

Women's Movement / rel. of women's
movement to other liberation
movement

WOMEN'S MOVEMENT / peace
WOMEN'S MOVEMENT / history + early
strategies

in file #1: wms/peace

Feminism: The Hope for a Future

A collection of feminist writings on the draft,
militarism, war, technology, and the political process.

50¢

Women are seeing differently today. The blindfold is off. We are looking at those things which we could not see before because they were too close, too familiar. Language, custom, religion--like the air we breathe, they were ever-present yet invisible. But now we are seeing, and patriarchy is written across it all.

It isn't that women haven't always *known* they were subjugated. It's just that they mostly accepted it. God was male, and wasn't that proof of women's inferior status?

It is really only now, when we see humanity heading to the brink of nuclear disaster, now when civilization is at the edge of ultimate destruction, that our questioning takes on an urgency not known before. We see who is in power.

We see who designs the weapons, who makes the decisions to manufacture them, to deploy them, to use them. And we ask, "Why?" Deeper, deeper go the questions. And the answers we see are not nice. They point to a skewed set of values along sex lines.

Women are seeing differently today. For the first time, we are naming ourselves, the world, God. We are affirming ourselves. We are being empowered by one another.

The articles in this collection speak to these concerns. They grew out of a conference that a group of women held at Packard Manse in Stoughton, Massachusetts, in December, 1979. There, 30 women engaged in open, trusting dialogue, sharing their perceptions of the connections between militarism and the patriarchy, the meaning of feminism, and how women might organize to reverse the arms race.

Three of the resource presentations from that conference are included here. Barbara Davis (Zanotti) brings us the fierce anger that arises out of her deep love for life, her rage at the powers that put all life in jeopardy. With a



relentless searchlight, she illumines that which we don't want to see. Wilma Scott Heide presents her thesis of masculinity and femininity in both sexes, couching it in humor, flipping the language to make a point, persistent, nurturing. Katherine Seelman stretches our minds over time and space, offering us new vision, naming a new set of ethics for technology.

We have added to this collection an article by Kay Camp who combines specific information about the status of Eurostrategic weapons with her perceptions of the macho nature of NATO. Patricia Simon reminds us of the war cycle in human terms,

eloquent, sharp, poignant. Katherine Pettus links the political process to birthing, claiming for women a process dominated by men.

Women are rising up to speak with hard facts, analysis, passion and moral suasion. Everywhere we look we see new awareness, fresh insight, developing powers among women.

We know there are men who share the feminist perspective, who are deeply sensitive to this culture that breathes violence and oppression. We have seen you hold the candles on the corners when we marched through the streets, taking back the night. We have worked side by side with you in every struggle. We know the difficulties of breaking the patriarchal patterns in which you and we have been raised.

Women are seeing differently. We are gathering our strength and resources. But the struggle belongs to all of us. And the fruits of the future.

--Louise Bruyn

(Louise Bruyn works with the American Friends Service Committee on the issues of feminism, disarmament and peace conversion.)

Patriarchy: A State of War

Why weren't we prepared for this--the imminence of nuclear holocaust. The final silencing of life. The brutal extinction of the planet. Surely there have been substantial clues throughout history. Male supremacy. Wars. Witch-burning. Male religious myths. Weapons of increased destructive capacity. Institutionalized greed. The enslavement of half the human race. Centuries of violence.

Why weren't we prepared for this? We have lived with violence so long. We have lived under the rule of the fathers so long. Violence and patriarchy: mirror images. An ethic of destruction as normative. Diminished love for life, a numbing to real events as the final consequence. We were not even prepared.

Mary Daly, in *Gyn/Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism*, writes: "The rulers of patriarchy

--males with power--wage an unceasing war against life itself. Since female energy is essentially biophilic, the female spirit/body is the primary target in the perpetual war of aggression against life. Women must understand that the female self is the enemy under fire from the patriarchy." She further writes that "clearly the primary and essential object of aggression is not the opposing military force. The members of the opposing team play the same war games and share the same values. The secret bond that binds the warriors together is the violation of women, acted out physically and constantly replayed on the level of language and shared fantasies."

We needn't look far for evidence to support her theory. Recall the US Army basic training jingle. "This is my rifle (slaps rifle). This is my gun (slaps crotch). One is for killing; the other for fun." The language of war is the language of genocide. Misogynist obscenities are used to train fighter and intensify feelings of violence. War provides men with a context to act out their hatred of women without the veneer of chivalry or civilization. War is rape.

In the male world of war, toughness is the most highly prized virtue. Some even speak of the "hairy chest syndrome". The man who recommends violence does not endanger his reputation for wisdom, but a man who suggests negotiation becomes known as soft, as willing to settle for less. To be repelled by mass murder is to be irresponsible. It is to refuse the phallic celebration. It is to be feminine, to be a dove. It means walking out of the club of bureaucratic machism. To be a specialist in the new violence is to be on the frontier. It is no accident that patriarchy relates history as the history of war, that is precisely their history. In remembering their battles, the fathers recall the deep experience of their own violent proclivities and relive the ecstatic euphoria of those ultimate moments of male bonding.

The history of wars speak volumes about national will in a patriarchal culture. They are nothing short of organized killing presided



Rolando Perez/Chile/cpf

over by men deemed the best. The fact is--they are. They have absorbed in the most complete way the violent character of their own ethos. These are the men who design missiles and technologies as extensions of themselves. These are the men ready to annihilate whole societies. These are the men honored as heroes with steel minds, resolute wills, insatiable drives for excellence, capable of planning demonic acts in a detached, non-emotional way. These are the dead men, the hollow men, capable of nothing but violence.

It is significant that during and after the accident at Three Mile Island women were more concerned about danger than men; women felt that they were being lied to about the real-life effects of nuclear technology. Women were resistant to the repeated declarations of male decision-makers that everything was under control, that there was nothing to be alarmed about, that nuclear engineers could solve any difficulties. Women felt the lies. Women know and feel the lies that maintain nuclear technology because we have been lied to. We are the victims of patriarchal lies. We know the deceit that grounds patriarchal colonization of women. We know, feel and intuit the deep truth that falsehoods, deceptions and lies form the very character of male rule. Women are the first victims of the patriarchal state of war.

Violence to our bodies: A woman is raped every three minutes. A woman is battered every eighteen seconds. Women are physically threatened by a frightening social climate structured in male might. Women are depicted in pornography as objects to be beaten, whipped, chained and conquered. The myth prevails that women like it.

Violence to our hearts: The positing of male comradeship as the model of human relationships. The systemic separation of women from one another. The degradation of women's culture. The erasure of women's history. The sanctifying of the heterosexual norm with its rigid under-

standing of the giving and receiving of affection.

Violence to our spirit: The dismemberment of the goddess and the enthronement of the male god. The ripping of women away from a life in tune with natural patterns of rhythm and flow in the universe. The ongoing patriarchal work of rendering women unconscious to ourselves.

Violence to our work: The exploitation and devaluation of women's labor. The relegation of women to supportive, maintenance roles. The deliberate structuring of women's economic dependence. Violence to women. Under patriarchy, women are the enemy. This is a war across time and space, the real history of the ages.

In this extreme situation, confronted by the patriarchy in its multiple institutional forms, what can women do? We can name the enemy: patriarchy. We can break from deadly possession by the fathers. We can move from docility, passivity and silence to liberation, courage and speech. We can name ourselves, cherish ourselves, courageously take up our lives. We can refuse to sell our bodies and refuse to sell our minds. We can claim freedom from false loyalties. We can bond with other women and ignite the roaring fire of female friendship.

This much we have learned from our living: life begets life. Life for women, life for the earth, the very survival of the planet is found only outside the patriarchy. Beyond their sad and shallow definitions. Beyond their dead and static knowing. Beyond their amnesia. Beyond their impotence. Beyond their wars. Wars which unmask the fear, insecurity and powerlessness that form the very base of patriarchal rule.

To end the state of war, to halt the women-

War provides men with a context to act out their hatred of women without the veneer of chivalry or civilization.

tum toward death, passion for life must flourish. Women are the bearers of lifeloving energy. Ours is the task of deepening that passion for life and separating from all that threatens life, all that diminishes life. Becoming who we are as women. Telling/living the truth of our lives. Shifting the weight of the world.

Will such measures put an end to war? What we already know is that centuries of other means have failed. In the name of peace, war is waged, weapons developed, lives lost. Testimonies are announced. Treaties signed. Declarations stated. Pronouncements issued. And still the battles go on. The patriarchy remains intact. Women are not free. Nothing changes.

This time the revolution must go all the way.

In the words of the poet:

This is what we are: watching the spider rebuild--patiently, they say,

*but we recognize in her
impatience--our own--*

*the passion to make and make again
where such unmaking reigns*

*The refusal to be a victim
we have lived with violence so long*

(Adrienne Rich, "Natural Resources")

--Barbara Davis (Zanotti)
March 1980

Nurturance and Peace: Feminist Connections

One of the most frequent questions asked about the likely influences of the women's movement is, "But who will take care of the children?" Usually it is men who ask. Interestingly, their concern about this previously had been about as frequent as their wondering why war, which is organized violence, is ever used as an instrument of any nation's policy. Until fairly recently, answers to both questions have been taken for granted. The two issues of nurturance and peace are more related than may at first appear.

All children have two biological parents. Although a woman may be able to and may choose to breast-feed her infant, the ability to incubate and give birth to the human organism does not automatically qualify a woman to otherwise nurture anyone. Hopefully, she learns how. Likewise, the ability to be a father does not automatically disqualify any man.* He, too, must learn how to nurture. I assume both sexes are educable for the vital work of infant and child care in

*Indeed, nurse-midwife educators at the Univ. of Kentucky inform me that some men in some cultures can and do breastfeed their babies. Think about that!

particular and creating nurturant environments, policies and societies in general.

Both sexes possess, in varying individual degrees, the so-called "feminine" qualities of, for example, compassion, caring, care-giving, expressiveness, cooperation, gentleness and community-building. Both sexes possess, in varying individual degrees, the so-called "masculine" qualities of, for example, assertiveness, courage, instrumentalism, dispassion, and competition. Thus so-called "feminine" and "masculine" qualities and behaviors are the potential natural repertoires of both sexes. All are learned human phenomena, not sex-specific potentials.

Female and male are biological identities. Female does not mean and should not be equated with "feminine"; male does not mean and should not be equated with "masculine." The humanity of both sexes transcends one's biological sex and encompasses both "feminine" and "masculine" potentials. Indeed, outdated concepts of "femininity" and "masculinity" are anachronisms that may deserve extinction if our transcendent humanity is to be realized. However, we must first understand historical and continuing consequences



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Experiential nurturance itself is a bona fide occupational qualification that must become the ethical core of organizing principles and of leadership.

of this sexism. Although among the lowest paid work, if it is paid at all, nurturance itself represents, nonetheless, not humanity's lowest need but its highest necessity for intense, emotionally connected cooperation, creativity, and care that is imperative for human life and growth at every age.

However, boys and men have generally been taught and rewarded for exhibiting so-called "masculine" behaviors not including nurturance of others, to focus on self-interest, self-development and self-achievement. Girls and women have been taught and "rewarded" for exhibiting so-called "feminine" behaviors including nurturance and focus on others' interests, others' development, and others' achievements and to deny and/or to devalue their (our) own. Further, males are frequently socialized to repress, deny and/or extinguish "feminine" behaviors, and females socialized to repress, deny and/or extinguish "masculine" behaviors. Thus, both sexes have been artificially and unnaturally denied parts of their very humanity.

As if all the foregoing weren't tragic enough, there is much more. Women have been and still are oppressed by law and in practice in every aspect of life as has been voluminously documented. Additionally, "feminine" values and principles, which are virtually synonymous with humane ethics, are privatized and publicly devalued as if they were weaknesses. "Masculine" characteristics are publicly acclaimed as if they were invariably valuable and invariably strengths. Not so. Women and men must demythologize these "old husbands' tales." For this to happen: women must care enough to be brave; men must be brave enough to care.

Publicly, society is dominated mostly by men and by "masculine" principles. Futher, alleged courage often becomes augmented by weaponry; ostensible strength easily becomes interpreted to mean force to control others; assertiveness easily becomes macho aggressiveness to gain or retain dominance over others. The seeking or use of such force is, of course, an indication of impotence, not of power. Both sexes are, of course, potentially capable of learning the aggressiveness born

of the inability to lead by nurturance. However, it is mostly men who organize aggressiveness, who prepare for war like atomic giants and who give lip service to peace like intellectual and nurturing midgets. Women of the world are awakening to the need to cease being the unilateral, emotional jock straps and cheerleaders of any fragile egos and of militarism and sane men also recognize the imperative to strengthen not aggrandize any fragile egos.

Danny Kaye reminds us the world spends in two hours on armaments what it spends in one year on children. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom informs us the super "powers" of the US and the Soviet Union already have enough explosive power to destroy every living human many times over. Clearly, societies need reconceptualized organizing principles, social inventions and leaders who embody radically different visions of leadership than patriarchy has allowed or even conceived.

One such vital vision is feminism which affirms the positive aspects of what are called "feminine" virtues. By positive, I mean the humane principles and values which are the strengths of both sexes that need to be asserted publicly as well as privately as the basic organizing principles of nations and the world. Presently, women are more experienced with nurturance than are men. It is a genuine power, not a bogus force and control derived from impotence. Women, along with men, must learn and assert nurturant leadership throughout the world. Those who are the caregivers, the nurturers of people must lead the producers of things, not vice versa as at present.

For a family, an organization, an institution, a nation, and a world to nurture its people and its environment and conceptualize and make operational internal and external peace, experiential nurturance itself is a bona fida occupational qualification that must become the ethical core of organizing principles and of leadership. This is one of the more radical visions and values of feminism from my perspective, that is, the power of love (in the sense of caring for ourselves and others) will exceed the love of bogus "power" to control others.

Feminism means that she's risen to redefine and reassess the power for life. In the generic sense of healthy people, nations and our universe it is what I call "Feminism For the Health of It." Feminism inspires me to continually implement its Covenant With Truth.

--Wilma Scott Heide

*"She" is used in the generic sense as the majority of humankind; she includes he, unlike the reverse.

Feminism and the War Cycle

I represent the war cycle.

I am infuriated---that although we are still working for some kind of justice for, even recognition of Vietnam era veterans, our government leaders discuss registration, in order to draft another set of other people's children to maintain "national security"---which is whatever they decide it is. No Congressperson lost a son or a grandson in the whole Vietnam era.

I am infuriated---that the President appeals to the very worst in people--to a complete disregard for life, so institutionalized by our society---for election campaign support.

I am sickened---that once again, middle-aged Americans are ready to register their youth (not themselves) so that a draft is possible, so that a war is ready! All they need is an excuse--- they can always find one.

And due to a change in immigration laws, no exiles will be welcome in Canada this time.

Now there is discussion of complete assimilation of women into the most destructive extension, the sickest symptom, of our society--- legalized murder---in answer to Equal Rights demands. The plan to register women has been defeated 8-1 in a House Armed Services subcommittee. Fortunately, women have been rather massively protesting---from a gut level. They have not been taught to feel that war and killing are right. They don't have the traditional masculine identity to defend.

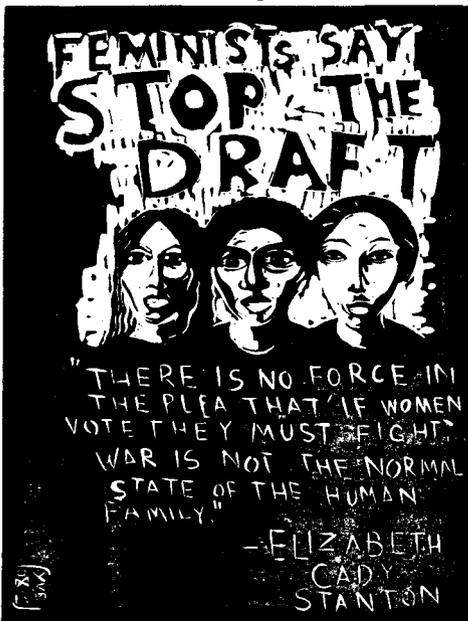
One of the reasons that this war cycle goes on in the US is that most Americans don't experience war. The bombs don't fall here. Another factor is our psychic numbing---a useful defense mechanism, but by now so highly developed as to destroy the human race.

My son David was a paratrooper, trying, in 1967, to feel patriotic, trying to believe what his government was saying. He and I, fresh from a small town in the Midwest and badly informed, realized he was being used in a very bad cause. He talked of going AWOL. I sought support for this action---masculine support. For he was struggling with what it means to be masculine in our society and worried about abandoning his buddies.

I was ill-advised---told he would never get a teaching job if he went AWOL---not told there was draft counseling in the institution where I sought support.

He was shipped ahead of schedule to Vietnam, killed three weeks later, two days before his nineteenth birthday.

I wanted to go to Vietnam---for that's where reality was. I wanted to work in the Quaker Day Care Center. There was no reality here. The American population was oblivious to what it was doing 9000 miles away. But my daughters needed me. I slipped into the peace movement and into the Eugene McCarthy campaign, the only sanity. I gathered other parents who had lost sons and we joined a thousand Vietnam Veterans Against the War in a week-long demon-



stration in Washington in April, 1971. We experienced catharsis, community, reality, for the first time after isolation in our environment in which the war was not real...

As we started our long drive back to Boston, after a week that brought us back to life, my youngest daughter, age 10, said triumphantly, "I feel like I have a thousand brothers now!"

We parents continued our anti-war work and as the amnesty issue emerged we spoke out in favor. We were infuriated at Nixon's use of us as a reason to refuse amnesty for resisters, deserters and vets with less than honorable discharges. "America cannot turn her back on those who served, nor make a mockery of their sacrifice by granting amnesty."

He established cruel prejudice---lied about the motivation of resisters, about the very meaning of amnesty. (Amnesty: a legal forgetting, built into law, to undo what the law may have unjustly done.) Amnesty is in effect a standoff with no judgment upon either side.

We felt that those who had refused to participate in the war, before or after involvement in the military, or who had been punished for military offenses, had paid a price in personal hardship and had served their country according to their convictions.

Through the faith and funding of a Unitar-

ian church we began our amnesty education and advocacy as Gold Star Parents for Amnesty in Nov. 1973. We worked for and against various bills and against the Ford clemency program, which was a sham. The amnesty movement influenced presidential candidates, party platforms, and President Carter, who did in fact pardon 13,000 draft resisters, largely white and middle class. Due to the wail of protest at the race and class discrimination inherent in the gesture, he established a special discharge revue program for vets with less than honorable discharges. It offered eligibility for discharge review to only half the 800,000 needing relief and was ultimately undermined by Congress with a bill that Carter signed!

So veterans with "bad papers" were left with life-time punishments for, in general, purely military offenses. Those of us who work in the Veterans Discharge Project are sickened daily by the stories of those used and discarded by their government.

I hope you feel the absurdity, the obscenity in this way of life (of Death), this cycle--registration, conscription, induction, war, veterans.

I hope there will be strong resistance to registration, realizing that massive resistance now may actually cause legislation to fail.

Helen Caldicott, President of Physicians for Social Responsibility, says, "The human race has two years to turn the arms race around." She is calling for a Women's Party for Survival to raise the single issue of survival in the election campaign.

I feel that the war cycle will be ended either by women or by nuclear holocaust. War is the history of mankind, due to the patriarchy in which we live. Women must end this patriarchal society with its system of male-headship, of male definition of everything including ourselves, maintained and legitimized by patriarchal religions.

I feel that there has been an evolution of feminism to feminist perspective; from liberation of women to liberation of all oppressed people--and we are all oppressed by the patriarchy. Essential human qualities that have been assigned to women must be developed in all people, men and women.

My youngest daughter, now 19, called her oldest sister after Carter proposed registration of men and women in January, and said, "Don't worry. Just pack your things. My roommate and I will pick you up and we'll all go to Canada if there is a draft."

Excerpts from speeches given by Patricia Simon at rallies, conferences, and panels on the draft.

Patricia Simon is Co-director of Gold Star Parents for Amnesty/Veterans Discharge Upgrade Project. She is also a founding member of Feminist Women for Peace/S.O.S..



AFSC RESOURCES

FEMINISM: THE HOPE FOR A FUTURE, is reprinted from PEACEWORK, a New England peace movement newsletter published by the American Friends Service Committee. Views are those of the authors, not necessarily those of AFSC. Assistance for this project was provided by Diane Adler, Louise Bruyn, Barbara Davis and Pat Faren.

FEMINISM: THE HOPE FOR A FUTURE, extra copies of this collection of writings; use coupon on back page to order.

PEACEWORK, a New England Peace Movement Newsletter published monthly by AFSC; use coupon on back page to order.

GUIDELINES FOR SMALL GROUPS TO RAISE CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE NUCLEAR AGE, by Carol Wolman and Vivian Gold; send self-addressed, stamped envelope to AFSC, 2 Stimson Ave., Providence, RI 02906.

AFSC WOMEN'S NEWSLETTER; request a copy from AFSC Nationwide Women's Program, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102.

WOMEN AND GLOBAL CORPORATIONS: WORK, ROLES & RESISTANCE is a study packet of 24 reprints and articles used as background for a conference on women and multi-nationals; 1978; \$4 from Nationwide Women's Program, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102.

WIFE BATTERING, an updated packet of articles examining the problem and exploring responses to it; \$4 from AFSC, 2161 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02140.

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Fourteen Females in Fantasyland: A Visit to NATO Headquarters

On December 10 I was one of fourteen women representing peace and women's groups who penetrated the headquarters in Brussels of that military bastion known as NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization). NATO houses the machinery that grinds out the military policies of the fourteen countries which form the most powerful military bloc in the world. Its Ministerial Council was to meet in two days to decide on placing in five NATO countries a new generation of nuclear weapons which could escalate the arms race beyond all control and increase the likelihood of nuclear war being triggered in Europe.

Beyond the submachine-gun-guarded gate and rows of flying flags stood a huge black sculpture eerily resembling a burnt-out world.

Inside the vast three-storied concrete-and-glass structure which houses NATO, any touches of humanity there might have been--pictures, posters, plants--were lost in the bare halls and sharp angles of the building. In the conference room, the long narrow table confirmed hierarchy: at one end there was room for only one chair, at the other were three chairs, with nine or ten places along each side.

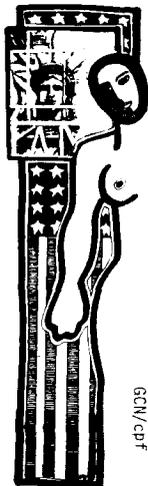
The Director of the NATO Cabinet, S.I.P. van Campen, seated himself at the end with three chairs, his American aide at his side. As spokeswoman for the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom which had organized our nine-country delegation, I sat at the other end to try to maintain eye contact and a direct exchange, but I had difficulty even seeing his eyes at that distance.

After introductions, I expressed our thanks to van Campen for this opportunity to meet, and reminded him of the unsatisfactory response we had received to an earlier letter. We had written to NATO Secretary-General Luns at some length about several proposals put forth by the Warsaw Treaty Organization (WTO), NATO's counterpart in Eastern Europe. We thought these indicated interest in concrete steps toward mutual arms reductions in Europe.

WTO had proposed a European disarmament conference, and that signatories to the Helsinki Conference on European Security and Cooperation discuss arms reductions provided in the Conference's Final Act. There was also a proposal for no-first-use of nuclear weapons among the Helsinki signatories, and even a suggestion for a non-aggression pact between NATO and WTO.

These proposals had been ignored by NATO. Our letter had politely inquired whether some of them merited serious exploration or at least a response. The gist of the reply we had received from the man at the far end of the table was curt: "We appreciate your letter and the time you took to write it."

Now we spoke of our concerns about NATO's expected decision to deploy 108 of the new US



Pershing II Extended Range Missiles and 464 ground-launched Cruise Missiles. Both kinds of missiles have a first-strike potential, and the Cruise is practically non-verifiable. We asked: How can NATO justify its intention to deploy these new "Eurostrategic" weapons without first exploring all possibilities for arms reduction with the Eastern bloc? Why not respond to the recent Brezhnev offer to negotiate missile reductions if NATO would put off the decision to deploy the new missiles? This offer had been buttressed by the Soviet Union's subsequent unilateral withdrawal of 20,000 troops and 1,000 tanks from East Germany.

The ensuing conversation was like ships passing in the night and out of sight.

Van Campen asked why our consciences did not cause us to protest the Soviet SS-20 missiles capable of reaching Western Europe; but he made clear that he did not like others to raise the matter of conscience with him. We had already stated that we wanted to see the Soviet missiles removed, pointing out that this would be even less probable with the deployment of the new NATO missiles.

We expressed our concern that the new missiles would violate SALT II by adding more US missiles capable of reaching the Soviet Union, exceeding the number permitted by the Treaty. Van Campen did not respond to this, nor to our concern about the non-verifiability of the Cruise missiles.

We asked why NATO focused exclusively on

the threat to Western Europe from the Soviet SS-20s, when there were so many weapons systems ready to wipe out any Soviet target or the entire Soviet Union, should it launch any type of attack on Western Europe. We challenged the "imbalance" NATO claims exists when authoritative analysis such as those at the Institute for Strategic Studies assert that a reasonable balance exists. We pointed out that US medium-range missiles deployed in the '50s had been withdrawn because they made Europe too vulnerable to attack. We refused to accept the twisted NATO logic that the way to disarm is to build up more arms. We noted other contradictions: NATO claims Western Europe is seriously menaced by the Soviet SS-20s, yet NATO spokesmen themselves told us that the likelihood of an armed attack by the Soviet Union or the Warsaw Pact countries is "very, very low."

Van Campen asserted that the number of new missiles to be deployed by NATO had been carefully worked out during more than two years of active debate within the Alliance. He agreed however, that there had been little involvement of the public in the debate. In fact, as NATO's plans became apparent to the public, protests began to occur in many NATO countries. We had participated in a demonstration in Brussels with 35,000 others on the previous day.

Van Campen told us that consensus in the NATO decision was not necessary: that any nation not wanting to accept the missiles need not do so. It is the United States who will pay for production of the missiles (about \$5 billion), while the NATO countries will pay for their installation and servicing. If the US decided not to produce the missiles, van Campen said, they would not be deployed.

"The present situation is quite satisfactory," he assured us. "You ladies must realize that we have had peace in Europe for 34 years because of nuclear weapons and deterrence."

With both sides increasing the quantity and quality of their armaments, with mandated increases in military budgets, with each side claiming the other is destabilizing the balance, with the erosion of detente and the nuclear threshold lowering rapidly, and with both sides nearing first-strike capability, we thought that all too soon there might be no one around to tell Van Campen he had been wrong.

We asked what response he would expect from the Soviets to the new missiles. He guessed they would react "more in sorrow than in anger." He insisted that the Soviet Union would have no incentive to agree to missile reductions if NATO did not move to produce and deploy these new "theatre nuclear forces." He questioned Brezhnev's sincerity, saying Brezhnev did not specifically mention the SS-20s in his offer to negotiate missile reductions. Soviet Defense Minister Ustinov had specifically offered, however, to reduce these missiles.

Van Campen ended the discussion by denying that NATO was concerned about dissident countries

A Feminist Call to Action

The following Call to Action was signed by over 400 women and published in the March 3 issue of *Equal Times*, a Boston feminist newspaper. The statement was written by a newly formed group, *Feminist Women for Peace/S.O.S.* (Sisters Organized for Survival). Women wishing to sign this statement or wishing to gather more signatures in order to publish it in their local newspapers are encouraged to do so.

As women, as feminists, we abhor violence and we intend to share our perspective on violence against people, particularly women, and our planet. Sexism, a learned and unnatural phenomenon, is one of the root causes of violence.

The use of violence is an acknowledgement of impotence, and war (organized violence) is collective impotence disguised as strength. Militarism is not human nature but habit patterns inherent in patriarchy which intrinsically result in dominant and subordinate groupings.

The male 'leaders' now have the technology and the obscene irreverence for life to risk and plan total destruction in the name of 'national interest.' Feminists know there are dynamic, life-affirming alternatives.

Those who have nurtured life and cherished this good earth know that most boys and men have learned how to dominate and control; now all of us must learn to nurture. Feminism affirms the feminine, which is the more humane in both sexes, in private and public policies.

Feminism denies that a war economy is healthy, that militarism creates security, and that peace is possible without justice. Feminism is the most radical critique of our time, going beyond change in casts of characters to rescripting our lives and creating the very dynamics of peace.

In this most critical time we call our sisters to action:

- to resist the militarism of patriarchy
- to resist the involuntary servitude of the draft for women or men
- to inform ourselves about tax resistance as a way of keeping our dollars from doing what our bodies refuse to do
- to oppose nuclear madness

WOMEN HAVE SERVED. WOMEN MUST ALSO LEAD. TOGETHER WE HAVE THE POWER!

Contributions to help defray the expense of the ad and for future organizing among women's groups would be gratefully accepted. For further information from this group, please write: *Feminist Women for Peace/S.O.S.* 6 Durham Street, Boston MA



in its ranks. Yet at that moment the Danish, Norwegian, Belgian and Dutch governments were in varying degrees of chaos, unsure whether they could agree to accept the missiles--especially without some guarantee for immediate talks with the Eastern bloc. In the Federal Republic of Germany, Chancellor Schmidt had pressed for the new theatre missiles for more than two years. On the eve of the NATO meeting, he won 80% support from his Social Democrats after a surprise announce-

ment that he would go to the German Democratic Republic early in the new year to open talks with its head of state, Erich Honecher, and with Brezhnev.

Leaving the Cabinet Director, we went to the offices of the Canadian Mission. Canada would go along with whatever was decided by the others, its NATO delegates told us. They thought the decision would certainly be to deploy--but they differed from van Campen in that they did not think

consensus among all the NATO countries would be necessary.

Down another long hall, a Marine in full uniform was guarding the entrance to the US Mission. There we heard from US officials what seemed to be the strongest motivation for this new escalation of the arms race. They voiced their fear of "Finlandization"--meaning the extension of Soviet and East European influence in Western Europe. Unless the Soviet bloc is seen as a fearsome and threatening enemy, it seems, the "need" for the US protection of a united Western Europe would fade and NATO nations might make their own peace with Eastern Europe.

As we departed, a number of military officers bristling with brass emerged from the cafeteria and strode past us, reminding us that these and others like them were the men whose fateful decisions affect the lives of all of us.

Two days later, the decision was made to deploy the new missiles. The carefully-planned strategy of a handful of men had prevailed. These included David McGiffert of the Pentagon, who chaired NATO's High Level Group; David Aaron, then deputy to Brzezinski at the National Security Council; Leslie Gelb; Spurgeon Keeny of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; and Richard Burt, then with the International Institute for Strategic Studies and now with the *New York Times*.

Significantly, however, the NATO communique unexpectedly called at the same time for talks with Moscow that would limit both Soviet and American weapons of this type. These arms limitations are to be negotiated bilaterally within the framework of SALT III. This of course presupposes the ratification of SALT II, another condition stressed by NATO allies. Shortly before NATO's decision and directly bearing on it, the US announced that it would withdraw 1,000 of its 7,000 older, shorter-range missiles in Europe and that as each new medium-range missile was deployed an old one would be withdrawn. This would meet the numerical limits in SALT II.

While the *New York Times* quoted Secretary Vance's description of NATO's Dec. meeting as "successful" and of "extraordinary importance," the report acknowledged "suspenseful last-minute difficulties in reaching an agreed statement, which fell short of US hopes for a more resounding show of alliance solidarity." The Netherlands and Belgium deferred acceptance of the missiles on their territory. The other three countries designated to receive the missiles--160 to the United Kingdom, 96 to Italy, 112 plus all the Pershing IIs to the Federal Republic of Germany--have each experienced intense internal opposition.

Shortly afterwards, in Vienna, NATO suggested that 13,000 US troops and 30,000 Soviet troops be withdrawn from Central Europe. This appeared to be a further concession to public pressure, and as attempt to give new impetus to the stalled six-year talks on Mutual and Balanced Force Reductions.

Following the NATO decision to deploy the

new missiles, however, the Soviet Union's first angry reaction was to withdraw its earlier offer to negotiate missile reductions. The German Democratic Republic announced that its military expenditures would be increased "to counter the aggressive NATO strategies." (So much for van Campen's theory that increasing one's arms makes others more willing to negotiate.)

The new missiles for NATO are not the only military item in store for us: the \$35 billion MX Mobile Missile; the Trident II; a 54-plus annual increase above inflation in our military budget for the foreseeable future; a new 150,000 man "rapid deployment" force; "modernization" of many present weapons models; new military bases in the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean area; and increased military presence in the Caribbean; closer military ties to China; possible reinstatement of the draft, etc.

The tragedy of this trend is compounded by the fact that a viable alternative course exists that is not being pursued. The United Nations in a special session in 1978 unanimously adopted a general strategy for world disarmament. All nations agreed that "Mankind is confronted with a choice: we must halt the arms race and proceed to disarmament or face annihilation." The world proclaims its readiness to proceed with a rational new international security system

based on mutual respect and the actual interdependence of nations. But the US obsession to be Number One and the machinations of our militarists and their cohorts in government, science and industry here and abroad have set us on a destructive course that, if not changed, will make inevitable the ultimate catastrophe.

Our visit to NATO left us more than ever convinced that the entire anti-human fantasy world of institutionalized machism must no longer be allowed to dominate our lives. Women--and all concerned human beings--must exert their influence to demilitarize the world. We must liberate ourselves from the "worst-case" scenario-writers and war gamesmen, and help liberate these men who run the world from their warped image of masculinity. We must expose the underlying feelings of inadequacy and insecurity which undermine the real security of us all--and which can only be exacerbated by bigger and deadlier weapons.

We emerged from this dialogue feeling that a small group of women could have little effect on the decision to deploy these new missiles. But many more of us can, and must, prevent their actual deployment.

We probably have only two or three years left in which to reverse the arms race.

--Kay Camp

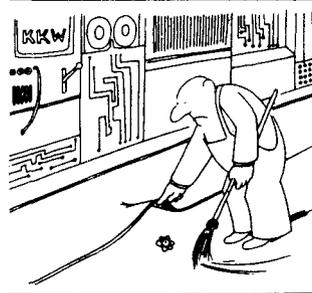
Nuclear Fission: Feminist Technology?

Is nuclear fission a qualitatively different technology? Does it collapse the boundaries between war and peace, between this generation and future generations? Ought feminism have a vision--or even an ethic--about modern technology?

Yes, to all these questions, but the development of a feminist approach to technology requires an analysis of present assumptions about the earth and its transformation into modern tools. To begin, let us explore the problem of nuclear fission and some dated definitions of social concepts. These concepts are: the commons (public spaces), poverty, colonization, and freedom. As nuclear technology is poured into these old vats of wisdom, how do they weather? Then let us move on to the bare threads of a Feminist approach to energy technology--energy technology as a product, a process, as knowledge, as an ethic of choice. The task is too large for this little article, but is a challenge to us all.

The Problem

Experience teaches us that no matter its use, nuclear fission is a weapon. Weapon grade uranium and plutonium are accumulating in the spent fuel produced by present-day reactors around the world. By 1985, 50 nations will have accumulated amounts sufficient to build three to six nuclear weapons. On May 18, 1974, India exploded its first nuclear device, armed by plutonium processes from the used fuel of its peaceful nuclear



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reactor. Science teaches that nuclear materials are lethal to biological life, now and far into the future. How does the existence of nuclear fission technology affect the commons, poverty, colonization, and freedom?

Old Concepts Updated

How can our common life be accurately described? We have invented, using the earth as a laboratory, any old machine, and operated the machine in society. One of the machines goes whacky. What if the machine is nuclear power?

Nuclear energy sits in the cosmic commons. Its impacts reach far into time and space. The risk is to biological life: mothers and fetuses,

young children, future generations, to other species. Time has become a matter of conflict of interest. Industry is concerned with short time spans; environmentalists with long time spans; the Church, and others, with the interests of all generations--eternity.

Nuclear fission contributes to a new or cosmic social poverty. The level of oppression is biological--the cell or the gene. The new poverty links the economic poor with the biological poor, whether those suffering from cancer in this generation or from genetic damage in future generations. The new poor is biological life, especially the species homo sapiens.

Still another old concept is time. With nuclear fission we are colonizing time. To the extent that genes are damaged, the present generation is a tyrant in relation to the future--without accountability. We also colonize space: the physics space of the atom, the biological space of the gene or the cell, the cultural space of rural people, the religious space of the native American.

Freedom is one of our most treasured ideas, usually defined in our society by individual civil liberties of those presently alive. But nuclear fission, unlike automobiles and planes, constitutes involuntary risks to health and other areas of human rights for this and future generations. During the Three-Mile Island episode the press could not get facts, so necessary to democratic citizen participation. Future generations may not get the facts either. They may inherit faulty information systems, due to genetic damage. Is this an incursion on civil liberties?

Clearly the impacts of nuclear fission constitute a New Poverty. There are new risks, but few criteria for determining acceptable risks in modern society. There are new victims, as mentioned earlier, the very young and the unborn, other species, future generations, classes of people especially susceptible to health impacts, but few criteria for determining what technology is appropriate to fallible human beings. Nuclear fission is not only a product but also a process. The process of using nuclear fission involves mainly experts, and is remote from the every day citizen who has a responsibility for the health and safety of the commons. Clearly, the impacts of nuclear fission reach far into time, space and ideas.

Feminist Technology

What do we know about Feminism that might be helpful in developing criteria for Feminist technology? Feminism is an ecological perspective, which attempts to be holistic, not separating technology into bureaucratic boxes marked "atoms for peace" or "atoms for War." Feminist analysis has not erred by judging nuclear fission according to use, rather than according to need or impact on biological and social life. Feminism is a process of liberation that ought not to



justify a technological process which colonizes time and space. Feminist knowledge involves a subtle blending of experience, emotions and science science, and cannot support a technology that does not permit human error or emotion. Finally, a Feminist ethic is not merely utilitarian. Life is not valued merely prudentially, i.e., on the basis of self interest.

Feminism brings to technology a holistic approach to life. Socio-technical systems must be designed to comfortably subsist within the matrix of the biosphere. The process of Feminist liberation is empowering human beings without exploiting the biosphere. Criteria for a Feminist technology, then, should include the following:

Safe--protective of the human and natural environment, and not threatening irreversible damage;

Appropriate to human nature--not requiring infallibility or error-free performance from humans or machines;

Flexible--capable of timely change, even reversibility, during development and use in order to adapt to unpredictable events, such as unexpected health hazards;

Non-destructive to other necessities of life--for instance, not removing good agricultural land from food production or polluting necessary water supplies;

Resource-saving--using renewable energy sources rather than the non-renewables, for example, water power rather than oil;

Fair--capable of having its benefits and costs allocated fairly to all, including future generations, for instance, not requiring one group to suffer genetic damage in order that another group may have electricity;

Comprehensible--capable of being understood, with information freely available, so that those who wish to can participate responsibly in decision-making;

Nonviolent--difficult to use directly

or indirectly as a weapon, for instance, not able to be made easily into a nuclear bomb;

Employment-producing--not replacing jobs with energy-intensive machinery, especially in the areas of high unemployment;

Aesthetic--pleasing to the senses and enjoyable to work with.

Involvement in technology is not easy for women. Tools and fuel are male identified. But we must develop a Feminist perspective. This is the Age of Technology. In this Age, justice

questions, which are Feminist questions, often come wrapped in nuclear technology, electronics, genetic engineering or toxic substances. Unwrap them and you find hunger, unemployment, disease, war and exploitation of the weak. Unwrap them and you will also find instruments which can be used to alleviate these age-old problems. Only choice can determine whether technology is part of the problem or part of the solution. Feminist analysis is part of the solution.

--Katherine Seelman

Political Midwifery

To brace herself to look, and to look hard, is the obligation and the trauma of a woman beginning to sense the institutionalized violence and criminality of our government and representative.

She has to turn away in rage, disgust and fear, and turn back again, many times, before she can begin to create a new, personal reality based on a commitment to transform the conditions which arouse those nauseating reactions. To confront her powerlessness, so deeply engrained, and to overcome it, is to understand an immense emotional, psychological and spiritual journey.

In this, women owe a tremendous debt to the feminist movement for providing us with the courage to journey, and to the disarmament movement for providing us with the facts and logistical support. Wedding the two movements offers perhaps the most powerful and authentic momentum with which to challenge the threats to our survival.

The most irrefutable difference between males and females is the birth process. I have chosen the event and metaphor of birth as the framework within which to analyze the involvement of women within the political arena, one traditionally closed to them as a class. I believe that it is a valid metaphor, one which must be sustained in reality if we are to achieve any further physiological birth as a species. That is, if we are not to be the last of generations.

As separation of the fetus from the womb imposes new obligations and responsibilities on the parent, so does the separation of the individual from undifferentiated, domesticated consciousness toward more political, global awareness impose responsibilities and obligations on the individual. Yes: They are equally births: one of a new biological being, the other of a new awareness. Both have their source in openness, which gives way to an ongoing, consuming act of love. The ecological and political perspective which is gestated and eventually born constitutes the consummation of our instinctive and intellectual insights. To be an activist in this sense is to participate in the ultimate act of love.

In the face of the present crisis, charac-

terized by a resurgence of militarism, a new Cold War that could heat up to a war fought with incredibly sophisticated and destructive nuclear weapons, to remain silent only further empowers those who are planning World War III. To understand our complicity in endorsing World War III is to begin the change which leads to transforming action. Failure to participate in this action, while retaining an awareness of the real situation, is a torture leading only to neurosis and depression, to more easily oppressed victims. The antithesis, the midwifery process, supplies us with an endless and exciting source of energy, perhaps the only one which men are powerless to deny us.

The responsibilities of women in the 1980s are so enormous as to seem almost unacceptable. For countless generations, women have found themselves in the position of cleaning up the wreckage wrought by males unable to successfully carry out their domestic, economic and political responsibilities. From being the traditional laundrywomen of the home, women now find themselves asked to be the cosmic laundrywomen, told that, as women, they have a unique vocation to rescue the world from nuclear holocaust. Many women may be hesitant to accept this elevation to sexual "superiority," accompanied as it is by responsibilities they are unequipped--or simply unwilling--to assume.

Yet one is constantly pursued by the unavoidable of it--by the inability to turn away once and for all to whatever hedonistic delights can be pursued in the eye of the storm. One is pursued by it while looking at lilacs that may be the last to bloom in this corner of the planet, or at three-year-olds frolicking around at the playground, knowing that they may not grow up to express, as individuals, their fragment of the life force. Looking at them, knowing this, turning away. Hauling up the strength to wrestle, yet again, with the fear and discouragement. Mining this strength whose source is a sense of beauty and birth that is indestructible. Whose source, is sensitivity unravelling endlessly once the first thread is pulled. Centuries of oppression of women have built into us, blood, bone and marrow, for better or for worse, these sources of power. It is precisely the concentration of power she possesses, pitted against the power she

confronts that gives the individuals struggle its traumatic and dramatic proportions.

The power we confront is an apparently monolithic military, rather like the giants of childhood fairytales. As we demand a process of disarmament, that must be defined. Disarmament is an organic, multi-dimensional process in the same way as violence/militarism is an organic multi-dimensional habit. When we talk about disarmament, we are not talking about dismantling nuclear weapons and signing SALT II; we are talking about transforming the basic chemistry of relationships, both on the micro-cosmic and macro-cosmic levels. The disarmament movement is not something we can confine to weekly meetings or bi-annual conferences. It is a process that must take place in every mind-moment, at every juncture of time and space if it is to be authentic.

That which makes disarmament compulsory is a consciousness which will not tolerate or justify the habit of violence/militarism, and which concentrates on detecting and sustaining the pulse of the life process.

This is a *love* process; love which is not sentimental or possessive, but which is allowing and indiscriminate about its capacity to nurture. This love must *include* anger and violence if it is to be whole. But between us, if our communication is fine enough, we can alchemize our rage/violence into loving, constructive action. This puts us under the obligation of honesty. Such honesty is possible only with courage.

Feminist thought and discussion has opened us to the possibility of courage as has no other movement. Here is the vital connection between feminism and disarmament. Feminism *empowers* us to disarm: the compulsion to disarm places us within the power of one another. Translating this intuition into political action is our on-going task. Assuming the responsibility which descends on us as conscious humans means participating in an act of love involving both ourselves and our oppressors--those whose policies may end in our annihilation. This responsibility hardly implies the self-abnegation or asceticism of the classic revolutionary. Rather, it requires the healthy hedonism of the individual and the group triumphantly discovering and putting to use the energy which will enable the transformation of reality.

It is a fact rarely remembered that we live in one of the few remaining democracies. We allow the US to claim this moral "honor" when it functions, in fact, at a purely technical level with women as the technicians, the maintenance workers. For the most part, women function with docility. We do not participate with passion. Western industrial society replaces passion with sentimentality and originality with imitation, not simply because, as Marxist dialectic would have it, the replacements are more efficient, but because they are less dangerous. To become more dangerous, we must rediscover our passion and originality.

To become more dangerous, we must use as a primary resource our own bodies. Awareness of the body, celebrated in the biological act of love with another body, or in the maintenance of its health, or in the reproduction of it through physical childbirth, is profoundly political, and generates an energy which can easily be translated into political activism. In this sense, the celebration of the physical awareness--life--is not an isolated, auto-erotic act but an authentic statement of one's larger humanity.

Women's awareness of their bodies is unavoidable. The biological processes of women have served as an excuse for limiting female political involvement and for justifying the almost complete male domination of political processes. I propose that the opposite can be the case, that our physical awareness is a limitless source of power and energy leading to an entirely transformational political dynamic.

Such a dynamic demands affirmation--not denial--of femaleness. The femaleness bears no resemblance to the traditional patriarchal definition. It is undomesticated, intrinsic femaleness, and does not require that we reproduce ourselves, only that through physical awareness of our sources of power, we give birth to, and take responsibility for a life which is an act of love.

It is axiomatic, in this context, that this constitutes the achievement by the individual of a larger humanity. To be capable of this, we must first proclaim its value. The development of instruments of annihilation entirely contradicts this proclamation. By accepting a government which promotes such a contradiction, we are opening ourselves up to unlimited psychological damage from the effects of shame, guilt and fear at the persistent spectre of our paralysis.

The unpleasant option, and it is indeed an option, is neither absolute nor valid for those who aspire to humanity and celebration. "Revolutionary action" is sacrifice only when the revolutionary does not view herself as part of the humanity which she is transforming but as a "superfluous" entity which must be purged for the "common good". In one sense, for example, a mother "sacrifices" her body to the fetus which she carries; in another, she "sacrifices" the fetus, a symbiotic part of her organism, to the outside world. In yet another sense, she participates in the transformation of the outside world, as well as of her body and the body of another being, by performing a unique, absolutely creative act.

The "empowerment" is identical, whether one gives birth to another biological being or to a strength, a passion, an idea, an act or a movement, so long as the births are authentic in that their source is love.

Women have begun this process of empowerment and must continue it in the political arena to ensure the survival of the species. Women have not yet been trained in the political skills which are the prerogative of the male clubs, but it is evident that they are begin-

ning to train themselves and to overcome their fear of barriers deliberately placed in their way. Women have advantages in that they have only to learn the mechanics of the new game, rather than the mentality. The mentality is already known to us, for most women, at some point in our lives, have lived with a man and observed male behavior. It is constantly displayed to us in news bulletins and in daily interactions. It is vital that a new dimension be added to this game in the form of ecological awareness and the instinct for species survival. The continuing predominance of male people in the circles of power constitutes a severe threat to life itself.

A Women's Party for Survival has been formed under the leadership of Dr. Helen Caldicott, pediatrician, mother of three, author of Nuclear Madness: What You Can Do. The party intends to run candidates for office, form local women's

educational networks throughout the country and make it effectively impossible for elected representatives to be re-elected if they support the arms race and the development of nuclear weapons.

The party is planning a nonviolent occupation of the Pentagon and the Soviet Embassy for Mother's Day 1981. The goals of the party are: immediate negotiations for a bi-lateral freeze on the production, deployment and testing of all nuclear weapons; institution at the federal level, of a Department of Peace. The party is multi-dimensional, in that it combines education with direct action and methodical working within the democratic system.

For more information, contact Women's Party for Survival, Janet Trickett, Secretary, 7 Gilmore St., Everett, MA 02149, 617-387-9517.

--Katherine Pettus
Brookline, MA

Resources

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Partial listing of Women's Groups and Organizations concerned with disarmament:

FEMINIST WOMEN FOR PEACE/S.O.S., 6 Durham St., Boston, MA 02115.

WOMEN'S PARTY FOR SURVIVAL, Janice Trickett, Secretary, 7 Gilmore St., Everett, MA 02149.

*WOMEN'S INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE FOR PEACE AND FREEDOM, 1213 Race St., Philadelphia, PA 19107.

*AFSC NATIONWIDE WOMEN'S PROGRAM, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102.

WOMEN FOR SURVIVAL, 96 School St., Cambridge, MA 02139.

WOMEN OPPOSED TO REGISTRATION AND THE DRAFT, (W.O.R.D.) att'n Lynn Stephen, c/o BAARD, 11 Garden St., Cambridge, MA 02138.

* Newsletter available.

Letter

I've been delighted with the articles on feminism in the January and April issues of *Peacework*. I want to add a new perspective by offering my thoughts on two common questions often asked of feminists.

The first question goes something like this: "Of course feminism is important, but what specifically does it have to do with my day in, day out, social change work?" A deeper definition of feminist values, beliefs, and visions will make this connection clear. Feminism is a movement toward a more wholistic lifestyle and mental/spiritual state. As feminists, we believe that social and political wrongs are ultimately a result of a human spirit which is not at peace, loved and loving--which is not whole. For centuries, humankind has not been whole because "male power" has dominated over "female power," within both men and women. We have all been taught to honor rationality over intuition, logistics over creativity, men over women, the sun over the moon. Feminism is a direct countering to the imbalance.

As feminists, we value the quality of our lives. We believe that to struggle for any just cause without also making ourselves whole--without acting nonviolently toward ourselves and all we touch--is merely feeding into the oppressive system. Therefore we strive to make our political work, our bread labor, our relationships, our every action and human contact as free as possible from any form of violence.

So what does this mean for tomorrow when I get up in the morning and face the same meetings, people, institutions and feelings I faced today?

I'll try to be specific. In the personal realm, feminist values mean:

--Feeling delight in the gift of life and in our overwhelming love for others which we have glimpsed at times in our lives. NOT: "But there's so much suffering in the world--there's no time to feel good!"

--Getting affirmation and appreciation for the work we do and for who we are. NOT: "I don't need to fill my ego with compliments!" We all work better when we feel good about ourselves and are more able to be truly nonviolent then.

--Appreciating aloud anything our co-workers, family, or "enemies" do which we like. Every time we do this we affirm our common ground of humanity.

--Learning to tell others what is happening with us and what we need. If you have been hurt or oppressed, tell those responsible, assuming that they can reform and that it is for their own healing as well as yours.

--Listening to the stories of people's work and lives, and encouraging them to look for ways can counter oppression. Urge them to see their situation as one of potential growth and change because it is!

Feminist values can--and must--be

applied also to the political realm, no matter how traditionally male-dominated and -oriented. We feminists aim for balance: we will use every ounce of our brilliant thinking just as we continue to develop our selves and our spirits. We want to be able to think clearly about where we're going and how to get there, while remaining open to re-evaluation of goals and means. Thus, feminist "strategizing" (that is, planning) means:

--Not acting on our feelings of guilt or fear. Plan projects where people will act out of inspiration, love, and caring, not guilt or fear. Our actions must not only *resist* injustices but also *release* a new dimension of our power which will enrich our experience and vision of what life can be. If we don't release this new dimension by instilling hope, love, and vision, we are not likely to effect long-term change.

--Planning a campaign with goals which point towards a clear and open-ended vision of what things could be. For example, this means not pushing "socialism" but instead working for a society based on equality, ecology, decentralization and nonviolence.

--Presenting analysis in such a way that connections between the problem and all forms of oppression are or can be clearly drawn.

--Making sure that our goals and analytical statements keep open the doors of communication to potential allies.

I think that Quakers and AFSC'ers have been practicing such feminist ways personally and politically for decades. But the current feminist movement gives us new concrete ideas on the way oppression works to bind society into violence and destruction and people into oppressive patterns and roles. We can all use feminism to step out of these roles and create liberated ways of effecting change.

The second question often asked is: "Why just women? Isn't that turning the balance in the other way? Aren't we all oppressed in this society? My answer to that is, it's *not* just women. Men must, and some do, strive for a balance within and without. Men, however, have a particular responsibility to refuse to collude with their society-given power to dominate, for it's a fact that men as a class oppress women as a class (in addition, of course, to individual men killing, raping, silencing individual women). Women have recognized that we must refuse to collude with that as well; yet we are wary of the old syndrome of blaming the victim, of leaving it up to the victim to initiate the change. Feminism includes demanding that men step out of their privilege and be accountable to women.

--Anne Wright

(Anne Wright is an AFSC peace education field representative in Northampton, Massachusetts.)

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