

Peace & Freedom

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WILPF HISTORY ISSUE

Out of the Past, Hope for a Peaceful Future



INSIDE: JANE ADDAMS • EDITH BALLANTYNE • MARY CHURCH TERRELL



International Congress of Women, The Hague, 1915. Pictured is the U.S. delegation to the Congress. Jane Addams is in front row, second from left. Emily Greene Balch is in the third row, extreme left, with hat, glasses and tie. This photo from our archives is also used on the cover with WILPF Development Director Amy Kwasnicki's daughter Zoë Olivia Kwasnicki. You can view a picture of the delegation with all of the women identified on the Swarthmore website, www.swarthmore.edu/Library/peace.

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Editor: Theta Pavis
Typesetting: Judy Mathe Foley
Editorial Assistance: Marjorie Schier, Copyediting;
 Pamela Jones Burnley, Proofreading.

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 2002-2005 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.



U.S. Section WILPF: 1213 Race Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107; phone: (215) 563-7110; fax (215) 563-5527; e-mail: wilpf@wilpf.org; website: www.wilpf.org

Legislative Office: 110 Maryland Ave., NE, Ste. 112, Washington, D.C., 20002; phone: (202) 546-6727; fax: (202) 544-9613; e-mail: vferguson@wilpf.org

Co-presidents: Darien De Lu, Sandy Silver
Executive Director: Mary Day Kent
Interim Legislative Organizer:
 Vicki Lynn Ferguson



Jane Addams Peace Association (JAPA): 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017; phone: (212) 682-8830. JAPA is WILPF's educational fund.

President: Ann Chalmers Pendell
Executive Director: Linda Belle

International WILPF: 1 rue de Varembe, 1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland; phone: 41-22-919-7080; fax: 41-22-919-7081; e-mail: wilpf@iprolink.ch

President: Krishna Ahoja-Patel

Why Does Our History Matter?

Mary Day Kent, Executive Director

When I first came to Philadelphia in the 1970s, I remember walking down Race Street and seeing the sign in the window at number 1213: “Jane Addams House, Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom.” I was intrigued at this surprising women’s bastion in what I then thought of as the “anti-war” movement.

Soon after, I met WILPF International President Kay Camp and learned about her journey to Chile after the coup there.

A decade later, in the 1980s, I met Mildred Scott Olmsted, WILPF-U.S. staff for decades (1922-1966) and the walking embodiment of the organization.

She was over 90 years old by then, but not the least bit softened in her views or speech. Thorny and complicated dilemmas taken up by committees would be clarified by Mildred’s low-voiced but emphatic, “Well, I don’t see any reason not to . . .” (support the Nuclear Freeze, welcome refugees into Sanctuary, refuse to pay war taxes). I once accompanied a video crew to Mildred’s home in Rose Valley, outside of Philadelphia. The interviewers kept asking her about history, but all she wanted to speak about was Ronald Reagan and Star Wars.

When I told friends in Philadelphia that I was coming to work for WILPF, one reaction was, “Are you the new Kay Camp? She was there when I burned my draft card!” I explained that Kay Camp herself is still the new Kay Camp, but perhaps I could claim to be sitting at the desk of Mildred Scott Olmsted, both an inspiration and a challenge.

As some of the articles in this issue reveal, WILPF’s role in the world and in the United States has evolved over the years, along with U.S. politics and the politics of our own organization. In January 2003 I was contemplating this when a small and near-frozen band of WILPF sisters spent the four coldest days of January in a vigil at the White House fence, demanding “No War on Iraq.” For days we studied the sealed-off White House, newly enhanced with threatening security boxes on the roof, surrounded by vigilant guards who would instantly appear if we either stood still too long on our patch of



Eleanor Roosevelt, left, and Jane Addams at the White House, 1935.

sidewalk, or went over our permitted limit of 25 people. I tried to imagine Laura Bush looking out at us, perhaps sending out some hot chocolate in honor of her predecessor, Eleanor Roosevelt.

Even harder to imagine is the true history that there was once a time when the first lady, Eleanor Roosevelt, was a member of WILPF and Jane Addams’ 75th birthday was celebrated at the White House. The year was 1935 and the event even included a radio hookup to the WILPF Section in Japan.

Memories of Eleanor Roosevelt also come to mind when I go to the United Nations for WILPF. There is a sense of inspiration and strength that comes from the history of WILPF members working, first at the League of Nations and then with the United Nations, from its earliest days. While I find that there is solace, fascination and sometimes valuable practical advice to be found in the WILPF archives of past crisis, conflict and setbacks, I think the best gift of our history is the connection to the passionate vision — not just of hope, but a realistic possibility of a world at peace.

In the biography of Mildred Scott Olmsted there is a description of a small, bedraggled WILPF group demonstrating in the rain in downtown Philadelphia. Mildred appeared, dressed as always to the hilt, absolutely upright and radiating energy. The group “picked up, signs straightened, morale quickened.” This sense of energy, empowerment and courage is the key to the future that WILPF has been given by our past. ❖



GOOD NEWS ON MEMBERSHIP

WILPF is growing. Last year, we had over 800 new members join WILPF. In addition, our renewals were way up. Thanks to all of you who joined or renewed your membership in WILPF. It really is your annual dues that makes our work together possible. It feels like we are building momentum as we move towards our 90th Anniversary in 2005. Let’s keep it going.

The membership drive is underway! Branches are ordering the Membership Drive Packet, which includes buttons, bumper stickers and more to help you build WILPF’s membership. If you haven’t requested a Membership Drive Packet, call the office today and we will send one to you. You don’t have to be in a branch to participate. Our goal is to have 1,300 new members by the end of 2004. We ask each and every one of you to ask one friend to “Make Peace a Reality: Join WILPF.” Feel free to get in touch with me if you have questions at: (215) 563-7110 or e-mail jdodd@wilpf.org. — Jody Dodd

Jane Addams: Our WILPF Heroine

Harriet Hyman Alonso

Many wonderful women were involved in the 1915 founding of the Woman's Peace Party (the precursor of WILPF), but none is as widely known and respected as Jane Addams. There are many reasons for Addams' reputation. For most people in the United States, Addams was best known for her creation of the Chicago settlement house, Hull House, which brought her much notoriety during her lifetime. In 1931, she won the Nobel Peace Prize for her work with WILPF. Addams, however, was not simply an activist. She was also a philosopher and theorist about peace. Her life's journey took her from being a social reformer to being a feminist pacifist. It was not always an easy path.

Addams was born on September 6, 1860 into an upper middle-class Illinois family. Her father, John Huy Addams, was a prosperous miller and banker who was also committed to community work and social justice. Addams' mother, Sarah Weber Addams, died when Jane was only two years old. When she was seven, her father married Anna H. Haldeman who became an important emotional support for her step-daughter. In 1877, Addams obediently honored her father's request that she attend the Rockford Female Seminary in Illinois rather than Smith College in Massachusetts, which she would have preferred. Four years later, she graduated and enrolled in the Woman's Medical College of Pennsylvania, but soon decided medicine was not for her. Following spinal surgery and a long recuperation period, Anna Haldeman Addams took her stepdaughter on a trip to Europe where she witnessed the effects of urban poverty for the first time. Upon returning home after a second trip to Europe in 1887 and 1888, Addams and her friend Ellen Gates Starr decided to open their own settlement house.

Hull House was established in Chicago, where Addams and Starr rented a decaying mansion in the midst of a crowded, poor immigrant community. Within four years of its inception, Hull House boasted an array of clubs and functions, a day nursery, gymnasium, dispensary, playground, and a cooperative boarding house for single working women, known as the Jane Club. Hull



Jane Addams in mid-career.

House made Jane Addams famous. Her work in the settlement led to her election in 1909 as the first woman president of the National Conference of Charities and Correction (later known as the National Conference of Social Work.) In 1910, she became the first woman to receive an honorary degree from Yale University, and in 1911, she was named the first head of the National Federation of Settlements, a position she held until her death. As a respected public figure, Addams was called upon to second Teddy Roosevelt's nomination to run for President in 1912 on the Progressive party ticket.

Logically, Addams also stood for woman suffrage. From 1911 through 1914, she held the position of first Vice-President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association and in 1913 attended the convention of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance held in Budapest. In other words, Hull House took Jane Addams into the public sphere, making her into a political force even though, as a woman, she did not hold even the simplest means of political power — the vote.

Jane Addams had initially shown her disdain for war by becoming a member of the Anti-Imperialist League, founded to protest the results of the Spanish-American-Filipino-Cuban War of 1898, which established U.S. colonies abroad. At that time, she openly deplored the racist and imperialistic implications of the war, stating that patriotism and duty had to be separated from war-mongering. In 1902, she formalized her ideas in *Democracy and Social Ethics* where she stated that the need for war would gradually disappear once the larger society developed the type of collective social morality she had found existed in the crowded immigrant tenement quarters surrounding Hull House. Five years later, in *Newer Ideals of Peace*, she introduced the idea that the world needed to substitute “nurture for warfare” and no one could do this more effectively than women who needed to have a voice and presence in the political forum.

Jane Addams was naturally distraught when war broke out in Europe in August, 1914. In an attempt to curtail the fighting, she joined in various efforts. In

September of 1914, she and other social-work professionals organized the American Union Against Militarism. The group's main concern was that war would harm their efforts to improve inter-ethnic relations. At the urging of both U.S. and European suffragists, she took on the leadership role of organizing the Woman's Peace Party, a uniquely feminist group which sought to empower women. The "Preamble" of its founding document proclaimed that women had "a peculiar moral passion of revolt against both the cruelty and waste of war" and were fed up with the "reckless destruction" caused by men in powerful positions. Women wanted "a share in deciding between war and peace," and that share included equality in all aspects of public and private life.

The Woman's Peace Party attracted thousands of members in at least 200 local groups and affiliates by early 1917. While this organizing was going on, Addams cast her eyes on Europe where in April 1915, she joined over 1,000 women from both the neutral and fighting nations at a meeting at The Hague. The concluding document of the International Congress of Women made clear that women's voices in governments would not just encourage peace through mediation but would demand those economic, political, and social conditions which would remove all sorts of violence from women's lives.

Addams returned home as the first President of the newly formed International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace. Upon her arrival, she addressed a mass meeting in Carnegie Hall where she revealed her dismay that stimulants such as alcohol were being used in battlefields to make it easier for men to kill each other. The press lambasted her for her views, and for several years to come, the press, the U.S. government, and various conservative organizations portrayed her as an unpatriotic subversive out to demasculinize the nation's sons. Although the bad press did not deter Addams from trying to achieve an end to the war, it damaged her reputation and made life in the U.S. uncomfortable for her through the 1920s. While still revered as a social reformer, it was not until she received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1931 that people finally forgave her for her protests during World War I.

Throughout World War I, Jane Addams continued to head the Woman's Peace Party, although the organization was fairly quiet. Addams herself volunteered to work for Herbert Hoover's federal Department of Food Administration, traveling to many states urging women to conserve food and to help increase food production. From this work, Addams developed her philosophy that women's responsibility was to nurture the world and thereby to create a healthier, more politically responsible population. As she later stated in *The Second Twenty*

Years at Hull House and in Peace and Bread in Time of War, "I firmly believed that through an effort to feed people, a new and powerful force might be unloosed in the world and would in the future have to be reckoned with as a factor in international affairs."

In May, 1919, the women who had met at The Hague gathered in Zurich to create WILPF, and Addams, the woman whom so many around the world admired, was elected the first international president. At home, however, her name appeared in such Red Scare reports as "Who's Who of Pacifists and Radicals," New York State's Lusk report on "Revolutionary Radicalism," and on various versions of the Spider Web chart which singled out dangerous and subversive characters for the general public to watch out for. Harassment and blacklisting at home may have been one of the reasons why Addams, although tired and aging, spent large chunks of the 1920s traveling around the world organizing for WILPF. She spent extended amounts of time traveling through Europe, Asia, and the Pacific. During this period, she also gained tremendous respect for Mohandas Gandhi and espoused his ideas at many WILPF gatherings. She was, however, very careful not to push for a strict adherence to nonviolent principles within WILPF. It was more important for her to gain members than to limit the philosophy of the group. As long as women were against war as a means of settling disputes, the organization was open to them.

In 1935, Addams was diagnosed with cancer and died on May 21. For two days her body lay in state at Hull House, where as many as 2,000 people an hour paid their respects. She was then buried in her hometown of Cedarville, Illinois, where her tombstone reads: "Jane Addams of Hull-House and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom."

Harriet Hyman Alonso has written extensively about women and peace. She is a professor of History at the City College of New York. WILPF members might find her book, Peace as a Women's Issue (Syracuse University Press, 1993), of particular interest as it covers a great deal of the organization's history. In 2002, her prize winning book, Growing Up Abolitionist: The Story of the Garrison Children, was published (University of Massachusetts Press). Also of note is the The Women's Peace Union (Syracuse University Press, 1997). All of her books are available in paperback; members of WILPF might also like to check out the University of Illinois Press for its inexpensive paperback reprints of books by Jane Addams. Alonso can be contacted via e mail at: halonso@ccny.cuny.edu.

Racial Justice and WILPF

Evelyn Spears

“You can talk about permanent peace until doomsday but there can be no permanent peace until the dark races are given a square deal.” — Mary Church Terrell



Mary Church Terrell

In 1919, Mary Church Terrell, founder of the National Association of Colored Women (a prominent black women's organization) was one of the U.S. Section Delegates to the second International WILPF Congress held in Zurich, Switzerland.

Terrell gave the U.S. Section address to the International Congress, saying that she was speaking on behalf of the dark races who were not present.

Yet there may have been more black women active in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) during those early years (1915 - 1935) than currently. During those first years, WILPF's focus was not just on war and disarmament and gender issues, but also on racial politics.

Much of the history of African-American women in WILPF available to us at this time is research carried out by Melinda Plastas for her doctoral dissertation. Plastas, at the request of Betty Burkes (U.S. Section President, 1996-1999), provided a videotaped narration of some of her findings for a Uniting For Racial Justice: Truth, Reparations, Restoration and Reconciliation (UFORJE) training in 2000. Some of the information from Plastas' work is briefly sketched below. (A more detailed history will be published this summer by Dr. Joyce Blackwell-Johnson in her forthcoming book *No Peace Without Freedom*.)

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Many of the founding members of WILPF, such as Jane Addams, Leonora O'Reilly and Anna Garlin Spencer — all white women — were also founding members of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which was created in 1909. Plastas comments that these women took the context of the NAACP into their WILPF work.

WILPF was able to interact with and attract black women to WILPF after World War I because of the experiences African-Americans had during the war. At the time, people in the black community shared the belief that if they showed their patriotism, participated fully in the war effort (over 50,000 black soldiers enlisted), sold war bonds, went to Europe to support the troops, prepared bandages, etc., that in the post-war period, blacks would finally attain the

right to full citizenship.

This was not the case. Indeed, even during the war

only three black women were permitted to go to France to minister to the needs of thousands of black soldiers. Segregation and rampant racism persisted within and outside the military.

Lynching continued and even increased as the soldiers returned. Black consciousness was raised; people realized that patriotism was not going to change the situation in the United States. War would not bring racial justice.

Addie Hunton, one of the three black women who went to France wrote about her experiences. She came back with a whole new spirit of racial protest. She joined WILPF and was very active. Other black women founded a new organization, the International Council of Women of the Darker Races. The Council never received the publicity and support that WILPF did. They did not thrive on their own and they too joined WILPF.

Emily Greene Balch also understood that to talk about U.S. economic imperialism was to talk about the racial nature of economic imperialism. In 1926 WILPF organized an interracial delegation for a trip to Haiti to investigate the United States occupation there. Two black women, Addie Hunton and Charlotte Atwood, were part of the group. Balch later co-authored a book, *Occupied Haiti*, with members of the investigative mission; Hunton wrote one chapter with Balch. In the book, Balch discusses how the racial attitudes of the U.S. government influenced the occupation of a free black nation. Haitians were considered inferior to Anglo-Saxons.

WILPF played a key role in countering the U.S. economic policy towards Haiti and other countries. For example, between 1928 and 1935, Firestone was expanding rubber production in Liberia using slave labor. The company wanted U.S. military intervention to protect their interests. The general feeling was that blacks had an innate inability to rule themselves, and WILPF members challenged that notion.

Influenced by W.E.B. DuBois and Walter White of the NAACP, Dorothy Detzer and WILPF tried to get anti-lynching legislation introduced in Congress.

Between 1928 and 1935, WILPF formed interracial

extension committees in eight cities. The primary goal was to encourage more blacks to become active in the peace/disarmament movement. These efforts were prodigious.

- The committee chair in Philadelphia worked tirelessly to spread the message. In a month she typically made 160 visits, wrote 39 letters, made 34 phone calls reaching out to organizations, holding teas, organizing junior international leagues (branches for young women to learn about U.S. policy in Cuba and Haiti).
- Nanny Burroughs was already leading a black women's club in Washington, D.C. At the Women's Convention of the Black Baptist Church she gave a speech about racial justice that was attended by over 300 people. There was wide press coverage.
- Other places took different approaches. For example, in New York, Harlem Renaissance writers spoke at WILPF events about war and disarmament.

Another function of the interracial committee was to educate white WILPF women about the plight of black America, black culture, black art and black literature.

Plastas concludes that this was a really strong, rich time for WILPF. However, there were never more than eight interracial extension committees. WILPF, as a whole, was resistant to the idea of integrating the organization. There was resistance to the idea that peace would only be achievable when black women felt completely free and there was resistance to the leadership of Mary Church Terrell and Addy Hunton.

By 1935, the involvement of black women in WILPF had declined significantly as the black women leaders withdrew.

WILPF's racial justice work in the United States became sporadic and reactive, versus having a racial justice program for an extended period. In 1964, WILPF participated in the Black Sash demonstrations in support of civil rights workers in Mississippi. In June of 1972, Angela Davis was acquitted of trumped up murder charges and WILPF was involved in working for that. Ms Davis' mother was a founding member of the Birmingham, Alabama WILPF branch (there are no branches in Alabama now).

Throughout 1988 and 1989 there was a feeling in WILPF and in the peace movement in general, that all women of color had to be free in order for peace to be attained. Over the years, *Peace & Freedom* has had several articles by bell hooks and Angela Davis about the double jeopardy of racism and classism. Their message was not very different from the message of Terrell 70 years earlier.

During this period in the 1980s, WILPF had a two-year racial justice program. The primary goals were:

- To study, recognize, and undo racist patterns in WILPF. From the efforts during 1928 - 1935, it had become clear that black women were acceptable as long as they were on the periphery.

- To protest and to publicize racial violence in the United States.
- To build networks between WILPF and other groups.

To implement this campaign, the People's Institute for Survival and Beyond was hired to conduct nearly four days of "Undoing Racism" workshops in 1988-89. Board members and staff attended the workshops, which were also held in eight cities. Overall, 138 WILPF members in 35 different branches experienced the training.

Over the next 10 years, racial justice work in WILPF consisted of an attempt to have a process in the United States similar to the Truth and Reconciliation trials in South Africa after the end of apartheid. In 1997, WILPF held a conference at NYU called "Truth and Reconciliation: Can it Work in the United States?"

In 1998, the U.S. Section Change Mavens discussed fieldwork, leadership development and program focus in an effort to build WILPF for the 21st century. One of the outcomes of this effort was the development of the campaign structure, with UFORJE becoming a national campaign in 1999 under the title of "Truth and Reconciliation" currently in place.

Has WILPF undertaken much racial justice work since then? Only a few WILPF branches and members are doing UFORJE-related activities.

Plastas says there is still the notion in WILPF that peace work is about disarmament. It is about nuclear weapons, and racial justice work is about something else that just takes us away from peace work. More internal work needs to take place within the organization to help people understand the deep connections between racial justice and peace. After 88 years of demonstrations and no peace, perhaps it's time to reconsider the words of Mary Church Terrell, "You can talk about permanent peace until doomsday but there can be no permanent peace until the dark races are given a square deal."

Evelyn Spears is UFORJE Campaign membership coordinator. To find out more about the UFORJE Campaign contact Jen Geiger, WILPF program coordinator, at (215) 563-7110 or jengeiger@wilpf.org.

RESOURCES

This article was based on the videotaped narration of Melinda Plastas. The New York Metro branch hopes to make the videotape by Plastas about her research into WILPF's racial history available if there is interest. You can contact the WILPF New York Metro office at: 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012-2725. Or call (212) 533-2125; e-mail: wilpf@wilpfnymetro.org.

Other sources of information include:
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Collection <http://swarthmore.edu/Library/peace>

No Peace Without Freedom: Race and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1915-1975, Dr. Joyce Blackwell-Johnson (Southern Illinois University Press, July 2004). Dr. Blackwell-Johnson was a speaker at the 2002 National Congress in Vermont.

Let There Be Light

Mary Beth Callie

“From my own experiences, I feel strongly that the public ought to know if the Army and Navy are acting as Congressional shock troops for a vested interest in war...The people surely have some way to check the activities of civil servants — of whatever department — who use a public trust not for the benefit of their country, but primarily for the benefit of those private concerns which are motivated only by profits.”

— Dorothy Detzer, 1948

In the beginning of the 21st century, as military corporations and compliant public officials continue to drive the United States into war, the WILPF Challenge Corporate Power, Assert the People's Rights Campaign finds inspiration in the efforts of “the WIL” between World War I and World War II, and particularly in the contributions of Dorothy Detzer, executive secretary of WILPF from 1920-1947. Like Jane Addams and other WILPF women, she recognized that achieving peace and freedom in the world necessitated work that exposed and challenged the relationships and practices of a militarist political economy.

Detzer's memoir of her experiences, *An Appointment on the Hill*, was published in 1948. At that time *The New York Times* described Detzer as “the most famous woman lobbyist” and *The Nation* cited her on its “Honor Roll” several times. Throughout the book, Detzer described herself as a lobbyist who suggested legislation, drafted bills, wrote speeches, and organized hearings. She also testified before Congress on behalf of WILPF and other peace organizations. As the title of the book suggests, Detzer had an extraordinary level of access to top government officials, including President Roosevelt, the Assistant Deputy Secretary of State, and members of the U.S. Congress.

During the First World War, the whole Detzer family was immersed in war activities, but for young Dorothy, Hull House became her “home front.” It was at Hull House, working with Jane Addams, that Detzer was first introduced to the concept of nonviolence, and began to question the declared purpose of the War (“to make the world safe for democracy”). Subsequent years of humanitarian work abroad led her to become a Quaker, and on returning to the States, she assumed the secretaryship of WILPF.

Central to Detzer's work was her faith in the legislative process as the cornerstone of American political democracy. Despite the clumsy government machinery, the moneyed interests, and the unethical lobbyists, Detzer appreciated the work and commitment of Congress. She also had an underlying faith that “powerful interests can be checked and controlled by the will of an active and alert citizenship.” But, in order to check and control those interests, she believed that citizens needed “more light.” Detzer made it clear that as she lobbied on behalf of WILPF for the causes of peace and disarmament, she was ultimately a lobbyist for “light.” She held that “*Light* is needed to clarify issues and to expose for the public the conflicting forces shaping a national policy” (emphasis added).

Detzer also believed that “cause lobbyists” were committed to full disclosure, as opposed to secrecy, and to the “overt practice of petition” rather than “the covert practice of concealment” common among business and government lobbyists. From the 1920s to the 1930s, the most prominent “cause lobbyists” were pacifist groups such as Fellowship for Reconciliation, National Council for the Prevention of War and National Council of Women. Like other women in WILPF, Detzer was a member of other groups.

She was probably best known as the woman who convinced Congress to pursue the Munitions Industry Investigations in 1933. Although WILPF and other peace groups had called for armament hearings since WWI, the 1932 breakdown of the World Disarmament Conference in Geneva and escalating conflict between China and Japan appear to have brought the issue to the forefront.

As an immediate response to the Asian conflict, WILPF advocated legislation that included an arms embargo for nations at war. Representative Hamilton Fish of New York also asked Detzer to organize congressional hearings on the issue. Yet after the hearings were abruptly and inexplicably cancelled, she found evidence linking the munitions industry to the State Department. An article buried in the *Washington Times* described how large quantities of nitrates — believed to be headed for the Chinese-Japanese conflict — had been shipped from the Atmospheric Nitrogen Company (ANC) in Virginia. Detzer then discovered ANC was a subsidiary of Allied Chemical and Dye Company, which was interlocked



Dorothy Detzer, executive secretary of WILPF from 1920-1947.

Courtesy, Swarthmore College archives

with the U.S. Steel and Gulf Oil corporations. Gulf Oil Corporation was owned by Andrew Mellon, the Secretary of the Treasury.

Two months later, after Detzer reported her findings at the organization conference, WILPF passed a resolution calling for a government investigation of the munitions industry and its influence. With this mandate from WILPF, Detzer found Senator Gerald P. Nye of North Dakota to sponsor a resolution.

Public hearings before the Senate Munitions Investigating Committee began in early 1934 and lasted two years. The final report described how munitions corporations (including General Electric, Du Pont, Boeing, and Colt) bribed foreign officials, and how the extraordinary sales of munitions produced fear, instability, and hostility, increasing munitions orders in neighboring European, South American, and Asian countries. The report also held that European and American munitions dealers greatly profited from German rearmament.

In *Appointment*, Detzer expressed her deep disappointment that the Senate committee's important service and recommendations — presented as interlocking legislative measures that “supplied bulwarks to safeguard the rights of the American people” — were never passed. Detzer felt that the compromise bill that did pass, the Neutrality Act, was significantly undermined by “half-measure provisions.”

Lighting the Future

Shortly before Detzer called for “light” in 1948, the Supreme Court upheld an antitrust suit against the Associated Press, and affirmed that citizens in a democracy need access to diverse and antagonistic sources of information. This decision, like Detzer's concept of political democracy, assumed a pluralist, liberal process with government acting as a neutral arena in which different groups jockey for power and influence.

Yet over the past 50 years what we've witnessed is the growth of an increasingly impenetrable and unaccountable military/corporate industrial complex. We've seen a government that is not responsive to the needs of its people and a corporate-controlled media that doesn't question those in charge. In recent years we've been faced with leaders using the idea of national security as reason to trump our basic rights to assemble, to express dissent, to participate in decision-making and to presume

full governmental transparency.

The Challenge Corporate Power, Assert the People's Rights (CCP-APR) campaign's study of history reveals that this increased appropriation of power is enabled by a political system biased to serve a propertied and privileged minority. This results in corporations having more legal rights than human beings. Meanwhile, the corporate media continues to shape public opinion and divert attention away from democratic processes and expectations.

Detzer's post-WWII belief in the ability to influence the political process does differ from our campaign's present day thinking. Today, given the new realities and our understanding, the CCP-APR campaign is focused on

more than influencing corporate and government decision-making through lobbying and regulation. Instead, we assert the people's fundamental right to decide and define their future. This process involves changing the culture and our laws so that we can do more than pressure munitions corporations and instead be empowered to actively define how, why and what they produce. It also involves advocating a concept of real democracy, and a deep sense of what a people's

Central to Detzer's work was her faith in the legislative process as the cornerstone of American political democracy, and she believed in the will of an active and alert citizenship if they had enough light to make choices.

sovereignty means and looks like.

As the WILPF Vision Statement makes clear, the CCP-APR campaign envisions a just, sustainable democracy in which “the needs of all people are met in a fair and equitable manner” and where “all people equally participate in the decisions that affect them.” To realize this democracy, and the possibilities of peace, it is essential to directly challenge the legitimacy of corporate rights.

Corporations should have no voice in the halls of Congress or state legislatures. They should have no presence in our electoral or legislative process — no lobbying or political contributions. Representatives of corporations should only enter the legislatures when we, the people, invite them, because we need information. The people should be sovereign, not corporations. This is the light that we can “turn on” for others.

To read the Munitions Investigating Committee Report of 1936, see www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/nye.htm.

Mary Beth Callie, Ph.D. is a member of the CCP APR Campaign Leadership Team in Tucson, AZ.

WILPF History: Past, Present, Future

Edith Ballantyne

The women who convened the International Congress in The Hague in 1915 to protest WWI and seek steps that could lead to making war impossible were internationalist visionaries. They saw humanity as the sum of the basic human experiences of all, belonging to all, to be defended and developed by all, for the benefit of all. Violence and war were the negation of this legacy. Disputes and conflicts had to be resolved non-violently by negotiation, arbitration and conciliation.

The participants at the Congress were convinced that international rules and laws were needed to manage conflict and prevent war. They advocated the establishment of international institutions and laws and an international body through which rules would be developed and administered. The international body would provide a forum for all nations to which they would bring their issues and in which they would together resolve their differences peacefully. And they believed that the high number of participants in the Congress, coming from 12 countries, was a demonstration of international solidarity of women reaching across borders and battlefields, urging all sides to stop the killing and destruction and resolve their conflicts otherwise. They made proposals and sent delegations to neutral governments urging them to initiate peace talks.

The Congress established the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace to carry out the decisions it took. National committees were formed in many countries whose members informed and educated the public to press for ending this war, and the war system altogether. But the war went on until November 1918 when an exhausted German army could fight no more.

When the victorious powers met in Versailles in May 1919 to discuss the terms on which to make peace with Germany, the International Committee of Women for Permanent Peace convened another Congress, this time in Zurich, to influence the “peace” terms the victors were drafting. But the statesmen in Versailles paid no attention to the women's proposals (based on the principles of equality of nations seeking to find and eliminate the causes of the conflict and war in order to build peace and strong foundations). The Congress participants were shocked by the final terms imposed on Germany and denounced the treaty as sowing the seeds of a new war because it perpetuated the principle of the strong dictating to the weak, without regard

to the grievances at the root of the conflict. But they took hope in the establishment of the League of Nations.

Our foremothers at the Congress concluded that they had to continue their work of building peace and influence the League of Nations accordingly. They made the International Committee a permanent organization, renaming it the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. The organization's aims and principles set then continue to guide WILPF today. A program of work was agreed on and carried out internationally; national committees were renamed as national sections.

WILPF has always been an international organization, working to influence and support policies and programs of international institutions to promote peace. Its national sections work to promote peace locally and nationally and to influence government policies related to international affairs and the large questions of world war and peace. In this sense WILPF is unique because it is international in its very being. It is not a federation of national associations with like aims and objectives. It is an organization of women united to eliminate the causes of conflict and war and to further world peace based on justice and equality in a culture of freedom. It focuses on changing policies at all levels in which a non-violent society can develop.

A NEW WORLD ORDER?

The League of Nations had no provisions for official relations with non-governmental organizations. But when the League decided to establish itself in Geneva in 1919, WILPF moved its offices there from Amsterdam. The organization's aims and principles could best be promoted through influencing the development and work of the new League. The WILPF offices at 12 Vieux Collège soon became the center for international encounters, policy discussions, strategy sessions and discreet diplomacy. Gertrud Baer told of diplomats often coming to the “Maison International,” as it became to be called, to consult the WILPF women on international issues; many left accepting the women's ideas.



The author has been Secretary General and International President of WILPF.



WILPF petition parade to the World Disarmament Conference, Geneva, 1932.

WILPF Archives

WILPF also launched international campaigns. It organized a major campaign against the opium trade, for the internationalization of water ways, for the rights of women and their participation in national and international decision-making, for sharing the world's natural resources, for protecting national minorities and for many other pressing causes. They campaigned for total and universal disarmament and petitioned the governmental World Disarmament Conference convened in Geneva in 1932.

WILPF's membership grew in the post-First World War years and new sections were established in more European countries, and also in Mexico, Turkey, and Palestine and in other regions. The reports to the executive committees and congresses, the articles in *Pax et Libertas*, and the correspondence of those from that period are fascinating reading. *Pioneers for Peace* and *Women for All Seasons*, two WILPF histories, give a good account of activities between the two world wars and immediately after the second.

The League of Nations, like all intergovernmental institutions, could be no more than the sum of the will of its member States. That sum did not match the needs required to halt the rise of fascism in Europe and elsewhere, nor the preparations for war. The hopes of forging a new world order withered as the world economic crisis took hold.

WILPF VERSUS WAR

The years leading up to the Second World War were difficult ones for WILPF. Members were arrested, many sent to concentration camps, work had to be clandestine in many European countries; communication among sections and with Geneva became sporadic. It practically stopped after the outbreak of war. Gertrud Baer, who had fled her country in the mid-thirties and had made her home in Geneva (maintaining the Geneva office, writing, speaking and lobbying) was urged to go to New York. She spent the war years there and tried to keep the organization together with help from the U.S. and Canadian sections. She was among those who lobbied for a strong place for human rights and for women's rights in a new world organization of states.

WILPF celebrated the end of the war and the birth of the United Nations with millions the world over. But a catastrophic setback came almost immediately, on August 6 and 9 in 1945, when the United States unleashed two atomic bombs, one over Hiroshima and one over Nagasaki in Japan. The enormity of the number killed and of the devastation caused by one such bomb left the world numb. The numbness soon



Gertrud Baer lobbied for women's rights in a new world organization of states.
WILPF Archives

turned into a worldwide protest against the development and use of nuclear weapons.

The threat of nuclear annihilation hung over the world. The people living under colonial rule were struggling for independence and freedom. The big war was over but new, regional ones were brewing. The United Nations was called to so many fires it did not have the time and resources to finish the proper construction of its house. And the big powers that were to guarantee the building of a new brave world were at loggerheads.

The U.N. Charter provided for consultative relations with voluntary organizations, now called non-governmental organizations in U.N.-speak. With the aims of the U.N. Charter so near those of WILPF, working closely with this new world body was and is important. WILPF obtained consultative status with the United Nations in 1948. Much of its international work has been around U.N. programs through its own activities or in co-operation with other organizations. Much thought and effort has gone into developing relations with the United Nations and into developing effective joint actions with other non-governmental organizations in the fields particularly important to WILPF. These fields are above all disarmament, rights of women, economic, social and cultural rights, protection of the environment, conflict prevention and the elimination of discrimination and racism and the rights of indigenous peoples.

TOWARDS A HEALTHY FUTURE

The United Nations has failed the world's people on many occasions. Millions have been and are being killed in conflicts and wars since 1945. Again, the United Nations can be no more or less than the sum of the wisdom and the will of its member governments. Even so, not to have a world body that brings together all nations, no matter how big or small, with equal rights and vote is unthinkable today. The United Nations is important to WILPF and world peace — a United Nations that is true to its Charter.

As preparations for this year's International WILPF Congress proceed and a program of work for the next three years is developed, one of the priorities for us all, nationally and internationally, should be to do our bit to improve the health of the U.N. system. Through direct advocacy we can push for a more democratic United Nations. Actions on specific disarmament issues, issues of sustainable development, and certain issues of discrimination would also be good to develop in a harmonized national and international program in relation to U.N. goals.

Edith Ballantyne serves as WILPF International's special advisor on U.N. Matters in Geneva and served as the Secretary General from 1969 to 1992 and as International President of WILPF from 1992 to 1998. She can be reached at edibal@prolink.ch.

The Thrill of the Hunt: WILPF Archives in New York

Charlotte Dennett

People like myself who love to do research in archives often speak of “the thrill of the hunt.” And there is no better place to get that thrill than at the Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection at the New York Public Library, one of the major repositories of WILPF's early history.

What makes the collection particularly fascinating is the way this history comes alive: through the personal letters, political speeches, and diaries of two of WILPF's founders: Rosika Schwimmer, a prominent Hungarian journalist who during World War I was regarded as one of the foremost pacifists of her time, and Lola Maverick Lloyd, Schwimmer's closest friend and confidante whose support for Schwimmer was particularly crucial during the postwar “Red scares” of the 1920s and 1930s.

Both women had originally intended to found a world center for women's archives in the United States, especially since women's collections in Europe had been badly damaged by World War I. Yet bad publicity dampened their vision after the war. Schwimmer was particularly hard hit by rumors accusing her of spying for both the Germans and the Bolsheviks. No matter how frequently and convincingly her friend Lola Maverick Lloyd came to her defense, she could not sufficiently disengage herself from the attacks to gain the kind of acceptance she needed in the United States, including the granting of U.S. citizenship, let alone establishing a women's archive center in New York.

With World War II fast approaching, the two pacifists settled on a more modest goal: contributing their papers to the New York Public Library. It was a magnificent gesture. Any of you who have ever used the library (the centerpiece of which is the lofty, Beaux-Arts building at Fifth Avenue and 42nd street) know that this library is one of the finest in the world. It houses the Gutenberg Bible, Jefferson's manuscript copy of the Declaration of Independence, and, on the third floor the Special Collections department, a gateway to some of the nation's most invaluable rare books and manuscripts.

It is clear, from the moment you enter this fascinating (and all too obscure) world of America's early pacifist movement, that Rosika Schwimmer, Lola Maverick Lloyd, and their close friend and archivist, Edith Wynner, expected a new generation of women and pacifists to study their earlier efforts, to learn from their mistakes, and to keep their most compelling, and yet extraordinarily difficult, vision alive: the notion that nations could mediate their differences rather than resort to nightmarish violence and bloodshed. For me, the thrill of uncovering WILPF's early history began by ordering up a large, rectangular box (the Schwimmer-Lloyd papers are kept in 1,900 containers) and

carefully turning over sheaf after fragile sheaf of yellowed, meticulously pasted press clippings beginning in late 1914/early 1915, when Schwimmer went on an anti-war speaking tour of 22 American cities. The scrapbook gives us her speeches, the founding documents of the Women's Peace Party in January 1915, the voyage of the Women's Peace Ship to the Hague in the spring of 1915, and the historic

International Women's Conference at the Hague in June 1915, viewed as the immediate precursor to the founding of WILPF.



Rosika Schwimmer holding William Lloyd. At right is Lola Maverick Lloyd.

THE ORIGINS OF WILPF UNFOLD

The Hague Conference, in particular, has copious coverage in several languages, with some of the longest, most thorough articles appearing in the Dutch, Hungarian and Swedish newspapers. The letters, photographs and articles all carried the passion and determination of WILPF's early leaders, and their courage, both as women and as pacifists, in the face of skepticism, war hysteria and post-war militarism.

In the early years of the war, before American troops got involved, they had reason for hope. Amazingly, Schwimmer's anti-war speeches received wide and favorable press coverage. Her scrapbook of this period shows a dazzling succession of speech making: on February 7 in New Orleans, on February 9 in St. Louis, on February 14 in Pittsburgh, on February 21 in Kansas City, on February 22 in Chicago. The press coverage she received may have come in part because Schwimmer had considerable standing as president of the International Suffrage Association, representing some 12 million women in 16 nations. Perhaps it was because the slaughter in Europe had already taken millions upon millions of lives (up to 10 million by November 1915) and American audiences (women in particular) did not want to see their boys get entangled in a senseless war. “I did not raise my son to be a soldier,” went one frequently cited poem. “I do not want to see my darling boy/March off to war, a gun upon his shoulder/With which to wreck some other Mother's joy.”

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Emily Greene Balch and Haiti

Robin Lloyd

I'd been traveling and making films in Haiti for several years before I learned about Emily Greene Balch's historic trip there.

In 1926 Balch, who helped found WILPF with Jane Addams, led an interracial WILPF delegation to Haiti. Afterwards, the delegation issued a report critical of the U.S. occupation (1915-1934).

It was Ellen Mass of Boston WILPF who made the connection for me. Ellen had organized and videotaped an event marking the 50th anniversary of Balch's receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1946. At Ellen's request, we used her footage to make a video about Balch's life. In the process I read Mercedes M. Randall's 1964 biography of Balch, *Improper Bostonian*. I also read Balch's original report, *Occupied Haiti*.

The WILPF delegation to Haiti took place midway through the American occupation. The reasons for the occupation varied. World War I was imminent and the United States had concerns about a German presence in

Haiti. American officials said they were there to maintain peace and help stabilize the Haitian government. Their attitudes were typically paternalistic. In fact, during the occupation military force was used to impose a democracy by undemocratic means (ask yourself if this corresponds to any other occupations you're aware of).

Elections under the occupation were rigged. A treaty was passed by force, martial law was declared, military tribunals were held, the press was censored and the Haitian Senate was dissolved. Any opposition to the occupation was violently repressed. The ideology of the occupation forces was that might could make right in Haiti.

Balch's delegation was made up of two white women, two black women and two white men. The fact that the mixed party of four women shared their sleeping quarters "in most friendly fashion" did not, Balch wrote, "recommend us to the military." The party stayed in Haiti for three weeks and found a highly explosive situation of confused responsibilities, increased racial self-consciousness, frustration and loss of self-respect.

The final report, which Balch was able to present to President Calvin Coolidge, stated that the occupation should be withdrawn and actual self-government restored. An official commission three years later came to the same conclusion. The Wellesley College website on Balch claims that "her report may have hastened the withdrawal of U.S. forces."

During this Bicentennial year of the Haitian Revolution (1804) a number of websites have information on Haiti, including www.HaitiReborn.org.

"We have made but the merest beginnings in the highest of the human arts, that of living and working together on the plane of consent and cooperation without coercion."

— Emily Greene Balch

MAKING PEACE A REALITY: WILPF'S NATIONAL CAMPAIGNS

The U.S. Section WILPF Board is currently working on a process to select the National Campaigns for 2005-2008 and will be asking for proposals soon. Be sure to watch for guidelines and further information in the next *Peace & Freedom*, in the quarterly letters every member gets from the national office, and on the website. If you have particular questions in the meantime, or if you have suggestions regarding the best way to coordinate our work for national impact while meeting the needs of branches and the membership, feel free to contact Marge Van Cleef, National Board program chair, at (203) 777-3460 or mvc@igc.org; Darien De Lu, National Board co-president at (916) 739-0860; or Jen Geiger, National Program coordinator at (215) 563-7110 or jengeiger@wilpf.org.

WILPF Board member Robin Lloyd recently produced a DVD celebrating the First Black Republic, titled Haiti Rising. It features two award-winning films, animation, an interview with Danny Glover, and other special features. The video about Balch: the Proper Bostonian is also available and is 23 minutes long. Information about both films can be found online at www.greenvalley-media.org. You can also write to: Green Valley Media, 300 Maple St., Burlington, VT 05401 or phone (802) 862-2024.

Editor's Note: As we go to press, President Jean-Bertrand Aristide has left Haiti and the country is in turmoil. The American Friends Service Committee runs a program on Haiti; their website includes many resources, and will have current updates on the situation. For more information, log on to: www.afsc.org/latinamerica/int/haiti.htm.

Peace is the Only Shelter: A Brief History of WILPF Disarmament

Ellen Barfield

From the beginning WILPF has worked to end war. In 1915 courageous women from warring European nations and the United States traveled over 1,500 strong to The Hague calling for an end to World War I.

Almost immediately WILPF women had to focus on what they were against as well as what they were for. The second WILPF Congress in Zurich during 1919 coincided with the Versailles Treaty talks in France. WILPF was the first organization to condemn the terms of the Treaty, which imposed such harsh conditions that German suffering and anger led to WWII. While WILPF had strongly advocated the founding of the League of Nations, it found itself having to criticize the League's weaknesses and lack of openness to citizen participation.

In 1926, U.S. WILPF collected more than 10,000 signatures supporting the upcoming League of Nations Disarmament Commission. In 1932, worldwide WILPF delivered 6 million signatures demanding universal disarmament to the World Disarmament Conference. In the 1930s the worsening political situation not only reduced the impact of WILPF calls for peace and disarmament, but also led to major disagreements between WILPF members and sections.

Baltimore WILPF member Minnie Hoch, who turned 90 last year, remembers picketers at Union Station in Washington, D.C., saying, "Don't send our boys to war." But Europeans, even WILPF members, felt there was no option but war to resist fascism and Hitler. WILPF members made plans for after the war, including a WILPF Congress while the formal peace talks went on (just like after WWI) and strong support for the formation of the United Nations.

In the early 1950s WILPF objected to the Bikini Island nuclear weapons tests, and urged a ceasefire and troop withdrawal from Korea. WILPF initiated a World Disarmament and World Development series in 1953, calling for disarmament and reallocation of the resources saved to address poverty and disease.

In 1957, U.S. WILPF delivered 10,000 signatures to the White House opposing nuclear testing. Anger at fallout from nuclear testing and fear of Cold War tensions caused a

groundswell which became Women Strike for Peace (WSP) as hundreds of thousands of U.S. women left work or home and hit the streets on November 1, 1961 to demand a test ban. In subsequent years WILPF and WSP groups worked closely together or even merged. Sadly, though the 1961 strike was huge, its success was only partial, with an atmospheric test ban in August 1963 — but still no comprehensive ban.

Portland, OR, branch member Carol Urner remembers another fruit of WILPF/WSP work: "Young WSP mothers, realizing they needed a more stable structure for the long haul, resurrected a long-dormant Portland WILPF. The



WILPF and Women Strike for Peace demonstrate against the Vietnam War in Washington, D.C.

WILPF Archives

media continued to give publicity as they organized to defy civil defense as useless against nuclear war ... Every month, when the air raid sirens blew, they stood under Public Shelter signs with their umbrellas reading 'Peace is the Only Shelter' and passed out leaflets calling for steps to peace. They helped get civil defense on the ballot. After Portlanders voted it down three times, both city and state

abandoned the program and it gradually crumbled nationwide. Portland WILPF survived and, 40 years later, still works actively to abolish nuclear weapons."

Vietnam dominated activist agendas later in the 1960s. In 1966, WILPF coordinated a worldwide appeal to women to help stop the Vietnam War. It reached 80 countries and over 100 prominent U.S. women. Jeannette Rankin, by then quite elderly, found herself leading a brigade of 5,000 women marching on Washington in January 1968 to demand that the war end and the military industrial complex be stopped. The former Montana Congress member, who voted against both World Wars, had commented that if as many women marched as U.S. soldiers had died, perhaps the war would end.

In 1968 a nuclear nonproliferation treaty got through the United Nations, but it was so much weaker than the initial WILPF draft that the U.S. Section actually opposed it as signed. In 1969, WILPF's International Conference on Chemical and Biological Warfare in London supported U.N. Secretary General's U Thant's push for compliance of the 1925 Geneva Gas Protocol, and in 1971 the United

Nations passed a Convention banning bacteriological weapons.

In 1978, the First U.N. Special Session on Disarmament (SSD 1) replaced what WILPF had hoped would be a U.N. World Disarmament Conference. After much pressure, U.S. WILPF President Kay Camp was installed as special adviser on disarmament to the U.S. Delegation to the United Nations. "Kay Camp did the hard work on disarmament," said Minnie Hoch.

"The threatened placing of Pershing and Cruise missiles in Germany and the elections of Reagan and Thatcher in the United States and Britain frightened people and the masses gathered. During the SSD 2 in New York in 1982 a million people gathered to protest, including Camp and many other WILPF members. They surrounded the United Nations for weeks, demanding an end to the nuclear arms race. In 1983, 10,000 women (organized by German WILPF member Irene Eckert) marched in Brussels on International Women's Day demanding that governments "Stop The Arms Race!" (STAR). But the missiles went in anyway, and that same month Reagan talked about a "space-based shield." Star Wars was born.

In the early 1990's, U.S. Section Executive Director Jane Midgley compiled the Women's Budget, which called for halving the Pentagon budget and spending the savings on human needs. Many other women's groups used the document, and it still gets asked about in the Legislative Office and on Capitol Hill.

Today, Hoch said she is depressed by her years of work with, apparently, little to show for it. But another way to look at it is that WILPF, and a few other long-lived groups like the War Resisters League, have kept the struggle alive when the crowds were thin. And the crowds are not as thin as they used to be. As U.S. Section Executive Director Mildred Scott Olmsted said in an interview at the end of her long career (she served for an amazing 43 years) "... the world is outgrowing armaments...and WILPF is no longer the only one to see."

Who knows what might have happened without our faithful resistance. I am sometimes amazed that nuclear or other horrendous weapons have been used so seldom, given the fact that there are so many of them. The work continues, and today's Disarm: Dismantling the War Economy Campaign is directly related to earlier work against weapons and war.

UPCOMING EVENTS AND RESOURCES

WILPF's long working relationship in consultative status with the United Nations continues as WILPF leads NGOs planning for yet another Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty Preparatory meeting, April 26 - May 7 at the United Nations. The issues remain so similar, as yet another beligerent U.S. president threatens to enlarge the U.S. nuclear

arsenal instead of eliminating it as he is obliged by the NPT treaty to do, while demanding that other countries give up or never obtain what he thinks is so important. WILPF hopes to once again bring the largest contingent of members to the NPT Prep Com. We hope many members will attend. Two WILPF panels and a strategy meeting are planned. Check the calendar at www.reachingcriticalwill.org/legal/npt.

The ongoing Star Wars missile defense plan (which is unlikely to work and will waste large amounts of money) and the U.S. avoidance of meeting Chemical and Biological Treaty obligations continue to draw our energy.

This work is the "abolition" part of our DISARM! Campaign. The Global Network Against Weapons and Nuclear Power in Space will hold their yearly conference in

Maine (April 23 - 25) and we would like to send more representatives. WILPF will also once again participate in "Keep Space for Peace Week" this fall; this year we are co-sponsoring the event. Go to www.space4peace.org for both topics.

The MilCorp ConneXion manual is being updated with information related to challenging the entire corporate system, as well as the life-threatening pollution and weapons produced by arms manufacturers. The updated manual will soon be on the WILPF website, or available in hard copy from the national office.

Action alerts to keep your legislators in line are available from Eye on Congress; e-mail vmullen@together.net to get on the list. DISARM! members will also attend the Alliance for Nuclear Accountability's spring lobby event in Washington during March 28 - 31. (See www.anuclear.org for more information.) The DISARM! Listening Project also needs listening trainees and sites for trainings. Contact: ellene4pj@yahoo.com.



STAR (Stop the Arms Race) demonstration in Brussels on March 8, 1983.

Bea Gerber / WILPF Archives

Ellen Barfield is a WILPF Board member and a member of the DISARM! Campaign.



Author Elise Boulding

Memories of WILPF

Elise Boulding

Ann Arbor, Michigan, the late 1950s: I was one of a small group of peace activist moms delighted to discover something called WILPF in nearby Detroit that was really taking on the war system in a serious way. We joined enthusiastically, had many local projects, and then in 1961 gave

a helping hand to a new movement called Women Strike for Peace (WSP) — women eager for action but uninformed.

By then a member of the WILPF National Board, I heard WSP leader Dagmar Wilson — invited to discuss strategy with us — tell us this was just a temporary crisis. She expected to take off her firefighter's hat and get back to normal life very soon! What a contrast to the WILPF understanding of the complexities of the situation we were facing. Then there was the eye-opening WILPF Bryn Mawr dialogue between American and Soviet women in the fall of 1961. As a participant, I discovered more and more dimensions to that complexity. How inspiring these women were, how knowledgeable, and how they had suffered!

At the 1962 International WILPF Congress at Asilomar, CA, I was delighted to find a strong awareness of the new field of peace research among WILPFers — an activity I was already supporting as a volunteer at the University of Michigan's new Center for Research on Conflict Resolution. The Congress approved a six-person committee of scholar-activist women from Europe, Asia and the Americas to further peace research. When the University of Michigan hesitated to sponsor the international peace research newsletter I was ready to produce, the WILPF committee became a sponsor, got UNESCO support and actually was instrumental in launching what a couple of years later became the International Peace Research Association — born out of that newsletter!

I loved working with WILPF International. They were such strong women, and able to reach out to each other so effectively across continents. I was proud to be international chair from 1967 - 70. (But I was careful not to get too attached to the role! At an earlier Congress, when a new international chair was chosen, the previous chair refused to give up her place when the new person was introduced. She had to be bodily carried off the

stage by two sturdy colleagues!)

Participating in a delegation of WILPFers meeting with Polish women in Warsaw during the early 1960s is another very special memory for me. How awed we were by the courage and physical survival capacity of these women who had kept underground services going for women and children through the long dark years of occupation, and who were now producing beautiful children's books to nurture the minds of the next generation. And they were more smartly dressed than we, the visitors!

American WILPF had typewriters and better networking facilities (even in the 1960s) than European and Asian women, which understandably irritated the latter. They felt things were too easy for American women. And we listened. When it came to oratory, when Sushila Nayar (who had been Gandhi's physician) spoke, the rafters trembled! Then there were veterans of the Geneva WILPF office, like Gertrud Baer (*see photo page 11*), survivors of many international struggles, and they were able to sit out the longest verbal battles at the League of Nations and other international assemblies. Gertrud never minced words. She also taught me the secret of her endurance during interminable League of Nations sessions: bowing the head and folding thumb and forefinger over the nose just below the eye, to gather inner strength.

My last act as international chair was rescuing the WILPF files and library when the international office had to move out of the space in Geneva it had occupied for so long. WILPF had to move into a much smaller office with no room at all for the extensive files accumulated from 1915 on. Requests to university centers and libraries around Europe to consider housing these valuable archives were all denied. Then I turned to the University of Colorado, where by then I was a research associate, and they said yes. They take splendid care of those WILPF archives and have published a guide to the collection. Visit it if you are ever in Boulder.

Information can be found online at:

www.libraries.colorado.edu/ps/arv/collections/peace.htm.

Elise Boulding is a nationally noted sociologist and educator. She was a sociology professor at the University of Colorado and at Dartmouth College. Her most recent book is Cultures of Peace, The Hidden Side of History. She is a past U.S. WILPF Board member, past International president, and current WILPF U.S. sponsor.

The Power of Women: An Intern Looks Back

Dawn April Lonsinger

When I applied to be a WILPF intern in 2001 the world had just come apart at its hinges, or so said the experts, the media, the neighbors.

I had just returned from a year in South Korea, where family members from either side of the DMZ were being reunited for the first time in nearly 50 years, in many cases, not knowing whether or not their brother, mother, or wife was even alive for much of that time, and in all cases, televised (the personal whirled into the public). It was a place where countless protests against the U.S. military sprang up. Where cherry blossoms were the sparkplugs of the landscape, yet were planted by the Japanese during their occupation. So I was hyper-aware of how complex and personal are politics, borders, and perspective; and I felt taunted by the aftermath that tore people's lives apart on all edges of the globe.

When I arrived in Philadelphia at the national WILPF headquarters, I needed only to go as far as the front lobby to know that September 11th, as deeply shocking as it was, was not altogether a surprise for these women. I understood that they, and those before them, had been struggling against forms of oppression, violence and ignorance for nearly a century, and would continue passionately to do so. In the office of WILPF, strewn with too much to do, endless battles to fight and women to celebrate, there was a deep sense of connectedness to the past, to the women, who since the beginning of time, have somehow persevered against unimaginable odds, who struggled to be heard, and as a result, promoted change and the idea that positive change is possible. Jane Addams was invoked almost daily, reminding me that my mother and her mother and her mother were not necessarily the apathetic/ beauty-obsessed/domestic-concerned women that media/historical images would have me believe.

Quite to the contrary, working at WILPF proved to me the power of women working together toward peace and freedom. I was moved day after day by the camaraderie of the women who worked there, as well as those in the widespread international network of WILPF, many of whom I met through their thoughtful contributions to *Peace & Freedom*. While sorting WILPF's photos, I was befuddled by the dumb, maiming persistence of war,

racism, sexism, homophobia, ignorance, hate, greed and violence, but I was more profoundly affected by the smart, blooming persistence of women of all walks of life, that championed dissent as an essential component of democracy, and who lived their lives by giving themselves to the cause of making others' lives beyond bearable, beautiful and full of life (give us bread, but give us roses).

While flipping through those photos, I realized that whenever, wherever in history there has been an assault

In the WILPF office there was a deep sense of connectedness to the past, to the women who somehow persevered against unimaginable odds, who struggled to be heard, and as a result, promoted change, and the idea that positive change is possible.

on peace, freedom or justice, WILPF members have been there, working by nonviolent means to counteract such transgressions. A few of those instances include supporting the United Nations, arguing for total and universal disarmament, working for the release of political prisoners, aiding refugees from Nazi persecution in Europe, befriending and helping to resettle Japanese-Americans evacuated from California; the list is long and lingering. It was a tremendous, unforgettable opportunity to be a part of such a dedicated group of women, dedicated enough to care about every issue that threatens someone's — anyone's — sense of humanity, of being. I learned a great deal from working at WILPF, perhaps the most crucial thing being that grassroots efforts do work, that voices can crack through the powers that be and their propaganda to find the people, sitting under the same sun and thriving through their hearts.

Dawn April Lonsinger is a poet and graduate student in the MFA program at Cornell University. She worked as a publications intern for WILPF in 2001.

Come to the Farm

The Wing Farm WILPF Gathering in Rochester, Vermont will be held from June 18 to June 27. Mark your calendar! For more information, e-mail Robin Lloyd at robinlloyd@greenvalleymedia.org or call (802) 862-4929.

WILPF Historical Resources

A Guide to Sources on Women in the Swarthmore College Peace Collection compiled by Wendy Chmielewski, archivist. (See the extensive, online WILPF resources (including photos and documents) assembled by Chmielewski and the Peace Collection: www.swarthmore.edu/Library/peace).

Reconstructing Women's Thoughts: The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Before World War II by Linda K. Schott, Stanford University Press, 1997.

Most Dangerous Women: Feminist Peace Campaigners of the Great War, Anne Wiltsher, Pandora Press, 1985.

One Woman's Passion for Peace and Freedom: The Life of Mildred Scott Olmsted, by Margaret Hope Bacon, Syracuse University Press, 1993.

"For Mildred Scott Olmsted," a poem by Sonia Sanchez, from the collection *Under a Soprano Sky*, Africa World Press, 1987.

Peace as a Women's Issue, Harriet Hyman Alonso, Syracuse University Press, 1993.

Pioneers for Peace: WILPF 1915-1965, Gertrude Bussey and Margaret Tims, Alden Press, 1980.

Women For All Seasons: The Story of WILPF, Catherine Foster, University of Georgia Press, 1989.

The Women's Peace Union, Harriet Hyman Alonso, Syracuse University Press, (1989 in hardcover) and 1997 in paperback.

Jane Addams Resources

Jane Addams: Social Reformer and Nobel Prize Winner by Pam Rosenberg, Spirit of America, 2003.

Jane Addams: Freedom's Innovator by Deborah A. Parks, TimeLife Books, 2000.

Jane Addams: Nobel Prize Winner and Founder of Hull House by Bonnie Carman Harvey, Enslow Publishers, Inc., 1999.

100 Years at Hull-House by Mary Lynn McCree Bryan and Allen F. Davis, 1969, 1990 Indiana University Press, 1990 [good for older students].

Peace and Bread: The Story of Jane Addams by Stephanie Sammartino McPherson, Carolrhoda Books Inc, 1993.

Twenty Years at Hull-House, Jane Addams with an introduction and notes by James Hurt [for use by older students; other editions available as well], University of Illinois Press, 1990. (The Gutenberg Project, www.gutenberg.net/cgi-bin/search/t9.cgi offers a link to an online copy of this classic work by Jane Addams; you may search the site by author or title.)

Nonviolence, Peace and Women

Nonviolence in America: A Documentary History by

Staughton Lynd and Alice Lynd, editors. Orbis Books, 1995. (WILPF is cited.)

Revolt Against Chivalry - Jessie Ames and the Women's Campaign Against Lynching by Jacquelyn Dowd Hall Columbia Univ. Press, 1993.

The Challenge of Local Feminisms - Women's Movements in Global Perspective edited by Amrita Basu, Westview Press, 1995.

Lines of Fire - Women Writers of World War I editor Margaret R. Higonnet, A Plume Book (Penquin), 1999.

Writing Red - An Anthology of American Women Writers, 1930-1940 edited by C. Nekola and P. Rabinowitz, The Feminist Press, 1987.

The Power of the People: Active Nonviolence in the U.S. edited by Robert Cooney & Helen Michalowski, New Society Pub., 1987 (good picture of WILPF in street demonstration, 1939).

Videos

"Truth and Reconciliation: Can It Work in the United States?" Highlights from a symposium at NYU Law School in 1997, sponsored by WILPF. Accompanied by a study guide. 18 minutes. www.greenvalleymedia.org

"Peace Train to Beijing" tells the story of 230 women and 10 men from 42 countries who cross two continents to reach the Fourth U.N. Conference on Women in 1995. www.greenvalleymedia.org

"A Proper Bostonian," documents the Wellesley College 50th anniversary commemoration of Emily Balch's receipt of the Nobel Peace Prize. Historians and Wellesley professors, WILPF's National president and local Boston WILPF members discuss her life and works and read selections from her journals. 30 minutes. www.greenvalleymedia.org

Websites

U.S. WILPF: www.wilpf.org Information about National Campaigns, Issue Committees and upcoming actions. Contacts for WILPF branches; most recent statements on current events; information on the Jane Addams Peace Association.

International WILPF: www.wilpf.int.ch/ Links to Sections around the world and addresses and e-mail information for offices at the U. N. and in Geneva.

Reaching Critical Will: www.reachingcriticalwill.org This site addresses the information needs of nuclear neophytes as well as disarmament activists.



Mildred Scott Olmsted served WILPF from 1922 to 1966 in various capacities, including Executive Director.

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➤ ARCHIVES *continued from page 12*

Perhaps the press showed up because suffragists, some 50 years into their struggle for the vote, were finally sufficiently well organized, and well-connected to get their message across: that if women could go to the polls, they would take their nations on a more moral, less destructive course. What is known, for certain, is that Rosika Schwimmer seemed driven by some extraordinary sense of foreboding, and nothing could stop her from her unrelenting speaking tour. “There are provinces in Hungary,” she explained in one speech in November 1914, “...where there is no fuel, as they burn coal imported from England. There the babies will continue to die. This coming winter, cholera too is rife, but newspapers are not allowed to write about it, since all doctors and nurses have gone into the army and there must be silence, for fear of starting a panic...”

How did she finance this trip? According to one news account, “when the war broke out, she sold her jewels and gems to raise the money to come over here and wake up America to the horrors of war.” For three months she financed herself for peace in 20 states and then was compelled to charge small fees for her lectures. No doubt she got help from fellow suffragists and from members of the newly formed Women's Peace Party (the founding documents of which are carefully preserved in the collection).

“This is the first great war,” wrote Anna Garlin Spencer, a future activist in WILPF, “in which the voice of women had had the power to make itself heard.” And yet women still lacked the power to vote!

“We permitted the armaments to continue, year after year,” Schwimmer told an audience in Boston two weeks later, on January 31, 1915. “We believed what we were told ‘that it was beyond the comprehension of women, that it was civilized to prepare for defense.’ Our crime was in not daring to express ourselves.”

Her visit to Chicago a month later was, no doubt, a turning point. She had been invited to Chicago by Jane Addams, the respected social reformer, founder of Hull House and now chair of the Women's Peace Party. And it was there she met Lola Maverick Lloyd, suffragist, mother and daughter-in-law of Henry Demarest Lloyd, the influential financial editor of the *Chicago Times* who later converted to writing about social justice after witnessing the bloody 1896 Haymarket Riot. Lola's husband, William, had grown up in this liberal tradition, and approved of Lola's work on behalf of women's suffrage and pacifism.

Lola liked what she heard from Schwimmer, including Schwimmer's idea of launching a peace ship to Europe “to let Europe know everyone in the U.S. is in sympathy.” It seemed from the clippings that everyone who heard

Schwimmer speak was excited about the peace ship. “I am willing to try anything,” Mrs. William I. Thomas, executive secretary of the Women's Peace Party, was quoted as saying in the Chicago papers. “I am not afraid of mines and if I am asked as a delegate [to the International Conference of Women at the Hague] I shall gladly make the trip.” Chimed in Mrs. Sophonisba Breckenridge, treasurer of the Women's Peace Party, “Europe is mad and the same tactics must be adopted toward it as would be assumed toward an insane person. You try to strike a note [with something like a peace ship] in which you can get a response.” Lola accompanied Schwimmer and the entire U.S. delegation to the Hague Conference, and although she lost her husband to a ship-board romance on that boat (they would subsequently divorce), she gained a friend in Schwimmer who would take her on a lifetime of adventure in the service of peace.

The response to the “first peace ship” was generally favorable, as evidenced, for instance, in an article in the *Chicago Herald* headlined “Peace Ship to End War Finds Hearty Support.” The article, like so many others, carefully pasted into Schwimmer's scrapbook, is accompanied by a

The Women's Peace Ship was described in the *Chicago Herald* as “piercing the Clouds of War as it plows through stormy waters.”

huge drawing of the Women's Peace Ship “Piercing the Clouds of War as it plows through stormy waters in a project of an International Group of Women.”

I came away from this experience with a deep respect for WILPF's founders, for their prescient views, their determination, and their courage to keep on keeping on. A brief autobiography by WILPF's first International President, Emily Balch, left for us to read in the archives, helps put WILPF's work in the immediate, postwar years, in perspective.

“[Those] years were painful and disappointing,” she wrote in her concluding statements. “However, I felt a great exhilaration in the sense of active and organized comradeship with women working for peace all over the world. In one day, I received letters from Ireland, South Africa and Fiji ...” It is this vision and this sense of unity with women from around the world that sets WILPF apart and gives WILPF its endurance.

Charlotte Dennett is a writer and member of Burlington WILPF. She is currently working on a book about the Middle East. She can be reached at crdennett@aol.com.

Generations of Courage: Japan and the Legacy of World War II

.....
Gillian Gilhool
.....

Mariii Hasegawa was a diminutive figure standing in the Palace Hotel lobby as I hurried to meet her recently. Before I left Philadelphia to spend a year in Japan, she had telephoned the U.S. WILPF office to ask if someone could accompany her to a peace forum in Tokyo, convened by the Niwano Peace Foundation. This October I was able to join her at the three-day event.

The forum, a working meeting to celebrate 20 years of the Niwano Peace Prize awards, brought together peace-



Mariii Hasegawa, at far left, discussing the Vietnam Peace Declaration with Kay Camp in 1971 and above, right, in 2004, with Gillian Gilhool, visiting the Great Buddha in Kamekura with the Niwano Peace Forum tour.

makers from Korea, Sri Lanka, Palestine, Israel and Northern Ireland. Regarded as “The Japanese Nobel,” the prize recognizes individuals who have made “significant contributions to world peace through promoting inter-religious cooperation.” Interestingly, Marii, while philosophically a Buddhist, was drawn to WILPF because it is non-sectarian. She was an award recipient in 1996.

Mariii's father was a Buddhist priest and brought his family to the United States from Hiroshima in 1919, a year after she was born. He had just been assigned to tend the spiritual needs of Buddhists in California.

In 1942, a few years after graduating from U.C. Berkeley, Marii and her family were interned by government order. She noticed that WILPF was one of the few organizations to immediately protest the internment. When she moved to Philadelphia in 1945, WILPF's Delaware County branch was finding jobs and housing for Japanese

Americans. Marii began investing her energies and leadership skills in WILPF. Over the next five decades, our organization became home to her many peace activities. As national president during the Vietnam War, Marii also led WILPF's peace delegation to North Vietnam.

At the forum in Japan, Marii was invited to represent the returning Niwano laureates with remarks at the opening reception. She expressed regret that the United States, her country, had added new meaning to the word “preemption,” advancing “the right of strong nations to go to war, to insist that things go the way they want, and is most profitable for them.” She reminded all of us that, “If we are to have a world without violence we must remember that there must be a world where physical needs do not allow hate to prevail.” With reference to the Bush Administration and ongoing conflicts around the world, Marii closed by saying: “Religions must remember the teaching of their own religions, and not insist theirs is the only truth. All religions will lead the way to peace.”

Career Connections: Kozue Akibayashi

When I first visited Japan in December 2001, Mary Day gave me the name of Kozue Akibayashi whom she had met at a recent international WILPF meeting. While taking courses for her doctorate in peace education at Columbia University with Betty Reardon, Kozue had learned about WILPF. At the time she also met Felicity Hill at the WILPF U.N. office. Kozue was doing participatory research for her dissertation on Okinawa Women Act Against Military Violence (OWAAMV). OWAAMV organizes to confront militarism and is a very busy organization. Although it has been 59 years since WWII, there are still 38 U.S. bases in Japan, occupying 20 percent of the main island.

Kozue invited me to meet feminist journalist Yayori Matsui, who was a fierce opponent of war and sexual violence. At the time, Yayori was director of both the Violence Against Women in War - Japan Network and the Asia-Japan Women's Resource Center. She was a prime organizer of the December 2000 Tokyo Women's International War Crimes Tribunal. WILPF supported the Tribunal, holding Japanese imperial forces accountable for their human rights violations and the suffering of former “comfort women.” Its judgment was filed at The Hague in 2001.

Yayori died in December 2002, but her plans to create a Women's Museum for War and Peace (to preserve and make accessible the documents, photographs and videos she had accumulated) are being continued by Japanese and other women who knew her work.

Early this year, Kozue was contacted by a group of Okinawan women legislators who were going to Washington, D.C. to urge the new Federal Commission on the Review of Overseas Military Facility Structure to reduce

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Committee Corner

Around and about WILPF



Civil Liberties

Vivian Schatz

There is good news and bad news about civil liberties. New York City joined Los Angeles and 240 other cities in passing a resolution to repeal the U.S. Patriot Act. In January, a federal judge for the first time declared unconstitutional a section of the Patriot Act that bars giving expert advice or assistance to groups designated as foreign terrorist organizations.

Prof. David Cole, who argued the case on behalf of the Humanitarian Law Project, declared the ruling “a victory for everyone who believes the war on terrorism ought to be fought consistent with constitutional principles.”

Meanwhile, the Supreme Court turned down an appeal challenging the secrecy surrounding the arrests and detentions of hundreds of people in the wake of the September 11 attacks. Not a single link to terrorism has been proven from these arrests, which came largely during the mandatory registration of men from Muslim countries. The arrested had no access to lawyers and many were deported for minor visa violations.

Detainees are still being held in Guantanamo Bay without the right to counsel as the Supreme Court considers the constitutionality of this arrangement. “In depriving the Guantanamo prisoners of the universally recognized right to due process before the law, our government not only flouts the U.S. Constitution, the Geneva Convention, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, but also the ‘decent opinions of mankind’ sought by our nation’s founders in the Declaration of Independence,” said Anthony D. Romero, executive director of the ACLU. The ACLU and other groups filed a friend of the court brief on behalf of the detainees.

Police in many parts of the country have acted brutally against peaceful demonstrators. Police shot rubber bullets at protesters in Oakland and Miami. There has been a history of abuses in Washington, D.C. “It is about criminalizing dissent. It is intended to clear the streets by arresting large numbers of people to send a political message that dissent is unacceptable,” said Mark Goldstone of the National Lawyers Guild.

Police and the Secret Service have also restricted demonstrators to so-called “free speech” zones far from the president and other government officials who are

being protested against. The ACLU has filed for a permanent injunction that would compel the Secret Service to always allow protesters access to the same space as supporters.

The military has taken on major new domestic policing surveillance roles since 9/11, even though the 1878 Posse Comitatus Act prohibits the direct use of federal troops “to execute the laws” of the United States. A Pentagon organization, the Counter Intelligence Field Activity, was established last year with wide-ranging power for domestic spying and data mining. It can process massive numbers of public records, intercept communications, obtain credit card accounts and membership lists of activist organizations, etc.

President Bush and Attorney General Ashcroft keep pushing for wider powers. In his State of the Union address in January, the president called on Congress to renew the Patriot Act when some portions — though not all — expire on December 31.

Parts of the Patriot Act II were passed last December as an attachment to an intelligence spending bill. These bills are usually drafted in secret and approved without debate or public comment. The provision expands the power of the FBI to subpoena information from a broad range of businesses — everything from libraries to travel agencies to eBay — without first seeking approval from a judge.

The good news is that there are bipartisan efforts in Congress to try to fix the Patriot Act. Rep. Kucinich has introduced The Ben Franklin True Patriot Act, HR 3171, which would repeal many provisions of the Patriot Act. The “SAFE” Act-Security and Freedom Ensured Act (HR 3352 and S1709) also has bipartisan support. For more details on these and some good single-issue bills, check out www.cdt.org/security/usapatriot/fix.shtml.

Another new bill, the Civil Liberties Restoration Act, has been introduced as the product of collaborative work with senators, representatives, their staffs and immigration and constitutional rights organizations. Go to www.immigrationforum.org for details and lobby your elected officials to support all the above-mentioned bills.

Vivian Schatz is chair of WILPF's Civil Liberties Committee. She can be reached at: aschatz@temple.edu or (215) 843 2051.

Focus on the Middle East

Odile Hugonot Haber

Our Committee has been working hard on doing in-depth studies of the U.S. Middle East policy regarding Israel and Palestine. Our work will eventually be pub-

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Past and Present with the Jane Addams Peace Association

Linda B. Belle, JAPA Executive Director

I'm delighted that this issue of *Peace & Freedom* is devoted to WILPF's history. The Jane Addams Peace Association (JAPA) has been a part of WILPF since the Chicago Branch founded it in 1948. In 1951, JAPA began to carry out some of the educational programs of National WILPF. That same year the federal government granted tax exemption to JAPA so that contributions are deductible for income and estate tax purposes.

Over the years JAPA has expanded its funding capabilities through the aid of many generous contributors and several major bequests, and we have financed more and more of WILPF's educational activities. JAPA is now defined as "The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom Educational Fund" and holds more than \$3 million dollars earmarked for U.S. and International WILPF. JAPA owns the building at 1213 Race Street in Philadelphia, where WILPF's national

office is based.

Our Board of Directors is comprised solely of WILPF women: 10 directors including the WILPF U.S. Section President(s) and the International President as ex-officio directors with voting rights; one past executive director of U.S. WILPF and one past executive director of JAPA. We also currently have an economics professor who (in her pre-parenting days) worked in Geneva as the international WILPF fundraiser. Our current board president is a past member of the U.S. WILPF board and daughter-in-law of a past international president. The board is rounded out by women who have been and currently are chairing WILPF campaigns and whose lives have been devoted to WILPF and the work of peace.

I hope I have helped clarify who we are and our relationship with WILPF. We are located in New York across from the United Nations and share offices with International WILPF's U.N. women. Please drop in next time you are in the area, I'd love to spend time with you and introduce you to our New York U.N. team.

Linda B. Belle can be reached via e mail at: japa@igc.org.

WILPF HISTORY IN PRINT

Robin Lloyd

The founding document of WILPF, *Women at the Hague: The International Congress of Women and Its Results*, has been re-issued with a fascinating 40-page introduction by Harriet Hyman Alonso (University of Illinois Press, 2003)

Congratulations to Alonso and the University of Illinois Press for making this happen!

Women at the Hague consists of reminiscences by the three women who were among the most active feminists and peace activists at the conference: Jane Addams, Emily Greene Balch, and Alice Hamilton. Alonso's introduction sketches out the atmosphere in which the conference took place. Among the 1,000 or more women from warring and neutral countries, discussions were intense but businesslike. Although Addams, as chair, allowed official translators time to help with English, German, and French, anxious participants and those who required translation into other languages created a constant din.

Throughout the four days there were frequent outcries for silence, more volume from speakers (there were, of course, no microphones) and more time for translation. Yet despite the complaints, the spirit of hope and camaraderie were great and much was accomplished.

Alonso writes, "Timely for even a modern reader was Addams' acknowledgement that she could not ignore the world's globalization, a phenomenon as exciting as it was challenging."

"But whether we care for it or not," Addams wrote, "our own experiences are more and more influenced by the experiences of widely scattered people; the modern world is developing an almost mystic consciousness of the continuity and interdependence of mankind. There is a lively sense of the unexpected and yet inevitable action and reaction between ourselves and all the others who happen to be living upon the planet at the same moment."

I highly recommend reading through this slim volume to revel in the visionary insights of our foremothers.

Robin Lloyd is a member of the U.S. WILPF Board and chair of the Development Committee.

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

Cuba and the Travel Ban

Tammy James

The Cuba Campaign continues to struggle with the Bush Administration around the issue of travel.

As many of you know, WILPF has maintained a license to travel to Cuba since April of 2000. Under this license, hundreds of members have been able to experience Cuba firsthand and participate in the WILPF tradition of person-to-person diplomacy.

Unfortunately, under the terms of our original license issued by the U.S. Department of Treasury's Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC) WILPF was required to keep a record of travelers using the license and to provide those names upon request. As part of the Bush administration's crackdown on Cuba related travel, OFAC exercised its option under the terms of the license and demanded in June 2003 that WILPF turn over its records of licensed travelers to Cuba in February of 2002. As required by law and under advice of legal counsel, we, therefore, turned over the list of names of WILPF licensed travelers during that time period.

Since WILPF licensed the travel to Cuba and determined that those trips fell under the terms of the license,

it is important that WILPF respond to any inquiries OFAC has about the criteria and usage of that license. We maintain that all WILPF travelers were rightfully licensed and there is nothing inappropriate or illegal in our individual or joint activities. This is an organizational, not individual, matter and requires a coordinated legal response. To this end, we have been working with the U.S. Cuba Sister Cities Association, the Cuba Working Group, the National Network on Cuba and the Center for Constitutional Rights.

As part of Bush's "new" Cuba policy announced in March 2003, until there is a "regime change" in Cuba, no licenses will be issued under the Congressionally-mandated, legal category of "people-to-people." In 2004 no "people-to-people" licenses will be issued, meaning approximately 85 percent of people who formerly traveled to Cuba will no longer be legally eligible to do so. These measures come in spite of the overwhelming bipartisan cooperation in both the House and Senate, who have aggressively worked to pass legislation to end the travel ban. The Bush policy has made it clear that the government's approach to licensing will now be more restrictive by eliminating the people-to-people category and making all license renewals even more difficult than before.

WILPF is among the hundreds of organizations affected by these policy restrictions. Our ability to assist our members in experiencing Cuba and becoming personally informed about Cuba through direct contact and exchanges with the Cuban people has been effectively eliminated, as our application for a new license remains indefinitely "pending" under the new guidelines. We encourage you to notify your Congressional representatives that this administration is acting against the will of their constituents — we, the people. Additionally, inform them that harassment and prosecution of previous legitimate travel to Cuba is unacceptable. It is vital that we remind our elected officials that the people support an end to the travel ban. Please contact local media, hold education events, and keep in touch with your Congressional representatives.

Convention Watch

The Democratic Party will hold its convention July 26 - 29 in Boston, Massachusetts. Various events are being planned, including demonstrations and teach-ins. Our Greater Boston Branch has offered to coordinate housing for WILPF members coming to town. See the branch website for more information: www.wilpfboston.org.

The Republican National Committee will be in New York for its convention from August 29 - September 4. Major demonstrations are being planned for August 31 as delegates arrive, and September 2 when the nominee is officially announced.

Please join WILPF in speaking up for the values of peace, justice and human rights for all at these major events. More information will be posted on our website, www.wilpf.org, as plans progress.

Tammy James is a WILPF Board member and has traveled to Cuba numerous times, including on several WILPF sponsored trips. For more information about the Cuba Campaign, please contact WILPF's National Program Coordinator, Jen Geiger at (215) 563 7110 or jengeiger@wilpf.org.

Fair Trade Better Than Free Trade: WILPF Gathers in Costa Rica

Gloria Malinalli

SAN JOSE, Costa Rica — Lawyers, scientists, teachers, committed youth and women from seven countries met in Costa Rica's capital this February for the WILPF Americas Regional Conference. The object of the three-day gathering was to analyze the impact of free trade, in particular the proposed Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) and its effects on the well being of the people,



Olga Bianchi is a member of the Costa Rica Section and International Vice President.

sustainable development and the sovereignty of the participating nations.

The hosts of the event, headed by Olga Bianchi, president of LIMPAL (WILPF) Costa Rica, did a great job of compiling the original FTAA accord documents for our analysis. Up until now the FTAA has largely been negotiated behind closed doors.

“We are deeply worried that the Free Trade

Agreements that are being proposed transgress the rules of commerce, and are advancing a model of society and a legal framework that are on the margin of the democratic political process,” reads the declaration endorsed by the participants at the WILPF meeting.

Among the already well-documented issues around the relaxation of labor and environmental laws in the framework of these international accords, what stood out was the concern over the inability of local governments to make decisions regarding natural resources in their own jurisdiction. Also of major concern is the fact that the agreements don't provide support for the small and medium industries that provide employment for large segments of the population in many of the countries represented at the conference.

As a plan of action, the delegates of LIMPAL / WILPF proposed that the participation of the citizenry be guaranteed and that a process of openness about the agreement is assured. The idea is to have the accords discussed for a period of at least two years in the countries that are involved. Public discussion, or even referendum, must be preceded by information campaigns that have funding and access to media equal to that of the FTAA backers.



WILPF members from Costa Rica, Chile, Colombia, El Salvador, the U.S. and the U.N. Office gather in San Jose.

Mary Day Kent

Also of note were reports that participants made about the situations in their own countries. And even after the long work sessions, the delegates didn't lose the great opportunity to share points of view, information and experiences. There were improvised video sessions and after-hours meetings. Out of these came initial plans to search for ways to finance LIMPAL programs, such as those that assist families displaced by the violent conflict in Colombia, or workshops on self-sufficiency for women in Bolivia.

Finally, the delegates from Latin America requested more integration and improved communication with U.S. and International WILPF.

Gloria Malinalli is a writer and activist based in California.

LIFE MEMBERSHIPS IN WILPF

Life Memberships in WILPF are a powerful and convenient way to support the work of creating peace and freedom. Life Memberships make great birthday, holiday and wedding gifts.

Life Memberships are a wonderful way to honor the contributions of a member of your Branch or community. Life Memberships are a meaningful way to honor the birth of a child (or grandchild!) The Life Membership packet includes: Lifetime Subscription to *Peace & Freedom* magazine, attractive Life Membership certificate, copy of WILPF history *Women for All Seasons*, a WILPF lapel pin, and knowing you have made a decisive step towards “Making Peace a Reality.”



Zoë, above and on the cover, is not yet a life member. Call the office if you want to remedy this situation.

Peace & Freedom 2003 Index

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DISARMAMENT

On Disarming Despair, by Darien De Lu (1:3)
Working for Peace in a Time of War, by Disarm! Campaign Leadership Team (1:4)

INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT

The International Criminal Court, by Gloria Bletter (2:18)

IRAQ

A Letter to the Women of Iraq (1:6)

JAPA

JAPA Award-Winning Books Available to Branches (1:23)
Celebrating 50 Years of Children's Book Awards, by Ann Chalmers Pendell and Linda B. Belle (2:23)



KOREA

Looking Back at Korea, by Ellen Barfield (2:27)

PEACE EDUCATION

Leave No Child . . . Unarmed? by Oskar Castro (1:22)

UFORJE

Building a Beloved Community, by Evelyn Spears (2:12)
UFORJE Joins N'COBRA to Support National March for Reparations, by Adjoa A. Aiyetoro (1:16)

U.S. POLICY

The World Made Safer or More Dangerous? The Implications of the Bush Administration's Blueprint for National Security Policy, by Philip Berryman (1:10)

WATER AND HYDROPOLITICS

Water, Women, War and 21st Century Globalization, by Regina Birchem (2:4)
Myths About Water Privatization, by Dr. Vandana Shiva (2:6)
Revolt Against Water Privatization, by Sarah Anderson (2:8)
Weapons and Water Do Not Mix, by Pat Birnie (2:10)
Who Governs Water? by members of WILPF's Challenge Corporate Power, Assert the People's Rights Campaign (2:14)

WILPF

WILPF Gathers in the West, by Pat Hollingsworth and Nancy McClintock (2:28)
Committee Corner: Around and About WILPF (1:8) (2:16)
International Executive Committee Convenes in New Zealand, by Joyce McLean and Sandy Silver (1:20)
Sobering Statistics (1:7)
Jeannette Rankin Spirit (1:25)
Members Matter: How We Can Build WILPF, by Jody Dodd (2:14)
Taking Part in International WILPF (2:26)
The Ruins of War, Theta Pavis (2:19)
WILPF National Campaigns Develop Connections (2:20)
WILPF Interns Work for Peace (Summer 2003), compiled by Emily Nepon (2:21)

WILPF IN WASHINGTON

Opposing the War Economy in Wartime: Finding New Allies, by Gillian Gilhool (1:24)
Testifying Against the Nuclear Arsenal, by Ellen Barfield (2:22)

AROUND WILPF: PAST, PRESENT, FUTURE



In 1983, braving Moscow's cold, are (left to right) Jean Gore, Libby Frank, Anne Nelson, Kay Camp, Genie Silver and Ione Biggs. In 2004, Jody Dodd (seated, far right) at a workshop she gave in Philadelphia on the FTAA for the Chinese student group, Community Youth Organizing Campaign.



➤ MIDDLE EAST FOCUS *from page 21*

lished under the form of a booklet made available to all the branches.

Nationally, WILPF joined The U.S. Campaign to End The Israeli Occupation.

After due process, this action was recommended by the Middle East Committee and approved by the National Board.

The U.S. Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation is a diverse coalition working for freedom from occupation and equal rights for all by challenging U.S. policy

towards the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The campaign is based on human rights and international law, providing a nonsectarian framework for everyone who supports its call to action. The coalition is made of about 67 peace organizations, such as the American Friends Service Committee and Tikkun. For more information, check out the website www.endtheoccupation.org.

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Odile Hugonot Haber is a chair of WILPF's Middle East Committee. She can be reached at od4life@aol.com or (734) 761 7967.

➤ JAPAN AND WORLD WAR II

continued from page 20

military personnel and close U.S. military bases in Okinawa. Mitsuko Tomon, a member of the Japanese Diet, and Suzuyo Takazato, co-chair of OWAAMV, led the delegation. The U.S. WILPF office helped the delegation with appointments and logistics for their visit.

Kozue, who now has her Ed.D., is currently at the Institute for Gender Studies at Ochanomizu University in Tokyo and also teaches peace education courses. She is the Japan coordinator for the East Asian/U.S./Puerto Rico Women's Network Against Militarism, and active in the newly-formed Asian Peace Alliance. (Both groups recently presented workshops at the World Social Forum in Mumbai.) A board member of WILPF Japan, Kozue has been nominated for International Vice President.

.....
Gillian Gilhool is Legislative Organizer for WILPF U.S. She is currently on a sabbatical in Japan. She can be reached at ggilhool@wilpf.org.



Dalit women cleaning trash during the World Social Forum in Mumbai, India
January 16-21, 2004 saw 100,000 people gathered in Mumbai, India, for the fourth World Social Forum (WSF), the first outside Brazil. The new venue enabled grassroots activists from other areas of the global south to join in this massive networking event. Rhianna Tyson, WILPF U. N. office, was a lead organizer of a workshop-panel discussion about nuclear weapons. Other WILPFers attending included Gillian Gilhool, Deborah Uttenreither, and Sushma Pankule, president of the WILPF Core Group-India. For reports, pictures, and other Mumbai links, see www.wilpf.org.

Women's International League for Peace & Freedom

Resources to Make Peace a Reality, 2004

New Membership Materials!!

WILPF's Membership Drive logo by member Heidi Trester (also featured on our website www.wilpf.org)

Button **\$1.00**

Bumper Sticker **\$1.00**

Poster 3 ft x 3 ft **\$10.00**

If your branch participates in the Membership Drive and signs up 10 new Members you get 10 of each FREE!!!

Other Membership Materials

WILPF Dove lapel pin. Enamel pin with clutch back, blue on silver background. **\$5.00**



BACK by popular demand! WILPF Dove button blue on white background. **\$1.00**

"Listen to Women for a Change" Bumper Sticker **\$1.00**

"Raging Grannies" Song Book **\$9.00**

WILPF logo Button, pink background! **\$1.00**

WILPF logo heavyweight magnet, red background **\$3.00**

PAX WILPF International heavyweight magnet, green and yellow on white background **\$3.00**

WILPF Pen on a Rope! Never lose a pen again! Handy for everything from demonstrations to around the house! **\$3.75**



Picasso Peace Graphic

Notecards, blank inside. 10 cards, 10 envelopes. **\$10.00**

Tee-shirts, choose purple or salmon. M, L, XL **\$15.00**

National Campaign Resources

Challenge Corporate Power: Assert the People's Rights "Call to Defy Corporate Domination" poster **\$6.00 each**, 10 or more for **\$2.00 each**

"Abolish Corporate Personhood" bumper sticker **\$1.00**

10-Session Campaign Study packet **\$15.00**



Organizing packet to Abolish Corporate Personhood (includes booklet and bumper sticker) **\$15.00**

Corporate Personhood tee-shirt. "Slavery is the Legal Fiction that a Person is Property, Corporate

Personhood is the Legal Fiction that Property is a Person." Available in M, L, XL on organic white and off-white cotton. **\$18.00**

Pewter Peace Pins and Pendants. Attractively boxed including history of the Peace Symbol. Peace Pin **\$8.00** Peace Pendant **\$8.00**

DISARM! Dismantling the War Economy Mil-Corp ConneXion Manual. Resource and action guide for challenging the military-industrial complex. **\$15.00**

Addicted to War - Why the U.S. Can't Kick Militarism, witty and entertaining illustrated expose by Joel Andreas. **\$8.00**



UFORJE: Uniting for Racial Justice Campaign tee-shirt with Front: campaign logo of women dancing. Back: "Truth, Reparations, Restoration, and Reconciliation" Three-color (black, red, and green) on white. M, L, XL **\$18.00**

ADDITIONAL ISSUE RESOURCES

"Actions to Break Barriers to Peace in the Middle East" booklet, publication of WILPF International from the International Seminar in Geneva, July 2001. Incredible resource for organizing! **\$10.00**



"Disarmament Begins in the Playroom, No More War Toys" poster **\$6.00**

New Edition! "Human Rights for All, CEDAW" booklet. Excellent resource guide published in cooperation with Boston WILPF and Cleveland WILPF. **\$5.00**





BranchAction News

Leslie Reindl, Branch Action Editor

Dear WILPFers: Your newsletters this past quarter have been filled with both horrifying and wonderful stories. I wish I could put all of them into the Branch News for everyone to read. Here is a quote from one story, by a **Detroit** member who demonstrated with others at the Oak Ridge, TN, nuclear weapons plant: "Later, at a restaurant, a young waitress asked our bedraggled group if we had been demonstrating. I said yes. She asked me if I thought it made a difference. I paused at this, because sometimes I wonder about this myself. I said to her, 'I don't know ... what do you think?' She answered, 'I think it made a difference.' She then served us food and water with great attentiveness and care."

Yes, we do make a difference. What would the world be like without people like us?

ELECTIONS, ELECTIONS

New York reported on the success of its forum "The Stolen Election," and ran an article outlining who controls the three major voting machine companies.

Minnesota Metro also had a long, member-written article about election fraud, suggesting readers visit www.blackboxvoting.org. **Santa Cruz** urged its members to help pass HR 2239, the "Voter Confidence Act," which requires a verified paper ballot and spot audits in a certain percentage of precincts; **Peninsula** asked members to thank a California rep for co-sponsoring the bill.

Cape Cod had a page of excerpts from women about voting, including comments from: Susan B. Anthony's speech "After Being Convicted of Voting in the 1872 Presidential Election"; Emma Goldman's "Woman Suffrage"; and Fannie Lou Hamer's testimony given at the 1964 Democratic Convention. All of them were very moving. **Cape Cod** and **Boston** are working together on actions and events for the Democratic National Convention, to be held in Boston. **Minnesota Metro** presented a program on three aspects of voting: Fair and Clean Elections (about campaign financing) election fraud issues and the Twin Cities Peace in the Precincts

program, to get people to carry a peace platform to their March caucuses and through the conventions. **Asheville** heard from a candidate for Congress. **Monterey** members attended a League of Women Voters meeting on elections to express concern about touch screen voting machines.

IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN

Santa Cruz heard from a labor activist and national organizer of U.S. Labor Against the War, who told about the campaign to support workers' rights in Iraq. Occupation forces are enforcing an old law that forbids labor organizing. Workers receive \$60 a month, without the subsidies for housing and food they had received previously. Up to 70 percent are unemployed, and those who work do so for 11 to 13 hours a day. **Cape Cod** reprinted an article by Sean Penn about his time in Iraq. He wrote that at one point during his visit he was surrounded at gunpoint by six militiamen (working under the command of a Texan). "I ask with innocent curiosity who I am dealing with. The Texan curtly informs me, 'I work for DynCorp.'" (DynCorp is one of the corporations that got a no-bid contract in Iraq.) **Los Angeles** meanwhile is joining other groups in a weekly vigil against Bechtel Corp. **Portland** Women in Black showed a video of Afghani women building a school and helping to bring their village back to normalcy, made by a Portland filmmaker. **Portland** also reprinted part of an article from *The Independent* (UK), about U.S. military recruiters promising Latino non-citizens in the U.S. and in Mexico that they can apply for citizenship the day they join up. Some 37,000 have now enlisted.

THE "WAR AGAINST TERRORISM"

Berkeley carried the story of the Treasury Dept.'s Office of Foreign Assets Control asking WILPF to submit the names of all persons who had traveled to Cuba under a WILPF license in February 2002. No reason for the request was given. **San Jose** has published an opinion piece about Russia. The author, a Ukrainian-born journalist, says Russia is utilizing propaganda about Al-Qaeda and Bin Laden using Chechnya for a safe haven; he compares the war in Chechnya to the 1915 massacre

Continued on next page ➤

Sweden Welcomes WILPF's Triennial Congress - 2004

When: August 2 - 8, 2004 • Where: 20 km north of Göteborg, Sweden

How much: Basic costs, not more than U.S. \$610 per person, in two-bed rooms (single rooms available) including three nice meals a day. Questions? Contact WILPF Sweden, Boel Bruce, Syrégatan, SE 413 21 Göteborg, Sweden, phone: (46) 31 20 57 00, e-mail: boel.bruce@swipnet.se. Extensive information is also available online at www.wilpf.int.ch/

of Armenians, when no one intervened. **Des Moines** had a moving account by a member who was arrested and spent a long night and day in jail, after a conference on “Stop the Occupation! Bring the Iowa Guard Home.” One woman was charged with assault after accidentally touching a trooper with her foot! (Four of the organizers of this conference were called to appear before a Grand Jury on Feb. 9 on the unspecific charge of “breaking a federal law.” The subpoenas were withdrawn the same day.)

IMPEACHMENT, ANYONE?

East Bay was a signer of a letter asking Congresswoman Barbara Lee to submit a resolution asking for the impeachment of George W. Bush, Richard Cheney, Donald Rumsfeld and John Ashcroft for violating their individual oaths to support the U.S. Constitution.

WAR, MILITARISM, AND FOREIGN POLICY

A **Minnesota Metro** member, feminist and author, gave a program on “The Origins of War Consciousness,” showing the rise of power structures and women's secondary status throughout history. **Los Angeles** endorsed the program “Stopping Militarism in Our Schools” and sponsored a weekend multigenerational peace camp, with workshops on environmental, political, and social justice.

Peninsula and **Palo Alto** also had guest speakers on the theme of the military occupation of schools. **Detroit** included in its newsletter a petition by Peace Action of Michigan called “Campaign for a New Foreign Policy,” with a three-point platform: support human rights and democracy, reduce the threat from weapons of mass destruction and cooperate with the world community. E-mail peaceactmich@earthlink.net for more information. **Santa Cruz** had a speaker on current nuclear policies and the Pentagon's new nuclear weapons program. **East Bay** published a full page on the “14 Characteristics of Fascism,” by Dr. Lawrence Britt.

FREE TRADE VS. FAIR TRADE

St. Louis had a January brown bag lunch on “Our View of the FTAA: the Militarization of Police” given by members of the local Friends meeting. **Cape Cod** heard from members who marched against the School of the Americas (from Atlanta to Columbus, Ga.) and in Miami against the FTAA. A member of **Santa Cruz** explained the outcome of the Miami and Cancun meetings and the importance of the support given by protesters to Latin American trade ministers. **Peninsula** heard about the harmful effects of “free trade” by two founders of the organization “Our Developing World.” Its purpose is to offer a realistic view of developing nations to schools and citizens. A **St. Louis**

member gave an eyewitness account of the WTO in Cancun, while **Los Angeles** heard from someone who attended the World Social Forum in India in January. **Cape Cod** sent a member to the WILPF Hemispheric Conference in Costa Rica in February, a meeting promoting connection and collaboration between member countries of the Americas; the FTAA was a focus issue.

GLOBALIZATION

Los Angeles was one of many endorsing the program “Creating a Caring Economy in Venezuela,” given by the woman economist appointed by President Hugo Chavez to head the Women's Development Bank. Events in Venezuela are of great importance to all impoverished countries. **Des Moines** heard about “Agribusiness and Globalization: Impact on Iowa” from a speaker knowledgeable about the experts' advice to farmers that they should “get big or get out.” The event also covered the change in farming — from a way of life to just another business, and how trade policies are undermining farming around the world. One interesting story was about Iowa farmers trying to sell grain directly to Russia. They found out that large corporate grain

companies who blocked their access controlled every barge on the Mississippi. **Catonsville** had a program on corporate personhood given by Paul Hughes, who works with WILPF's Challenging Corporate Power campaign. **Monterey** presented the film “Another World is Possible: Northern Voices from the World Social Forum” as heard in Porto Alegre, Brazil [in 2003.] **Los Angeles** heard grocery store workers who are striking mainly over withdrawal of paid health care benefits as part of the “race to the bottom” for American workers.



WILPF 2004 interns Manjunath Sharma and Nnennaya Okoro.

WATER, WATER EVERYWHERE

San Jose's 2004 kick-off program was on “Hydropolitics: Water, A Public or Private Utility?” **Santa Cruz** welcomed a water expert and activist for a discussion of the economics and politics of water.

PROGRAMS

St. Louis learned about “Cuba: From Colonialism to Castro.” **New York** had a healthcare forum and film festival, hearing from Congressman John Conyers about the National Health Insurance Act in Congress (HR676). **Los Angeles** heard about “International Laws and Treaties: The Role of Nongovernmental Organizations” for its International Women's Day program. Gila Svirsky, an Israeli peace activist, spoke to **Baltimore**. **Des Moines** and **Minnesota Metro** had programs on Korea, especially North Korea. **Des Moines** started a six-session on “Combating Racism - Becoming Anti-Racist.”

USING THE ARTS FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

Cape Cod sponsored a presentation of "The Vagina Monologues" to raise money for local women's shelters. Cape Cod also has an ongoing workshop, "Writing for Social Change." On her birthday, the branch also held a "Susan B. Anthony Winter Walkathon" to raise money for members going to the Congress in Sweden. **St. Louis** is using the play "Lysistrata" for a fund-raiser. **New York** Raging Grannies are working on collaborating with Bands Against Bush, an international resistance movement, and are participating in a "Character Acting" class at New York University. The **Peninsula** Grannies, tipped off by an employee, serenaded Barbara Bush when she appeared at a local bookstore to talk about her new book. A long newspaper story about the **Palo Alto** Grannies resulted when they appeared at Wal-Mart to protest selling war toys. **Monterey** collaborated with university students to create a play entitled "The Human Face of War." **Minnesota Metro** is working on a member's story of growing up black in Atlanta.

MAKING AN IMPACT

At its annual meeting, **East Bay** decided the branch should take the following actions: send personal letters to elected officials about specific issues; call the Congressional switchboard at 800-839-5276 on crucial time-related issues; send official letters from the branch on specific issues; send copies of letters to editors of local press and other activist groups; set up meetings with elected reps to discuss views; join in coalitions; make views known to presidential and other candidates in the 2004 election; develop strategies to get more young people involved in political process and more people to vote. Do other branches want to follow suit?

Guaranteeing a Future of Peace and Freedom

Both the international peace movement and WILPF are fragile in these troubling times. On many occasions the foresight of our members who made Planned Gift arrangements for WILPF have been received at decisive moments. We would like to thank those members who designated WILPF as beneficiaries in their wills and in whose name we received memorial gifts in 2003. WILPF programs would not have achieved their potential impact in 2003 without this support. If you are interested in making Planned Gift arrangements for WILPF, please contact Amy Kwasnicki, development director, at the WILPF national office at (215) 563-7110.

2003 BEQUESTS RECEIVED FROM:

Maie Croner
Irmgard Lenel

MEMORIAL GIFTS 2003

RECEIVED IN THE NAME OF:

Paul Allen Bates	Evelyn Mauss
Clara Bloom	Enola Maxwell
Ann Davis	Janet Melvin
Sana Goldblatt	Elizabeth Morrisett
Frosty Grossman	Fred Pearlstein
Carol O. Hoyt	Charlotte Shuey
Lillian Kaufmann	Mildred Thiermann
Ruth Levine	Helen Vivane
Flora Lisi	

➤ RESOURCES

from page 18

Peace Camps: www.peacecamps.org
Provides a directory of mostly WILPF-sponsored peace camps. If you want your camp listed, call Carol Cutler at (626) 308-1363.

Peace Women: www.peacewomen.org
Communication among a diversity of women's organizations by providing an accessible and accurate information exchange between peace women around the world and the U.N. system.

Hull House: www.hullhouse.org
What's happening at the settlement house Jane Addams founded.

Compiled by Theta Pavis, editor, Peace & Freedom. Thanks to Swarthmore College Peace Collection and Wendy Chmielewski, the WILPF U.S. staff and Board members Marge Van Cleef and Robin Lloyd, WILPF Intern Hallie Kelly.

STAY PLUGGED IN GET YOUR BRANCH NEWS ON THESE PAGES

Send your newsletters or updates to Leslie Reindl,
1233 Ingerson Road, St. Paul, MN 55112-3714.



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.



WILPF, one of the world's oldest, continuously active peace organizations, works in 37 countries, over 100 U.S. communities and on many campuses, and with the United Nations, where it has Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) status.

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

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip Code _____

Phone _____ email _____

Branch Name _____

— New Member — Renewal

Annual dues include a subscription to *Peace and Freedom*

— Individual \$35 — Household \$40 — Low Income \$15

“More if you can, less if you can’t” \$ _____

Contribution \$ _____ Total \$ _____

All dues and contributions are payable to WILPF and are not tax deductible. Make tax deductible contributions of \$50 or more to Jane Addams Peace Association Fund.

Mail to: WILPF
1213 Race Street, Philadelphia, PA 19107
For information, call: (215) 563-7110

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

1213 Race Street
Philadelphia, PA 19107-1691

Time Value - Do Not Delay



Freedom, one of two WILPF office cats, ponders WILPF's long, activist history.

Photo: Theta Pavis

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