since 1989. Contact your congressional representative and ask him or her to co-sponsor H.R. 40. You can also organize to get resolutions supporting H.R. 40 passed in your city council or state legislature. For more information, resources, and contacts, check out the UFORJE section of the WILPF website (www.wilpf.org) and/or Conyers’ website: www.house.gov/conyers/news_reparations.htm

- **Promote H.R. 906.** In a healthy democracy, the right to vote is the most basic constitutive act of citizenship. Currently more than 1.4 million African-American men — 13 percent of the adult male population — cannot vote due to felony convictions. Racism in our criminal justice system assures this archaic rule disproportionately disqualifies Black voters. The Civic Participation and Rehabilitation Act, introduced by Rep. Conyers in 1999, would restore federal voting rights to roughly three million people who have served their time in prison but currently cannot vote. Conyers is expected to re-introduce the legislation early in 2003. Contact your legislators and ask them to co-sponsor, endorse, and actively work for its passage! Organize on a state level to restore voting rights in state elections as well. Regaining the right to vote reintegrates offenders into free society. For more information on the bill, visit Conyers’ website: www.house.gov/conyers/news_voting_rights.htm

Terrorism Hypocrisy

Callie Shanafelt, Cindy Domingo

Every human being has a right to self-defense," said Mirta Rodriguez, the mother of Antonio Guerrero, a Cuban citizen born in the United States who was sentenced to life in a U.S. prison for working against terrorism. "After 40 years of threats to our small country, not only by the U.S. blockade but by terrorism that has taken the form of bombings, violations of Cuban airspace and [attempts to destroy our crops], Cuba needed our own bodyguards."

To many in Cuba, Guerrero and four other activists — Gerardo Hernandez, Fernando Gonzalez, Ramon Labanino, and Rene Gonzalez—served as those bodyguards. Their method of protection was monitoring ultra right-wing, anti-Cuban groups based in Miami, Florida, including Alpha 66, Brothers to the Rescue, and the Cuban American National Foundation, to name a few. For more than 40 years, these groups, with the backing or assistance of the U.S. government, have perpetrated violent acts that would normally be called terrorism. These attacks began in 1961 with the Bay of Pigs invasion and have continued to the present, with numerous bombings, the 1973 bomb explosion on a Cuban airliner flying from Venezuela to Havana in which 75 passengers were killed; and repeated assassination attempts against Cuban president Fidel Castro. According to the Cuban government, to whom the five reported their findings, their efforts prevented more than 170 attacks on the Cuban people.

But in the United States, their efforts were met with cruel and unusual punishment: arrested in 1998 on charges of espionage, the five were held mostly in solitary confinement for three years. In June 2001, all of the men were convicted in Miami by a jury and judge heavily influenced by the local anti-Cuba community. The convictions were meted out even though high-ranking officials, including members of the FBI and the military Southern Command, testified that the five were not a threat to American society, had not sought information relevant to U.S. national security, and did not cause any damage to U.S. civil or military installations. The "Cuban Five," as they are now known, received sentences ranging from 15 years to two life sentences.

They have not been forgotten. In Cuba, the Cuban Five are known as the Five Heroes. At a special session of the national legislature held in December 2001, the Cuban government and people declared the five men Heroes of the Republic of Cuba for their sacrifices in leaving their homes and families to observe the terroris-

tic activities of the U.S.-based anti-Cuba groups. From Havana to Santiago de Cuba and even in the mountains of the Sierra Maestra, posters and billboards carry the same message: **FREE OUR FIVE HEROES.**

Today, Cuba's Five Heroes are held in five different federal prisons across the United States. Recently, the U.S. government cancelled a visa requested by Rene Gonzalez's wife after she had already traveled all the way to the mainland, denying her the opportunity to visit her husband. The wives and mothers of the remaining men continue to wait for their own visas.

Attorneys for the men have filed an appeal with the

Heroes in their country, the Cuban Five are prisoners in the U.S.A.

11th Circuit Court of Appeals in Atlanta, requesting a new trial on the basis of a number of glaring irregularities. As well, in 2002 a national and international campaign to free the five was launched, focusing on education, a petition campaign, and media work. In February 2003, an organizer's packet and media kit will be available to enable organizations and individuals to participate in the campaign.

WILPF members were first introduced to the "Free the Five" campaign at the June 2002 National Congress in Vermont. The Women and Cuba Collaboration has also prioritized organizing around this cause, and in October 2002 a WILPF delegation to Cuba was honored to meet with the mothers and wives of these men, pledging their commitment to the campaign.

While the U.S. government fights a "War on Terrorism" against immigrants of color within our borders and on people of color abroad, it has not only failed to take action against known terrorists and their advocates, such as CANF, who are living and operating from within U.S. borders, but also supported and aided their attacks on Cuban soil and citizens. For this we must ask, "Who are the terrorists here?"

ACTION: For more information on the case and to get involved in the campaign, visit one of these web sites: www.freethefive.org or www.antiterroristas.cu Or contact the Women and Cuba Collaboration via Cindy Domingo at gomojo@earthlink.net or Jan Strout at janstrout@msn.com

Callie Shanafelt is a member of Seattle's EveryWoman's Movement for Cuba's Free the Five committee. Cindy Domingo is co chair of the EveryWoman's Movement and the Women and Cuba Collaboration.

Upholding Our Right to Travel

Lisa Valanti, Tammy James

Helen Levi Travis, who died recently at 86, was an inspiring WILPF woman. In 1962 Travis dared to challenge the United States government's travel ban against Cuba and visited twice without a valid passport stamp. For this indiscretion, Travis was given two suspended six-month sentences and fined \$10,000. Five years later, the Supreme Court threw out her conviction, along with a docket full of similar travel-curb cases, and upheld citizens' constitutional and human right to unrestricted travel.

Unfortunately, however, if Helen Travis were alive, she would still find it difficult to journey to Cuba—especially in light of 9/11.

The right to travel to Cuba has been a precarious one, especially since the Reagan Administration deviously circumvented the Supreme Court by declaring that traveling to Cuba was still legal, but spending money during the trip was illegal without a license! Unlicensed travelers have had to face the possibility of harassment, confiscation of goods, detainment, and letters from the Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) threatening fines. While the Clinton Administration was liberal in granting these licenses, a majority in Congress agreed with their constituents: it was long past time to end the Cold War and lift the travel bans.

It was during this period that WILPF, due to its international status, received a license allowing our members to travel to Cuba for educational purposes. Since then, WILPF has focused on sending delegations of women and men there to see and experience it for themselves, and to learn firsthand about the progress of women's rights under the Cuban revolution. This firsthand social contact with the Cuban people has helped

SAVE THE DATE

New U.S. restrictions currently make it virtually impossible for Cubans to enter the United States. In order to keep lines of communication open, Cuba has graciously invited interested activists to a conference on community building through people-to-people relationships, to be held in Havana in early April 2003. This is an opportunity to explore or represent your community's interest and join other WILPF sisters! For more information, contact Lisa Valanti at USCSCA@aol.com or 412-563-1519.

individuals to better understand the complex dynamics that shape U.S.- Cuba policy, and to participate more knowledgeably in the public debate. It has allowed us to be peacemakers in our own hemisphere, engaging in a dialogue of conflict resolution, and discovering together how to live more peacefully on the planet we all share.

The tragedy of 9/11 exposed the need to review new and genuine threats to U.S. security. It also provided an ideal opportunity to normalize U.S.-Cuba relations, based on the State Department's own internal reports and Cuba's offers of full cooperation against international terrorism, drug trafficking, hijacking, and illegal immigration, among other issues. Instead, the G.W. Bush Administration chose to use the fact that Cuba was on an outdated list of "nations that sponsored terrorism" as a reason to increase hostilities toward it, impeding any efforts Congress might make toward normalization,—and further restricting travel to and from the island.

What has emerged is an administration that continues to alter licensing regulations to suit its political agenda. Working through the Department of Treasury and OFAC, it has enabled licensing to be used as a weapon against our civil liberties. No longer can a licensed/legal traveler to Cuba be assured safe passage upon returning to the U.S.—as several WILPF members discovered several months ago when they received letters from OFAC. Reminiscent of the McCarthy era, these letters contained copious questions, asking the names of other members of their group, those with whom they met in Cuba, where they had traveled, how much money they had spent.

Like many other organizations, WILPF has tried to comply with licensing regulations to ensure that women interested in traveling to Cuba can continue to do so. However, under these increasing attacks on our freedom to travel, we find ourselves questioning whether we can continue to comply, as we are unwilling to compromise our organizational integrity.

Today, WILPF women are again being called to challenge the U.S. government's Big Brother-like abuse of its powers in determining who shall, and who shall not, visit Cuba. Peace will come only when citizens enforce our majority will, and demand a legislative change to reflect modern realities. As the Women and Cuba campaign follows this issue, we are guided by Helen Levi Travis' example: to be bold in the face of threats to our fundamental right to meet with our brothers and sisters in Cuba and everywhere.

Lisa Valanti is president of the U.S. Cuba Sister Cities Association, of which WILPF is a founding member. Tammy James is a board representative for the Women & Cuba Campaign and is also a member of USCSCA.

International Executive Committee Convenes in New Zealand

Joyce McLean, Sandy Silver

Kia Hora." This is the Maori greeting heard repeatedly as WILPF members gathered in Tamaki Makaurau, Aotearoa (Auckland, New Zealand) for the 2002 International Executive Committee (IEC) meeting November 25-December 3, 2002. The members had convened to discuss and vote on program development and other administrative topics, and to elect representatives to the next Triennial Congress slated for Sweden in 2004. Attending were 70 women from 26 countries: Sierra Leone, Sri Lanka, Nepal, Lebanon, Finland, and Japan, to name just a few.

Preceding the meeting, we participated in an exciting and extremely informative three-day seminar our hosts presented on "The Effects of Colonization on Indigenous Women and the Environment." The seminar coincided with the Thanksgiving holiday in the United States—an irony not lost on any of us. We learned about the ongoing destruction of South Pacific cultures and their environment with the compliance of the United States, including little-known facts about how these people's lives are being devastated by mining and other resource extraction by corporations backed by government armies.

In addition to excellent workshops led by indigenous women from West Papua New Guinea, Bougainville, Tahiti, and Australia, we were taken on a special guided bus tour of the Auckland area. Our tour guide was a Maori woman elder whose storytelling held us spellbound. The success of the superbly planned seminar was due to the longstanding cooperative working relations between the Maoris and the New Zealand Section of WILPF.

November is late spring in New Zealand: flowers were in full bloom and the hills were a lovely green. Our meeting place was a Maori holy site on the quadrangle of the University of Auckland. Simply being with fellow WILPFers from around the world was a pleasant experience that built bonds. We were struck by the elevated station held by older women in that part of the world—very nice considering that we have many members eligible for such respect! Participants were often moved to tears by the struggles of our WILPF sisters in Nepal and the Pacific Islands. Neelam Kadka, the president of our Nepal section, told of being arrested almost daily for her activism, held all day, then released each night, which prevents her from pursuing her work for equal protection for women under the laws, and for the elimination of widespread domestic violence.

All of us felt keenly aware of the ominous clouds of global warfare on the horizon. The main topic of discussion was Iraq. The Australian Section told of a noon vigil that was to occur all across Australia. We decided to honor it by gathering in a circle in front of the Murae (Maori Meeting House) under a beautiful banner which was quickly drawn by our Tahitian sister. Gathered together, we offered a moment of silence and then joined hands and sang songs of peace.

In general, all assembled were heartened to hear that WILPF members across the United States are holding vigils, attending protest rallies, and writing letters to their representatives against making war with Iraq. They told us they are pursuing similar activities in their own countries, joining every possible antiwar coalition. They were also excited to hear of U.S. WILPF's initiation of the "Women to Women" letter pledging our solidarity with the women of Iraq. (See page 6.)

All of us recognized that it will take more than songs and vigils to create a lasting peace. We knew that we were a group of very strong, energetic, determined women, yet also that we were as a small boat in a turbulent ocean. Those in nations such as Australia and Great Britain in particular shared the chagrin of those of us in the United States, as we see our governments ready to go to war regardless of the consequences. While we were in New Zealand, headlines told of Australia's declaration of its own right to make a pre-emptive military strike. The U.S. willingness to claim that prerogative only encourages such moves.

As discouraging as these facts are, we learned that in some places the possibility of war has galvanized the peace



Top: Pauline Tangiora and Megan Hutching of Aotearoa. **Bottom:** a Maori guide gives participants the lay of the land.

Photos by Sandy Silver



Left to right: Josephine Sirivi, Bougainville; Dolly Zonggonau, West Papua; Silvia McFadyen-Jones, Canada; and Vaijayanti Deshpande, India.

movement. People who wouldn't ordinarily join us are doing so out of their own feelings of desperation.

A notable difference from the last IEC meeting was the youth of participants. It was wonderful to see so many young faces. Speaking to these women, it became clear that one of their strongest passions is for the environment; the destruction of the planet is what most frightens and motivates such activists. Indeed, the IEC ultimately voted to place more emphasis on the environment at our next Congress. All of WILPF's priorities come together in facing the destruction of the globe.

Joyce McLean is WILPF's U.S. Section Representative on the IEC. Sandy Silver is co president, U.S. Section.

► Committee Corner *from page 9*

homophobia within WILPF. Although the organization is officially inclusive and supportive of its LGBT sisters, we must acknowledge that we are all a part of systemic homophobia, just as we are part of systemic racism. A first step in addressing this reality is education. We plan to post a reading list on the website, which we hope will be useful in answering people's questions and explaining our actions. Committee members will also be available to talk. In addition, we are developing a survey to be sent to individuals and branches, which will help us obtain an overview of members' views and concerns regarding LGBT issues and homophobia.

For additional information, please contact me, Chris Morin, at funforlife1@aol.com. For those who would like to receive a copy of this survey when available but who are not in a branch or on the email list, please contact me at (757) 229-3384. (Apologies to anyone who has been in touch about the LGBT committee and has not yet heard from us; I have lost your names. Please contact me again.)

Chris Morin is membership chair of WILPF's National Board and a member of the LGBT Committee.

Congress Videotapes Available!

VHS videotapes from the WILPF U.S. Section 28th Triennial Congress are now available. Select from the following presentations:

1. **Report from WCAR** (World Conference Against Racism) and introduction of campaign work by representatives of the four WILPF campaigns: Uniting for Racial Justice; Truth, Reparations, Restoration and Reconciliation (UFORJE); WILPF Women and Cuba Campaign; Challenge Corporate Power: Assert the People's Rights; Disarm! Dismantling the War Economy (59 min.)



2. **"Weaving the World Anew,"** a dramatic reading with dance, song, and audience participation presented by the wild-wisewomen of Vermont, led by Eleanor Ott. "When we open to the pain of our world, we discover our interconnectedness in the web of life. This is the gift of dark and dangerous times, to find again our mutual belonging" — Joanna Macy (55 min.)

3. **"Searching for Peace in a State of Siege,"** a plenary address by Blanche Wiesen Cook at the WILPF U.S. Section Congress (59 min.)



Blanche Wiesen Cook

4. **"Seeking Peace in Israel and Palestine,"** a plenary session with Charlotte Dennett, Libby Frank, Susannah Heschel, and Gloria Bletter (59 min.)

5. **"Economic and Power Relations in the Middle East,"** a talk by Charlotte Dennett at Central Vermont WILPF's Annual Retreat in October 2002, expanding on the ideas she presented at the WILPF Congress in June (60 min.)

6. **Plenary:** UFORJE presentation and responses from audience, with UFORJE panel speakers Barbara Laval, Sha'an Mouliert, Lettie Polite, Evelyn Spears, and Gwendolyn Braxton (60 min.)

7. **"WILPF Authors: Voice of Inspiration,"** excerpts from presentations at the WILPF Congress by Grace Paley (selected poems); Clare Coss (*Lillian Wald: At Home on Henry Street*); and Joyce Blackwell-Johnson (*No Peace Without Freedom, No Freedom Without Peace*) (60 min.)

Videotapes are \$20 each (price includes handling, shipping, and a \$5 donation to National WILPF) and can be ordered from: Video Activist Lab of Vermont, 33 North Franklin St., Montpelier, VT 05602. Email orders to Linda Leehman at linlee@vtlink.net or call (802) 223-4109.



Leave No Child . . . Unarmed?

Oskar Castro

The No Child Left Behind Act, signed into law by President George W. Bush on January 8, 2002, is touted by many as a federal bipartisan success story designed to impact the way children learn in school and how schools and states are held accountable to students, parents, and educational communities. But buried in its noble-sounding rhetoric is an insidious provision, *Sec. 9528: Armed Forces Recruiter Access to Students and Student Recruiting Information*.

This section grants military recruiters access to students' private information. With this access, recruiters can make unsolicited calls and send direct-mail recruitment literature to a young person's home. Opponents see the legislated "open door" policy for military recruiters as a clear violation of the Privacy Act of 1974. They also point to the act's coercive language, which forces schools and institutions receiving assistance under the act to comply with its directives. Noncompliance means that schools could lose their federal funding.

Supporters of Section 9528 say the "opt-out" clause written into the act should satisfy those concerned about invasions of privacy. If implemented, the clause allows parents and students to request that their information not be released without written parental consent. However, the clause is vague about how an educational institution must inform parents and students of the opt-out option. School districts around the country do not have a uniform system to let parents know about the act. As a result, many may never find out that their child's information is being handed over to the military, much less how they can take a stand on the practice.

Legal experts believe that the consent clause may not be a true opt-out, anyway, since the statute does not indicate that the parent or student has a right to refuse outright to share their information with the military.

Another troubling provision of the act is that it links military recruiting with the type of access generally given to recruiters from universities and trade schools. Equating military training with a college education is disingenuous. Moreover, it presents a problem for parents or students who don't wish their information to be

released under an opt-out clause. For example, if a school sends home a form that doesn't allow for selective opting out, young people who don't want information available to military recruiters might inadvertently block access to their records from college recruiters as well.

More, the statute directs schools to afford the military the same access it offers to post-secondary educational institutions or prospective employers, inaccurately implying that schools already supply employers and colleges with private student information, which is in fact illegal. Career and college fairs are the traditional vehicle employers and colleges use to reach potential applicants, and the only place a discriminatory employer such as the military can fairly be allowed to recruit. However, many military recruiters, aware of the repercussions of non-compliance with the Leave No Child Behind Act, use the statute to enter high schools unannounced and roam the halls trying to drum up business. The threat of being labeled unpatriotic, or of potentially losing federal funds, is enough to make some schools look the other way and allow the military recruiter more access than enjoyed by college and civilian employment recruiters.

ACTION: Resist the military incursion into public and private schools. The American Friends Service Committee (www.afsc.org) offers sample letters parents and students can send to school administrators specifically directing them not to release information to the military. Resources for organizing are available at www.comdsd.org/youth.htm — or create your own! Other helpful sites include those of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors at www.objector.org, Rethinking Schools at www.rethinkingschools.org, and the National Coalition of Education Activists at www.nceaonline.org.

Oskar Castro (youthmil@afsc.org) is a staff person for the National Youth and Militarism Program of the American Friends Service Committee. This article was adapted from a piece originally published at www.afsc.org.

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

JAPA Award-Winning Books Available to Branches



Virginia Euwer Wolff, author of *True Believer*, signs books for students.

Since 1953, the Jane Addams Peace Association has honored children's books that most effectively promote the cause of peace, social justice, world community, and the equality of all people. At our Awards Ceremony in New York last October, five new books were added to this prestigious list.

A limited inventory of this year's selections are now available for branches that wish to make a public donation of these books to schools and libraries. The set of five volumes is priced at just \$50, including postage and insurance.

The awardees are: **Picture Books Winner:** *Martin's Big Words: The Life of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.* by Doreen Rappaport, illustrated by Bryan Collier.

Honored: *Amber Was Brave, Essie Was Smart*, written and illustrated by Vera B. Williams. **Books for Older Children Winner:** *The Other Side of Truth* by Beverly Naidoo. **Honored:** *A Group of One* by Rachna Gilmore and *True Believer* by Virginia Euwer Wolff.

To place an order for your branch or for more information, please contact the WILPF West Resource Center, 11251

Tahoe Street,
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95602; (539) 823-
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(539) 888-0535
(fax). ♦

JAPA Board member
Ruth Chalmers speaks
with International
WILPF president
Krishna Ahouja-Patel.



HISTORIC FOOTNOTE

WILL THE WARRIOR EVER LEARN?

In 1971, the text of the following Peace Declaration was taken to the women of Vietnam by Kay Camp on behalf of WILPF.

The inhuman and interminable war waged by the governments of the United States of America and South Vietnam, which has lasted 25 years has caused much suffering and destruction, denies the legitimate aspirations of our people, and endangers American-Vietnamese friendship.

Women of the USA and Viet Nam who as mothers, wives and sisters have endured much suffering and many sacrifices, must no longer be made the undeserved victims of this cruel war which has taken away their freedom, dignity, and right to live.

The desire for peace has become the shared aspiration of people throughout the world.
THEREFORE:

- 1) Women of Viet Nam and the USA hereby declare that a state of peace exists between them.
- 2) Women will not cooperate with any further military activities by either the Vietnamese or U.S. government, which causes prolongation of the war.
- 3) Vietnamese and American Women are united in the demand that President Nixon immediately announces a date, prior to the end of 1971, by which time all US and Allied military Forces shall be withdrawn from Viet Nam.
- 4) We call on Women everywhere to join in non-violent action to bring peace and self-determination to the people of Viet Nam.



Kay Camp

Signed at the International Womens' Conference held in Saigon on January 5, 1971

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
U.S. Section Affiliated

President
Katherine L. Camp

Vietnamese Women's Movement
for the Right to Live and Affiliated Organizations
President
Chairman of the Presidential Committee
Mrs. Ngo Ba Thanh



Opposing the War Economy in Wartime: Finding New Allies

Gillian Gilhool, WILPF Legislative Organizer

Popular mobilization against the Bush Administration's perpetual war and escalation of fear-based spending on "national security" may bring a surging realization that "It's the defense economy, stupid!" Allies seeking increased social spending in Congress are showing new willingness to acknowledge the stranglehold that military spending has on the country's purse, saying "Enough!"

In December, WILPF proposed carefully crafted words on military spending and tax policy to include in the domestic priorities agenda being hammered out by a working group of the National Council of Women's Organizations (NCWO). NCWO is a Washington-based, 150+-member umbrella coalition of women's organizations focused on advancing public policies benefiting women.

The language adopted for NCWO's policy agenda for the 108th Congress under the heading "National Priorities and the Budget" may be cautious, but it's a break through. NCWO commits its members to lobby Congress to "balance spending on defense and social services to adequately invest in the economic security of

women and families" and "restore equity to the tax system to assure the permanent revenue base needed for social spending, ensuring that corporations pay their proportionate share to support the costs of government."

The NCWO-posed demand that women be admitted to the Augusta National Golf Club has been getting front-page ink in every newspaper sports section the last few months. All that attention may help amplify the voice of NCWO organizations in Congress on budget priorities and social justice issues.

WILPF is also a member of the NCWO International Priorities Task Force. To learn more about NCWO's 2003-2004 domestic and international legislative agenda, visit www.womensorganizations.org.

MILITARISM AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Connecting with environmentalists may also bring new allies in challenging perpetual war. The Sierra Club has joined other civic, religious, and environmental groups in the Win Without War Coalition calling for stronger diplomatic measures to disarm Iraq. It has spoken out against not only the continued reliance on oil behind our

Iraq policy, but also the dire environmental and social consequences of war. Congressman Bob Filner (D-CA) will reintroduce the Military Environmental Responsibility Act (MERA) in the 108th Congress. It requires the Department of Defense and all other defense-related agencies to comply fully with federal and state environmental laws at bases both in and outside of the United States. The act limits executive power under 15 existing laws to grant exemptions or waivers to military



WILPFers participate in the ongoing women's peace vigil in Washington. Code Pink plays on the Bush Administration's color-coded terrorism threat warnings to symbolize resistance to war. From January 23 to 26, WILPF members clad in cerise (and rose and magenta) stood shifts in front of the White House. Visit www.codepink4peace.org.



Former WILPF President Phyllis Yingling (right) and Baltimore activist Marliese Diaz were among those standing vigil near the White House in recent months, Park.

installations, and authorizes citizens to sue defense and other agency heads who violate or fail to perform their duties under the laws.

ACTION: Urge your congressional representative to contact Rep. Filner to become an original co-sponsor. To learn more about the MERA, visit Filner's website at www.house.gov/filner. If you belong to the Sierra Club, urge your chapter and the national organization to endorse the MERA.

FUNDS APPROVED TO REBUILD AFGHANISTAN, HELP WOMEN

The Afghan Freedom Support Act passed by Congress last December authorizes spending \$2.3 billion over four years for reconstruction of Afghanistan after the United States' post-September 11 military actions and \$1 billion to expand international peacekeeping forces. Senator Barbara Boxer (D-CA) won a unanimous vote in the Foreign Relations Committee to include \$1.5 million in aid annually for the Ministry of Women's Affairs and \$5 million annually for an independent Human Relations Commission, both of which survived in the bill.

Contact your representatives and senators urging them to assure that matching appropriations are included in the Foreign Operations or omnibus appropriations bill

to be forged retroactively for 2003 now that Congress is back in session.

STAY INFORMED!

All-new information on the 108th Congress is available at www.wilpf.org

Use the WILPF in Washington Section of WILPF's website to find bills on subjects relating to WILPF issues and campaigns, current bill status and how your representatives have voted, links to advocacy resources, and contact information for writing or calling your members of Congress, senators, and the media.

(Editor's Note: For more news on legislation related to war and peace issues, see pages 4-5.) ♦

► BRANCH ACTION

from page 27

in a walk to raise awareness of the need for criminal-justice system reform. **Santa Cruz** and **Monterey** County focused on protesting additional aid to Colombia to guard an oil pipeline. **Fresno** gave \$1,000 to a branch member to support travel to Colombia with the Fellowship of Reconciliation. **Monterey County** used holiday time to co-organize a People's Party—A Pro-Democracy Networking Event. ♦



JEANNETTE RANKIN SPIRIT

Teresa Hansen, *left*, and Rebekah Gayley, *right*, brought extraordinary diligence, wit, and enthusiasm to WILPF in Washington as 2002's Jeannette Rankin interns, an opportunity funded each year by the Cleveland Branch. Teresa, a Notre Dame undergraduate enrolled in their fall Washington program, hopes to spend summer 2003 in Thailand. Rebekah joined us in the spring from Allegheny College, participating in American University's Washington Semester in the Peace and Justice Program, then left for a summer program in China.





BranchAction News

Leslie Reindl, Branch Action Editor

DEAR BRANCHES:

Since the decision was made to publish *Peace and Freedom* biannually, I have missed putting your news together. As usual, I am awed by the creativity and breadth of your work. Efforts of peacemakers and visionaries are needed now as perhaps never before. Your activities and attempts to influence the course of events are inspiring and motivating. As Sen. Paul Wellstone used to say, "Keep on keeping on!"

WILPFERS HONORED

The Poudre Valley Green Party presented **Fort Collins** member Mary Bates and her husband Paul (*see photo*) with its Green Giant Lifetime Achievement Award. Together they have devoted more than 100 years to working for peace and social justice. **St. Louis** member LaDoris Payne-Bell was chosen one of 10 outstanding women honored at a Women of Worth (WOW) dinner in November.



NEW CALLS TO ACTION

In **Portland**, a Code Pink Alert by Medea Benjamin and Starhawk calls on women to "be outrageous for peace." Imagine a blast of Pink at your town council meeting, a Pink attack on your local oil company or gas station, a Pink witness in the shopping mall. Visit www.codepink4peace.org. **Santa Cruz** has urged a "Women Strike" on 11/11 and beyond—stop offering your services at work and in your communities. Check out www.womenstrike.net. From **Berkeley**: Join the International Human Rights March in Israel and Palestine, February-March 2003, initiated by Norwegian women. Visit www.humanrightsmarch.org (click on the Union Jack for English translation!).

RESISTING WAR ON IRAQ

Catonsville participated in a "Peace Path" that stretched through Baltimore, with people silently holding signs saying "Peace" in different languages. **San Jose** started a monthly Silent Walk for Peace, part of a global movement of slow-paced walking that began in Jerusalem on Mother's Day, May 12, 2002.

Many branches have stepped up their tabling efforts and seek new venues, including **Berkeley**, **Peninsula**, **Santa Cruz**, **Palo Alto**, and **Sacramento Valley**. **Cape Cod** urged people to attend the march in Washington last September that ended at Vice President Dick Cheney's house, and to attend the mass demonstration, also in D.C., on January 18 and 19, 2003.

Santa Cruz uses postcards to legislators' home offices, rather than petitions to Washington, to promote a bill for a Department of Peace and to protest "small strategic" nuclear bombs. Branch members stamp, address, and send the cards for the signers. The branch also convinced Santa Cruz to pass a resolution against going to war with Iraq. **Palo Alto** and other branches are working to do so. **St. Louis** printed names and addresses of the 22 U.S. senators (besides Paul Wellstone) who voted against a resolution authorizing the administration to wage war on Iraq and suggested writing thank-you letters. **Cape Cod** printed a resolution passed by the city council of Eastham, MA, calling on Congress to rescind the war resolution. **St. Louis** participated in nonviolent direct action at the St. Charles Boeing Missile Plant, and in The Prolonged Presence, a sit-in at Rep. Richard Gephardt's office. **Palm Beach County** held a program, "War on Iraq: First Stop to World Domination," with environmental and social activist Don Amter. **Palo Alto** convinced Stanford University faculty members to form an anti-war group. **Sacramento Valley** cosponsored the 16th Annual August Women's Peace Event. **Des Moines** cosponsored a "Grandmothers' Call to End Wars" rally.

PROTECTING CIVIL LIBERTIES

(A pervasive issue since the U.S.A. PATRIOT Act was passed in October 2001.) **Minnesota Metro** sponsored a talk on civil liberties by a professor of criminal constitutional law and past president of the National Lawyers Guild (NLG). Lawyer/professor Bill Monning, also of the NLG, addressed **Santa Cruz**. To reach those who believe differently, he said, the best technique is to ask questions and listen—to draw people out. In **Los Angeles**, a September 11 coalition commemoration was held on the topic: "It's a Free Country: A Gathering for Civil Liberties and Peaceful Tomorrows." **Asheville** member Clare Hanrahan offers her book, *Jailed for Justice: A Woman's Guide to Federal Prison Camp*, for \$8 plus \$2 mailing. Contact her at chanrahan@ncpress.net. **Portland** reported on two Master of Divinity students whose names turned up on an airline "No Fly" list when they attempted to travel. They don't know the reason, but guessed it might be because both work with the newspaper *War Times*, which opposes the "war on terrorism." **Cape Cod** noted the arrest of 35 Brazilian immigrant residents between the hours of midnight and 6 a.m.; they are demanding that the police stop what they described as Gestapo-like actions. **Portland** participated in a conference on the U.S.A. PATRIOT Act, and its Portland Bill of Rights Defense Committee distributed "A Resolution Regarding the U.S.A. PATRIOT Act and the Protection of Civil Rights and Liberties" to be presented to the Portland City Council. For an analysis, visit www.ACCLU-or.org, or <http://portland-or.bordc.org>.

CHALLENGING CORPORATE POWER

Minnesota Metro assembled a coalition to plan a March forum around the theme of the role of corporations in a democracy. **Cape Cod** began a Project on Democracy to

help citizen activists understand the role of corporations in a democracy and increase the number of people spreading the word about excessive corporate power. **Des Moines** is developing a brochure to advertise its corporate power study groups and recruit new participants. **Fresno** sent a member to the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg, South Africa (*see page 14*). **Portland** published *An Astonishing Report from Ecuador: FTAA*, written by an American woman who organized Ecuadoran citizens to protest the Free Trade Area of the Americas meeting in Quito. She says: "The FTAA has in 24 hours gone from something whose praises its proponents sing, to something they have to defend. Like the WTO before it, the FTAA has become the treaty that has to be sold to an America that doesn't want it....This is how it feels here." To learn more, visit www.foodfirst.org. **Santa Cruz** spoke on the history of corporate power at a town meeting, marking the first time the branch spoke to the community about the campaign to revoke "corporate personhood." **Fresno** is creating a directory of locally owned businesses area residents can support. **Monterey County** demonstrated on "Buy Nothing Day," November 29. **St. Louis** is labeling genetically modified foods in local grocery stores, and making lists of the foods—and labels—available to members.

ANTI-RACISM

After members of the **Cape Cod** branch witnessed an instance of racial profiling of young, male African-American drivers visiting the town of Wellfleet, MA, they met with the police department to demand training, and sent a letter to all attorney general candidates to call attention to the issue. **Asheville** invited a representative of the Asheville-Buncombe Community Relations Council to talk about how the branch could be most effective in eliminating racism in the community. **Fresno** presented members of the Fresno school board with copies of *And Don't Call Me a Racist! A Treasury of Quotes on the Past, Present, and Future of the Color Line in America* by Elia Mazel, and gave the district 92 copies for secondary-school students. Fresno members also completed a 45-item questionnaire about white privilege to foster understanding. For copies, write vmfout1@sti.net. With local organizations and businesses, **Palm Beach County** co-sponsored ten days of activities in January 2003 to honor Dr. Martin Luther King's birthday.

HEALTH CARE ISSUES

Los Angeles participated in an NGO conference on world health issues and inequities, with the U.N. Special Envoy for HIV/AIDS Africa as keynoter, and held a program on affordable health care for all, as did **Palo Alto**. **Asheville** cosponsored "Radiation and Health in the Nuclear Heartland," with keynoter Dr. Helen Caldicott. **San Jose** urged attendance at a forum about the closing of the San Jose Medical Center. Its October meeting was on "The Need for Universal Single Payer Health Care." **Cape Cod** demonstrated against the anticipated loss of health care coverage for the poor and

seniors to help balance the state budget. **Detroit** urged action against the effort to privatize Blue Cross/Blue Shield in Michigan.

ISRAEL/PALESTINE

Boston, St. Louis, Ann Arbor, Cape Cod, Los Angeles, Philadelphia and **Portland** sponsored a visit by Aliyah Strauss, president of the WILPF Israel Section and founder of Women in Black in Tel Aviv, to speak on the relationship between Israelis and Palestinians (*see page 8*). **Des Moines** recommended a film series entitled *Boundaries: The Holy Land*, which includes discussion about Israel/Palestine. The series is designed to help viewers discover how films have shaped their perspectives. **St. Louis** published a letter for grandmothers to sign, addressed to the Knesset and the Palestinian authorities.

CULTURAL OFFERINGS

Rockaway heard a reading from Douglas Scott's play *Mountain*, whose lead character is the late Justice William O. Douglas. **Cape Cod** is compiling a book of four centuries of *HerStory—Women's Work on Cape Cod* for International Women's Day in March. **Fresno** cosponsored a performance by the San Francisco Mime Troupe of *Mr. Smith Goes to Obscuristan*. **Palo Alto**'s and **Peninsula**'s Raging Grannies performed at several large gatherings. Palo Alto says the Grannies have become one of the branch's most effective means of communicating. An "Open Forum for Artistic Sharing" was Los Angeles' December holiday celebration. **Palo Alto** screened *World Peace Is a Local Issue*, a 1982 documentary filmed during a city council meeting in which peace activists persuaded the council to adopt a resolution for a nuclear freeze. **Baltimore** showed *Crossing Borders*, a history of WILPF's early and middle years, as part of a class on "Global Civic Responsibility." **Des Moines** participated in a project to interview 27 of its members on videotape for the Women's Archives at the University of Iowa. **Cape Cod** insisted that alternative points of view be broadcast on an area radio station, to be followed by a sponsors boycott if no change is made.

MEETINGS AND SPEAKERS

Jody Dodd, WILPF's U.S. Section Leadership and Outreach Coordinator, spoke at **Rockaway**'s celebration of WILPF's silver jubilee and at **Palm Beach County**'s November meeting. **Des Moines** heard from Rita Hohenshell, who has "served time" for her activities against the School of the Americas, about her Witness for Peace experience in Colombia. **San Jose** presented a program by Victoria Poupko, president of the Boston Committee Against Ethnic Cleansing, on "Chechnya: Crisis in Human Suffering."

OTHER ISSUES

Palm Beach County supports an ordinance guaranteeing a living wage for county employees. **Des Moines** participated

Continued on page 25 ➤

IN MEMORIAM

Philip Berrigan

October 5, 1923–December 6, 2002

Philip Berrigan, a lifelong activist for nonviolence, died of cancer at home at Jonah House, a pacifist community he co-founded with his wife, Elizabeth McAlister, in 1973. During his nearly 40 years of resistance, Berrigan, a former Catholic priest, focused on living and working in community as a way to model the nonviolent, sustainable world he was working to create. The community was born out of resistance to the Vietnam War, including high-profile draft card burning actions; later the focus became ongoing resistance to U.S. nuclear policy, including Plowshares actions in which activists poured blood on and hammered warheads in a symbolic enactment of Isaiah's biblical prophecy of a disarmed world. Because of these efforts Berrigan spent about 11 years in prison. He wrote, lectured, and taught extensively, publishing six books, including a 1996 autobiography, *Fighting the Lamb's War*.

Berrigan dictated this final statement to Elizabeth, a WILPF sponsor, in the days before his death. He passed away before he could complete it.

"I die in a community including my family, my beloved wife Elizabeth, three great Dominican nuns—Ardeth Platte, Carol Gilbert, and Jackie Hudson (emeritus) jailed in Western Colorado—Susan Crane, friends local, national and even international. They have always been a lifeline to me. I die with the conviction, held since 1968

Former WILPF president Phyllis Yingling was one of the hundreds who attended Berrigan's memorial service in Baltimore. Her letter to the editor of the Baltimore Sun, below, is just one response to Phil's legacy.

As we were walking among the several hundred people proceeding from Jonah House to St. Peter Claver Church for the funeral of Philip Berrigan, someone walking beside me sighed and said, "Well, I guess this is the end of an era." I nodded in agreement. But during the funeral service, as his wife and children read from the scriptures that motivated his lifelong commitment to nonviolence, and quoted from his own words, then as I listened to his brother Daniel give the homily, I knew the Berrigan era was not ending. As I heard his longtime friends in the peace movement recall their months and years in prison together for acts of civil disobedience to oppose injustice, war and weapons of mass



Berrigan with his beloved wife, WILPF member Elizabeth McAlister.
photo Katy Krolyzck

and Catonsville, that nuclear weapons are the scourge of the earth; to mine for them, manufacture them, deploy them, use them, is a curse against God, the human family, and the earth itself. We have already exploded such weapons in Japan in 1945 and the equivalent of them in Iraq in 1991, in Yugoslavia in 1999, and in Afghanistan in 2001.

"We left a legacy for other people of deadly radioactive isotopes—a prime counterinsurgency measure. For example, the people of Iraq, Yugoslavia, Afghanistan, and Pakistan will be battling cancer, mostly from depleted uranium, for decades. In addition, our nuclear adventurism over 57 years has saturated the planet with nuclear garbage from testing, from explosions in high altitudes (four of these), from 103 nuclear power plants, from nuclear weapons factories that can't be cleaned up—and so on. Because of myopic leadership, of greed for possessions, a public chained to corporate media, there has been virtually no response to these realities...."

destruction, I sensed the era was ongoing.

But it was the voices of the children there in the crowded sanctuary that convinced me that instead of the end of an era we were witnessing the evolution of a new era. There were the many young couples with their whining, giggling, weeping babies and toddlers that spoke of the future of the peace movement. These young families and their wider circles of friends all over the nation will continue to beat swords into plowshares.

The body of Philip Berrigan is no longer with us, but his spirit is alive and well....in his family and the many friends and followers who actively support his efforts to bring peace to our world where war and violence are a constant threat. In the cycle of Life, a courageous carrier of the torch for peace has passed on, and in that passing has passed on the torch to each of us.....and to our children and grandchildren. Let us keep that flame of peace and hope alive. ♦

Women's International League for Peace & Freedom

Resources to Prepare for Peace, 2003

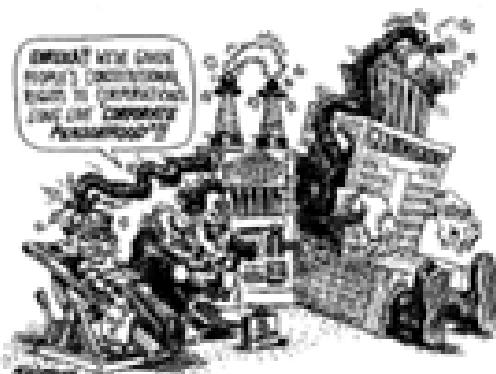


Kids Stuff

"Discourse Begins in the Playroom: No More War Toys!"
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Picasso Peace Graphic



Notebook, Matchbook:
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Peace & Freedom

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Join your sisters in WILPF to:

- **UNITE** in a worldwide sisterhood of peace and justice;
- **BUILD** a constructive peace through world disarmament;
- **WORK** for the equality of all people in a world free of sexism and racism;
- **CREATE** lasting social change and worldwide peace and justice.



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Yes! I want to join WILPF to work for peace and freedom.

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