

Peace & Freedom

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

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An injured 3-year-old Afghan girl sits at a mobile clinic outside Jalalabad. A "smart bomb" hit her home near Tora Bora.

Collateral Damage
War & U.S. Foreign Policy

**At Ground
Zero in
New York
City, WILPF
President
Phyllis
Yingling
pins a
WILPF
button to
the
Memory
Wall.**



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Cover Photo by Marla Ruzicka. Zeriba is one of three members of the Taj family, along with Gouhar, 32, and Taj, age 8, who sustained serious war injuries.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)

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

National Program: WILPF envisions a world

free of violence, poverty, pollution and domination — a genuine new world order of peace and justice. WILPF's program stands firm for disarmament and against oppression. The 2000-2003 program cycle has four key campaign areas: Challenge Corporate Power; Assert the People's Rights; Disarmament; Uniting for Racial Justice: Truth, Reparations, Restoration and Reconciliation (UFORJE); and Women and Cuba. Each campaign area focuses on local and national effectiveness in creating lasting social change.

WILPF has sections in 37 countries

coordinated by an international office in Geneva. U.S. WILPF carries out its work through grassroots organizing by WILPF branches, coordinated by a national office in Philadelphia. WILPF supports the work of the United Nations and has NGO (Non-Governmental Organization) status.

Stay With the Struggle

Mary Day Kent, Executive Director

For myself, and perhaps for other WILPF members who worked to end the war in Vietnam, one of the turning points came during the so-called “Winter Soldier” hearings. These hearings were one of the first public actions held by the Vietnam Veterans Against the War. Over a period of three days, numerous veterans spoke out. This extraordinary event, complete with the veterans’ gripping testimonials, was held in Detroit and broadcast live on radio WBAI in New York City during the winter of 1971.

The name of those hearings came from Tom Paine, who, speaking of the soldiers in Valley Forge that continued fighting during the American Revolution, said it was better to be a winter soldier than a “sunshine patriot and summer soldier.”

“Those are the times that try men’s souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will in this crisis shrink from the service of his country, but he that stands it now deserves the love and thanks of man and woman.”

Paine’s point was that the “winter soldiers” are the people who stay with the struggle for the long run. In this time of cosmetic patriotism, with everything from hamburgers to snow tires featuring the American flag, it seems to me that WILPF members are called on to be the “winter soldiers” of the peace movement.

Even as the media and politicians claim that we do not exist, WILPF is helping to link peace organizations around the country through the National Coalition for Peace and Justice, and individual members are attending vigils, making phone calls, and writing letters and voicing the call for peace. In the many weekly vigils around the country in which members and branches participate, we are marching and standing in the rain and cold.

As of late November, I think it is safe to say that WILPF groups have held at least 200 public witnesses for peace in the weeks since September 11th— from small clusters of members marching outside the National Security Agency, to joining with thousands to speak out at the School of the Americas. Others attended the national protests in New York and Washington, D.C. The

support and sisterhood of WILPF is wonderful and gives strength to the long-term struggle for civil rights, justice, international law, and a peacemaking approach to conflict.

Still, our winter is real. As we look around the United States and the world, we see the devastation of Afghanistan, the displaced and desperately hungry, we see the hope for peace in Israel and Palestine swept aside in a wave of blood and grief, and we see Peruvian-style martial law in our country, with secret detentions and military tribunals. I keep reminding myself of the Mother Jones saying, “Don’t mourn, organize!”

If we can draw upon that spirit and work together, WILPF can go into the official first year of the millennium as an essential force for peace, human rights, and social justice at a time when we are sorely needed. The pages of this issue show the many ways that we are moving forward and linking together the different aspects of our work.

In the year ahead, I hope that many WILPF members will consider coming to the National Congress, a wonderful opportunity to connect with our campaigns and meet WILPF members from around the United States and the world. (See page 31 for details on Congress registration.)

My second hope is that every member who reads this will find just one new person to join WILPF this year. It could even be a former member who got distracted and forgot to renew. If we each found just one more member, we would double our strength, our energy and our voice. ❖



AFGHANISTAN ON OUR MINDS

Many of the stories in this issue concern Afghanistan and its people. (See *Travels to Afghanistan*, page 4, and *Access for Afghan Women*, page 9, among others.)

For more on Afghan civilian deaths, see a report compiled by Professor Marc W. Herold of the Departments of Economics and Women’s Studies at the University of New Hampshire, on the web at:

www.cursor.org/stories/civilian_deaths.htm

Travels to Afghanistan

Deborah James

In late November I traveled to Jalalabad, Kabul, Peshawar and Islamabad on a four-woman delegation organized by Global Exchange, the human rights organization where I have worked for the last eight years. I also traveled as a representative of WILPF and, as a result, I focused particularly on the issue of women in a post-Taliban government and the condition of children in the refugee camps. But my main goal was just to witness—and what I witnessed was extremely troubling.

I was wholly unprepared for the level of poverty and desperation I saw among refugees in Afghanistan. If you have never imagined the refugee camps, visualize a seemingly endless stretch of scrap-and-stick tents, lacking food, water, basic hygiene or infrastructure. Border it with stunning, stark mountains, surround it with cold air and support it with dirt and dust. Imagine a place filled with raucous children. Only then will you have an idea of the conditions under which Afghan refugees fleeing American bombs are attempting to survive.

After the tragedies of September 11, when it became clear that the United States would retaliate for Osama bin Laden's terrorist attacks through a campaign against Afghanistan, I began to worry. I had heard about "collateral damage" and "smart bombs" during the Gulf War. My gut tightened when I heard these rhetorical strategies deployed now. My father, a career U.S. Army officer, was deployed to the Gulf with those very phrases in 1990. This time it was my turn to travel to the region, to see for myself the effects of U.S. military action.

In Afghanistan, I met Rasmir, a 24-year-old Tajik mother whose 5-year-old child is psychologically damaged from the recent bombing. Rasmir's daughter was at a park in Kabul when American bombs, aiming for the airport, missed their mark and killed three of her playmates. The women in the park screamed, "Where's my child?!" Rasmir told me, as they searched for remains among the shrapnel.

After this, Rasmir and her children (who had remained in Kabul through both the mujahedeen and the Taliban regimes) fled the country. Before the slaughter in the park, Rasmir's neighbor's house had been hit by U.S. bombs. All nine members of the family were killed, but Rasmir told me the shock her daughter experienced in the park was too much.

I met Rasmir at the Afghanistan Women's Council, a food distribution, health and educational services project for refugee women and children in Peshawar, Pakistan.



Afghan children in a village outside of Jalalabad where the Organization for Mine Clearance and Afghan Rehabilitation runs a mobile clinic.

Deborah James

Directed by Fatana Gailani, the center has recently been inundated by refugees fleeing not only the Taliban but the American bombing. I asked Gailani if she supported the U.S. bombing campaign, as I expected an educated woman from Kabul would.

"Like most people, I was happy at first, as I am eager to return to a liberated Afghanistan," she said. "But then I started seeing the flow of refugees, almost every one with a story of civilian casualties. And now I say that the bombing must stop. We innocent Afghans are paying the price."

Another vivid memory I have is of Haziza, a 12-year-old girl living in a refugee relief center in Peshawar. I sat with Haziza while an elderly woman told us she had lost her three sons—one to the Russians, one to the mujahedeen and one to the Taliban. As Haziza started sniffing, another visitor to the center asked the girl crudely, "Why are you crying?" to which she responded with deeper sobs. As I reached to embrace Haziza, I could feel her body brace against the deepest pain.

"We lived in Kabul near one of the Taliban military bases, where my father had a small grocery store," she said. "One day I was out with my father, when we saw planes roaring overhead and heard scary, loud sounds like thunder. When we returned home, my mother and younger brother were lying dead in a pile of rubble that

was once our house.

“My father went into shock and lost his mind. Now I’m the one in charge of our household. I take care of my five brothers and sisters. We have no money and it’s hard for me to find them enough food to eat.”

I also met refugees in a camp on the road from the Khyber Pass to Jalalabad. They were from the nearby village of Duranta, which was nearly hit by American bombs that were targeting a Taliban camp and missed. After the bombing, inhabitants of the entire village fled. Eight days later, they began returning home in a trickle. But they have been terrorized by the bombing. I took a picture of 17 children standing in front of the village; the backdrop to the photo is bomb craters.

How many civilian deaths have occurred since the bombing campaign of Afghanistan began? I asked several Afghans if they could estimate the number. Their estimates ranged from 1,000 to 5,000. When I relayed that figure to a U.S. reporter upon my return, she paused and countered that it actually wasn’t that many, considering we are at war. I replied that it was approximately the same number of innocent people who died in the World Trade Center attack. Have we become the evil we deplore?

The answer will emerge as Afghanistan rebuilds itself, as more exact numbers of civilian casualties emerge, as our promises of aid are either met or retracted. But whatever the postwar Afghanistan looks like, the battle will be uphill. Afghanistan has long been a country in crisis. It has been devastated by over two decades of war. Ten percent of all landmines in the world are there. Life expectancy is 45 years of age, and Afghanistan’s infant mortality rate rivals the poorest African nations. The national literacy rate is 10 percent and diminishes by half for women. Tribal warlordism and monarchy are the two political arrangements familiar to the Afghan people. Those traditions are resistant to change, and their remnants are the primary components of the new coalition government that resulted from talks in Bonn in November.

One step toward stability in Afghanistan is the incorporation of women in government, or their re-incorporation. Women were part of the *loya jirga*, the traditional parliament in Afghanistan before the wars, and I met several accomplished women who could be pivotal to rebuilding the country. In the end, two women were chosen to be part of the transitional government: Sima Samar, vice minister for women’s affairs, and Suhaila Seddiqi, who will be appointed minister of health. “I’m elated,” said Khorshid Noori, coordinator of the Afghan Women’s Network in reference to Samar and Seddiqi’s inclusion in the government. After five years of Taliban rule and the Northern Alliance before them, it’s a start, though the general sentiment is that it’s far from enough.



“We lived in Kabul near one of the Taliban military bases,” explained 12-year old Haziza, shown above with the author. “One day . . . we heard planes overhead and scary, loud sounds like thunder. When we returned home, we found my mother and younger brother lying dead in a pile of rubble that once was our house. My father went into shock and lost his mind. Now I’m the one in charge of the household, taking care of my five brothers and sisters. We have no money and it’s hard for me to find them enough food to eat.”

Deborah James

The question put to me most often by Afghans relates to U.S. interests in the region. After the Russians were defeated in the late 1980s, the U.S. government, and the rest of the international community, abandoned Afghanistan, leaving it to the warlords, militant foreigners and the interests of its more powerful neighbors, particularly Pakistan and Iran. The Afghans feel deeply skeptical about the motives of the United States in ousting the Taliban. If the U.S. concentrates its future aid on a much-touted Unocal pipeline, they tell me, then their worst fears about the U.S. intervention will have come true. Although the pipeline will be a source of future jobs in the region, many will see it as the reason the U.S. came back to Afghanistan.

The U.S. has much to prove to the people of this bomb-ravaged nation. The U.N.’s World Food Program is currently engaged in a Herculean effort to distribute 52,000 tons of food per month for the 6 million people rendered dependent by U.S. bombings, 23 years of war, and three years of drought.

Aside from the mind-boggling logistical arrangements, there are two primary obstacles to the provision of aid. One is the U.S. bombing. Aid workers cannot distribute food under the present military campaign. The second obstacle is the banditry and looting taking place in the void of a central government. The solution to this is the immediate deployment of U.N. peacekeepers. At the time of this writing, the Bush administration was still obfuscating attempts by the United Nations, France, Jordan, Turkey and Bangladesh to send an international

delegation to secure food distribution in unruly areas. If food aid does not get through, and Afghans die by the thousands this winter, they will know whom to blame.

Traveling the six-hour road from Jalalabad back to Peshawar, I found myself wondering about Afghanistan's postwar economy. Afghanistan does not have a significant source of income except from the opium trade. The country is the largest exporter of the drug in the world. If the international community, particularly the U.S., comes through with billions of dollars, then, besides rebuilding the areas destroyed by bombs, it must help create viable economic alternatives to the opium trade and incentives for men to put down their guns. The reconstruction also must be sustainable and include locally based programs that help people generate income, but do not put Afghanistan into environmentally dangerous industries or exploit its labor for the benefit of U.S. corporations. We must not put Afghanistan on a debt treadmill that leaves the country beholden to the economic dictates of its benefactors or the World Bank. In fact, reconstruction should start with the canceling of the \$50 million in debt held by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

The Afghan women I met insisted I repeat as often as necessary that aid must also focus on women and children. They told me future aid must target education, health and job opportunities for the young. The need to focus on children is obvious. The majority of Afghans are under 18 years old,



Rasmir, a 24-year-old Tajik mother whose five-year old child is psychologically damaged from the recent bombing.

Deborah James

meaning that well over half the country has spent all of their years under the scourge of war. Women also make up 60 percent of the population. They were denied the right to study, work and receive medical care under the Taliban, and were subjected to mass rape when the Northern Alliance held Kabul.

Afghan women have been delivering needed assistance during two decades of refugee crisis, while the U.S. looked



A mine education awareness training for women in Jalalabad, Afghanistan, run by the Organization for Mine Clearance and Afghan Rehabilitation.

Deborah James

away. Now is the time for them to take greater control.

One fine example of the success of female-run aid programs is the Humanitarian Assistance for Women and Children of Afghanistan (HAWCA) organization, which was founded three years ago by 27-year-old Orzala Ashrawf. Based in Peshawar, HAWCA serves the refugee community by providing income-generating projects and literacy classes to women. It also provides classes once a week to female carpet-weavers. Visiting one Sunday morning, I met a classroom full of girls. Every one was afflicted with a deep, phlegmy cough from the daily inhalations of thread lint. Yet each one displayed a shining desire to learn to read and write. The youngest was 5. I asked her if she had any time to play amidst her labors. She said no. I then asked what time she went to work in the morning. She didn't know. She is too young to tell time.

This girl is my muse for helping in the reconstruction of Afghanistan. Her brown-eyed gaze asks, "Will you do your part to end the long tunnel of war I have survived? Or will I become another Afghan orphan forced to work before I can read?"

For a copy of Global Exchange's report, *Reconstructing Afghanistan*, see www.globalexchange.org/September11/. For more information about women in government in Afghanistan, see www.peacewomen.org.

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Deborah James is a member of WILPF's board and is the fair trade director of Global Exchange (www.globalexchange.org).

This article also appeared on *Alternet* in December.

The Patriot Act of 2001

Vivian Schatz

Sweeping new anti-terrorism laws and subsequent orders by the president and attorney general threaten our civil liberties.

Congress granted Attorney General John Ashcroft vast dangerous powers in this legislation (“Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism”). Congress held no hearings and had little debate. Few in Congress had even read the summaries, let alone the 342-pages of fine print in the document they approved so hastily “without deliberation or debate,” as Sen. Feingold noted. He cast the lone vote in the Senate against the legislation.

Sadly, only 66 members of the House of Representatives voted against the Patriot Act, which represents one of the most sweeping assaults on civil liberties in the last 50 years.

Under the new law, the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court will have the power to authorize wiretaps and secret searches of homes in criminal cases—not just to gather foreign intelligence. The FBI will be able to wiretap individuals and organizations without meeting the stringent requirement of the Constitution. The law will authorize the secret court to permit roving wiretaps of any phones, computers or cell phones that might possibly be used by a suspect. Widespread reading of e-mail will be allowed even before the recipient opens it. Thousands of conversations will be listened to or read that have nothing to do with the suspect or any crime.

The new legislation is filled with many other expansions of investigative and prosecutorial power, including: the wider use of undercover agents to infiltrate organizations, longer jail sentences and lifetime supervision for some who have served their sentences, more death-penalty crimes, and longer statutes of limitations for prosecuting crimes. Another provision of the new bill makes it a crime for a person to fail to notify the FBI if he or she has “reasonable grounds to believe” that someone is about to commit a terrorist offense. The language of this provision is so vague that anyone, however innocent, with any connection to anyone suspected of being a terrorist, can be prosecuted. We will all need to become spies to protect ourselves and the subjects of our spying, at least for now, will be people from the Middle East.

The New Crime of Domestic Terrorism

The act creates a number of new crimes. One of the most threatening to dissent and to those who oppose government policies is the crime of “domestic terrorism.” It is loosely defined as acts that are dangerous to human life, violate criminal law, and “appear to be intended” to intimidate or coerce a civilian population or “influence the policy of a government by intimidation or coercion.” Under this definition, a

protest demonstration that blocked a street and prevented an ambulance from getting by could be deemed domestic terrorism.

Likewise, the demonstrations in Seattle against the WTO could fit within this definition. This was an unnecessary addition to the criminal code; there are already plenty of laws making such civil disobedience criminal without labeling such time honored protest as terrorist and imposing severe prison sentences. (Michael Ratner 11/20/01

www.humanrightsnow.org)

Not content with the inroads on civil liberties in the Patriot Act, Ashcroft and President Bush have issued additional dangerous edicts in effect “... building a parallel criminal justice system, decree by decree, largely removed from the ordinary oversight of Congress and the courts.” (*New York Times*, 12/2/01)

Elimination of Attorney-Client Privilege for Non-Citizens

The attorney general has also eliminated attorney-client privileges for non-citizens and has authorized wiretapping of conversations between lawyers and their clients, undermining core constitutional protections.

He has also has authorized secret detentions of an unknown number of non-citizens. Lawyers are attempting to find out the names, whereabouts, and charges of those who have been secretly detained. “The American system does not hold with the idea of incarcerating a large group of people who it seems to have no credible reason to believe are dangerous, out of vague concern that somewhere among them might be a future lawbreaker.” (*New York Times*, 12/2/01)

Questioning 5,000 Middle Eastern Men

Some 5,000 young men who entered the United States last year from Middle Eastern countries or as Muslims are being asked to talk “voluntarily” to the Immigration and Naturalization Service. There is a high level of fear in the communities involved. Some police departments have expressed concerns about being asked to interview individuals not suspected of criminal activity based solely on their ethnicity or religion, rather than on indications they have any possible knowledge of criminal or terrorist activity.

Unleashing the FBI to Spy Again

Ashcroft was reported ready on Dec. 1 to relax restrictions on the FBI’s power to infiltrate and spy on religious and church-based political organizations. His proposals would loosen limits on the FBI’s surveillance powers, which were placed on the FBI in the 1970s after the death of J. Edgar



Continued on page 17 ➤

As I write this in early December, the “war on terrorism” continues. We know very little of its victims unless we read foreign journalists’ reports. Americans are being fed propaganda — the words “revenge,” “get Bin Laden,” “united we stand” are used to justify the war and garner public support and compliance. Those of us who vigil with our “no war” signs are considered traitors, cold-hearted and naive.

The corporate-controlled press knows that in times of war it is better that citizens don’t know what is being done in their name, lest they protest. For example, in the village of Kama Ado, 115 civilians were killed on December 1 when dozens of bombs were dropped from B-52s. “Villagers swore they hadn’t seen Arab or Taliban fighters for a fortnight.” The Pentagon’s reply to a British reporter’s questions regarding the bombings was: “It just didn’t happen.” (*Independent*, 12/4/01).

WHY THIS WAR?

If the United States is to control the oil resources of the Middle East, and China’s access to that oil, it must control (militarily if necessary) the land and people in between. The Unocal pipeline through Afghanistan was discussed in 1995, and was in place long before the war started (see *Taliban* by Ahmed Rashid). If a government, in this case Afghanistan’s, is not stable enough to ensure the protection of the pipeline, the United States will enforce, by any means necessary, a new order. The links between politics, oil and war have always been strong.

WHICH COUNTRIES WILL BE THE NEXT TARGETS?

Iraq is a problem for the U.S. government. Over one million civilian deaths in Iraq, due to continued U.S. and U.N. sanctions and bombings, and the use of depleted uranium weapons in the 1991 war, are reason enough for the hate directed toward America. We are told Saddam Hussein must be removed, yet he is the ruler of a sovereign country and the question of whether or not he is making “weapons of mass destruction” remains unanswered. But most importantly, Hussein has refused to allow the corporate takeover of his country’s oil supplies. In this ongoing struggle, it appears that the people of Iraq are expendable. Would the U.S. and the U.N. Security Council let one generation of Iraqi children simply die?

Somalia is another country on the verge of economic collapse. According to the U.N. Humanitarian Coordinator for Somalia Randolph Kent, the country is accused of “supporting and harboring terrorists,” thus becoming another target for the “war on terrorism.” Its instability is part of the so-called “failed state syndrome,” the definition given to Afghanistan. If nation-

Ending a Cruel War

Marge Van Cleef

al sovereignty is not recognized, the United States can act as the “global sovereign state.”

WHAT CAN WE EXPECT HERE AT HOME?

“Terrorism,” if it is to be the *raison d’etre* for a permanent state of war, is and will be justification for repression on a national

level. The Patriot Act, issued under an executive order, and the Office of Homeland Security as its agent, is rapidly eroding our civil liberties. The consequences are profound, as over 1,100 Muslim people and immigrants are detained indefinitely. Military tribunals will be conducted secretly, under the guise of protecting information that might “threaten” all of us.

International students, if suspected as “terrorist supporters,” are to be questioned under this Act. If a university refuses to cooperate, the government will use its own investigators. But some have refused to question any immigrants, as in four Oregon cities, and at Harvard University.

If sizable numbers of U.S. citizens speak out against the war and repression, their actions might jeopardize the government’s control of the corporate interests it must serve. In one sense we all become potential “terrorists,” by our voices of criticism and dissent. Will we recognize a police state when it is in place?

WHAT CAN WE DO?

In this crisis, WILPF members need to strengthen our work in direct support and solidarity with those women and children suffering from war— in Afghanistan, Iraq, Palestine/Israel, and Somalia. As those profoundly affected by U.S. wars have said, repeatedly, “Stop your government from doing this to us.” So stop it we must, both here at home and in all the targeted countries. We must join with other activists to vigil, demonstrate, disrupt, educate, make calls, and write letters. We will need to let go of our fears, and trust our unified strength.

Remember what the women in South Africa said: “We are the ones we have been waiting for.”

Resources

- 1) *Taliban*, by Ahmed Rashid, Yale University Press, 2000.
- 2) The Middle East Research and Information Project, www.merip.org
- 3) The Nonviolence Web, www.nonviolence.org
- 4) *Z magazine*, www.zmag.org

Marge Van Cleef is WILPF’s Board Program Chair.



Access for Afghan Women

Gillian Gilhool, WILPF Legislative Organizer

In late September the National Council of Women's Organizations (NCWO), an umbrella group of 150 national women's organizations to which WILPF belongs, held an extraordinary meeting in Washington focusing for the first time on international issues and U.S. foreign policy.

Opening the meeting, President Martha Burk read a message of solidarity from the European Women's Lobby. A newly commissioned international policy-working group came together the following week. Fashioning a statement for NCWO to issue to the press, the working group explicitly noted Security Council Resolution 1325: "In October 2000, the United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 recognized the crucial role of women in the prevention, resolution and management of conflicts as well as in peace building. As a government that has agreed to this resolution, the U.S. must guarantee that representatives of Afghan women's organizations are active in negotiations at every stage of the peace process."

Our working group then set about drafting legislation to make U.S. policy and actions in post-war Afghanistan conform to the commitments expressed in SCR 1325. The resulting bill, The Access for Afghan Women Act (H.R.3342), was introduced in the House November 19 by Representatives Connie Morella (R-MD) and Carolyn Maloney (D-NY). The bill requires the United States take concrete steps to ensure that Afghan women have a role in peace negotiations and in drafting any constitution or legal structures for the government of Afghanistan; that reconstruction and development assistance go to women's groups and meet women-centered needs; that women refugees be protected from violence, receive food and full health services directly and that those choosing repatriation be assured a safe return, with dignity and rights; and that peacekeepers be trained in the protection, rights and particular needs of women, consulting with women's groups on content and materials.

Helping the broad base of NCWO organizations understand the impact U.S. foreign policy has on women around the world (and an understanding that growing militarism displaces ever more social spending) will be useful politically if it helps stir their millions of members to rethink the foundations for true security.

ACTION: As we go to press, we are working to bring a companion bill to H.R. 3342 to the Senate by January. Passage will require active work, soliciting large numbers of co-sponsors from both parties, for both bills. Please consult the congressional website, <http://thomas.loc.gov>, to see whether your Senators and

Representative are listed as co-sponsors. If not, write, e-mail or call them to urge signing on and working to pass the bill. Capitol switchboard: (202) 225-3121.

International Criminal Court (ICC) Junked by Congress
On December 7, the U.S. Senate adopted the American Service Members Protection Act (ASPA) forbidding U.S. participation in the International Criminal Court. Senator Helms' insertion of the ASPA into the massive Defense Appropriations bill by amendment was approved by a vote of 78 to 21. Adoption of the ASPA ends U.S. participation in negotiations to shape proceedings before the court, forbids U.S. cooperation when the ICC comes into being, and seeks to punish other governments which ratify the treaty, subject to the president's waiver. An earlier State Department appropriations bill prohibits spending on cooperation with the ICC. Having his cake and eating it too, President



For the past four years, Esther Reyes and Adrienne Barth, *left to right*, have been gracious hosts to Gillian Gilhool, *at right*, who stays with them when she's in Washington, D.C., where they provide not only food and housing, but friendship and support.

Bush responded to the State Department restriction saying, while it "clearly reflects that the Congress agrees with my Administration that it is not in the interests of the United States to become a party to the ICC treaty, I must note that this provision must be applied consistent with my constitutional authority in the area of foreign affairs, which, among other things, will enable me to take actions to protect U.S. nationals from the purported jurisdiction of the treaty." Last minute negotiations limited the ASPA restrictions to one year. A great victory, but a replay is certain later this year.

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Two National Initiatives for Peace

On October 20, a group of 30 women met in West Philadelphia and launched a women's initiative to oppose the bombing of Afghanistan. Called by WILPF and the International Wages for Housework Campaign, the meeting resulted in a plan for the "Women's Action: Stop the War! Invest in Caring Not Killing!"

We were a diverse group, ranging from teenagers to women in their 80s- including two mother-daughter pairs, black, Latina and white women, women with disabilities, lesbian women, welfare rights organizers, nurses, musicians and students. Countries represented included Zambia, Guatemala, Brazil and the United States. We came together as women who have invested our lives' work, blood and tears in people. We do not want to see people destroyed by war.

We are demanding that the bombing stop. We are demanding that the military budget — over \$800 billion worldwide — be invested in life and care giving. We are also demanding that the press cover the widespread opposition to the war. We are holding a Women's Weekly Anti-War Picket and Speak-Out every Wednesday in Philadelphia and encourage branches and members to hold their own picket in their communities

- Jody Dodd, *Leadership and Outreach Coordinator*



Regarding responses to September 11th, WILPF National staffers Gillian Gilhool, Jody Dodd and myself have participated in the reinvigorated National Coalition for Peace and Justice (NCPJ) steering committee conference calls since mid September. WILPF Executive Director Mary Day Kent, Jody and I all attended a face-to-face meeting on November 29 in Philadelphia.

NCPJ grew out of the National Coalition for Peace in Yugoslavia (formed in 1998) when that conflict was raging, and includes many peace and justice groups, such as Fellowship of Reconciliation, War Resisters League, American Friends Service Committee, Peace Action, Veterans for Peace, and WILPF. The coalition continues to grow as groups focused on justice, such as the Kensington Welfare Rights Union and the Unitarian

Universalist Service Committee, join.

The NCPJ meeting in Philadelphia considered many ongoing and newly proposed projects to address the extreme worsening of U.S. government foreign and domestic policy. Proposals were assigned to one of three levels of advocacy. Two proposals were chosen for major NCPJ focus.

NCPJ has circulated the call for nationwide anti-war actions on or about the 7th of each month since October, and in 2002 will continue to organize these monthly calls. The dates will be diversified however, with February's date probably being President's Day and focusing on International Women's Day on March 8. Contact ncpj@peace-action.org.

A national call for a march in Washington, D.C. was the other biggest vote-getter at the November meeting. The National Youth and Student Peace Coalition (NYSPC) has already put out a preliminary call for a mid-April mobilization, and NCPJ agreed to help organize for that. Contact NYSPC at clearinghouse@tao.ca.

At the next level of advocacy, NCPJ chose three items for support: helping to birth a support group to encourage nonviolent consciousness among the family members of those killed on September 11 (Not In Our Name, contact ncpj@peace-action.org) making sure an NCPJ representative attends European anti-war planning meetings (contact afsc@afsc.org) and facilitating U.S. tours by international speakers from Afghanistan and other parts of Asia (contact paxchristi@paxchristiusa.org).

Many other ideas were endorsed but will not be organized by NCPJ. These include local town meetings to challenge elected officials, especially the 55 members of the House Progressive Caucus, on the horrendous assaults to civil rights and liberties of the Patriot Act and proposed military tribunals (contact indpol@igc.org). Other ideas included: a coordinated symbol campaign using the earth flag, with various symbols such as a superimposed peace sign (contact gordonclark@earthlink.net); encouraging writing letters to editors (for samples, contact afsc@afsc.org); outreach to international athletes and organized peace actions at the Olympics in Salt Lake City, Utah, in February (contact susi@shundahai.org).

We also want to encourage people to spread the word about taking care of ourselves and supporting our networks for sustainable action for the long haul this is going to be.

- Ellen Barfield, *Co-chair of WILPF's Disarmament Campaign*

Moving Toward Peace

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Krishna Ahooja Patel, International WILPF President
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The date 9-11 marks a watershed in the history of the 21st century. The first global war of this millennium is being fought simultaneously at various fronts — many of them hidden, defying description. Some observers consider it a defining moment in current history. But all defining moments draw a line in history and give us a reference point so that events before and after can be delineated. Whose history? Whose war? The fallout of the attack on the World Trade Center will remain like a creeping virus in our daily lives for a long time. This event is slowly pushing many societies towards more and more chaos and social disintegration. The powerful are building a global culture of war, brick by brick, on the foundation of thousands of lives.

What was the scenario before the global financial center of the world economy in the World Trade Center went crumbling down? Who were the terrorists and where were they operating? In an interview on the program “Hard Talk” with the Sri Lanka President, Chandrika Kumartunga, the BBC’s Tim Sebastian referred to Tamil Tigers who have been fighting a civil war for 15 years. He asked the president about her government’s efforts on fighting terrorism and negotiating peace. Her response was hesitant, but simple. She said, “Poor countries have been fighting terrorism alone for several decades and yet the world did not come to their support.” It is obvious that the phenomenon of terrorism is not new; what is new is the size and power of an anti-terrorist coalition formed immediately after the planes crashed into the twin towers in New York. This horrendous disaster, in which Americans and non-Americans of 86 nationalities were killed, has resulted in a new pattern of relationships among different groups of countries within the north and the south.

The new dividing line is between “good guys” and “bad guys,” between good and evil, and being with the United States or against it. This primitive division of the world defies any religion, culture or civilization.

During the last quarter of a century, state terrorism (group and individual terrorism) has been used as a dangerous tool to achieve political and military objectives in the south and the north, east and west. It has been used as an instrument of policy by militants fighting for autonomy, independence and separation. We see this in Chechnya, the Basque region, Kashmir and Northern Ireland. It has also been used for several decades by drug cartels that have massacred and destroyed many communities.

It has been estimated that conflicts among countries,

as well as ethnic and religious confrontations among social groups (who had lived peacefully for centuries) have increased four-fold. Some 90 percent of the victims of such conflicts are civilians, not soldiers.

The war in Afghanistan that began on October 7 with the bombardment of villages and towns which most Westerners had not even heard of, has become like a thousand-legged animal spreading its poison to almost all parts of the world. When the Northern city of Mazar-I-sharif in Afghanistan was being bombed, an old man watched his house being burnt. Inside, his grandson and newly wed wife were sleeping. The old man turned to a reporter and said: “Tell me, is Afghan blood cheaper than American blood?” Is it? This war, like other wars in history, has taught us once again that nationalities have a hierarchy and that this is related to being poor and rich. The value of life could be different depending upon where one happens to be born.

Even before the tumbling down of the World Trade Center, there were a multitude of uncertainties in the economy and society. These uncertainties were creating enormous anxiety and stress to ordinary citizens everywhere. But now, most particularly in the United States, taking a plane, riding a bus, going to work, eating in a restaurant, or shopping in a mall have become stressful activities. The anxiety in the back of the minds of ordinary citizens is that the aircraft may be hijacked or the trains and buses may be bombed. Buildings, market places, offices and even centers of learning can be attacked or destroyed. And yet, there is no visible battlefield or visible enemy around anywhere. This all-pervasive sense of trauma has unleashed undemocratic impulses in society for human security, which has strengthened the police apparatus. New legal instruments to capture potential terrorists are being drafted hurriedly in several countries. The danger in this process is that fundamental liberties and human rights, acquired after long struggle, might be restricted.

Less well known is the fact that before and after these current conflicts, the degree and intensity of violence against women continued uninterrupted. The recent media interest in the oppression of the Afghan women is a remarkable feature of the current war in Afghanistan. It

Continued on next page ➤

Zapatista Schools Teach Peace in a World at War

Peter Brown

“The movement in resistance to globalization walks on a knife’s edge . . . what we have to do is widen the edge of the knife to open a space of possibility for the advance of the global progressive movement that impedes the two extremes which present themselves as the only options before globalization. One of these false alternatives is in favor of globalization and all of its brutality; the other favors nationalist or religious fundamentalists and all of their violence.”

- Conversations with Subcommander Marcos, by Ignacio Ramonet, *Le Monde Diplomatique*, May 2001

Despite Bush’s global war, a profound rebellion is alive and well in the mountain villages and jungle canyons of Chiapas, Mexico. Impoverished Maya communities, still officially at war with the Mexican government and surrounded by a massive and hostile military force, are nurturing an innovative, autonomous education system teaching tolerance and democracy to thousands of indigenous students.

“The education we are developing here is an education which really teaches us what we are...an education not of the style preferred by those who dominate,” explained the coordinator of the Zapatista Autonomous Rebellious Education System (SERAZ). “We are searching for an education which makes us conscious of the roots of this so-divided society; from this divided world we can make a single world where we all fit.”

“Education” was a central demand on January 1, 1994, when thousands of Maya peasants carrying machetes, hunting rifles, and a few high-power weapons occupied the five major mountain cities of the southeastern Mexican state of Chiapas. Images of masked rebels

and their silver-tongued subcommander flashed around the world — simultaneously creating an icon of opposition to globalization, while partially confusing the content of the Maya peoples’ demands.

Despite their militant image, Zapatistas have spent the last seven years training teachers and health workers while launching numerous innovative (and non-violent) peace initiatives. Government attempts to portray these rebels as terrorists or drug traffickers have generally been unsuccessful. However, Zapatistas are concerned today that their centrality to the movement opposing the international corporate agenda could make them the target of increased attack.

“Listen to that beautiful music,” exclaimed a community leader during three days of celebrations in November 2001. These celebrations were for the 18th anniversary of the Zapatista movement. “How wonderful that our young people are singing, organizing basketball tournaments, and building schools rather than fighting and killing.” The Zapatista education system not only shows the lies of those who try to identify these Maya rebels with the dogmatism and intolerance of terrorism; these unique schools offer a concrete alternative to both of the extremes mentioned by Marcos.

“Certainly, our children must read Cervantes and Borges, but they should also come to love Shakespeare and understand advanced mathematics like calculus and trigonometry,” said one Zapatista who expressed the vision of his movement. “Our kids will learn about traditional Maya medicinal herbs because we can’t afford western medicines, but they will also use the Internet to communicate with students all over the world who are being also being hurt by the huge corporations.”

is also an achievement of the Association of Afghan Women, who undertook to bring the sordid reality of women being beaten up while wearing burqas to the media. Now the big issue is whether Afghan women will be part of the decision-making process at the political negotiation table, and whether or not they will be able to participate in the peace process. Their immediate problem is how to bring food to their families at the same time. The next meal in Afghanistan is problematic. As an Afghan woman recently remarked in Kabul after several bombs had flattened the marketplace, “If the Americans are our friends, they should not drop the food from the

sky, but give it to us in our hands.”

Can the outsiders, with their vested interests, bring peace to a land which has been completely destroyed by a series of wars fought on behalf of super powers? While the propaganda about this war has focused on the rhetoric of religion and civilization, it is the oil in the Caspian Sea (in the North of Afghanistan) that is clearly the top item on the corporate agenda. Who are the decision-makers trying to make peace and put together a national transitional government? They are the same people who destroyed the weak infrastructure of the country. Real peace in that society would mean that both Afghan women and men from all national social groups participated in creating a new society. ❖

The number of Zapatista schools (which accept neither government funds nor the official curriculum) has exploded over the last several years with the most rapid growth occurring in the autonomous primary schools throughout Chiapas.

“Someday everyone in Mexico will want one of these credentials!” a commencement speaker confidently declared during an August 2001 secondary school graduation, when students were presented with Zapatista diplomas acknowledging completion of their first year of study. To date, the Mexican public education system does not recognize such achievements.

“But what’s the real difference between your Zapatista secondary school and the government school you attended for your first six years of education?” I once asked a group of giggling, energetic preteens just as the bright sun broke through the morning mist around Oventik.

“The (Zapatista teachers) here are really nice and they teach us the meaning of resistance, they are not like the teachers in the government schools,” mumbled one shy, 12-year-old student. “Here we learn a lot and the (teachers)

COME TO CHIAPAS TO HELP WAGE PEACE IN A WORLD AT WAR!

Financial and moral support for Zapatista schools is developed through an ambitious Mexican and international collaboration called the Education Caravans for Peace. This collaboration allows Mexican and international participants to visit Chiapas for two weeks as guests of SERAZ. In addition, the Zapatista civilian centers are now offering classes in Spanish and Maya languages to raise money for their schools. For additional information about travel programs or to register for language study call Schools for Chiapas at (619) 232-2841, or email schoolsforchiapas@schoolsforchiapas.org, or online at www.schoolsforchiapas.org.

The indigenous Maya communities of Chiapas invite you to live and learn in the misty highlands and steamy jungles of the Mexican southeast. Join extraordinary Mexican, international, and indigenous volunteers, collectively sharing rustic living conditions and life-altering experiences inside the rural civilian cultural centers of the Zapatista movement. Help build community-controlled schools or study Spanish or a Maya language while surrounded by the realities of contemporary indigenous life.

defend civilians and we teach our students humanity and how to be real human beings ... No true person can condone what was done to the twin towers in New York; and no real human being can condone the conditions we are forced to endure as indigenous people.”

Peter Brown can be reached at pedrocafe@hotmail.com.

WILPF IS INTERNATIONAL

Delegates to the International Executive Committee in Geneva last year came from many countries.

Below, K.C. Neelam, Nirmala Sitaula, Saraswoti Chadali from Nepal. *At right*, left to right, are Tatjana Kurtiqui and Elfrida Topciu from Albania.



Campaign To Abolish Corporate Personhood Heats Up

Ben Sher

In September, WILPF launched the next phase of its campaign to Challenge Corporate Power; Assert the People's Rights: a national campaign to abolish corporate personhood. Speaking in Santa Cruz, California, campaign leadership team member Molly Morgan said, "We see that corporate personhood was wrongly given—not by We the People, but by nine Supreme Court judges. We further see that corporate personhood allowed an artificial entity to obtain the rights of people and has enabled corporations to govern us."

Corporations successfully and unjustifiably gained the rights of persons in 1886 through a murky Supreme Court decision that has come to stand for the proposition that corporations are persons within the meaning of the 14th Amendment. Corporations since then have gained many of the protections included in the Bill of Rights. The courts ruled that as "persons," they could not be subject to unreasonable search and seizure (necessitating a warrant and advance warning before legal inspections); could contribute to political campaigns as a matter of their own "free speech" rights; and could not have their due process otherwise violated in any manner under the 14th Amendment, which was created to protect former slaves, not corporations.

Modern business corporations have used these rights to advance their interests and grow into the mammoth institutions they are today, wielding enormous illegitimate influence over public, governmental processes. If we want to take back our democracy from this plutocracy, one key strategy is to strip corporations of their personhood status under law and reconstitute them as economic structures under the authority of us human beings. The campaign follows on the heels of a resolution on corporate personhood passed by the city council of Point Arena, California. The resolution, sparked by new leadership team member Jan Edwards, agrees with Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black in his 1938 dissent: "I do not believe the word 'person' in the 14th Amendment includes corporations."

For the past two years, WILPF has distributed its nationally known study group curriculum on corporate power and democracy, resulting in dozens of study groups being formed across the country. We believe WILPF branches are ready to build community-based coalitions that challenge corporations' status as persons under the law.

The team has prepared an organizing packet with a variety of ways for branches to challenge corporate personhood. The packet includes scripts for skits; a formal

"declaration on corporate personhood" and sample resolutions; Molly Morgan's keynote speech from the Santa Cruz gathering; an extensive historical timeline prepared



Left to right: Nadine Winslow, Jody Dodd, Nachilala Nkombo, Ben Sher, Mary Zepernick, and Molly Morgan.

by Jan Edwards; "Santa Clara Blues," a concise history of the subject; and a description of what would change in the United States if we, the people, abolished corporate personhood. You'll also receive a copy of the "Personhood Song" and the "Quo Warranto Polka" — lively verses that challenge corporate personhood! Also, downloadable now from WILPF's website is Session III of the study group curriculum on corporate personhood.

The new organizing packet can be ordered from the national office for \$10, and will be on WILPF's website. All of the leadership team are available to visit branches as speakers, workshop facilitators, and /or organizing strategists. For further information please contact any of the team members: Alice Davis (Santa Cruz, CA, (831) 475-7451); Jody Dodd (Philadelphia, PA, (215) 563-7110, jdodd@wilpf.org); Jan Edwards (Point Arena, CA, (707) 882-1818, janedwards@mcn.org); Molly Morgan (San Diego, CA, (619) 523-5587, morganm@sdsc.edu); Nachilala Nkombo (215) 563-7110, programintern@wilpf.org); Virginia Rasmussen (Cape Cod, MA, (508) 398-7367, people@poclad.org); Benjamin Sher (Sacramento, CA, (916) 489-3363, benjmshe@aol.com); Nadine Winslow (Santa Cruz, CA, (831) 476.2277, nabud@webtv.net); Mary Zepernick (Cape, Cod, MA, (508) 398-1023, people@poclad.org).

Ben Sher is a member of Challenge Corporate Power; Assert the People's Rights campaign.

See Related Document next page

DECLARATION TO ABOLISH CORPORATE PERSONHOOD

WE BELIEVE that the rights of personhood — as manifested in the Bill of Rights, the 14th Amendment, civil rights legislation, and the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights — are among the hardest won and most valuable possessions belonging to all human beings.

WE BELIEVE that the word “person” in the Constitution means human beings.

WE BELIEVE that the word “person” in the Constitution was not meant to include corporations or other artificial entities. Corporations are not mentioned, described, or given any rights in the Constitution.

WE BELIEVE that the Supreme Court in 1886 had no moral or legal authority to give the legal rights of persons to corporations.

WE BELIEVE that corporate personhood has damaged democracy, the environment, society, and citizens in the United States and around the world, benefiting only giant corporations and the wealthy few.

WE HAVE SEEN corporations claim the First Amendment right to free speech in order to use large sums of money to influence our electoral and legislative processes and to advertise destructive products to our citizens.

WE HAVE SEEN corporations damage the environment when they use the 14th Amendment to contest government regulations and the Fourth Amendment to avoid government inspections. We eat genetically modified food without our knowledge because the First Amendment protects corporations’ right not to speak.

WE HAVE SEEN small, neighborhood businesses crushed, despite our efforts to save them, because the “civil rights” of giant corporations prevent communities from “discriminating” in favor of local stores. Our attempts to prevent the invasion of cell phone towers and giant chain stores are also ruled to be illegal discrimination against corporate persons.

WE KNOW that a corporation is not a person. It is a legal abstraction without conscience or moral capacity.

WE KNOW that We the People, through our state governments, create corporations.

ON BEHALF OF THE PLANET AND ALL LIVING CREATURES ON IT, we pledge to abolish corporate personhood and thereby protect the rights of human beings everywhere. ❖

Stories to Help Us Heal Towers of Hope

Towers of Hope is a timely book by WILPF member Joy Carol, with a chapter on another WILPF member.

“My very special mother, Alma Johanna Haupt, died peacefully on November 26. Her beautiful memorial service was yesterday here in California....One of the things she constantly encouraged me to do was my book of healing stories....So it was an amazing, almost miraculous, gift when my publisher, the Forest of Peace Publishing, told me that they were rushing to give birth to the book Towers of Hope: Stories to Help Us Heal as my family was helping my mother in her transition from this earth.”

These excerpts are from an email we received in December from our friend Joy. We have known Joy Carol — Phyllis in Baltimore and Mary in New York City — for decades. At our invitation she has become a WILPF member and we’ve followed the progress of her book on healing for several years.

Joy, a healer and grief counselor in Manhattan, has “come home” from working overseas for the United Nations and with agencies serving children. Her book includes stories of “people who have suffered from tremendously difficult situations, such as mental and physical abuse, imprisonment, war, terrorism, life-threatening illness and approaching death.... They responded to their problems by transforming what seemed like hopeless situations into healing experiences and personal triumphs. They found wholeness in their losses, traumas and disabilities. Their stories are tailor-made for these difficult times in which we live. They show us that there is good news in the midst of suffering, that people are resilient, that they have a desire to heal.”

The 15 stories range from a Vietnam vet to a rescue worker at the World Trade Center; a woman in Northern Ireland to a Native American; a family living in South African apartheid to a Manhattan resident with AIDS; a drug addict to a friend who died of cancer. The chapter on Betty Burkes tells of an “African-American woman who suffered loss of identity from racism, reclaimed her black identity, and became the President of the Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom.”

We who work for peace, freedom and justice need stories of hope in order to remind ourselves of our own struggles for healing in a broken world. *Towers of Hope: Stories to Help Us Heal* by Joy Carol (240 pages, \$13.95) is available from Forest of Peace Publishing: (800) 659-3227 or email mail@forestofpeace.com; website www.forestofpeace.com

- Reviewed by Phyllis Yingling and Mary Zepernick

Towards a Peace Policy

Ellen Barfield

Our Disarm! Campaign work has suffered from the urgency of responding to September 11, so the hoped-for planning of the Listening Project pilot (intended to be put in place this fall) has been pushed back. The planning is intended to develop the Campaign's outreach to WILPF members to elicit their ideas on creating a National Peace Policy—before the Listening Project expands to our neighborhoods. This planning will now be part of the Campaign's West Coast retreat in San Francisco February 22-24. The retreat will include a Listening Project training session and a presentation from Campaign committee member Ann Fagan Ginger about International Law, as well as intense committee planning work.

The regular work continues and is all the more urgent now that the violence has come home. Dismantling the war economy, as well as the wars in people's hearts, is the only way to change our suffering world.

A common refrain heard after the horror of September 11 is that everything has changed, however it seems things have really just intensified — not changed. The U.S. government is still the biggest perpetrator of violence in the world; it has just gotten more blatant about it. There are U.S. government threats of “a war on terrorism” in many countries, including Iraq, North Korea, Somalia, the Philippines.

I have not heard Nicaragua mentioned as a possible



Larry Egbert and Ellen Barfield at the National Security Agency October 12, 2001, No Weapons in Space demonstration.

Phyllis Yingling



Val Mullen and Yvonne Logan at the Disarm! Retreat in Ann Arbor, Michigan.

target, but that is only because it knuckled under to massive U.S. pressure both before and after September 11th.

ELECTIONS IN NICARAGUA

The Nicaraguan presidential election was held on November 4th and my husband and I acted as official observers. We were invited by the Sandinista Party. In the spring, U.S. pressure persuaded the other strong, right-wing candidate to withdraw from the race, so that the contest would be clearly between the right-wing vice president Enrique Bolanos and the perennial head of the Sandinistas, Daniel Ortega. Even with Ortega's tarnished reputation (due to strong allegations that he sexually assaulted his stepdaughter) the polls showed Ortega leading all through the summer.

After September 11, the U.S. State Department and the Bolanos campaign made it clear that they considered the Sandinistas to be “terrorist” allies, and Ortega fell below 50 percent in the polls for the first time. Florida Governor Jeb Bush even ran a full-page ad in a Nicaraguan newspaper a few days before the vote, slinging the word “terrorism” around. The ad was headlined in big bold letters with the words “President George Bush,” with Jeb Bush's name appearing in small black letters, so that the ad appeared to be from George Bush himself.

Our delegation of election observers arrived several days before the vote, so we saw the tension leading up to election day. Soldiers were on every street corner and were very intimidating. On one day they appeared wearing camouflage face paint. President Aleman even threatened to suspend the election, saying he feared Sandinista violence. Former President Violetta Chamoro

ridiculed Aleman, and the next day the soldier's faces were free of camouflage.

Nicaraguans remember very well when they were the victims of U.S.-sponsored terrorism by the Contras in the 1980s, and they chose not to risk a repeat at a time when the United States feels even less constrained than usual. Even in the precincts that are Sandinista strongholds, Ortega only got about 40 percent of the vote.

AFGHANISTAN

The attack on Afghanistan has apparently routed the Taliban and replaced them with the Northern Alliance, who are no less vicious according to Afghan women's organizations such as the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan. By the time this issue of *Peace & Freedom* is mailed, thousands of Afghans will probably be dead of cold and hunger. As I write, rugged mountain winter is fast closing in on a people who have suffered three years of drought and two months of bombing, disrupting the humanitarian supply lines which kept them barely fed. How can they not die in huge numbers when, as one Afghan boy in a refugee camp said: "The ground is my mattress, the sky is my roof."

What the vengeful U.S. attack on Afghanistan has not done is turned up Osama bin Laden or his network. And the military campaign has certainly not lessened the likelihood of further terror attacks on U.S. citizens or U.S. soil. Security agencies continue to report more high alert days. Of course, we peace people know very well that violence only begets more violence. The Bush administration's assaults on civil rights and liberties have been massive, and were in place far too quickly not to have been waiting for just such an opportunity as September 11. The so-called Patriot Act, rushed through

Congress mostly unread, increases police powers of surveillance and destroys many rights of those accused of crimes. The stories of citizens running afoul of the dragnet are few and unclear so far: an employee who espoused nonviolence was fired from the U.S. Institute of Peace, and an elderly woman, who is an organic farmer and a member of a branch of the Green Party, was denied access to any airline after a mix-up with U.S. military security personnel at her airport. Over 1,000 resident non-citizens have been detained, in a highly secret manner reminiscent of the disappearances of people in Central and South America, and at least one has died in custody.

Sadly, a recent poll of U.S. citizens (taken after gasoline prices went down from the highs of the summer) showed that previous increased support for improved vehicle mileage standards has declined. The general public does not even seem to see the connection between excessive U.S. consumption and world resentment. Most of the public seems content with both the military assault on innocent Afghans and the legal assault on civil liberties.

Ellen Barfield is an Army veteran and the co chair of WILPF's Disarmament Campaign and the vice president of Veterans for Peace.



Disarm co-chair Yoshiko Ikuta.

► THE PATRIOT ACT

from page 7

Hoover and disclosures that the FBI had run a widespread domestic surveillance program, called Cointelpro, to monitor civil-rights and antiwar activists for many years.

The guidelines prohibited the FBI from sending undercover agents to investigate groups that gather in churches, mosques and other places unless the investigators first have a legitimate reason. Up until now, the guidelines have largely kept the FBI out of politically motivated investigations.

Ashcroft's effort to unleash the FBI must be strongly opposed. The National Committee Against Repressive Legislation, joined by WILPF and many other organizations, worked tirelessly for many years to stop the FBI from the spying it was doing on religious and political organizations. We have to speak out strongly once again against FBI, because to resume the widespread spying that was done in

the 1950s and 1960s would be a rollback of constitutional protections with a direct attack on the First Amendment.

Organizing to Oppose These Assaults on Our Civil Liberties

There are many national and religious organizations that are forming to slow or stop some of the above-mentioned efforts to ignore our Constitution and the first 10 amendments. It is very important to get on the e-mail list Kit Gage manages for the National Coalition to Protect Political Freedom. She distributes breaking news on civil liberties issues as well as a monthly newsletter update. E-mail: kgage@bellatlantic.net

Write often to your legislators and newspapers to protest these assaults on our civil liberties.

Vivian Schatz is chair of WILPF's Civil Liberties Committee.

WILPF Statement to World Conference Against Racism



The following statement on the U.N. World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance was developed by Edith Ballantyne, new International WILPF president Krishna Ahooja-Patel, Cherry Padilla and Laura Partridge. It was edited in Durban, South Africa by Chris Ballin and Laura Partridge of UFORJE.

WILPF/UFORJE urges the World Conference Against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance to acknowledge the root causes of racism as well as all forms of racial discrimination and xenophobia prevalent in all societies. UFORJE urges the world conference to agree on steps to eliminate the causes and consequences of these crimes against humanity and stand with all victims of racism and every form of discrimination. WILPF/UFORJE calls special attention to the following, and demands that the world conference take urgent actions to address these issues.

We call for clear affirmation that the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, all other slave trade, and the enslavement of Africans and African descendants constitute crimes against humanity. We call for the recognition of the right to compensation, including reparations and for the creation of a development fund for the countries and peoples affected by colonialism.

We call for the affirmations of the right of indigenous peoples to self-determination. Further, all states are called upon to respect the cultures of indigenous peoples, as well as promote the right of all peoples to develop their lands and resources in respect for their own values and ways of life.

WILPF/UFORJE fully supports the NGO Declaration and Program of Action and looks forward to the complete implementation of the actions outlined in the documents. To that end, the list below includes some of the issues of concern WILPF/UFORJE strongly supports:

- Recognize that migration and particularly labor migra-

tion, is not a choice but a necessity for most migrants and their families in order to survive massive poverty, ethnic or gender-based violence, armed conflict or displacement resulting from so-called development projects.

- Acknowledge that issues related to occupied nations are issues of relevance to this conference. In places such as Tibet, Palestine and other states, occupation creates an environment in which the occupied people are subject to a wide range of systemic and gross violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms.
- Demand the caste system in India, untouchability, is a violation of human rights and must be declared a crime against humanity.
- Call for multilevel approaches to understanding and identifying the points where race and gender intersect in manifestations of racism and ethnic discrimination,



March in Durban during the U.N. World Conference.

- xenophobia and related intolerance.
- Demand that the causes of trafficking in persons, in particular in women and children, be investigated and eradicated. States must ensure immediate punitive legal actions and measures to halt the involvement of police, military, immigration authorities and politicians in facilitating trafficking in human beings.
- Urge that special attention be given to the fundamental principles of non-discrimination enshrined in the international instruments on refugees.
- Call for international trade and financial arrangements that are based on equity and just economic relations

to achieve genuine development, benefiting all peoples regardless of race, ethnicity, nationality, gender or belief. We reject economic globalization based on the free-market economy and determined by transnationals and international financial institutions.

- Express deep concern that Asians and Asian descendants continue to be regarded as foreigners in the countries in which they and/or their ancestors were and are citizens.

WILPF/UFORJE calls for the creation and implementation of programs designed to restore to the country of origin the many invaluable art objects, historical artifacts and documents that have been unjustly removed from Africa, the Americas (from African descendants and indigenous peoples) over the centuries, and the provision of financial and technical assistance to equip the relevant states with museums and related facilities that will be required to properly conserve and store the same.

We further call on every state to undertake programs of education and information at all formal and informal levels that will free institutions and structures from racism and racial prejudice and every form of discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance and that all states teach a true, factual history of the world.

We urge states to establish national programs to promote access, to all peoples, to cultural/artistic expression and education, medical care and appropriate healing medicines and to eliminate the disparities groups experience in the infant mortality rate, childhood immunization, heart disease, cancer, contagious diseases, with immediate attention to be focused on healing those infected with HIV/AIDS in Africa and around the world.



Adjoa Aiyetoro and Hamnani Kay Trask, professor at the University of Hawaii in Honolulu, and an activist for National Hawaiian sovereignty. Trask was the keynote speaker at the first UFORJE Race Rave at the University of Southern California.

In closing, WILPF salutes our colleagues on the NGO battlefield. To this end, we offer words written by African Jamaican, Claire Nelson:

“Great Spirit who resides in each and every one of us/ Grant us the vision, the wisdom, the courage, the temperance, the patience, the forbearance, to carry on the struggle for justice. But, most of all, grant us the grace to love each other and to love ourselves as we seek to triumph in the war for the heart and souls of humankind/ For with love all things are possible.”

MEET WILPF'S NEW DEVELOPMENT DIRECTOR

Amy Marie Kwasnicki hails from the Appalachian Mountains of Tennessee. She moved to Philadelphia in late 1999 to help get the Prometheus Radio Project off the ground. This non-profit organization helps community groups throughout the country apply for and establish Low Power FM radio stations. Since living in Philly, she has worked on developing a non-profit women's health and wellness center, the Wise Women's Center, and an educational children's garden, Pentridge Children's Garden. She is very excited to be working with WILPF after having been impressed by the organization during the

Republican National Committee protests in Philadelphia during the summer of 2000. Amy graduated from the University of Memphis with a Bachelor of Liberal Studies in May 1996 and from Goddard College in Plainfield, Vermont in August 1998 with a Master of Arts. While working on her graduate degree, she lived and worked on a farm in upstate New York.



Plan now to attend WILPF's U.S. Section Triennial Congress June 26-30 at Goddard College in Vermont.
See page 31 for details

Women and Cuba Campaign Call for Justice

The Cuba Campaign of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), Hermanas: Sisterhood in Central America and the Caribbean and EveryWoman's Movement for Cuba/LELO offer this CALL FOR ACTION to add to the voices of women all over the world working for a peaceful solution to the war in Afghanistan. We believe that, even in light of the horrific acts of terrorism which happened on September 11th, 2001, we can use the institutions and tools of diplomacy and negotiations as well as international pressure to bring a just and peaceful resolution to the conflicts in the Middle East. We believe that the worldwide crisis confronting us today demands even more so that all of us who are committed to peace and justice assert our leadership, drawing upon our individual and collective experience, values, and perspectives to fundamentally change the policies that have led to the war.

As women's organizations working collaboratively to end the U.S. government policy of a blockade against Cuba and to normalize relations between our two countries, we believe the current U.S. foreign policy on Cuba violates the human rights of Cuba's citizens, especially women and children. Countries are discouraged from trading with Cuba, even in the areas of food and medicine. Today, we are witnessing the worst violation of human rights in Afghanistan where its citizens must endure the unleashing of thousands of bombs on their homeland. We join with other progressive women who stand against the war and we say, "Not in our name!"

Measures that Ensure Real Security

Inspired and educated by the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action (1995) we work in concert with women globally to strategize and achieve enduring security and peace for our families, for our nations, and for our world. "Look at the world through women's eyes," was the rallying call at the NGO forum at Huairou, and because of the UN's Fourth World Conference for Women at Beijing and Huairou, we are networked to continue peace work in inclusive ways across national borders, races, cultures, and classes. This is a powerful foundation for our collaborative work as women's rights, racial justice and peace activists in the wake of the events of September 11, 2001. The Beijing Platform addresses issues of violence and armed conflict as two of its twelve strategic concerns, calling for the promotion of conflict resolution that is non-violent, for elimination of human rights violations, in addition to equitable access to health, education, food, economic opportunities and clean environment as the foundation for real security and sustainable human development.

Impacts of Violence and Militarism

Women and girls of every color, culture, sexual orienta-

tion and age are profoundly affected by daily acts of violence, terrorism and torture. We know too well the blatant forms of violence we must endure — rape, domestic violence, physical and sexual child abuse, hate crimes, sexual harassment, pornography, to name but a few. It is women and children who experience the brunt of local and global violence. We are also deeply injured by the more subtle, sinister forms that degrade us, lower our expectations and diminish our self-esteem, be it in our homes, our communities or our workplaces.

Through all of this we have arrived at a clear under-



National Women and Cuba Campaign Steering Committee members, from left to right, Jan Strout, Cindy Domingo, Sherry Rials, and Tammy James.

standing that men are not our enemy, even though they most often are the perpetrators of violence against girls and women. We know that the greed of transnational corporations in their quest for profits around the globe (globalization) increases the legions of poverty-stricken people on our planet. The starvation, disease and illiteracy of extreme poverty amidst the rape of the Earth by environmental outrages, including war, lead to a desperate hopelessness that can only be alleviated by policies aimed at peace with justice—that is, peace with equality. That means that society around the globe must be primarily concerned with ending poverty.

In this context we oppose the war in Afghanistan. We know this war is creating many, many victims, the majority of whom are women and children. The war in Afghanistan is an attack on the world's peoples, just as the horrible acts of September 11, 2001, were an attack on the peoples of the world. It is our burden, as caring and aware members of the human race, to challenge the chauvinism of the capitalist economic system that drives this war. While many remain silent, so as to not be labeled unpatriotic and immoral, we must come forward to demand that genocide end in Afghanistan. Just as men are not women's enemy, the Afghani people are not our enemy.

Militarism ultimately destroys true democratic

principles and processes, especially the freedom to dissent; hence, the new anti-terrorist bill. Militarism diverts much needed human and financial resources to conduct war, to pay for standing armies, weapons systems; hence, the U.S. has the largest so-called “defense” budget in the world. Hand-in-hand with patriarchy and racism, militarism causes all who are susceptible to its appeal to forsake compassion for our fellow human beings around the world.

Because women have experienced many destructive and powerful forms of violence, especially war and other forms of militarism, we know the transforming and healing powers of conflict resolution, peaceful alternatives to violence and what constitutes real security for all peoples and the earth,

We therefore call for:

1. A diplomatic and just response to the events of September 11, 2001 through the United Nations, NGO’s and other international leadership; support calls for food, medicine and other human development resources for Afghanistan and Middle East nations;
2. Support for women in Afghanistan and in the Region — through support of organizations in defense of women’s and human rights such as Revolutionary Association of Afghanistan Women (go to their web site www.rawa.org) and Women Living Under Muslim Laws (www.wluml.org) — toward their equal participation and leadership in the process to disarm the war, in peacekeeping measures and in the development of democracy and re-building following the end of the war and transition to peace. Furthermore, we support the full implementation of U.N. Security Resolution 1325 (adopted 31 October 2000) which calls for gender sensitivity in all U.N. Missions including peacekeeping, for women to participate equally at all negotiating tables and for the protection of women and girls during armed conflict (go to WILPF’s U.N. Office web site www.peace-women.org);
3. Recision of the “Patriot Act,” the anti-terrorist legislation, which has not only taken away civil liberties in

the U.S., but also poses a profound threat to the Bill of Rights and our Constitution. We call for the removal of Cuba from the list of nations the U.S. government defines as “Terrorist”;

4. Adoption and full implementation of real security measures that can set the basis for a peaceful and just world including the Beijing Platform of Action, U.N. Convention on Human Rights, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the 2001 U.N. Conference on Racism document. (The WCAR document is still not released because of conflict over provisions on reparations and the legacy of transatlantic slavery.)
5. A dramatic increase in the leadership and public policy roles of progressive anti-racist women of all races and classes, and public forums for their voices for peace and justice;
6. An end to the unjust U.S. foreign policies such as the embargo against Cuba and Iraq that disproportionately penalize women and children by withholding food and medicine. We call for support for Cuba’s Hurricane relief efforts to buy food and medicine from the United States;
7. Creation of actions and events for International Women’s Day, March 8, 2002, and Mother’s Day, May 12, 2002, to galvanize women’s voices for peace and justice and to develop a proactive agenda for real security, equity and democracy.

Approved by the Cuba Campaign leadership group December 7, 2001

Note: We don’t have any delegations to Cuba planned until later in 2002 because our Building a U.S. Women’s Movement to Normalize Relations with Cuba collaboration project is our main commitment at the moment. Up until the U.S. Section Congress in June, we will be focusing on that project and on outreach to diverse groups of women. However, all the members of WILPF’s Cuba Action Committee will receive periodic Action & Resource mailings with specific information about our activities. Please complete the form below to be on our list.

WILPF’S CAMPAIGN: BUILDING A U.S. WOMEN’S MOVEMENT TO NORMALIZE RELATIONS WITH CUBA

A collaboration project of WILPF, Hermanas, and LELO

We seek your participation in this campaign to normalize relations with Cuba! Please complete and return the form below to add your voice and leadership to a growing number of women across the United States.

- I/We want to endorse the goals of the campaign. Add our name to the Committee’s list of supporters.
- Send a copy of *Your Ideas* questionnaire.
- Please add my name to your email list.
- I/My branch would like to host a *Women’s Roundtable on Cuba* discussion.
- I would like to participate in the National Women’s Leadership Summit on Cuba.
- Send me more information about the Women and Cuba Campaign.

Send your name, address and e-mail address to: Jan Strout, Campaign Organizer, 1016 North 45th Street #1, Seattle WA 98103, or phone (206) 547-0940; email janstrout@qwest.net.

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A Letter from India

Sushma Pankule

Kindly accept our heartfelt condolences on the tragic death of thousands of innocent people on September 11. We, the WILPF group of India, share the grief of all affected by these disastrous acts of terrorism. What these terrorists have done is wrong and the guilty should be punished if democracy prevails on this Earth. We would like to ask Mr. Bush to remember however that two wrongs don't make a right.

The United States is the country where there have been talks of "bombing Afghanistan back to the Stone Age."

The United States is well aware of the facts, since the U.S. government and Afghanistan are old friends. In 1979, after the Soviet invasion, the CIA and ISI, the Pakistani secret service, launched the largest covert operation in the history of the CIA. And the biggest irony is that the United States was not aware that it was in a way financing a future war against itself.

We are familiar with war, since our country has been at battle for more than 20 years.

In 1942, Gandhi said, "Let me remind you that we do not regard England, or for that matter, America as free countries. They are free in their own fashion, free to hold in bondage coloured races of the Earth."

These words are relevant even today. The Taliban is an evil force (politically) which has unleashed a regime of terror—and its first victims were its own people, particularly women and children.

It closed down schools for girls, removed women from offices and government jobs, enforced laws under which

women could be stoned and buried alive for being "immoral." Immoral meaning leaving the house without a male escort or going without head coverings.

Mr. President, we all know who made the Taliban strong enough to dictate such terms. Where was America when everyone knew what was going on in the domestic world of Afghanistan? Mr. President, it is impossible to "rid the world of evil-doers," since what is evil for one is a blessing for another. Terrorism has no country, creed or religion. It is a phenomenon which will stay with us in one form or the other. It is we who have to find alternative remedies for this sickness. War is not an antidote; history has shown that peace and non-violence accomplish much more.

Ultimately, in any state of war, it is the women who have to bear the brunt of the post-war scenario. It is women who pay the price for war, physically, socially and mentally.

We, the WILPF group of India, hope that some years later when you turn back and look at your stand during this worldwide crisis your head will be held high and not be bowed in shame.

Sushma Pankule is president of WILPF's core group in India. She is an entomologist and a senior lecturer. She is interested in the empowerment of women, the peace movement and biodiversity. She attended the IEC meeting in Geneva last year. She can be reached at: sushmapankule@hotmail.com.

➤ WILPF IN WASHINGTON *from page 9*

ACTION: Please write to your senators to let them know your disapproval or appreciation of this telling vote. Below, Senators who voted against the ASPA. Senator Jeffords (I-VT), did not vote. Address letters to: The Honorable [Senators Name], United States Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510. To send an e-mail message go to <http://www.senate.gov/contacting/index.cfm>.

Democrats Voting No

Akaka, Hawaii; Biden, Del.; Bingaman, N.M.; Boxer, Calif.; Byrd, W.Va.; Cantwell, Wash.; Daschle, S.D.; Dayton, Minn.; Dodd, Conn.; Feingold, Wis.; Inouye, Hawaii; Kennedy, Mass.; Leahy, Vt.; Levin, Mich.; Murray, Wash.; Reed, R.I.; Sarbanes, Md.; Wellstone, Minn.

Republicans Voting No

Chafee, R.I.; Specter, Pa.; Voinovich, Ohio.

Military Tribunal Decreed by President

The military order issued by President Bush November 13 could

be said to confer no more than "purported jurisdiction." The order has no constitutional sanction from Congress. Its provisions violate not only U.S. constitutional understandings but internationally recognized hallmarks of due process. The military courts that will try non-nationals suspected of terrorism exclude the federal judicial system entirely from a process that may affect the life and death of 17 million non-citizens in the United States. The order says that defendants may not appeal to any court, effectively suspending *habeas corpus*. Proceedings may be secret, before officers who are subordinate to officials bringing the charges. Defendants will not be able to pick their own lawyers and may face execution by non-unanimous vote of the tribunal.

A coalition of bar and citizen groups submitted an alternative to the Senate Judiciary Committee hearings on December 7. To see the "Statement of Principles to Guide Congress in Creating Appropriate Alternative to Bush Military Tribunals," go to www.nlada.org. Other websites: www.theconstitution-project.org and www.indefenseoffreedom.org.

Interns Make a Difference

Each year, a number of young women interested in activism and feminism intern at WILPF offices around the world. The following lists some of the interns that have worked at the U.S. WILPF national office in Philadelphia in the summer and fall of last year.

SUMMER INTERNS

Written and compiled by publications intern Susan Whitehead

As publications intern, I spent my time at WILPF working with Theta Pavis, the editor of *Peace & Freedom*. I am a journalism student at Temple University, with a focus on Magazine Journalism and Photography.

At WILPF, I wrote articles for the Peace Education section of *Peace & Freedom*, as well as a few other articles for different sections. In addition to writing, I assisted Theta with editing text and photos, article topic selection, contacting writers and other editorial tasks. After leaving WILPF, I spent the fall semester backpacking through the Southwest and Mexico and will graduate in May 2002. I hope to be a writer/reporter, working for a non-profit/activist organization, bringing social and political injustice into the public eye. I loved my internship with WILPF and Theta. This was the greatest experience, and it has convinced me that this is the type of work I will always want to do.

Mary Leasure, a sociology major with minors in Feminist & Gender Studies and Religion at Bryn Mawr College, worked with former Development Director Rosemary Burke. She applied “for grants and funding from organizations to further fund WILPF activities, as well as appeals to members for further support.”

Mary is a non-traditional aged student at Bryn Mawr, and is in a program called the Katherine E. McBride Scholars. To intern at WILPF she had a grant through the Pollack Fund.

Mary hopes to graduate in May 2002 and find a job. She plans to go to graduate school for Holocaust and Genocide Studies.

Rebecca Sallen, from Union College, is a Women’s Studies major with a history minor. She worked as the Outreach Intern with Jody Dodd. Rebecca specifically focused on planning the Alternative Conference to the American Correctional Association (ACA) conference, with the Coalition against the ACA. She also coordinated the outreach

to organizations interested in the Women in Prison Educational Forum.

In the future, Rebecca hopes to “dedicate her life to the protection of women’s rights.” Law is her passion, and she would like to eventually work as a lawyer at an organization that allows her to focus on what she loves.

Rebecca loved interning at WILPF. “Their existence gives me inspiration,” she said.

Tara Rupa Das served as special Archives Intern at WILPF. She is a student at the University of Pennsylvania as a Ph.D. candidate in Political Science. While here, Tara worked on the WILPF Archives Project. During that time she was busy “organizing and cataloging materials dating back to the 1940s, for the Swarthmore College Peace Collection.” Tara aspires to pursue a JD and become an International lawyer.

Jessica Petocz is pursuing a double major at Smith College studying Government, with a focus in Political Theory and Women’s Studies. She is also pursuing a concentration in Queer Studies.

While at WILPF, Jessica worked with former Program Director Charmaine Sprengelmeyer on the day-to-day needs of the three campaigns. Jessica’s own project was the Disarm! Committee Retreat, held in Ann Arbor last August. She “worked on everything from the registration to logistics, to assembling a pre-retreat briefing packet on recent developments in missile defense and the budget.

Jessica’s future plans are to graduate and take a year off, then go to work at a non-profit or NGO. She also plans on attending graduate school for Political Theory, where she wants “to challenge the ways we think about power and the state.” Activism will never cease to be an important part of her life.

Jessica thoroughly enjoyed her time at WILPF. She said she has “learned much about the organization and the issues, and it has helped me put my own work into perspective.”

FALL INTERNS

Written and compiled by Heather Drakeley and A. Dorothee Mercier Cointreau

Heather Drakeley

I worked alongside *Peace & Freedom* editor Theta Pavis. As the publications intern, I helped with numerous editorial tasks, such as editing text, mailings, and updating the contact sheet. I also had the chance to test my journalistic writing

skills and wrote an article for the Peace Education section.

I am currently a senior at Temple University pursuing a double major in Spanish and Women's Studies, with a minor in Latin American Studies. Through Temple, I have had wonderful opportunities to study in Mexico, Spain, and Ghana. Participating in a class called the "Inside/Out Prison Exchange program" got me concerned with social justice issues. In this course,

Temple Students and incarcerated women are brought together in a classroom setting at the Philadelphia Industrial Correctional Center to discuss and analyze the dehumanizing prison industrial complex. All of these experiences led me to want to be a part of an organization that focuses on social justice issues and has international interests. WILPF has been a wonderful learning experience.

After my internship, I will be spending the first few months of 2002 traveling through Peru and Brazil. In the future, I hope to combine travel and writing with social justice issues, especially pertaining to women.

A. Dorothee Mercier Cointreau is currently a senior at Drexel University in Philadelphia, where she is completing her B.A. in International Area Studies, with a concentration in Business. Her international background has given her the opportunity to travel throughout Europe, as well as South America. Last year, she volunteered with homeless children and teenagers in downtown Sao Paulo, Brazil where she realized the concern she had for racial and social justice issues. This led her to apply for an internship position at WILPF. WILPF matches not only her beliefs, but appeals to her desire for an international dimension.

Dorothee worked alongside the development director Amy Kwasnicki to develop fundraising programs. She helped write grants, gathered information, and wrote the first draft of this intern report.

Nachilala Nkombo came all the way from Zambia, Africa to intern at WILPF and served as program intern this fall. She has a B.A. in Economics, with a concentration in Demography from the University of Zambia. At her university, Nachilala was a member of the Anti-AIDS club, and was involved in promoting actions on her campus, as well as in other surrounding universities and colleges. Additionally, she was active in maintaining support and protection for students' domestic and international political views.

As program intern, she was directly involved in develop-



Betty Burkes and Nachilala Nkombo

Theta Pavis

ing the new organizing packet to abolish corporate personhood with the leadership team of Challenging Corporate Power. She was responsible for providing information about WILPF's campaigns to consultants, branches, and committees. She participated in conference calls with leadership teams of the various campaigns. She also worked with the legislative coordinator on the Afghan Women's Act and helped plan and participated in the "Caring Not Killing" vigils.

Jackie Palmore has been the web intern at WILPF since the summer of 2001. She saw in WILPF the opportunity to work on women's issues and maintain and improve her skills in web page design. Jackie graduated from Arcadia University, in Glenside, Pa, where she obtained her degree in Computer Science. Afterwards, she obtained her Webmaster Certificate at the University of Delaware. Jackie said that renewing her internship was a pleasure, as she loves to work with people at WILPF.

Jackie maintained and updated the WILPF website. She was continuously working on the re-design of the site. Additionally, Jackie helped the office with many computer problems.

Carolyn Thompson worked with Jody Dodd as the Leadership and Outreach intern. Carolyn was in charge of providing information to people interested in WILPF and updating branches on the latest events. Carolyn helped to organize the Wednesday night "Women's Action to Stop the War! Invest in Caring Not Killing" vigils coordinated by the International Wages for Housework Campaign and WILPF. She helped to compose the fliers for this event. Additionally, Carolyn has distributed numerous fliers for various campaigns.

Between 1997-1999, Carolyn had the opportunity to study in India and Kenya. She then traveled through Eastern and Southern Africa. She graduated in May 2001 from Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana with a B.A. degree in Peace and Global Studies. Carolyn was a strong activist in her university and she participated and contributed to different programs including "Take Back The Night," and the "Multi-Cultural Alliance." She works with children of LGBTQ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender and Questioning) parents to create a safe space where they can talk about their situation through an organization called Mountain Meadow.



School Privatization: Attack of the EMOs

Heather Drakeley

For years, privatization has been promoted as the answer to America's "failing" public education system. Critics of privatization charge, however, that the real motivating force behind the push to turn education over to for-profit companies can be summed up in one word: greed.

A growing number of financial analysts are "encouraging investors to look at the "fledgling education industry" as a good way to make money (*The Daily Report Card*, www.ofcn.org/cyber.serv/academy/rptcard). It's no surprise, given that more than \$700 billion is spent annually on public education in the United States.

This has given rise to Education Management Organizations (EMOs) — private-sector firms that take over the majority of responsibility in managing schools. EMOs are similar to the healthcare management organizations (HMOs) created in the 1970s to take advantage of untapped sources of revenue in the healthcare field. Schools are now seen as the latest hot investment opportunity.

Privatization is actually not a new phenomenon in education. For years, many schools have turned to partial privatization to cut costs. Across the country, districts have hired private firms to provide various services, such as handling textbook and school supplies, food preparation, transportation, and waste disposal. In the last decade however, entrepreneurs have begun cashing in on the learning process itself.

"The privatization of public education was a 'crazy idea' just a few years ago," notes investment analyst Michael Moe. "But today even Wall Street is bullish on the possibility." (*The Daily Report Card*)

Is privatization the key to turning around failing public schools, or is it an easy way out — an overly simple answer to a complicated problem? Critics charge that a better solution would be to deal with the underlying root of the problem — the inadequate and unequal funding base for schools and the mismanagement of funds in many districts. EMOs promise to do a better job of managing school funds, but they do not address the fact that public education is funded primarily on local property tax. The disparities created by this system are staggering. The current system of financing schools perpetuates unequal per-pupil spending. It's no sur-

prise then that schools in poor areas do not have as many resources and are not achieving on the same level as schools in rich neighborhoods. EMOs claim that they have the answer, but turn a blind eye to any initiatives that would truly improve public education.

One important question is to ask how EMOs have captured so much support without showing any real results.

The Business of Instruction

As the education industry has grown larger, it has begun to encompass the "business" of instruction. For example, several companies now provide numerous special education services, designed to help schools manage special education students. Other firms provide high-quality teachers who have the skills to raise student achievement levels.

Established testing prep companies like Kaplan and The Princeton Review are also gaining more business as mandatory standardized testing is incorporated into education. And companies such as Sylvan Learning are busy providing remedial education services to help schools with Title I education programs, which mandate that: "The federal government can, and must, help close the achievement gap between disadvantaged students and their peers." www.ecs.org/clearinghouse/22/85/2285.htm

Many schools are therefore privatized to a degree; others choose the fully privatized option and get an EMO to take over their school.

All sectors of the private education industry have become more popular in the last few years, but it is the EMOs — the companies with the highest earning potential — which have become the hottest trend.

A few of the biggest EMOs include Education Alternatives Inc., Alternative Public Schools, Nobel Education Dynamics, Mosaica Inc., and Edison Schools Inc. In total there are 21 for-profit EMOs operating 308 schools in 25 states.

Edison Schools Inc. is the country's largest for-profit manager of schools. It operates 136 schools with 75,000 students. Like all of the EMOs, Edison claims to run the schools in a more cost-effective manner and to raise standardized test

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

scores.

“Schools managed by Edison,” the company promises, “will have high-tech classrooms, motivated teachers and dramatically improved test scores — all at no extra cost to taxpayers.” (*Mother Jones*, www.mother-jones.com, June 2001).

Political Subterfuge

Privatization sounds like it could be the answer to failing public schools. However, should cities be staking the educational well being of generations of children on the arguments of businessmen?

Raymond Alvarez, chair of the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights, has said, “We are convinced that Edison schools or privatization is not the answer to the school system’s woes. What we need is the state to provide funding; anything else is political subterfuge.” (*Philadelphia Public School Notebook*, Fall 2001)

Accountability is extremely important. Critics point out that “While some believe that EMOs are a positive school reform alternative, others fear that they will be more accountable to investors than students.” (From the National Parent Teacher Association,

www.pta.org/ptawashington/issues/privatization.asp)

Many EMOs rely on standardized testing to show what they can accomplish, but numerous parents question whether such tests can really show if a student is learning. Some skeptics charge that standardized test results of students at privatized schools are actually no better than those at public schools.

School board committees at Edison-run schools in Miami and Wichita, Kansas have expressed concerns over poor student performance. An evaluation of the Reeves-Edison elementary school in Miami concluded that: “Despite lofty academic standards of the Edison model, the project students never once exhibited an academic advantage over the students in the regular MDCPS [Miami-Dade County Public Schools] program. Consequently, the evaluation failed to produce any evidence that the Edison model represents a superior educational program.” (American Federation of Teachers, www.aft.org). Other evaluations of different Edison schools have shown similar results. These include a 339-page study by Western Michigan University researchers, work done by a group of researchers from Columbia University’s Teachers College, an American Federation of Teachers study, and a study founded by the National Education Association—the largest teachers union in the United States.



Signe Wilkinson, Philadelphia Daily News

The high rates of teacher turnover at these schools also shows that some EMOs do not foster good working conditions for teachers. *Mother Jones* reported that in one Wichita grade school, more than 60 percent of the teachers hired by Edison left within a year.

Some opponents also question whether EMOs are really cost effective. Edison has often wound up costing districts more than expected. Six years ago for example, Edison took over its first school in Sherman, Texas. The grade school later announced it would not renew its contract with Edison. The company was said to have “despaired of ever being profitable in the town.” (*Mother Jones*). The school district in Sherman meanwhile complained that it spent \$2.6 million more than it would have without Edison. Sherman’s assistant superintendent wrote a report stating that “The history of the Edison Project in Sherman is one of promises broken, poor performance, and agreements violated.” Test scores at the Edison-run school were also said to have been “an embarrassment.” (*Mother Jones*).

With this track record, it is easy understand why there’s been so much controversy over the proposed Edison takeover of the Philadelphia school district. Edison’s “\$2.7 million analysis of all financial, administrative, educational facilities, and related operations of the School District of Philadelphia” does not delve into the real problem of this urban school district (*Philadelphia Public School Notebook*). Edison spokesperson Adam Tucker said, “Our charge is to figure out how to use more efficiently the available funds.” However, that completely ignores the bigger issue of the grossly inadequate and unequal funding of the public school district. In fact, Tucker said, “It’s clear that money is an issue in Philadelphia. We hear that, we know that, but it’s not our piece of the puzzle.”

States are failing to provide an adequate public education for children in urban and rural communities. In some cases,

Continued on page 30 ➤



BranchAction News

Leslie Reindl, Branch Action Editor

Editor's Note: In the immediate wake of September 11, it seemed that everything had changed. We all had new priorities. One of these had to do with questions about true national security, and about the tradeoff between security and civil rights, especially for Muslims and Arabs in the United States. This question will not go away anytime soon. In the meantime, the old priorities for WILPF members—star wars, corporate power and trade policies, militarism, poverty, the death penalty, environmental destruction, etc.—remain as important as ever, as the activities of the branches show. Some of these issues are being reinterpreted in light of September 11.

Quote for this issue: “Durban [South Africa] must be a beginning and not the end. There must be follow-up,” stated Mary Robinson, U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights. — from the **Santa Cruz** newsletter.

WILPFERS HONORED:

St. Louis noted member Anne Ivey's 50th year of service to WILPF, which included a term as northeast regional president, service on the national board, and a stint as national president.

GREAT IDEA:

Fresno WILPF is now sponsoring a page in the Labor/Community Alliance newsletter, a 16- to 24-page monthly full of labor and community news. Each issue has an in-depth article that clarifies a labor issue for the progressive community. The newsletter creates the cross-fertilization needed by all of us as we work together for peace and justice.

RESPONSES TO SEPTEMBER 11:

Most branches reprinted national and international WILPF's statements on these events; some printed their letters to Congress and/or the president. **Catonsville** presented a program on Afghanistan, featuring an advocate of Afghan-American women's rights, who spoke on “Women Living Under Terrorism.” **Portland** is having vigils every Wednesday against war and for peace in the Middle East. **Monterey** sponsored an interfaith potluck, which contributed funds towards humanitarian aid to Afghan refugees. **Los Angeles** and **Santa Cruz** urged their members to thank California Congresswoman Barbara Lee, the only person to vote against the resolution that gave the president “all necessary and appropriate force.” Many branches wrote to Barbara Lee to thank her. **Los Angeles** held a discussion on threats to civil liberties. **Peninsula** participated in an October 13 “Rally for Peace” at which the speakers included a member talking about the history of WILPF and of the

Peninsula branch. **Baltimore** participated in a “Round the Clock Vigil & March for Peace & Civil Liberties.” **Santa Cruz** and **Chapel Hill** printed a heartfelt letter from Palestine WILPF to “All Our American WILPF Sisters.” **St. Louis** set up a cross-cultural dia-

logue with women to discuss how the recent events impacted their lives, how to make sense of them, how other points of view have been helpful, and how they could educate others about them. They

also participated in a candlelight vigil and march when the U.S. began bombing Afghanistan. The branch continues to accompany Muslims and Arabs as they shop and run errands and is also bringing home-cooked meals to a new Afghani refugee family.

More Responses: **Monterey** published “12 Steps Away from War” and “10 Reasons to Stop Bombing” (“12 Steps” is an abbreviated version of “If War Is Not the Answer, What Is the Answer?” by WILPF members Joyce Vandevere and Frances Payne Adler. If you want a copy, email jvan@mbay.net).

Chapel Hill was one of the sponsors of the first peace march following Sept. 11, which drew hundreds of people. It co-sponsors ongoing vigils Mondays through Thursdays. **Berkeley** urged members to shop in Berkeley to show support for the City Council there. (After the City Council voted 5 to 4 to ask the federal government to avoid endangering the lives of innocent civilians in Afghanistan and to break the cycle of violence, they received much criticism — followed by the suggestion that residents boycott stores and restaurants.) **Des Moines** cosponsored a talk on Sept. 11 by Joe Volk, executive secretary of the Friends Committee on National Legislation, whose original topic on “Star Wars” was changed to “Answering Terrorism Today.” It also reported on the first of three forums on the war on terrorism. At the first forum, a speaker noted that an interna-



Charlotte Adams, founder of the Chapel Hill Branch, celebrated her 99th birthday on November 5, 2001. During the Vietnam War she initiated weekly vigils and attended all but two when she was out of the country. She also founded a dispute settlement center in Chapel Hill, the first in the state, which has spawned many others.

tional definition of terrorism is still being worked on by a U.N. subcommission. Fresno published ideas to relay to the president and others: stop the terrorism at home, including the SOA; get the United States back to the biological warfare negotiating table; and stop contaminating Afghanistan with bombs containing depleted uranium. A **Palo Alto** WILPF member spoke at a Rally for Peace and Justice on Sept. 15. **Cape Cod** promoted the December event “Responding to September 11th: What Are the Peacemaking Alternatives?” **Portland** co-sponsored “The Growing Turmoil: A Public Forum,” with a focus on political and economic factors leading to U.S. involvement in the Middle East, and how citizens might approach globalization and trade issues in light of September 11.

ANTIRACISM:

Palm Beach is planning a four-session discussion series entitled “Can Discrimination, Intolerance and Racism Be Eradicated?” for early this year. **Cape Cod** voted to raise money to send a group of high school students on the Sojourn trip in June 2002 (a 10-day, travel-learning experience through the Deep South. “Sojourn to the Past—A Civil Rights Project,” was begun by a California history teacher; for more info, email: hhelfer@aol.com).

MILITARY SPENDING:

Sacramento Valley included a “stop” sign in its September newsletter (written before 9/11). “Stop military madness: Support H.R. 1270—Stop Star Wars Appropriation.” H.R. would cut 20 percent from military spending over the next 10 years, to be used for domestic programs. It would also cut 10 percent from the CIA budget.

DEATH PENALTY AND PRISON REFORM:

Detroit heard from an activist working with Murder Victims Families for Reconciliation. She called the death penalty “a vestige of slavery” and urged people to circulate the Moratorium 2000 petition (www.moratorium2000.org). **Monterey** WILPF members participated in a demonstration held nationwide to demand human rights for prisoners and their families. The death penalty moratorium was the subject of **Peninsula’s** November meeting.

MEDIA:

Berkeley and **Monterey** have been supporting the lawsuits against the Pacifica radio board and the attempt it made to close down the progressive voices of Pacifica and replace them with commercial news. For information, check out: www.savepacificanet.net.

ENVIRONMENT:

Cape Cod set up a new working group—Earth-Woman Connection/Eco-feminism. **Des Moines** WILPFers attended the 15th Anniversary event of the Des Moines-based World Food Prize, and reported on scientists’ views of sustainability, biotechnology, “agroterrorism,” and other topics, while noting some of the disagreements that occurred. Cuba: Three members of **Chapel Hill** reported on their different trips to Cuba during the past year. **Santa Cruz** is seeking ways to involve its branch with local Cuba groups. It co-sponsored a reception for the president of the U.S.-Cuba Sister Cities organization.

MEETING TOPICS:

A multimedia report on “The Great Peace March” of November 1986 was the draw for a fundraiser for **Monterey**. **Des Moines** heard from a member who was a delegate at the U.N. conference on the arms trade. The NRA was present and diligently worked to limit the Program of Action. John Bolton, the undersecretary of state for Arms Control, made clear that the “U.S. would not join consensus on a final document that contains measures abrogating the constitutional right to bear arms.”

Fresno learned about the state of the school district, conflict resolution activities in the schools, and the use of excessive



Mary Hess of Hartford.

testing. **Palo Alto** heard a first-hand account of the mostly non-violent protest in Genoa this past summer that resulted in one demonstrator being killed by the police and others being brutalized. **Palm Beach** had a program on “Bridging the Racial Wealth Gap” with Susan Glaser, chair of the FOR Racial and Economic Justice Task Force, and another about the civil war in Colombia and the role and influence of the U.S.

JANE ADDAMS DAY AND PEACE CAMP:

Detroit presented the Jane Addams Peace Award to a peace and justice activist and to the Michigan Peace Team, which conducts trainings in nonviolent intervention. The branch now has available a manual on organizing and running a children’s peace day camp, How to Do a Peace Day Camp. \$15, from WILPF, 111 E. Kirby, Detroit 48202, or (313) 874-1616.

GET YOUR BRANCH NEWS ON THESE PAGES

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

Board Nominations

Slate of nominees for U.S. Section National Board members for 2002-2005

These are the national board positions which are chosen by nomination and vote from the national membership. This election cycle there are no contested positions. The new officers will begin their three-year terms at the National Congress, June 26-30, 2002. The president or co-president of U.S. WILPF are selected by the current national board at the Board meeting prior to the Congress. Additional Board positions are named by the national campaigns. The U.S. IEC Representative and the president of JAPA serve on the board ex officio.

BOARD PAST PRESIDENT: PHYLLIS YINGLING (MARYLAND)

Currently President of WILPF National Board having served one term • Active member of WILPF for more than 20 years in Baltimore/Catonsville area • Served on JAPA Board for two terms and previously on WILPF Board for two terms • Helped found a Chapter of Educators for Social Responsibility in Baltimore • Served on Commission for the Status of Women for the United Methodist Church

TREASURER/FINANCE CHAIR: JENNIFER L. PITINO (CALIFORNIA)

Became actively involved with WILPF in 1998 at the Univ. of California, Santa Cruz • Majored in Women's Studies, minored in Politics; special interest in women's activism • Managed national fundraising eBay WILPF Celebrity Auction project • Currently Secretary of WILPF Santa Cruz; representative to CEDAW task force; does local fundraising; manages WILPF website for Santa Cruz branch • Served as treasurer for local NOW chapter before joining WILPF

WILPF STAFF CONCERNS CHAIR: MARLENE KROHN (CALIFORNIA)

Active WILPF member since 1979; was staff member at Friends

Center Philadelphia in early '70's • 1982-84 was staff member at Philadelphia WILPF national office working on membership • Helps staff WILPF-Berkeley office; works with Black Panther Party & volunteer speaker • Traveled to Durban, S. Africa for WCAR Conference in 2001 • Currently on speaking tour for Uniting for Racial Justice Campaign

DEVELOPMENT CHAIR: ROBIN LLOYD (VERMONT)

Currently serves as Development Chair for WILPF National Board • Hosted WILPF summer retreat for two years in Vermont • Professional videographer; produced several WILPF videos (e.g. on Peace Train, WILPF-Colombia) • Participated in Durban U.N. conference on racism • Traveled to Colombia with WILPF fact finding group

PROGRAM CHAIR: MARJORIE VAN CLEEF (CONNECTICUT)

Currently serving on WILPF National Board as Program Chair • Active in WILPF for 20 plus years • Attended many state, regional and national WILPF meetings and conferences • Served on national board of Pledge of Resistance for four years; Coordinator of Campaign to Stop Trident in CT for three years • Committed to activism against death penalty and to stop sanctions and bombing of Iraq

MEMBERSHIP CHAIR: CHRIS MORIN (VIRGINIA)

Member of WILPF since 1992; served local branches in Hartford and Philadelphia • Served on regional board 1993-1996 • WILPF staff Membership Coordinator 1997-1999 • Assisted Board in developing a Leadership Training Manual • Active on National Gay and Lesbian Task Force; member of Virginians for Justice (GLBT)

MEMBERSHIP REPRESENTATIVE: CYNTHIA J. MINSTER (CALIFORNIA)

WILPF member since 1999; started branch on Wellesley campus • Actively involved with Boston WILPF and World March of Women • Graduate of Peace & Justice Studies, Wellesley • Wants more diverse & vibrant membership base with closer connection with leadership • Wants to make WILPF widely recognized and well-funded ❖

▶ PRIVATIZATION

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privatization might be beneficial—but not if it is used to gloss over the inadequacies in the system. Why are EMOs being hailed as the answer to failing schools if they do not address the most important aspect of public schools, especially poor urban ones? How far is efficient use of inadequate funds going to take public schools? The real effort should be to give all school districts, thus all children, sufficient resources so that high standards are the norm in poor urban neighborhoods the same as they are in the suburbs.

Looking Ahead

In a recent address to urban school leaders, Congressman Chaka Fattah (D-Pa.) said, "We know a lot more about developing smart bombs than developing smart children. We spend \$150 million more on defense research than education research. But, young people can achieve so much more if they were given an opportunity with more resources." (*Urban Educator*)

Fattah has an answer to the most important issue facing public education: the unequal investments that take place nationwide within public education. Fattah (and 37 other co-sponsors from Pennsylvania, Indiana, Illinois, Texas, Florida, New York, Ohio, Mississippi and California) have proposed a bill, which is currently sitting in Congress.

Called the "Equal Protection School Finance Act," this bill would require states to equalize funding for education. If they did not, federal funding for that state would be withdrawn within five years. The bill, which was referred to the subcommittee on Education Reform in May, is still pending.

In the meantime, Fattah has asked the U.S. General Accounting Office to investigate the performances of Edison and other EMOs. During a news conference in Washington, D.C., Fattah said, "There are troubling and glaring inconsistencies between independent studies and those commissioned by the for-profit companies themselves." (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, November 2001)

Heather Drakeley was the fall publications intern.

WILPF/ U.S. Section Triennial Congress

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Make checks payable to: WILPF Triennial Congress

Send check with completed form to: Elizabeth B. Gerlach, 101 Manchester Road., Newton, MA 02461.

Important deadlines:

Registration will be considered late if postmarked after May 15, 2002. (Late registration add \$25). Requests for refunds cannot be honored if postmarked after May 22, 2002.

Please note that Goddard College is wheelchair accessible and smoke free.

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- Wed. \$20
- Thurs. \$25
- Fri. \$25
- Sat. \$25
- Sun. \$20

■ If registering after May 15, 2002, additional \$25.

Housing: Only available for the four nights of the Congress.

- Single (not shared) \$210
- Double (shared with 1 other) \$90
- Triple (shared with 2 others) \$45

Limited camping option available. Please inquire.



WILPF Women from the Summer Gathering 2000: Left to right: Judith Beckett, Paj Wadley-Bailey, Carol Dwyer, Frelina Bell, Lizzy Poole, Lucy Nichol, Marilyn Clement, and Robin Lloyd.

Join your sisters in WILPF to:

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



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

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

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom

1213 Race Street
Philadelphia, PA 19107-1691

Time Value - Do Not Delay



WILPFers Ying Lee, Lenel de Emma, and Darien deLu joined others in the Berkeley/Albany community for the "Solano Stroll," a parade that's held every year in September.
Leonore Velffort

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