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

WILPF US Section
President: Darien De Lu
AFSC House, PO Box 13075
Des Moines, IA 50310
phone: 617-266-0999
e-mail: info@wilpfus.org; website: www.wilpfus.org
To contact the National Board as a whole, please email: president@wilpfus.org

WILPF International
President: Sylvie Jacqueline Ndongmo
Secretary General: Madeleine Rees
1 rue de Varembé, 1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland
phone: 41-22-919-7080; fax: 41-22-919-7081
e-mail: secretariat@wilpf.ch
website: www.wilpf.org

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Submissions welcome; please query first.
Contact the editor at: wendymcdowell12@gmail.com
Editor: Wendy McDowell
Art Director and Cover Design: Glenn Ruga
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Cover photo by Mohammad Rakibul Hasan.
Sathkira, Bangladesh, November 24, 2020. Scientists have forecasted that seawater will drown the whole coastal belt of Bangladesh around the Sundarbans by 2050. This photo was taken six months after a catastrophic cyclone hit this area in May 2020. “During cyclone Amphan I lost my cattle, all domestic animals. Since then, I have continued living in our wrecked house all alone. My children have left for the city to find a job…. I started to raise animals again and protect them all the time. The river is coming close; I might lose my destroyed home any day…. There is no work in this locality; we hardly catch fish. I have little left to eat. How am I going to survive with so much struggle? I do not know.” – Helena Begum, 55 years old, lives in the Bengal Delta.
Looking over this issue’s table of contents, you may recall the popular expression: If you’re not depressed, you’re not paying attention! Many of the articles raise profound concerns about the broad effects of climate collapse and related reactions. Yet, as WILPF members, we can remind ourselves: WILPF has long been active on—and had some successes in—reducing wars and militarism, protecting and increasing justice and human rights, and working for clean water and healthy food. Uniting with others, we’ve pursued this work for decades, practicing—as I remember hearing from Nina Simone—that the way to hold it together is together!

With that in mind, we can notice a positive aspect of climate chaos. As is evident from several of the articles in this issue, this crisis helps us strengthen—or form—connections, including with important new allies. Of course, WILPF has been international since its founding, yet now our internationalism extends well beyond Europe. And within our countries, we’re increasingly listening to and learning from the experience and knowledge of Indigenous peoples.

From its beginning, WILPF implicitly acknowledged that people are all connected and we must strive for a just and sustainable sharing of Earth’s resources. Yet from many Indigenous peoples we learn something more: Everything is connected, alive, and related.

What a contrast to the understandings and assumptions that most of us grew up with! The US is known for “American individualism.” Certainly, individual initiative, creativity, and determination can be valuable. However, when we ignore interdependence, that’s dangerous. Combined with the amorality and exploitation of corporate capitalism, “individualism” becomes a threat to life on this planet!

Corporate capitalism was a major presence at the 2022 climate negotiations. The same big money (and greed) that commandeered that gathering is corrupting governance in our country and others. Militarism and the arms trade have a long history of destructive influence on governments, yet now these negative forces have an added tool: technology. Technological advances have increasingly been exploited and appropriated by corporations as a way to increase their power and control—including within and over governments—while ignoring the effects on people.

To protect the planetary quality of life, we must reassert that global citizens are the ones who should use and control technology for the benefit of humans, not corporations. That also means we make individual choices about how we use tech: If I wish, I can use a cell phone—but I can also choose to keep it silenced! No to inhuman 24/7 availability, which suits corporate profits!

Will we take the needed actions to put limits on corporations—or even to abolish them? The corporate drive for resources leads them to lobbying and other means of influencing our governments—which should be reflecting the people’s will. Instead, the corporations and their corporate media push our governments and us to a militaristic global stance. Even if we can manage to protect the planet from nuclear weapons, will we succeed in protecting it from the environmental effects of corporate greed?

Corporations, like technology, are human creations. Over 200 years ago, Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley asked the question: Can humans control their “Frankenstein” creations? Lately, artificial intelligence is a visible threat—yet also something that might assist us in addressing the crises of today. As we increasingly see the effects—direct and indirect—of our tech creations, we must ask: Which can be of value—and which do we choose to dismantle?

Cognizant of the substantial dangers of AI—which, at the least, could put millions out of work—I chose to try an AI “chatbot” for a response. It concluded optimistically (as I stipulated!), “As the world becomes more aware of the impacts of climate change, there has been a concerted effort to take action to mitigate its effects.” As we becomes more aware of the effects of disrespect for people and nature, of disconnection and the illusion of individuality, of amoral corporations, of unquestioned arms and technology races, of imbalance and inequity—can we do less than to take concerted and strategic action to restructure our societies and communities? Applying the wisdom of indigeneity along with selected tools of technology, we can adapt sustainably. Together, let’s take action!
The authors in this issue describe the dire problems we are facing due to our ever-warming Earth and the consequences of increasing militarism. They detail clearly how much war costs us, destroying lives and communities, diverting funds that could be used to address climate change and its effects, and ravaging the planet. At the same time, they offer us multiple opportunities to educate ourselves and others, and provide actions that can be taken by issue committees, branches, and members.

As Pat Hynes reminds us, after the 1979 oil shock and energy crisis, President Carter had solar hot water panels installed on the White House roof and proposed a national plan for 20% energy from renewables by 2000. When President Reagan took office in 1981, the solar panels were dismantled and the energy plan was shelved. The fossil fuel industry and lobbyists had won, though Pat forged ahead with her own plan, building a passive solar house and “spreading the gospel of solar energy.”

Years later, on June 23, 1988, NASA scientist James Hansen testified before the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources that “we can ascribe with a high degree of confidence a cause-and-effect relationship between the greenhouse effect and observed warming. It’s already happening now.” Four years after his testimony, in June 1992, the nations of the world met at the Rio Earth Summit to join the new United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) treaty and discuss reducing greenhouse emissions.

Frustrated by the inaction of governments in the intervening years, a massive People’s Climate March was held in New York City on September 21, 2014. Over 350,000 people of all ages and backgrounds gathered in contingents: a Frontline group with Generational, Environmental, Protest, Science, Interfaith following, ending with the “Miscellaneous” group with their banner “To Change Everything We Need Everyone.” March participants hoped to create public pressure for action on global warming.

Despite repeated calls for action such as these, Cindy Piester reveals how difficult it has been for nations to find agreement on legally binding measures to phase out fossil fuels, limit greenhouse gas emissions by 45% by 2030, agree on a process to allocate funds for loss and damage, and to support the Green Fund for mitigation and preparation for catastrophic climate events. She and other authors also stress that the nations with the biggest militaries, including the US, resist calculating and reporting military emissions with accuracy and transparency.

This failure to act is having devastating impacts on our planet and its people that are being disproportionately suffered by Global South women and girls. Edwic Madzimure emphasizes the “strong link between climate change vulnerabilities, rural women’s livelihoods, and the nexus between global militarism, climate change, and conflict.” Climate change exposes Global South women to challenges such as water scarcity, food insecurity, financial constraints, and more cases of gender-based violence.

Jenaina Irani further emphasizes the vulnerabilities for women and girls in patriarchal societies, including “lack of support and protection mechanisms” which “allow violence and exploitation to flourish.” She describes how in defending human and environmental rights, women activists from indigenous communities practicing environmental conservation and nature protection continue to put their lives at risk.

Nick Buxton writes: “Public awareness of the climate crisis may be at unprecedented levels, but political actions have failed to match the scale of the challenge.” We need actions this decade to prevent runaway climate change. The military is a top polluter, he stresses, with heavily fossil-fuel dependent equipment accounting for at least 5.5% of global emissions. Militarism diverts critical financial resources from climate action and is deeply entwined in an unjust global economy.
There is a strong link between climate change vulnerabilities, rural women’s livelihoods and the nexus between global militarism, climate change, and conflict. African rural communities rely heavily on rain-fed agriculture which is failing due to shifting rainfall patterns, perennial droughts, floods, etc. Despite accounting for less than four percent of GHG emissions, Africa is at the epicenter of the global climate crisis. There is increasing food insecurity, housing insecurity, and migration related to conflict and environmental destruction as a result of droughts and conflict over access to resources.

These devastating impacts are exposing women in the Global South to challenges such as water scarcity, food insecurity, financial constraints, and more cases of gender-based violence. The world is facing countless global challenges due to climate change, and marginalized communities – which have limited capacity to deal with such climatic disasters – are bearing the brunt of the effects.

Meanwhile, trillions of dollars are being channelled into military investments and wages. A report by SIPRI shows that more than 2 trillion USD was spent by the military industries in 2022 yet the Global North countries pledged only 100 billion dollars towards climate change adaptation. Militarism is a threat to the environment and to the survival of humans and biodiversity. Militarism contributes directly to climate change. Plans to confront climate change must address militarization.

Climate change effects are contributing to:
- Water scarcity
- Food insecurity
- Financial constraints
- Widening inequality gaps
- Poverty
- Floods – environmental degradation
- Wars and conflicts over access to resources

Militarism effects include:
- Widening inequality gaps
- Political instability
- Military repression
- Fuels conflicts
- Arms race
- NATO and Russia tensions (War in Ukraine)
- Environmental degradation

In my country, Zimbabwe, most rural communities in gold rich areas are engaging in artisanal mining as an alternative livelihood as a result of climate change-induced perennial droughts that are affecting rain-fed agriculture. However, the artisanal mining sector is characterized by high militarism, and the use of weapons is normalised as defense for their livelihood. There are conflicts and tribal wars over access to resources, and this has a negative impact on women because they cannot fully participate in the mining activities due to the violence associated with the sector. As a result, women-headed households suffer from food insecurity.

Climate change has caused escalating conflicts between farmers and miners. Farmers blame miners for polluting rivers with mining chemicals, endangering their livestock, as well as leaving behind gullies that are death traps for livestock, plus miners dig in the farms whenever they discover gold samples there.

Women and girls also face discrimination and exclusion in the artisanal mining sector. It is believed that their menstrual cycle brings bad luck, so they are not allowed anywhere near the gold extraction shafts. Therefore, women on mining sites are always carrying out tasks that are less profitable.

In Global South communities trying to adapt to the effects of climate change, there is increasing environmental degradation. There is an urgent need to strengthen current EU guidelines on reporting climate-related information to make reporting on GHG emissions binding. The UN Framework Convention on Climate Change obliges signatories to publish annual GHG emissions data, but military emissions reporting is voluntary and often not included. At the same time, the UN Office for Disarmament Affairs’ military expenditure report forms do not include fuel costs and the International Energy

By Edwick Madzimure

In Zanzibar, Tanzania, women harvest the seaweed for soap, cosmetics and medicine. But rising water temperatures due to climate change is causing seaweed mortality. Photo credit: SanderMeertinsPhotography/Shutterstock.

Continued on page 19.
War has always devoured life. It turns humans into those worthy of life and those who can be killed without thought. It flattens thousands of complex human beings into a faceless enemy. It snarls out slogans of ‘country’ and ‘land’ that are heralded as more important than human life. It buries the brutality of broken bodies behind the jargon of ‘collateral.’ Sadly, this is nothing new and we have seen it all unfold again in the horrors of the Ukraine war. But today, there is another sense in which war is devouring life since it is destroying the life of our planet’s biosphere and the lives of future generations.

The war on Ukraine couldn’t have come at a worse time in our broader ecological crisis. Public awareness of the climate crisis may be at unprecedented levels, but political actions have failed to match the scale of the challenge. Meanwhile, time is running out as actions have to be taken this decade to have a chance of preventing runaway climate change. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change warns that the world must reduce greenhouse gas emissions by 45% by 2030 to keep temperature rises below 1.5 degrees Celsius. As emissions are still rising globally, this requires a complete step-change in policy, which will only happen if climate action becomes the number one priority of the most powerful governments. Climate change has to be treated like it is a political emergency that is above all other domestic and foreign policy priorities or goals.

But in the fog of war and militarism, climate action is lucky to be considered at all let alone prioritized. In fact, militarism is deepening the climate crisis. By itself, the war in Ukraine led to 33 million tons of additional greenhouse gas emissions in the first six months, as a result of the missiles, fires, and fuel use – the equivalent of putting 14 million additional cars on the road. The war has also had devastating ecological impacts including extensive fires, increased industrial toxic spills, pollution of waterways and damage to important conservation areas. It is unlikely that the military generals responsible for this gave any more consideration to these impacts than they did to the human lives torn apart by the war. Beyond Ukraine, the war has led to a surge in rearmament everywhere, as Western politicians warn darkly of a new time of threats from the likes of Russia and China. The far more pressing threat of climate change has been pushed to the back burner.

Military Spending Completely Skewed

Militarism has a direct impact on the climate crisis, because military equipment is heavily fossil-fuel dependent. Tanks, missiles, and jets use extraordinary amounts of oil. The new F-35A fighter jet uses about 5,600 liters of oil per hour compared to 3,500 for the F-16 fighters that they are replacing. Not surprisingly, one calculation puts military emissions as making up at least 5.5% of total global emissions, which puts military and armed forces as one of the top sectors responsible for climate change.

With the war justifying a surge in military spending everywhere, military emissions are sure to rise even further with long-term consequences. This is because much of the new equipment (such as the F-35A jets) has lifespans of around 30 to 40 years, so any purchases lock in carbon emissions well into the middle of this century. Yet there is currently no requirement for countries to report on their military-related emissions in their annual reports to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), let alone commit to reductions.

Militarism also diverts critical financial resources from climate action. Even before the war, the balance between spending on the military and climate was completely skewed. The richest countries dedicate at least 30 times as much on military spending as they do on climate finance to the poorest countries. For more than a decade, the richest countries have promised and failed to provide $100 billion a year to the poorest countries to mitigate and adapt to climate change. The money was always ‘regretfully’ not there. Yet, there has been no similar problem in finding resources for military spending,
which has consistently risen, even during the global economic crisis of 2008-2010.\textsuperscript{5}

The Russian invasion of Ukraine has only made this trend worse.\textsuperscript{6} In 2022, countless countries – especially in Europe – have announced increases in military spending with little public resistance. Germany approved a one-off increase of €100 billion, a dramatic 50% increase in funding. Some of this money is coming directly from climate budgets. The UK has shifted underspending from its climate finance budget to partially finance a £1 billion military support package for Ukraine. The Dutch government made cuts from its own climate funds – not including climate finance – to pay for new increases in military spending. Biden’s administration also approved its largest military budget ever of $854 billion in 2023, even while it was scaling back its initial ambitions to address climate change through its Inflation Reduction Act.

Arms companies have been over the moon, their sales and profits surging as nations have shipped old weapons to Ukraine and restocked. The US Senate is even considering plans that would allow arms manufacturers no-bid contracts on a rolling multi-year basis.\textsuperscript{7} Perhaps even more valuable than arms sales is the legitimacy that has been given to the arms industry, with its murky reputation due to a long history of corruption and support for authoritarian regimes. Guillaume Muesser of the French Aerospace Industries Association celebrated the war as “a game changer. It shows that war is still on the agenda, on our doorsteps, and that the defence industry is very useful.”\textsuperscript{8} There is already evidence that the arms industry is using this moment to try to roll back controls on exports, including to countries mired in conflict and bearing the brunt of the climate crisis.\textsuperscript{9}

The rise in militarism locks in an infrastructure of hard security that is fueled by the money and influence of arms companies, and predicated on ever more military spending. It will exacerbate a politics and language of ‘fear’ and ‘threat’ and make military solutions seem like the only option on the table. We can already see the ways this rhetoric and policy is dangerously ratcheting up between NATO countries and China.

**Militarized Security Worsens Crisis**

The military infrastructure is similarly being readied to deal with climate change.\textsuperscript{10} Since the early 2000s, the richest countries’ military and national security agencies have been developing strategies to deal with climate change. Rather than address the causes of the climate crisis, they have focused on managing the consequences. Their strategies warn darkly of failed states, mass migration, and civil conflict, and propose increased military spending to respond. The 2022 US Army Climate Strategy, for example, predicts that “climate hazards will result in less economic and social stability, fewer goods to meet basic needs, and a less secure world.” Their primary answer to this is not scaling back military emissions, addressing the injustice at the heart of the climate crisis, or investing in peace, but ensuring that “the Army must remain ahead of adversaries seeking strategic positional advantages in a climate-altered world.”\textsuperscript{10}

This is not a surprise. As the famous adage goes, “if all you have is a hammer, everything looks like a nail.” It is the job of the US Army to consider long-term threats and to fight them. However, it is the job of society to decide what to invest in at a time of climate instability. Prioritizing investments in militarized security will mean that we are prioritizing resources for dealing with the consequences of climate injustice rather than its systemic causes. It means that the victims of climate change, such as displaced peoples and refugees, are all too easily turned into threats, leading to the militarized borders we already witness worldwide. It also means that climate crisis will worsen, as politicians avoid the systemic actions that are needed – a planned rapid shift from a fossil-fuel to renewable-based economy, a just transition for workers, and reparations for those most impacted by climate change. We may still be far away from these real climate solutions, but avoiding them will only deepen the crisis. In the end, there is no wall high enough or tank sophisticated enough to fend off climate instability and its human consequences.

For too long, climate activists have avoided talking about militarization. It has been seen as a distraction from focusing on the main enemy: the Big Oil firms. The military has even been seen as an ally in some quarters of the environmental movement, as it is an institution that has embraced climate science and not indulged in the climate denialism of the far right. However, allying with the military is a dangerous and ultimately self-defeating path for climate activists to take.

Militarism is deeply entwined in an unjust global economy that has created the climate crisis. The military has thrived because of Big Oil. Its operations are dependent on fossil fuels, it is deployed primarily to protect and guard oil infrastructure, and its ‘climate’ mandate today is to manage rather than resolve climate instability. This is a path towards ever more conflict, and a self-fulfilling cycle of ever more militarism to deal with the crises militarism creates. It is time to get off the treadmill and demilitarize if we want a just response to the climate crisis. The only climate safe and just future is one built on peace.
Climate Collateral
Continued from previous page.

Notes
1 “Special Report: Global Warming of 1.5°C,” The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (ippc).
6 “Smoke Screen: How states are using the war in Ukraine to drive a new arms race;” Transnational Institute (tni.org), November 30, 2022.
9 “Primer on climate security: The dangers of militarising the climate crisis,” Transnational Institute (tni.org), October 12, 2021.
10 Department of the Army, Office of the Assistant Secretary of the Army for Installations, Energy and Environment, February 2022, “United States Army Climate Strategy;” Washington, DC.

Nick Buxton is a climate justice activist, researcher at the Transnational Institute, and coeditor of the book The Secure and the Dispossessed: How the Military and Corporations Are Shaping a Climate-Changed World (Pluto Books, 2015).

How WILPF Can Advance Environmental Justice
Continued from page 3

that has created the climate crisis. Buxton concludes, “The only climate safe and just future is one built on peace.” Likewise, Edwick Madzimure insists, “Plans to confront climate change must address militarization.”

Mazin Qumsiyeh speaks about the alarming daily unequal distribution of water by Israel to Palestine, a well-documented violation of human rights that should not continue without global outrage and protest. From his experience living in a system of oppression and deep inequality, he describes how “colonizers and oppressors understand the power of the mind” by creating a psychological state of helplessness, isolation, and inaction. Therefore, activists like Qumsiyeh are “decolonizing the mind” through personal transformation and working in a group, which leads to speaking out, productive engagement, and the possibility for long-term changes in political and social conditions.

Opportunities for Education and Action
• Marybeth Gardam discusses expanding the role of public banking, because “if we want a future other than planetary ecological collapse, we need to remake the financial system that drives fossil fuel expansion. Public banks are key to this financial reformulation because they can be designed to require that climate action be a central focus of their lending.”
• Cindy Piester concludes her report as a WILPF delegate to the UN’s COP 27 climate meeting in Egypt with the proposal that the WILPF US Section create a workable climate resolution and hold our government to account for its implementation.

• Cindy Domingo describes Cuba’s plan to deal with the effects of climate change called Tarea Vida (Life Task). This plan “places human life at the center” and “was based on Cuban society, its peoples’ values, and the culture and principles of the Cuban revolution.” She cautions us that we, the people, will have to demand action based on our values and principles.
• Tamara Lorincz introduces the “Peace on the Seas: Stop the Militarization” campaign of WILPF International’s Environment Working Group. We need to raise awareness about the destructive nature of warships, weapons testing, and war on the global marine environment and the need for feminist, intersectional peace based on international law and ocean science.” The Earth Democracy Committee plans to take up this new campaign.
• Katrin Geyer explains that the Environment Working Group (EWG) will focus for two years on militarism and the oceans, as well as on access to water and food security because ecological crises are being exacerbated by conflict, privatization, land grabbing, and occupation. There are monthly EWG meetings, and you can share your work via the new webinar series “Sharing is caring.” To participate, write to katrin.geyer@wilpf.org.

• The best way to engage on environmental concerns in WILPF US is through the Earth Democracy Committee with our four subcommittees: Human Right to Water and Health, Rights of Nature, Food Sovereignty and Local Economy, and Global Warming and Renewable Energy, based on the Precautionary Principle and Guardianship of Future Generations. With other issue committees and environmental organizations, we take action on a range of issues, highlighting the themes and proposing actions for annual events such as World Water Day and Earth Day. Recent projects include “Exposing the Pentagon: Hidden Polluter of Water” and militarypoisons.org.
With deep reverence and scientific acuity, American marine biologist Rachel Carson wrote her award-winning book *The Sea Around Us* in 1951. In the first part of the book, titled *Mother Sea*, Carson described the wondrous evolution of life from the rhythmic pattern of waves and tides. Protozoa, sponges, jellyfish, turtles, sharks, whales, and sea birds fill the pages. Alongside natural history, Carson also shared her grave concerns about nuclear weapons testing and the dumping of radioactive waste in the oceans.

On the tenth anniversary of the publication of her book, Carson warned, “It is a curious situation that the sea, from which life first arose, should now be threatened by the activities of one form of that life. But the sea, though changed in a sinister way, will continue to exist; the threat is rather to life itself.”

Six decades later, at the 2022 United Nations Ocean Conference in Lisbon, UN Secretary General António Guterres declared an “ocean emergency” and sounded the alarm about the worsening state of the seas. The second UN Ocean Conference was held from June 27 to July 1 and was co-chaired by Portugal and Kenya with 6,500 delegates in attendance.

In his opening remarks Guterres observed, “When we see the Earth from space, we truly appreciate that we live on a blue planet. The ocean connects us all.” The oceans cover 70% of the planet. Though they are identified separately as Atlantic, Pacific, Indian, Southern, and Arctic Oceans, Russian oceanographer Yuly Shokalsky asserted that there was a “world ocean,” one immense body of salt water continuously circulating by currents.

In his 1917 monograph *Oceanography*, Shokalsky also identified the link between the ocean system and the climate. In 2019, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) released its special report on the oceans and the cryosphere. The IPCC found that the oceans have warmed dramatically since 1970 and have absorbed 90% of the excess heat from rising carbon emissions. This warming has caused the oceans to acidify, glaciers to melt and sea levels to rise. People in coastal communities especially those in developing countries are at risk from more severe storms, erosion, and flooding.

At the Lisbon conference, Guterres also deplored the plastic pollution, untreated sewage, toxic run-off, and the destruction of coral reefs that are further degrading the marine environment. The oceans produce 50% of the oxygen we breathe. Yet, according to research in the journal *Science*, there are now more than 500 dead zones where there is little to no oxygen or marine life. Fish stocks are in drastic decline putting at risk one billion people who depend on the sea for sustenance. The oceans are in great peril threatening human health and livelihoods. Guterres reminded delegates, “We cannot have a healthy planet without a healthy ocean.”

He called for greater international cooperation and investment to achieve UN Sustainable Development Goal 14: “Life under water.” SDG 14 is the goal to conserve and sustainably use the oceans and marine resources. However, this goal does not deal with the problem of the militarization of the seas. What is harmful and not sustainable to the oceans are warships, military bases, naval exercises, and war. These issues were not on the agenda of the UN Ocean Conference and they were also excluded from the fifth International Marine Protected Area Congress (IMPAC5) in Vancouver.

At last year’s conference in Lisbon, the UN Special Envoy for the Ocean, Peter Thomson, claimed that “Humanity has been waging a war against nature and the world’s ocean,” but he did not add the corollary that we cannot stop the war against the ocean until we stop war. British journalist Jon Mitchell makes this connection in his book, *Poisoning the Pacific*, recounting how the US Navy secretly dumped radioactive and toxic waste and chemical weapons discarded from its wars into the ocean for decades, which has endangered the health and security of millions of people across the region.

By Tamara Lorincz
Convenor, WILPF Environment Working Group
**Warships and Naval War Games**

Twenty kilometers to the west of Lisbon is the town of Oeiras where STRIKFORNATO is headquartered. STRIKFORNATO is the Supreme Allied Commander Europe’s maritime base of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). This base is commanded by a United States Navy three-star admiral, who is also the US Sixth Fleet Commander. STRIKFORNATO plans and executes NATO’s rapidly deployable, naval power projection operations across Europe. A week before the UN Ocean Conference, STRIKFORNATO coordinated NATO’s annual Exercise BALTOPS in the Black Sea.

At BALTOPS 22, sixteen NATO allies and partner nations launched military drills from Kiel, Germany across the Baltic Sea. There were 45 ships, 75 aircraft, and 7,000 soldiers practicing in joint combat operations including live-fire training, tactical maneuvering, anti-submarine warfare, and amphibious landings. Worse still, it was during BALTOPS 22 that the US covertly planted the explosives that would later blow up three of the four Nord Stream pipelines that carried gas from Russia to Germany, according to award-winning journalist Seymour Hersh. The sabotage to the pipelines caused the worst methane leaks in the marine environment.

During the UN Ocean Conference, the US also led the world’s largest naval exercise, Rim of the Pacific Exercise (RIMPAC). RIMPAC 2022 involved the navies of twenty-seven countries including Canada, 25,000 personnel and was conducted over five weeks from the coast of California to the Hawaiian Islands. The objective of this biennial exercise was to enhance “warfare capability” and interoperability among the navies’ surface ships, submarines, unmanned systems, and aircraft. Participants sank ships, tested weapons at sea, conducted intense sonar scans, bombed islands, and practiced storming beaches with amphibious vessels. Naval exercises like RIMPAC and BALTOP further harm marine life, degrade the oceans, and exacerbate global warming.

Most of the naval vessels, supply ships, and aircraft are fossil fuel-powered and emit excessive carbon emissions. Moreover, NATO countries are investing billions to modernize their navies instead of adequately investing in ocean protection, climate adaptation, and coastal resilience. The cost estimate of the US naval modernization over thirty years is $900 billion. Canada is building 15 new diesel-powered warships over the next three decades for $300 billion. Australia is buying new American nuclear submarines for a life-cycle cost of $368 billion. Why are Western countries upgrading their navies when corals are dying and fish stocks are collapsing?

Last year, Canada and the US released new aggressive Indo-Pacific Strategies outlining more naval operations that will escalate conflict with China and destabilize the region. The US has expanded or built new navy bases on the coasts of Japan, South Korea, Indonesia, and the Philippines further aggravating tensions in the Asia Pacific. The US also announced a new AUKUS military pact with Australia and the United Kingdom. American officials and the media continue to recklessly propose war with nuclear-armed China.

Canada’s House of Commons committee recently published a report on “A Secure and Sovereign Arctic” that prioritizes NORAD military upgrades in the northern territories with few references to Indigenous communities, climate change, and women. Yet Sheila Watt-Cloutier, a prominent Inuk activist from Nunavik and former International Chair for the Inuit Circumpolar Council, has called for the Arctic to be demilitarized to protect the fragile ecosystem and the Indigenous people. The climate and environmental impacts from this militarization of the oceans must no longer be ignored by the UN and the international community. War on the seas can and should be avoided.

**Elisabeth Mann Borgese, UNCLOS, and “Pacem in Maribus”**

All maritime conflict can be peacefully resolved with international law and diplomacy. It was Elisabeth Mann Borgese, a German-Canadian expert on maritime law and policy, who helped to establish the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Seas (UNCLOS), the International Tribunal for the Law of the Seas and the International Ocean Institute. In 1994, UNCLOS came into force with a comprehensive mechanism for the peaceful settlement of disputes. There are currently 168 state parties to UNCLOS, including Russia and China, but shamefully the US has refused to join this important convention.

Borgese, who was also known as the “Mother of the Oceans,” organized the first “Pacem in Maribus” (“Peace in the Oceans”) conference in Malta in 1970. For over forty years, the Pacem in Maribus conferences were held in different countries with the hope that dialogue and scientific research would bring about ocean protection and peace. The theme of the 1995 conference in Costa Rica was “Ocean Governance and the Agenda for Peace.” In the forward to the proceedings, then UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali explained how preventive diplomacy, peacemaking, and peacekeeping were the “cornerstones of international security and peace.” Delegates offered ideas for implementation such as nuclear-weapons free zones, transboundary marine parks and zones of peace and cooperation.

Unfortunately, over the past 25 years, there has been very little progress on “Peace in the Oceans.” Last September at the 77th session of the UN General Assembly, Costa Rica’s Minister for Foreign Affairs Armando André-Tinoco called for
the international community to change course and adopt a Declaration of Peace for the Ocean. A country without an army, Costa Rica is an internationally recognized leader on disarmament, decarbonization, and biodiversity conservation. In 2025, it will co-host with France the third UN Ocean Conference in San José. The Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) plans to attend.

WILPF Rises for Peace and Ocean Protection

WILPF sections around the world have taken action to stop the militarization of the seas. WILPF Canada has protested the Royal Canadian Navy’s participation in RIMPAC and called for its cancellation. We produced and shared on social media a graphic “Cancel RIMPAC. Stop Military Sonar and Bombing” and lobbied the federal government. WILPF Australia and New Zealand are also demanding that Exercise Talisman Sabre, a multi-domain naval firepower exercise, is cancelled this summer. WILPF Italy is pushing for “peace and cooperation” to be included in the text of the new Convention on the Rights of the Mediterranean Sea.

The Environment Working Group (EWG) of WILPF International approved a concept note for a new campaign entitled “Peace on the Seas: Stop the Militarization of the Marine Environment and Protect the Ocean.” This plan will raise awareness about the growing problem of the destructive nature of warships, weapons testing, and war in the marine environment and the need for feminist, intersectional peace based on international law, ocean science, and collaboration.

WILPF’s International Environment Working Group

Working for Peace and Environmental Justice

By Katrin Geyer
Environment Focal Point, WILPF International

The international Environment Working Group (EWG) has worked around the intersections of peace, environment, and feminism for over two decades. It was founded in 1999 and has since brought together a diverse group of WILPF members from across the globe. The EWG currently has 72 members and benefits from the active participation of members from WILPF Sections as diverse as Cameroon, Canada, DRC, Finland, Germany, Ghana, Italy, Norway, Togo, US, UK, and Zimbabwe, amongst others.

The EWG is currently working to define its priority themes and activities for the next two years. Informed by WILPF’s International Programme 2022-2025, EWG members have recently met online to agree on a work plan for the coming two years. Priority themes continue to focus on the manifestation and impacts of militarization on the Earth in all its forms, with a special interest in the links of militarism and the oceans, as well as the centrality of access to water and food security in contexts affected by ecological crises, conflict, privatization, land grabbing, and occupation.

Every WILPF member can join the EWG and participate in its monthly online meetings, join the email listserv for an exchange of ideas and resources, and share their expertise or relevant work via the recently launched webinar series “Sharing is caring—Members’ deep dive into all things ecology, peace, and feminism,” and much more! If you are interested in joining the EWG, please write to Katrin Geyer at katrin.geyer@wilpf.org.

Members of the EWG will publish reports and articles, hold meetings with officials, host webinars and attend the next UN ocean conference in two years. We invite you to join us to carry on the “peace on the oceans” legacy of Rachel Carson, Elisabeth Mann Borgese, and Sheila Watt-Cloutier.

Tamara Lorincz is a member of WILPF Canada and the convenor of WILPF’s Environment Working Group. She’s a PhD candidate in Global Governance at the Balsillie School of International Affairs at Wilfrid Laurier University. She has a law degree and an MBA specializing in environmental law and management. She previously worked as the Executive Director of the Nova Scotia Environmental Network and served on the board of Ecojustice Canada.
It is now thirty years since the nations of the world recognized the threat of human caused global warming and came together to collectively reduce greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions by joining the international treaty, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) at the Rio Summit in 1992.

In 1997, the Kyoto Protocol was adopted to serve as a legally binding agreement on emission reduction targets by all nations that were party to the UNFCCC. More quietly, under pressure from the US Government, the UNFCCC provided an exemption and confidentiality for global military GHG emissions, undermining transparency and accountability.

In 2012, the Doha Amendment allowed for countries to primarily meet their targets through national measures but also established flexible market mechanisms based on emissions trading. In 2015, the Paris Accords agreed to keep global temperature rise to well below 2°C (3.6°F) above pre-industrial levels, and preferably limiting the increase to 1.5°C (2.7°F); this was not legally binding and had no enforcement mechanisms. Nations agreed to create their own Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) with the expectation that global emissions would need to be cut by 50% by 2030. The Paris Accords also made military emissions optional.

Negotiators from UNFCCC member states make up the Convention of Parties (COP) decision-making and implementation body. Also present are civil society observer/delegates who often represent nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), like WILPF. They strive to impact the decisions made by negotiators. The private sector, inclusive of technology, fossil fuel, and other business interests, are also represented. Lastly, the media attempts to follow, interpret, and inform the public about COP.

The world’s most authoritative scientific assessments on climate change are provided to COP and to the world by thousands of scientists working with the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). These assessments have grown ever more dire, stating that climate change is widespread, rapid, and intensifying and some trends are now irreversible. UN Secretary General António Guterres characterized these warnings as “a code red for humanity” in 2021. In 2022, he reminded us that we are failing to meet our objectives and are on a “highway to climate hell.” Most recently, the preliminary Sixth Assessment Report (AR 6) Synthesis Report was released providing a road map to keep the 1.5°C target alive.

Against this backdrop of growing climate desperation, I was one of ten women honored to be part of WILPF’s delegation to COP27. Held in the outrageously priced seaside resort of President el-Sisi’s, Sharm el Sheikh in Egypt, it was a setting better suited as a perk to oil execs than for negotiators from diverse nations striving to hammer out climate negotiations. For me, being at Sharm in common cause with a diverse crowd of thousands from all corners of the earth was electrifyingly hopeful, yet the presence of oppositional forces and the weightiness of the historical moment kept critical objectives in constant view.

Building Ties in Africa and WILPF’s Exemplary Role

This “Africa COP” was expected to meet the long-ignored climate needs of African peoples and WILPF’s Environmental Focal Point, Katrin Geyer, worked to meet that goal well assisted by Tamara Lorincz, International Working Group Convenor (WILPF Canada). Together with WILPF President Sylvie Nodongmo and WILPF delegates from Ghana, Cameroon, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Zimbabwe, our team produced two pre-COP Africa-centered “Climate of Insecurity” webinars along with one for the MENA region that included our WILPF Lebanon delegate and others from the Middle East and North Africa.

COP27’s opening day, November 6th, was also the annual International Day for Preventing the Exploitation of the Environment in War and Armed Conflict. Coinciding with that, WILPF partnered with the International Peace Bureau (IPB) and World BEYOND War (WBW) to release two bold letters. One called for the Green Climate Fund to study and
report on the possibility of reducing and reallocating military spending as a source of climate finance while the other requested that the UNFCCC add the impacts of military emissions and military expenditures on climate to its 2023 agenda.

Our days began with informative and inspirational gatherings with other feminists at the well-attended Women and Gender Constituency (WGC) meetings where we mixed and mingled with women leaders from around the world. At times, the young feminists took the stage with rousing sing-alongs and demands that included WILPF’s concerns to demilitarize, denuclearize, decarbonize, decolonialize, and defund militaries. Inevitably these concerns were also included in WGC’s negotiations and reports.

Our WILPF US handouts with their strong support for Loss and Damages and the Green Fund were well received, as was our open-message to US Climate Envoy John Kerry calling for the DoD to fully and transparently report military greenhouse gas emissions to the UNFCCC. Our handouts were shared with many including Al Gore, who spoke at COP calling for halting fossil fuel subsidies.

Another handout went to Constance Okollet, a farmer from Uganda who let me know that she understood the climate impacts of militarism. Forced to flee historically unprecedented floods, she returned to find her home had survived. It quickly became housing for nearly thirty people as less fortunate neighbors moved in. The floods had destroyed everything, leaving her community without access to clean water, food, and sanitation, which ultimately resulted in deadly epidemics of cholera, malaria, and starvation. After learning about climate change, survivors responded by educating and organizing themselves.

The worst thing about hearing Constance’s story was knowing that her experience is all too common. Foundational gender inequities were also a part of many other climate change stories, as increasing distances and risks have been imposed on girls and women tasked with collecting water and/or firewood. Increasing desperation also has resulted in larger numbers of forced child marriages as families on the edge of starvation feel forced to part with their tender young girl-children.

Military Emissions Reporting

Understanding how quickly the planet and oceans are warming and the impacts—among them, droughts, desertification, fires, ice melt, rising sea levels, ocean acidification, catastrophic storms, hurricanes, flooding, and loss of keystone species and biodiversity, it was clear that all emissions, including military emissions, had to be counted and reported.

So, when the US State Department called an informal meeting with all US delegates at COP27, I raised the issue that because of pressure from the US government, military emissions were exempted from mandatory UNFCCC reporting. Unfortunately, the UNFCCC further agreed to maintain their confidentiality, although scientists now estimate these emissions to be about 5% annually. These emissions and their reduction targets need to be included in our NDC consistent with GHG emissions protocols.

Among other questionable reporting mechanisms, emissions from hundreds of US overseas military bases are charged to host nations rather than to the United States. Emissions from overseas transport associated with supply lines are not charged to the DoD but reported separately as “bunker fuels.” War-related emissions are ignored entirely. The State Department noted this issue as a concern and moved on. Many US delegates, however, were paying careful attention.

Axel Michaelowa, senior founding partner of the Perspectives Climate Group, called for solutions that included reporting military and conflict-related emissions under the Paris Agreement, in the global stocktake for COP28, and in both the national inventory guidelines of the IPCC, and as a section for the 7th IPCC Assessment Report.

The High Point and the Biggest Failure of COP27

After a thirty year battle, Loss and Damages—a program to help pay for the inequitable damage suffered by those who’ve not been responsible for causing climate change yet are subject to its most extreme consequences – was moved forward. WILPF members joined in protests to pressure the negotiations and WILPF US strong support was clear in our
handouts demanding that Climate Envoy John Kerry move forward with technical assistance and payments to climate impacted frontline communities.

The EU even threatened to leave COP if it was not passed. Guterres told reporters, “If there is any doubt on loss and damage—go to Pakistan. You will see loss, you will see the damage and you will see our common future.” Pakistan recently suffered severe floods with one-third of the nation submerged, 1,700 dead, and 33 million people displaced.

The biggest failure of COP27 goes to the very root of why COP exists at all. The US and some eighty nations supported inclusion of “phasing out of fossil fuels” in the final report, but this wasn’t moved forward by Egyptian COP President, Sameh Shoukry. James Shaw, an MP from New Zealand, described what happened in the final hours:

There was a very strong move by some of the petrostates to try and unwind some of those decisions and go back to those pre-Paris kind of arrangements. So as you can tell by how late we were here, it was sort of a trench warfare in that many countries wanted the targets to be much stronger.

Laurence Tubiana, CEO of the European Climate Foundation and a main architect of the 2015 Paris Agreement, stated:

The influence of the fossil fuel industry was found across the board. The text makes no mention of phasing out fossil fuels and scant reference to science and the 1.5C target. The Egyptian presidency has produced a text that clearly protects oil and gas petrostates and the fossil fuel industries. This trend cannot continue in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) next year.

Meanwhile, the UAE announced that Sultan bin Ahmed Al Jaber, the CEO chief executive of the UAE’s Abu Dhabi National Oil (Adnoc), will be the next President of COP. This conflict of interest was widely denounced as Sultan Al Jaber will be furthering the UAE’s own oil exploration efforts at the same time. The Guardian recently revealed the UAE’s plans to bring billions of barrels of oil on board in an effort that would massively undermine the net zero standards set up by the International Energy Agency.

Keeping Our Government on Track

Unfortunately, there are similar concerns here in the US. President Biden has done much to counter the climate denialism of the Trump administration, and COP27 awarded his speech a rare standing ovation for his impressive listing of US climate efforts. Despite the International Energy Agency’s (IEA) warning that further fossil fuel development would preclude meeting climate goals, in 2022 Biden approved 3,525 drilling permits in the Permian and Powder River Basin in Wyoming and Montana, and 200 Alaskan Willow Project wells that will result in 30 years of massive emissions, plus a new fossil fuel terminal in Texas that will increase exports for three decades.

For three decades the Global North has been impervious to reason or the pleadings of youth to be allowed a future. From the passionate Rio Summit speech of twelve-year-old Severn Cullis-Suzuki to the leadership of Greta Thunberg, Vanessa Natake, and youth worldwide, a reckoning is coming. As members of WILPF US, our best action is to keep our own government on track. WILPF’s historical legacy has put women at the center of needed change because we serve to protect life on this planet whether it is at risk of nuclear annihilation or human-caused climate catastrophe. Climate denialism and profit motives have paved the way for false solutions to climate change pushed by industry and governments. The newly released IPCC AR6 Synthesis report makes clear that the survivability of our planet is at risk unless we move at warp speed to phase out fossil fuels, scale up renewable energy, and increase efficiency.

To continue to pin false hopes on the futuristic possibilities of Carbon Capture Storage (CCS), fossil CCS, engineered Carbon Dioxide Removal (CDR), Direct Air Carbon Capture and Storage (DACCS), and other technologies at this late hour is no longer realistic. Such possibilities may have their place in some more distant time, but it is urgent that we phase out fossil fuels NOW. Humanity cannot afford any further delay.

Let WILPF US resolve to create a workable climate resolution and hold our own government to account for its implementation. We must continue to call for: the urgent phasing out of fossil fuels, terminating support for false solutions, ending the disastrous arms race, insisting on the reporting of military emissions, and moving the money away from the bloated DoD budget to authentic climate change mitigation efforts.

Notes

1 “NATO won’t say how it will count its carbon emissions,” Conflict and Environment Observatory, June 29, 2022.
2 Rosie Frost, “Pakistan floods: Donors pledge nearly 8bn for recovery in first test for loss and damage funding,” euronews.green.
3 “Climate change costs deal struck at COP27, but no fossil fuel progress,” BBC News, November 20, 2022.
4 Guardian staff, ‘We can do the impossible’: how key players reacted to the end of COP27 climate summit,” The Guardian, November 20, 2022.
5 Damian Carrington, “Revealed: UAE plans huge oil and gas expansion as it hosts UN climate summit,” The Guardian, April 4, 2023.
A relatively small island, Cuba is only responsible for 0.08% of global CO2 emissions. But like other islands in the Caribbean and the Pacific, Cuba is disproportionately impacted by the effects of climate change. Hurricanes/typhoons, drought, extreme heat, torrential rain, and flooding have caused havoc with food systems, ecosystems, and public health. The people of Cuba no longer have the ability to live free of extreme weather events.

Cuba’s response has been the development of a long-term plan called Tarea Vida (Life Task), approved by Cuba’s Council of Ministers in 2017. Tarea Vida places human life at the center and stretches all the way to 2100. The plan brings together scientists, government officials from national to local levels, and the populations most impacted in Cuba by climate change to implement, educate, and organize the different generations of Cubans to build their country’s response to climate change. It is specifically designed for Cuba based on Cuban society, its peoples’ values, and the culture and principles of the Cuban revolution.

Since the start of the Cuban revolution in 1960, Cuba has been acutely aware of the devastation of its natural resources that worsened the impact of climate change on the island. Years of sugar cane production, an agro-export economy, and neglect of the environment caused massive deforestation and the destruction of mangroves and coral reefs which serve as natural protection against hurricane damage.

In 1976, Cuba was one of the first countries in the world to include environmental issues in its constitution, and the National Commission for the Protection of the Environment and the Rational Use of Natural Resources was established. In 1992, Fidel Castro delivered a speech at the Earth Summit in Brazil placing the blame for environmental destruction on the development of colonialism and imperialism and the exploitative and unequal relations stemming from those systems. In 1994, a new Ministry of Science, Technology and Environment (CITMA) was formed, the body that leads Tarea Vida. In 2019, the Cuban Constitution established the right to enjoy a healthy and balanced environment as a human right.

Tarea Vida is a comprehensive plan. It includes eleven projects to address the short and long-term environmental issues facing Cuba, and acknowledges the need for monitoring systems and financing. According to a 2018 article:

Among Tarea Vida’s 11 projects are identifying and implementing projects to adapt to climate change, assuring the availability and efficient use of water to confront drought, reforesting to protect soils and water, stopping the deterioration of coral reefs by restoring and protecting them, and measures, plans, and projects linked to renewable energy, food security, health, and tourism.1

The plan identifies vulnerable areas and populations that are in danger due to climate change. Already, 103 studies have been undertaken to determine plans of action based on working with the affected populations.

One of the biggest barriers to Cuba’s fight against climate change is the 62-year-old US blockade against Cuba. The blockade prohibits Cuba from seeking scientific equipment from the US or Europe to detect extreme weather events. It also prevents the country from seeking loans from international lending institutions and countries to assist in rebuilding after hurricanes and floods, or to relocate vulnerable communities that live on low lying coastal lands who will be flooded out of their homes due to rising sea levels. The blockade prohibits the trading of food and meat, causing extreme hardship to the Cuban people since hurricanes damage agricultural fields. Finally, Cubans cannot participate in conferences and consultations around climate change and global responses, which denies us the opportunity to learn from the Cuban experience.

We have much to learn from this small island about their approach to climate change. It is not so much that one plan fits all, but we must unify our world’s governments and peoples to confront the environmental crisis before us. Our government will only do so if we, the people, demand it.

Notes

1 Yisell Rodriguez Milan and Danae Gonzalez Del Toro, “Project Life: Cuba’s Action Plan Prepares for Climate Change,” Climate&Capitalism, April 13, 2018. Other sources for this article include: Helen Yaffe, “Tarea Vida: Inside the Cuban Way to Confront Climate Change,” The Wire (India); and “Cuba’s Life Task: Combatting Climate Change,” Dani Films, available on YouTube.
In January 2023, four WILPF leaders spoke with the evolutionary biologist and geneticist Mazin Qumsiyeh, familiar to us from his US speaking tours and books: *Popular Resistance in Palestine and Sharing the Land of Canaan.* Dr. Qumsiyeh teaches at Bethlehem University where he is the founder and director of the Palestine Institute for Biological Diversity and Sustainability and the Palestine Museum of Natural History. Tura Campanella Cook, Barb Taft, Regina Birchem (all from the Middle East Peace & Justice Action Committee), and Nancy Price (Earth Democracy) conversed with him on Zoom about what’s driving the uneven impacts of climate change and why “decolonizing the mind” is so important.

**The Eastern Mediterranean and West Asia are warming twice as fast as the global average. Tell us more.**

MQ: Humans have been messing up nature since the industrial revolution. Consumerist ideas and capitalism make people consume and destroy the earth. Climate change affects the whole earth but not evenly. The rich countries produce the most greenhouse gases but are the least affected. Here in the Eastern Mediterranean, we see desertification from the Sahara Desert spreading into the Fertile Crescent and coming here to Bethlehem. Agricultural production, based on predictable rainfall patterns, is impacted worldwide but more critically in the belt between the Tropics and our latitude. Today there are more refugees in the world caused by climate than by war.

**You are quoted in “Palestine: Where Manufactured Water Scarcity Meets Climate Change”* How is water scarcity “manufactured”?**

MQ: There is no water shortage in the Fertile Crescent where humans first developed agriculture. Ramallah has more annual rainfall than London. Historically we have had good rainfall and good storage of water in rivers and aquifers. What we experience is unequal distribution. Israel steals most of our water and uses it as leverage to drive us out. Since the 1930s the Zionist project has engineered water shortage for the native people. Settlers today have 7 or 8 times more water per capita than the indigenous people. The WHO recommends 100 liters per capita per day for personal and household use. Gazans on average receive less than 9 liters. The Zionist project brings immigrants from all over the world and has them live in semi-arid locations with lush vegetation and swimming pools. The settlements El David and Nokdim near Beit Sahour have a water park and swimming pools while we in the Bethlehem area get water sporadically and experience shortages.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights considers access to clean water and sanitation a basic human right. What is your water situation?

MQ: Our struggle for human rights includes the right to water. Israel has signed international treaties about the use of shared river basins, but acts otherwise. Israel takes 70% of the water from the Jordan River while Jordan, Syria and Lebanon combined receive 30%. Although Palestinian land borders the Jordan, we receive none. Israel began diverting water from the Jordan River in 1948. River flow of 1350 million cubic meters in the 1940s fell to 20 million cubic meters in the 1960s, in violation of treaties such as the Johnston Plan. Israel controls all the natural resources of Palestine, period. This includes the minerals of the Dead Sea and the gas fields off the coast of Gaza. The holy places and their tourism are also controlled. Israel transformed a country that was multiethnic, multicultural and multi-religious in which the natives controlled the resources into a Jewish state in which Jews control and benefit, especially if they are Zionist.

The UN Sustainable Development Goals call for access to clean water and sanitation by 2030. Is that possible?

MQ: All countries agree that the UNSD Goals are admirable. But the goals lack implementation systems to protect the most vulnerable communities. The powerful countries decide what gets implemented, according to their needs and not according to human rights or international agreements.

The UN climate conference process gives large fossil fuel, water, forest, and agricultural corporations stakeholder status. What has been the impact?

MQ: COP stands for Conference of Parties and is the gathering of signatories to various conventions and treaties. Politicians and other elites, including large corporations, are the ones that...
participate. This is true of delegations from countries in the developing world as well. The UAE appointed the head of an oil company to preside over COP28 in the UAE this November.

Do you hold out hope for a popular conference – truly of the people – such as the Earth Assemblies proposed by Pablo Solón?²

MQ: The problem is money. Money is power and determines things. The closest we have come to people power was in the 1960s. Those in power learned from the mistakes that caused them to withdraw from Vietnam and accede to civil rights legislation in the US. They learned how to manipulate the system better. The organizers in the US like Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X were assassinated and the hippies became part of the system. I hate to be pessimistic intellectually. Was it Antonio Gramsci who said “pessimism of the intellect, optimism of the will?” I remain optimistic to keep fighting but honestly, I feel there is a 70% chance that we will not save our planet. The 30% chance is reason to keep plugging.

Funding for climate-induced loss and damages was finally discussed at COP27. How can funding reach communities most in need?

MQ: I did not attend COP27 but did extensive lobbying online with academia and NGOs to insist there should be some money flowing from the developed world to the developing world. What we got was lip service. Rich countries control international funding through the Global Environmental Facility (GEF) and the US has veto power. For example, Palestine is a signatory to the Biodiversity Agreement but is not allowed even to apply for GEF funding for biodiversity projects.

Liberating minds from mental colonization, restructuring educational systems at all levels, and developing systems of caring, empathy, and collaboration are some of the broad social actions advocated by the Palestine Institute for Biodiversity and Sustainability. Describe mental colonization and its impact on colonized people.

MQ: Colonizers and oppressors understand the power of the mind. Even if you have prisoners in jail, you want to make sure their minds are subservient so they do not rebel. Slavery was the same thing. You want to reduce the risk of slave revolt. So you colonize their minds. You want to make them feel hopeless, that they have no future as free men and women. So you set up systems such as elevating some slaves to ‘house slaves’ who would even whip the ‘field slaves.’ House slaves felt they had a stake in maintaining the system. Without a sense of homogeneity among the oppressed, most will accept the oppression.

Why restructure educational systems at all levels?

MQ: Civilization is mental and our minds are shaped by education, by our families educating us as children, and then education in the schools and universities. We need re-education to decolonize our minds.

Our issue committees seeks to educate WILPF members. Do you have suggestions for actions we can take to support the PIBS goals?

MQ: I don’t say, “Educate people.” I am not sure we can educate people. People who are interested in learning will learn. In the student-based learning that I use you don’t “teach” or “give information.” You create an environment in which students learn. The same applies for social transformation. If we are going to help our people around the earth care more, show empathy more, we need to create systems first and foremost in our own house and minds. The systems we create are the environment for a seed to grow. Seeds have a tendency to grow on their own. So the Palestine Institute for Biodiversity and Sustainability tries to create a small oasis of hope and re-evaluation. I don’t tell our students, or the foreigners who visit, to do certain things. I want them to see the environment we have and what we are doing. If they are convinced, they have the ability to transform. When I was young I wanted to change the world. Now I just want to do what I think is right and if that happens to influence other people that is great. If it doesn’t that is also fine.

Black and brown communities in the US and elsewhere are looking at the psychological oppressions they have endured and recognizing that they can take back control. How can we work against the system?

MQ: The powers that be want us to feel helpless because it is a self-fulfilling prophecy. When we say we cannot do very much, we don’t do very much. When we feel empowered even when we fail, we fail as empowered people. Self-respect empowers the young people I work with here and in the US. But I don’t want them to become so immersed in activism that they have activist burnout and leave activism when they do not

Continued on page 19.
By Odile Hugonot Haber

As Jackie Cabasso wrote in a recent article, the year 2022 was “a nightmare for nuclear disarmament.” She pointed out that “All of the nuclear-armed states, including the four outside the NPT (India, Israel, Pakistan, and North Korea) are engaged in costly programs to qualitatively upgrade and in some cases quantitatively increase their nuclear arsenals,” and that “the 10th NPT Review Conference, which took place in August, was an abject failure.”

So it was encouraging that at least one promising meeting was held toward the end of the year. In accordance with the United Nations General Assembly decision 73/546 that established a meeting on the Weapon of Mass Destruction Free Zone (WMDFZ) in the Middle East, a conference took place November 14-18, 2022, at UN Headquarters in New York. This was the third annual session on establishing a WMDFZ in the Middle East. WILPF was not accredited to attend; only a handful of NGOs were there. Reaching Critical Will wrote a report, and various articles reported it was a very positive conference.

The aim of this conference was for the participating member states to reaffirm their commitment to establish a future zone in which nations would not possess, acquire, test, manufacture, or use any nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons, or their delivery systems, as provided for in the Middle East resolution adopted according to the 1995 NPT review and extension conference, and to create a legally binding treaty.

The conference was chaired by Jeanne Mrad, Charge d’Affaires and Deputy Permanent Representative of the Permanent Mission of Lebanon to the United Nations, who highlighted the positive in each of the speeches by the foreign representatives.

Attending were 21 Arab states of the Arab League. Iran was there, and four nuclear states attended as observers: China, France, Russia, and the United Kingdom. After the UK representative unleashed some negative comments, the president of the Session said: “We call on observers to be messengers of peace and convince member states that are hesitant to participate actively in this process.” Russia and China issued supportive statements. China’s statement was: “China calls on countries to abandon self-interest and gang up to stir confrontation and make practical contributions to regional security. Regional countries should feel more ownership and work to build collective security. Nuclear weapons states should participate in this process.” Israel and the United States did not attend, as usual.

Participants affirmed their commitments, and some of the attendees felt that an infrastructure for the treaty can be built as an alternative pathway for a future treaty. This would create a model that would advance all the points on regional security, verification of the abolition of chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons and their delivery systems. Laying down all the points and building consensus are the first steps toward the development of a final document.

We have to keep in mind that climate change is at play, and that nuclear weapons plants can represent a very ominous element once water scarcity and record high temperatures become the norm. In the aftermath of the 2015 Haifa conference on a WMDFZ in the Middle East, we were lectured by a Palestinian physician in Gaza who explained that water was leaking from the nuclear reactor in Dimona (the reactor is been active since the early 1960s at the Shimon Peres Negev Nuclear Research Center), and he said that many cases of cancer, never seen before, then appeared around Gaza. This fact was also reported by Green groups in France.

So this conference was positive, but a lot of work still needs to be done. Also, some pressure needs to be applied so the United States and Israel will begin to participate, hopefully before many other countries in the Middle East develop nuclear weapons. As Mrad said toward the end of the conference: “We can achieve progress with collective dedication, wisdom and hard work.”

Notes
Climate change is a growing threat to progress, peace, security, and human rights. The negative impacts of climate change often have gendered impacts and are another barrier to achieving gender equality. The climate crisis is also a threat multiplier. The impacts of conflict and climate change affect people differently depending on the power dynamics of their context. Additional stresses on social, political, and economic infrastructures lead to increased vulnerability for women and girls in patriarchal societies. Consequently, the lack of support and protection mechanisms allows violence and exploitation to flourish, harming vulnerable and conflict-affected groups.

The international community has been increasingly raising the alarm on climate threats. In October 2022, the United Nations (UN) Special Rapporteur on violence against women described climate change as “the most consequential threat multiplier for women and girls, with far-reaching impacts on new and existing forms of gendered inequities.” Women and girls in conflict-affected regions progressively experience the disastrous consequences of unmitigated climate degradation, notably in the form of rising mental, physical, and sexual violence.

CARE International has termed gender inequality reinforced by climate change a “double injustice.” There are many manifestations of this injustice, and they are continually growing and evolving. Intense heat and droughts are forcing millions of people to flee their homes, causing internal displacement and forced migration to other countries. In the Central American “Dry Corridor,” forced displacement is many people’s only means of survival. In such cases, women and girls face the double-edged sword of seeking environmental stability despite significant risks of sexual violence and physical insecurity. According to UNEP, women and girls constitute 80 per cent of those displaced by climate change.

In rural Uganda, prolonged drought has increased the time and frequency that women and girls need to gather water and food. Similarly, the continued depletion of natural resources in Peru means that women and girls must walk further into the forest to fetch water daily. In both of these contexts, and for many other women worldwide, these long and often unaccompanied journeys leave women and girls vulnerable to physical attack, sexual exploitation, and violence.

Not only do women and girls face threats of violence by simply existing in contexts impacted by climate change, but women environmental human rights defenders have become increasingly targeted for their efforts. Sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) is utilized to suppress their activism and intimidate others to abandon their advocacy. Sexual exploitation and violence against women and girls are also used as forms of control over natural resources — for land grabbing, gaining property rights, and more.

Despite these challenges and vulnerabilities, women are far from passive victims of conflict or climate change. Women from indigenous communities who have been actively practicing environmental conservation and nature protection for generations continue to put their lives at risk to defend human and environmental rights. And we know that women’s unique environmental knowledge is invaluable for peacebuilding efforts and that their meaningful participation in policy and decision-making is vital for developing community adaptation and resilience.

The Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda arose to address the disproportionate impact of conflict on women and also acknowledges and supports the pivotal role women should and do play in conflict prevention, conflict management, and sustainable peace efforts. The WPS agenda is invaluable for ensuring women’s inclusion as agents of change in climate action, peace and security. Their activism offers essential lessons on tackling these compounding threats and building a sustainable future.

One pathway for action is to support women and girls’ participation in efforts to address climate-related security risks. The most in-depth review assessing National Action Plans (NAPs) on WPS found that only 17 of 80 reviewed NAPs mention climate change. Only three have a significant mention or action toward addressing it. There is a clear need to integrate climate action into NAPs on WPS.

Jenaina Irani has a graduate degree in Global Affairs from NYU and previously served as a researcher for the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders (GNWP). This article was edited and reprinted with her permission from the GNWP website.
A harmonic convergence of three events—years apart—led to our passive solar house in Montague, MA, designed and built in 1981, in which my partner Jan Raymond and I have lived for all the decades since.

The first of the triad events was encountering geometry in my sophomore year of high school—I might call it love at first sight, the myriad shapes, the precision of formulae for area, diameter, perimeter, and investigating three-dimensional geometry. Next was my fascination in senior year of college with the golden mean, a ratio found in nature, in music, in art and architecture—the Parthenon being a prominent example.

The third event occurred some years later in my mid-30s when I was studying environmental engineering in graduate school. Crude oil prices nearly doubled to almost $40 per barrel in twelve months. Known alternatively as the oil shock and energy crisis of 1979, it impelled President Carter to aspire to harnessing “the power of the sun to enrich our lives as we move away from our crippling dependence on foreign oil.” He led by example, having 32 solar hot water panels installed on the roof of the White House and launching an ambitious plan to put America on a clean energy path. Suddenly I knew that this was the path I wanted to take for my master’s thesis: I’d leave the traditional wastewater and solid waste topics for others and, instead, design and build a two-story passive solar sunspace/greenhouse onto our older home.

After graduation, while working for EPA New England, I yearned to build a solar home given the zeitgeist of the times (Reagan, notwithstanding): renewable energy as the clean energy of the future. We bought land with good south-facing exposure and tree cover on the other three sides for summer shade. Using a basic passive solar construction design from a civil engineering magazine, I chose double-studded walls a foot thick filled with cellulose, rigid foam board around the concrete foundation bermed with soil on three sides, and a well-insulated attic. Analysis showed that we would need a backup form of heat equivalent to 200 gallons of oil or two cords of wood. We chose a woodstove and an interior chimney to benefit from the heat gain conducted to the interior walls, as well as a more efficient Rumford design fireplace. And, of course, the house proportions were guided by the golden mean. Including a south-facing solar greenhouse was a natural, inexpensive addition during construction.

Years later we added a porch on the west side to benefit from the prevailing southwest summer winds in our region. When the state and federal programs to incentivize installing photovoltaic panels for electricity began, we had PV solar panels installed for solar electricity, which paid for themselves in under 10 years. More recently, we eliminated wood burning because of its well-documented air pollution and greenhouse gases. A local organic grower farms our land each growing season.

Along the way, many opportunities to spread the gospel of solar energy arose. Our builder went on to build many super-insulated passive solar homes, consulting with me...
on alterations to the design. I recommended using smaller south-facing windows and reducing night heat loss with well insulated shades/curtains. I offered a course for women builders in our area on the structural design of our home and gave many public slideshow presentations, including one for my EPA colleagues. When we had photovoltaic (PV) panels installed in 2010, we held a workshop for neighbors interested in the application process, the state and federal financial incentives, and the system of selling back excess solar energy to the electric company.

Today, going all electric with solar panels (an option not available in 1981) for heating and cooling, hot water and cooking, together with passive solar house orientation and maximal insulation with fresh air input, is the environmental ideal for new home and building design. Adding high-efficiency heat pumps, insulation and PV panels where possible are cost-effective, environmentally sound retrofits to existing housing.

Pat Hynes, a member-at-large of WILPF, works on behalf of peace and justice through the Traprock Center for Peace and Justice in western Massachusetts. Her most recent book is Hope, But Demand Justice.

Notes

A Human Rights Crisis for Global South Women
Continued from page 3

Agency statistics also exclude military energy use. Therefore, there is need for transparency.

It is also important that vast natural resources and funds that are currently being channelled towards conflict and growing the wealth of a few elites be invested into climate mitigation and adaptation as well as loss and damage. The climate crisis is no longer just an environmental issue but a human rights matter, and it is a catastrophe for the future of all life on the planet.

Manufactured Water Scarcity and Mental Colonization
Continued from page 15.

see the results they expected. I tell them to pace themselves. You do what you can. You enjoy your life. I think activism is enjoyable because you are working in a community and have teams around you. You are not isolated. Psychologists tell us that people who have a bigger cause are happier than people who have self interest only.

You have been arrested 12 times; a soldier standing on your chest broke your ribs. Many environmental defenders are threatened because of their “subversive” activity. What keeps you in the struggle, and what do you advise other activists?

MQ: I think humans by nature want to make a difference in society, but mental colonization prevents most people from speaking out. Jesus was a very good educator. He used parables and situational presentations that made people think. He did not come for the rich people, he came for the poor, to support and stand with the oppressed. This is the eternal wisdom found in many religions. Focus on this with humility. Water can carve the hardest rocks because it is not pretentious or trying to dominate. Be like water.1

Notes
3 For another, related article that details the serious health impacts and accelerating environmental degradation in Iraq, see Zeinab Shuker “Water, Oil and Iraq’s Climate Future,” Middle East Report Online, March 29, 2023.
Public Banking as a Tool for Green Transition

By Marybeth Gardam and Nancy Price
Chairs of the Women, Money, & Democracy and the Earth Democracy Committees

“If we want a future other than planetary ecological collapse, we need to remake the financial system that drives fossil fuel expansion. Public banks are key to this financial reformulation because they can be designed to require that climate action be a central focus of their lending.”

—Rick Girling, California Public Banking Alliance

In 2016, Indigenous activists in Seattle reached out to the City Council to ask them to end their business relationship with Wells Fargo, a major bankroller of the Dakota Access Pipeline that was planned to cross tribal and sacred lands. The tribes had been warning of the catastrophic damage a spill along the pipeline would do to these lands. Subsequently they organized many months of protests by “water protectors” who put their bodies between the oil industry and the vulnerable land.

Their campaign to end the banking relationship between Seattle and Wells Fargo Bank was successful. Their longer term strategy is to promote and advocate for public banking as an alternative to cities and states handing power and millions of dollars a year over to private corporate commercial bank giants. These gigantic private banks profit from management of public money they hold for states and cities. They charge huge management and interest fees, and use those profits against the interests of the planet and the people.

These commercial banks invest in projects that are profitable without regard to the damage they do, including weapons and war, extractive industries (drilling, fracking, mining), and privatization-driven corporations (for water, utilities, schools, and prisons). They also use their profits to lobby for gutted regulations that make it harder to protect the environment, consumers, and for laws that silence protesters and weaken democratic process. And it’s a pretty exclusive circle.

Corporate Banks Support Fossil Fuels

“The vast majority of corporate banks are in the hands of a very small group of executives who continue with outdated investment portfolios that protect their own wealth, with minimal regard for environmental consequences,” explains Rick Girling in his 2022 Dollars & Sense article. Girling notes that sixty of the world’s largest commercial banks have invested $4.6 trillion into supporting fossil fuels since 2015, with JP Morgan Chase leading the pack, investing $317 billion alone. Despite the growing warnings and very real climate disruption we’re seeing around the world, in his 2021 letter to shareholders, Chase CEO and Chair Jamie Dimon called for “immediate approval for additional oil leases and gas pipelines,” citing how unwise it would be to “constrain the flow of capital needed to produce and move fuels, especially as the war in Ukraine rages on…”

Girling cites an analysis by Bloomberg News of the executive leadership of the 20 largest European and United States banks which reported that at least 73 have at one time or another held a position with one or more of the biggest corporate emitters of greenhouse gasses, including 16 connected to oil or oil refining companies. Only four had connections with companies involved with renewable or sustainable industries. He concludes that given the pressure for constant unsustainable growth and profits, it is unlikely that the dominant private banking institutions in the US will fund the needed rapid transformation of investment towards renewables. A move away from the old way of banking is essential for saving the planet.

Public Banking to Protect Mother Earth

One solution is the rising success of small groups around the country advancing public banking initiatives. A few legislative efforts are in place following the 2020 introduction of HR8721, the Public Banking Act, which established a federal level regulatory framework and corresponding financial infrastructure for public banks. A list of existing advocacy groups and legislation is available on The Public Banking Institute website, publicbankinginstitute.org. The Indigenous Environmental Network has prioritized advocacy for public banking as a primary strategy to protect Mother Earth, along with divestment from those big banksters. They look to public banking as a means to finance a green transition to confront the impending global climate catastrophe.

“When freed from shareholders’ obsession with short-term profits, public banks are capable of accepting below-market returns if they can show their investments serve the public interest,” Girling writes. They free up low interest loans, made through small local banks and credit unions, for small and mid-size businesses to help with weatherization projects, community solar energy investments, the transition of public buildings and infrastructure to ‘green’ sustainable energy, and more. And when cities and states use public banks instead of Wall Street banks, they hold on to millions more public dollars each year, so they can do more to help local communities, projects, and people.
What Makes Public Banks Different?

Public Banks:
- are designed to work in the common interest, for the public good, not simply to profit shareholders;
- are not where citizens keep their savings and checking. Instead they are where cities and states keep their ‘public funds’ including a variety of income streams: traffic and parking fines, court costs and fines, fishing and hunting and professional certification licenses, property taxes, even public employee pension funds;
- keep local money local. Without public banks cities and states are sending local dollars out of state to Wall Street banks, and being charged millions annually for investment management and interest fees;
- don’t compete with local community banks or credit unions. In fact they strengthen the position of local banks and credit unions by making it possible for them to make larger loans, backed by the power and financial capacity of the state or city;
- are run, not by politicians, but by qualified bankers serving a public mission, on a locally-elected board;
- provide accountability and transparency to the public for bank decisions, avoiding the risks of Wall Street’s speculative gambling.

The only example of a public bank in the US, the Bank of North Dakota, has turned a consistently tidy profit through all its 100+ year history. In 2014, The Wall Street Journal reported that the Bank of North Dakota (BND), “is more profitable than Goldman Sachs Group Inc., has a better credit rating than J.P. Morgan Chase & Co. and hasn’t seen profit growth drop since 2003.” The article credited the shale oil boom; but North Dakota was already reporting record profits in the spring of 2009, when every other state was in the red and the oil boom had not yet hit.

How WSD Is Advancing Public Banking

The Women, Money & Democracy Committee (WSD) of WILPF US has taken a special interest in advancing public banking and better informing our members to become effective advocates, because we believe in public banking’s potential for transforming our rigged economy. It’s been shown to benefit families, women, low income communities, and communities of color by assisting with small business loans to entrepreneurs, access to affordable housing, and affordable student loans. It can support city and state projects by helping refinance their accumulated debt at lower interest rates, and save millions in annual management fees and interest that leaves the locale and goes to Wall Street banks and their shareholders.

Our webpage on the WILPF US website has links to a Public Banking Toolkit. Over the last few years, WSD conducted two recorded Public Banking Learning Circles with their allies An Economy of Our Own, the Public Banking Institute, and the California Public Banking Alliance to educate and organize for public banking advocacy across the country, bringing in national experts and organizers with real experience to train others in this new area of activism.

In 2023, we are seeking grants to repackage those recordings into an organizing kit so that local activists can use them, with a facilitator’s guide, to conduct their own Learning Circles. We aim to create confidence and awareness so that WILPF members and others around the country can begin a local dialogue about how public banking can transform our economy and fund practical and proven climate solutions. Contact wmad@wilpfus.org for more information.

Notes
1 Rick Girling, “Public Banking for Climate Justice,” Dollars & Sense, November/December 2022, 24. All Girling quotes come from pp. 23-24 of this article.
Summer Reading List
WILPF Leaders Recommend Books on Environmental Issues

Nancy Price
Earth Democracy Committee

*The Pentagon, Climate Change, and War: Charting the Rise and Fall of U.S. Military Emissions*
By Neta Crawford (MIT Press, 2022)
The US Department of Defense is the largest single energy consumer in the country and the world’s largest institutional greenhouse gas emitter. Examining the idea of climate change as a “threat multiplier” in national security, Crawford argues that the most effective way to cut military emissions is to rethink US grand strategy, enabling the size and operations of the military to be reduced.

*The War and Environment Reader*
By Gar Smith, editor (Just World Books, 2017)
Gar Smith, longtime activist and founder of Environmentalists Against War, edited this critical analysis of the devastating consequences of war on the environment from a wide array of diverse voices and global perspectives. Contributors include: Medea Benjamin, Helen Caldicott, Marjorie Cohn, Daniel Ellsberg, Robert Fisk, Ann Jones, Michael Klare, Winona LaDuke, Jerry Mander, Margaret Mead, Vandana Shiva, David Swanson, Jody Williams, and S. Brian Willson.

Lib Hutchby
Water Protector, WILPF Triangle Branch

*Wastelands: The True Story of Farm Country on Trial*
By Corban Addison (Knopf, 2022)
This true story is well researched and it is special to me because I met Elsie Herring at an Environmental Justice Network meeting years ago. Addison creates suspense as he writes about Elsie and her neighbors suing Smithfield Foods for the polluting practices of the large-scale hog industry that were destroying the environment and living conditions in eastern North Carolina.

*Forest Bathing Retreat: Find Wholeness in the Company of Trees*
By Hannah Fries (Storey Publishing, 2018)
Inspired by the Japanese concept of shinrin-yoku, or forest bathing, this beautiful book invites us to bask in the company of trees. Poet Hannah Fries combines her own reflections and guided mindfulness exercises with a curated selection of writings from poets, naturalists, artists, scientists, and thinkers throughout the centuries and across cultures.

Desperate: An Epic Battle for Clean Water and Justice in Appalachia
By Kris Maher (Scribner, 2021)
Set in Appalachian coal country, this legal drama follows determined environmental lawyer Kevin Thompson as he faces coal industry giant Massey Energy in a seven-year battle over clean drinking water for a West Virginia community. Working with fellow lawyers and a crew of young activists, Thompson eventually uncovers the ruthless shortcuts that put the community’s water—and health—at risk.

I also recommend any books written by:

• Maude Barlow, “Canada’s best-known voice of dissent” (CBC), who is known for her important books about water rights, including *Whose Water Is It, Anyway?: Taking Water Protection into Public Hands* (ECW Press, 2019).
• Helen Caldicott, whose books include *Crisis Without End: The Medical and Ecological Consequences of the Fukushima Nuclear Catastrophe* (The New Press, 2014).

Katrin Geyer
Environment Focal Point, WILPF International Secretariat

*Braiding Sweetgrass: Indigenous Wisdom, Scientific Knowledge and the Teachings of Plants*
By Robin Wall Kimmerer (Milkweed Editions, 2015)
I love this book because the author captures the beauty of nature in a way that I find deeply touching. She debunks the claim that humans are bad for nature and shows how Indigenous peoples have lived in mutual respect and reciprocity with nature for thousands of years. The book contains many precious teachings that we can apply to our modern lives.

Marybeth Gardam
Women, Money & Democracy Committee

*This Changes Everything: Capitalism vs. the Climate*
By Naomi Klein (Simon & Schuster, 2014)
A brilliant explanation of how the climate crisis is an alarm calling us to fix an economic system that is already failing us in many ways. Klein meticulously builds the case for how massively reducing our greenhouse emissions is our best chance to simultaneously reduce gaping inequalities, reimagine our broken democracies, and rebuild our gutted local economies.

Tura Campanella Cook
Middle East Peace & Justice Action Committee

*As Long as Grass Grows: The Indigenous Fight for Environmental Justice, from Colonization to Standing Rock*
By Dina Gilio-Whitaker (Beacon Press, 2019)
Indigenous women have been important leaders in dealing with broken treaties, struggles for food and water security, and protection of sacred places. There is a history of tensions between mainstream (white) environmentalists and Native peoples. The author offers new approaches to environmental justice and policy and stresses that contemporary environmentalists must look to the history of Indigenous resistance for wisdom and inspiration.
Welcome to Martha Collins of WILPF Milwaukee, who will be joining the WILPF US Board as Development Chair with a partial term through January 2024.

Recruited to WILPF US a decade ago by beloved Milwaukee activist Rose Daitsman, Martha Collins is a peace and justice advocate, human rights activist, and experienced nonprofit leader who has dedicated her career to working for social justice organizations that focus on building power within marginalized communities. Martha demonstrates the ability to persuade organizations to take action and empower leaders from diverse economic, social, and cultural backgrounds to work together for positive change.

For over two decades, Martha has had the opportunity to collaborate and strategically develop several coalitions to help create public policy groundwork for advancing social and economic agendas. Also, she has extensive fund development and nonprofit advocacy experience in the focus areas of addressing hunger, food insecurity, protecting work-family friendly policies, promoting an electoral process that is free, fair, and accessible for all, and fighting for race and gender-based equity that benefits everyone in the community.

Martha fell in love with community work before she even knew how to define it.

“I was preparing to graduate from Washington High School and major in computer engineering,” she said. “I already had an internship set up with Northwestern Mutual when my mom started having me come in to help her at work because I was good with computers.” Her mother, Patricia Collins, worked as an office administrator.

“The more time I spent in their office, the more I learned about nonprofits and management leadership,” Martha said. That experience convinced her that nonprofit leadership and administration was where positive change could happen.

In 2015, Martha led a successful coalition of statewide members and organizations to prevent the Wisconsin Family Medical Leave Act from being repealed by the state legislature. During the 2016 Democratic Presidential Debate, she led the largest “Fight for $15” rally in Wisconsin, causing the moderator to change the national debate first topic question to raising the minimum wage. That same year, the Milwaukee Civil Unrest against police brutality occurred. Martha developed and implemented a community-focused program which trained and employed over 200 Milwaukee residents as Peacemaker Ambassadors.

In 2017, Martha was appointed by Milwaukee Mayor Tom Barrett to serve as a commissioner on the city’s Equal Rights Commission to advance accessibility, racial and gender-based equity, and inclusion for all residents. In this role, she introduced and passed a local resolution for the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and actively serves on the United Nations Association Women Affinity planning committee which builds awareness of the Cities for CEDAW campaign.

Since joining WILPF, Martha has actively served in various leadership positions with her local WILPF Milwaukee Branch and on the national Advancing Human Rights and Women, Money & Democracy issue committees.

Martha replaces me as Development Chair and Interim Chair. After serving on the Development Committee and leading it for part of the time from 2014 through 2021, I am looking forward to having more time to dedicate to chairing the Women, Money & Democracy Committee (formerly the Corporations vs Democracy Committee).

It has been my privilege to work as a volunteer to keep WILPF’s fundraising on course the last few years, but we need someone who can devote full focus to this important area.

Martha’s contributions to our current board will be important and powerful as we seek ways to engage younger, more diverse members. Her professional fundraising experience will be essential as we position ourselves to find new donors. She exemplifies exactly the skills we need and I hope she’ll be able to energize all of us to get behind fund development at WILPF. In the next few challenging years, fundraising will have to be every member’s task. You can reach Martha at DevelopmentChair@wilpfus.org.

Martha will continue to work for the Urban Economic Development Association of Milwaukee where she forges vital relationships with local and national activists, organizations, donors, and allies.

Martha will be leading the WILPF US Development Committee which includes Marybeth Gardam, Nancy Price, Darien De Lu, Eileen Kurkoski, Jane Sloane, and (new US Secretary Treasurer) Barbara Nielsen. She will be the board liaison with our part-time Fundraising Coordinator Jeneve Brooks. Anyone who wishes to join this committee should contact President@WILPFus.org.
We did so much together in 2022 to realize our vision as peace builders. The focus of this issue of Peace & Freedom is in keeping with WILPF’s long involvement in the environmental justice movement. It is very simple: there can be no peace if there is no environmental justice.

At its core, budgeting’s primary function is to ensure an organization has enough resources to do our work. To get there, we consider not only the immediate impact of our actions, but also the long term implications of our financial decisions.

Individual contributions are regularly our largest source of income. This revenue comes almost exclusively from our members. Dues is our second highest income source. Thanks to all of you for supporting WILPF throughout the year in the form of the $35 in annual dues and the other contributions you make.

We received two Bequests totaling $10,970 in 2022, a significant amount but far less that the $352,736 we received in 2021. We are grateful for friends who remember us in their legacy.

The higher-than-usual reserves as a result of the bequests we received in 2021 allowed us to do more in 2022 and, if we’re thoughtful, in 2023 and beyond. Our board had their first in-person meeting since 2017 and tied it with the “Poor People’s March on Washington and to the Polls” in June 2022. Thanks to the hospitality of WILPF US Board Secretary Dianne Blais, expenses were low. Dianne also hosted a reception for the 35 or so WILPFers who traveled to DC for the March thanks to the organizing efforts of Emily Keel, leader of our “WILPF for the PPC” initiative.

We were also able to send Cindy Piester to represent us at the 27th Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (COP 27) in Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt. Total governance and leadership expenses were $8,933 in 2022 vs. $39 in 2021.

Professional Fundraising Staff & Issue Committee Allowances

After relying on volunteers for many years, we hired professional fundraising staff in 2022. This work is a team effort, involving both staff and committee members. Fundraising staff do related work including researching and applying for grants from foundations that share WILPF’s vision.

We are also in a good position to cover expenses that go directly to WILPF’s work. Last year we made the decision to increase the regular allowance that issue committees have at their disposal from $400 to $500 per year. While that may look like a conservative increase, we wanted an amount that we felt could be permanent. Issue committees can also submit proposals for mini-grants or to the Finance Committee for additional funding. In addition to putting dollars behind our partnership with the Poor People’s Campaign, we covered expenses for Earth Democracy’s amazing project that focuses on PFAS, one group of highly toxic chemicals in our drinking water.

We added a new initiative, Building Branches from the Inside Out that five branches participated in. Shilpa Pandey, Membership Development Chair through January of 2023, initiated a new membership drive that I am excited to be part of: Shaping the Future of WILPF One Member at a Time. That drive runs through May.

Investments

WILPF’s Assets include $119,000 invested in IMPAX, Elevate Global Women’s Leadership Fund (which employs a strategy that invests in companies that value women’s leadership and advances gender equality through engagement and advocacy; additionally, the strategy meets key ESG standards and is fossil fuel free). It won’t come as a surprise that this investment lost $29,727, or 20% in 2022. Importantly, WILPF’s only investments in that fund total $36,000 and we’ve already dipped into the fund to the tune of $30,533. This look beyond the downturn should give us comfort that our investments are doing what they should do. We also have two small assets held by the Peace Development Fund invested in the same Fund.

As you may also have noticed, late last year we saw advertisements for interest on Certificates of Deposit much higher than the .35% to .7% we were getting at our Credit Union. After discussion, the Finance Committee decided to take advantage of these 3.5%-4.5% rates by purchasing certificates totaling $200,000.

The Bottom Line for 2022 & Going Forward in 2023

While we ended the year by spending $88,000 less than our projections, as we expected it was necessary to draw down our cash reserves to cover the deficit. We had projected to use bequest savings, but we had enough cash on hand.

We begin 2023 with reserves in cash, bequest savings, and investments. We are also fortunate that we have no outstanding debts.

As noted, we’ve invested to effectively handle important fundraising work with new staff positions. We’ve also agreed
to pay increases for several of our staff. In addition, the board approved creating a part-time Membership Development position with responsibilities including identifying and implementing membership recruitment efforts.

Knowing that my term was ending, I was so pleased when I spoke with Barbara Nielsen before the last election to see if she would be willing to serve. She not only said “yes,” but she worked with all of us on the Finance Committee (Darien De Lu, Phillip Cole, Marci Henzi, Eileen Kurkoski, and Linda Conte) to come up with a budget that we could recommend to the board for 2023. We were a little later on that task than usual, giving Barbara and the committee the opportunity to work together as her term begins. Barbara is an experienced professional and she has been a willing learner about WILPF’s accounting practices.

In signing off as your treasurer, I must say I’ve enjoyed collaborating with a variety of WILPF US Board and Finance Committee members and amazing WILPF staff. I feel fortunate that none of you are very far away!

I look forward to collaborating with you in other areas of WILPF’s work.

In Solidarity,
Jan Corderman
jancorderman@msn.com
Thank You WILPF US Donors!

WILPF US deeply appreciates the financial donations, large and small, from our members, friends, and sponsors. Your gifts make us stronger and help us to raise women’s voices for peace and justice. On this page, we thank by name those who have made generous donations and bequests in the last year.

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In Memoriam
Mildred “Millee” Livingston, Founder of Peace Camp and WILPF Branches

By Ellen Schwartz
Sacramento Branch

Millee was born on September 13, 1930, in Atlantic City, NJ, and grew up there. After high school she moved to Philadelphia and then to New York, where she met her husband, Duke Livingston, a merchant seaman at the time. She and Duke moved to the San Francisco Bay Area in the early 1960s where Millee worked as a bookkeeper and began her lifetime of political activism.

My friendship with Millee began in the 1970s, when she was in the Peninsula (CA) WILPF Branch and I was in the neighboring San Jose Branch. She had recently moved to San Mateo from Millbrae, after starting a Millbrae WILPF branch. In 1980 she moved to Auburn, but I continued to see and work with her at regional and cluster meetings, which Millee was instrumental in organizing.

Our close association began in early 1999 when I moved to Sacramento and joined the Sacramento branch. I learned that Millee had founded a branch in Auburn when she had moved there (the original Sierra Foothills branch), and then she helped May d’Marie and Darien De Lu start a Sacramento Branch. By the time I arrived, the two branches had merged. May was an inspiration, but Millee did so much of the hard work, editing the newsletter, putting together branch agendas, keeping track of what we needed to do, and maintaining the rotating roster of meeting facilitators. Millee restarted the Sierra Foothills branch, but by early 2013 the two branches merged once again.

During all of the years I have lived in Sacramento, I was impressed by Millee’s tireless energy in promoting WILPF. She organized a performance in Auburn, cosponsored by the then-Sierra Foothills branch, of a play about Coretta Scott King performed by a Black theater group. I mention this because the theater company was based in Sacramento, but the person with the energy to organize the performance was Millee, over 30 miles away.

For many years, Millee annually organized distribution of the Jane Addams Children’s Book Awards books to branches. She would host work parties at her house where we spent the day packing cartons.

Millee started the first children’s Peace Camp in Auburn in 1987. This was not a surprise: Millee had been involved with the Children’s Peace Camp project since 1986 when, as WILPF Region 1 President, she helped plan a camp to provide activities for children of members attending the region meeting in Missoula, MT. For over 27 years, WILPF branches throughout the country hosted Peace Camps based on the organizing materials Millee helped prepare. She herself organized Peace Camps in Auburn throughout this time.

In 2010, the Auburn Peace Camp was renamed Growing Peace Camp when Millee turned over her Peace Camp handbook to the Sierra Foothills Unitarian Universalist Youth Program. In 2012, the program morphed into a community-run event under the Placer People of Faith Together and Auburn Hip Hop Congress. Millee raised funds for camper scholarships each year and continued to offer her suggestions for activities until 2019. (“Growing a Peace Camp,” featuring Millee Livingston and Natalie Zapata, interviewed by Sabreenea Britt, is available on the WILPF US YouTube channel.

Millee worked to bring the community together to celebrate the life and work of Martin Luther King Jr. She urged the Sierra Foothills Unitarian Universalists to hold an MLK celebration which they did until 2012. The community at large took over the planning, offering songs, poetry and stories followed by a march through the streets of Auburn singing songs of peace. Every year until 2019, Millee raised funds, participated in the presentations, helped with refreshments, always arranging for a special MLK birthday cake.

She was the recipient of numerous awards, including the Eleanor Roosevelt Award from Placer Women Democrats; the Dove Award, from Women in Television and Film from the City of Los Angeles for bringing women’s theater to Auburn; and most recently the Eleanor Roosevelt Democratic Activism Award from the Placer County Democratic Party in 2020. She will be missed by all.

Some details like dates and place of birth and death borrowed from Gold Country Media obituary, October 21, 2022.
The Triangle (NC) Branch is working for nuclear disarmament one local council at a time. Eleven WILPF members and friends gathered to support the Carrboro City Council which passed a strong resolution on December 6, 2022, in favor of the UN Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons [TPNW] drafted by the ICAN Cities Appeal. Lucy Lewis headed up this effort. Triangle WILPFer Lib Hutchby is working with the North Carolina Environmental Justice Network on the air, water, and health problems caused by excessively large CAFOs (Concentrated Animal Feeding Operations).

In Iowa, the largest pork producing state in the US, Jan Corderman and the Des Moines Branch are also focusing on agriculture issues. The Iowa Alliance for Responsible Agriculture, a coalition of 25 organizations including WILPF US and the Des Moines Branch, is working toward a moratorium on factory farms; and the Factory Farming Awareness Coalition is working to build the movement to end factory farming.

The Boston Branch has been holding a Saturday morning letter writing group since September 2020. Members have written about 75 letters between September 2020 and January 2023 on disarmament, domestic and gun violence, war developments, women’s rights, legislative disputes and grassroots initiatives.

On January 22, 2023, the Greater Philadelphia Branch joined Brandywine Peace Community in uplifting the second anniversary of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons [TPNW] coming into effect. Standing in the eaves of the Federal Courthouse, activists held signs, tolled the bell for the 68 nation states that have ratified the treaty, and ended with a march around the Liberty Bell. The branch also continues its anti-racism work through a bimonthly Roundtable Discussion on Unpacking White Privilege.

The Rev. Rowan Fairgrove of the San Jose Branch helped organize the webinar, “End Women’s Poverty: Invest in Caring Not Killing,” held on March 8, 2023. The event was sponsored by the California Poor People’s Campaign and cosponsored by WILPF and other organizations for International Women’s Day.

Concerned members of Maine WILPF actively supported the call for a Christmas Truce in the war in Ukraine. Extending into January, branch members stood on street corners, over bridges, and along the roadside with their new “Diplomacy” banners as a way to pressure their members of Congress and neighbors to advocate for much more political space and resources for diplomacy.

As part of the Detroit Branch’s ongoing “Kitchen Table Talk & Action” series, longtime member Sherry Wells, JD, discussed the deep injustices of the United States penal system in January 2023. In February, Lauren Jasinski, a former Oxford High School teacher now active in End Gun Violence Michigan, spoke at length with facts, statistics, bills in the Michigan Legislature, and action steps.

The Fresno Branch completed a video about Covid-19 and farmworkers and has been sharing it for distribution to local Spanish-speaking community organizations and individuals. “Covid-19, A Play” was written by Agustin Lira and WILPFer Patricia Wells during the height of the pandemic to recognize the difficulties and sacrifices of those deemed “essential” workers. The video is available on YouTube.

The Jane Addams Branch received a mini-grant to record and edit interviews with WILPF members. These recordings will be edited and made available for families and friends. Snippets of them will be used to make a video as a recruitment tool.

No to Nukes

WILPF US is a member of the “Defuse Nuclear War” collation and our members enthusiastically took part in pickets outside the home offices of their congressional representatives to urge them to advocate for six actions which will decrease the risk of a nuclear war. Here are seven cities where WILPF members took action during October 14-16, 2022: Boston Branch WILPFer Eileen Kurkoski joined other peace activists to picket outside Representative Jake Auchencloss’ office building on October 14. He came out to speak with them. Members of the Burlington Branch joined with a dozen peace activists from around the state of Vermont in front of Representative Peter Welch’s office and then moved to a nearby intersection to catch the afternoon traffic. They left messages and taped the recently drafted “Vermont’s Vision for a New Foreign Policy” to Welch’s door.

Laura Dewey of the Detroit Branch joined a demonstration against the war in Ukraine and nuclear weapons in central Detroit on October 16.
The Peninsula/Palo Alto Branch handed a letter to Congresswoman Anna Eshoo’s office as they picketed there on October 14. A second picket was held at the branch’s regular noon silent vigil location at a busy Palo Alto corner, where Judy Adams arrayed various banners on nearby walls and fences and set up a table full of information about WILPF.

There were 50 or more anti-nuclear war activists picketing Senators Dianne Feinstein and Alex Padilla on October 14 in San Francisco, including WILPFer Betty Traynor. They met with and delivered letters to aides for each senator.

The Santa Cruz Branch had two pickets, on October 14 at Congressman Jimmy Panetta’s office, and on the 16th branch members demonstrated against nuclear weapons at the Santa Cruz Clock Tower.

Lynn Sableman of the St. Louis Branch reported that Senators Josh Hawley and Roy Blunt were not in their offices at the Eagleton Courthouse on October 16, but the event served to debut the Anti-Nuclear Weapons Pop-Up Folk Art exhibit, which includes a Nuclear War Plan quilt. The group stood on the corner with signs.

WILPF US Board Secretary Dianne Blais and Phoebe Sorgen, life member of the Jane Addams Branch, joined the picket against President Biden in front of the White House on October 14.

**TPNW Second Anniversary**

Between January 20-23, 2023, WILPF branches and at-large members celebrated the second anniversary of the entry into force of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW), also called the Nuclear Ban Treaty. Reports and photos were sent in from nine locations:

Ellen Thomas reported that WILPF US, Veterans for Peace, and Physicians for Social Responsibility members gathered in Pack Square in Asheville, NC, on January 21, 2023, to celebrate the second anniversary of the entry into force of the TPNW.

A group of peace activists from around Burlington, VT, gathered at the entrance to the Burlington International Airport to protest the F35 fighter jet and celebrate the TPNW on January 22, 2023. WILPF members attending included Marguerite Adelman, Robert Ackland, and Robin Lloyd.

The Detroit Branch participated in a Ferndale, MI, event sponsored by the Detroit Area Peace with Justice Network. Twenty-five people, including two WILPF members, held signs on Woodward Avenue, drawing numerous supportive honks from drivers. The group also wrote letters to our senators and representatives asking them to support the treaty.

MacGregor Eddy attended the Tri Valley CARE’s demonstration at the gates of the Lawrence Livermore Lab on January 20 in Monterey County, CA. She also attended a Monterey County celebration later that day.

To celebrate the second anniversary of the EIF of the TPNW, the Peninsula/Palo Alto (CA) Branch moved their Friday vigil to the King Plaza in front of Palo Alto City Hall. A loudspeaker system had three speakers, one was WILPFer Cherrill Spencer on the history and status of the TPNW. Participants held a “die-in” in a circle designated as “Ground Zero.”

On January 22, 2023, WILPF members joined Brandywine Peace Community in uplifting the second anniversary of the TPNW at the Federal Courthouse in Philadelphia, PA. WILPF members also continue to push for divestment through the Divest Philly from the War Machine campaign.

Martha Spiess reported that several groups joined forces for a Portland, ME, picket to celebrate the weekend of the January 22, 2023, second annual TPNW entry-into-force.

On January 23, 2023, twenty activists held signs and banners outside the Raytheon Missiles & Defense plant in Tucson, AZ, to mark the second anniversary of the EIF of the TPNW. In April 2020, the Pentagon gave Raytheon a multi-billion dollar contract to develop and produce an all-new nuclear-armed cruise missile to be launched from the wings of warplanes, which is in violation of the spirit and letter of the TPNW.

A group of peace activists, including WILPFer Vicki Elson, visited Washington, DC, on January 22, 2023, to deliver a hardcopy letter to President Biden. The guards at the White House gate wouldn’t even touch the envelope, so it was sent by email. The letter had been signed by over 100 national, state, and local organizations and calls on President Biden to sign the TPNW.
Here’s an opportunity to remember those women who dedicated their lives to the struggle for peace and freedom. One of our members wanted to donate in the memory of Joan Ecklein, a dedicated and outspoken activist in the WILPF Boston Branch. The donor wrote, “Joan was an educator, a constant protester for peace, a cherished grandmother, who built a life around family, profession, and WILPF, and most of all, a friend who never forgot to reach out. I wanted to continue that reaching out and hope my donation will encourage others to do so too!”

You too can send in a donation in Joan’s memory.

Join in the Memorial!
Is there one WILPF US woman you want us to know about, who brought you into WILPF and mentored you? Or one whose contribution was the guiding light in your WILPF activism? Or one who led by giving you hope and courage to stand up and shout out? Or….?

Your memorial will appear on the WILPF US website and a future issue of Peace & Freedom magazine.

Send your tribute text
Up to 50 words to: wilpf-us-memorial23@wilpfus.org

Instructions to donate:
Go to www.wilpfus.org and click on the donate button in the upper right or mail your check or money order to our national office at: WILPF US PO Box 13075 Des Moines, IA 50310