

WOMEN'S ENCAMPMENT FOR A FUTURE OF PEACE & JUSTICE SUMMER 1983 • SENECA ARMY DEPOT • NY

1590 WOMEN OF
THE HONNONSIONNE
IROQUOIS CONFEDERACY
GATHER AT SENECA TO
DEMAND AN END TO WAR
AMONG THE NATIONS



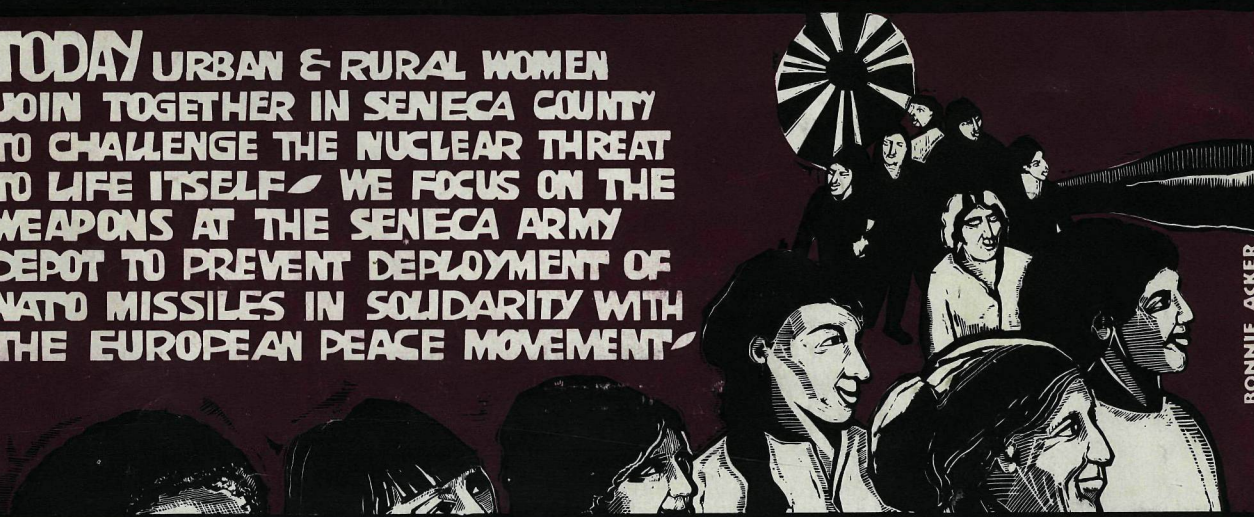
1800s ABOLITIONISTS MAKE
SENECA COUNTY A MAJOR STOP ON
THE UNDERGROUND RAILROAD WITH
HARRIET TUBMAN'S HOUSE NEAR THE
PRESENT DAY ARMY DEPOT



1848 EARLY FEMINISTS
HOLD FIRST WOMEN'S RIGHTS
CONVENTION AT SENECA FALLS
TO CALL FOR SUFFRAGE &
EQUAL PARTICIPATION IN ALL
OTHER AREAS OF LIFE



TODAY URBAN & RURAL WOMEN
JOIN TOGETHER IN SENECA COUNTY
TO CHALLENGE THE NUCLEAR THREAT
TO LIFE ITSELF. WE FOCUS ON THE
WEAPONS AT THE SENECA ARMY
DEPOT TO PREVENT DEPLOYMENT OF
NATO MISSILES IN SOLIDARITY WITH
THE EUROPEAN PEACE MOVEMENT



BONNIE ACKER

RESOURCE HANDBOOK

Introduction

The idea of a Women's Peace Camp in this country in solidarity with the Peace Camp movement in Europe and the Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp, in particular, was born at a Conference on Global Feminism and Disarmament on June 11, 1982. The organizing process began with discussions between Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and women in the Upstate Feminist Peace Alliance (NY), to consider siting the camp at the Seneca Army Depot in Romulus, NY.

The planning meetings for the Encampment have since grown to include women from Toronto, Ottawa, Rochester, Oswego, Syracuse, Geneva, Ithaca, Albany, New York City, Boston, Philadelphia, and some of the smaller towns in between. Some of the tasks have been organized regionally and others have been done locally. Our planning meetings are open, and we are committed to consensus as our decision making process. Committees include: land (purchase), site and logistics, civil disobedience, fundraising, program coordination, handbook, and local outreach (Seneca County). We have two regional offices, two staff people, and plans to hire three more.

As a planning committee, we have seen our task as organizing to provide a structure: a location, logistical support, and resources for women participating in the Encampment. It is our hope that many women will join us, each with her own perspective and creative energy to share knowledge, learn new skills, and to try, through non-violent action, to stop deployment of the Cruise and Pershing II weapons in Europe. We offer this handbook as a resource to all women to read, discuss, and share with your friends. In addition to logistical materials, maps and suggestions about what to bring, we include articles about the issues, the connections, the ideas, feelings, and beliefs that bring us together as a diverse group of women working for peace. Also included is information on non-violence, direct action, legal issues, consensus, affinity groups and support.

We have always had a strong commitment to creating a safe, legal encampment for women to come together. You will not be risking arrest this summer unless you choose to do so. However, we invite you to consider that choice, to participate this summer in acts of non-violent civil disobedience at the Seneca Army Depot. Perhaps it is in our acts of non-violent resistance that we sow the seeds of hope for a future of peace and justice.

We invite you to the Seneca Army Depot, the U.S. point of departure for nuclear weapons to Europe. Stay for as long as you can, part of a day or several weeks. Bring your dreams, ideas, skills, resources and creativity to make the Encampment a powerful witness and a strong community. The Encampment will be our own creation. Join us.

— *The Handbook Committee of the
Women's Encampment for a Future
of Peace and Justice.*

Credits

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The Local Area

The Surrounding Communities

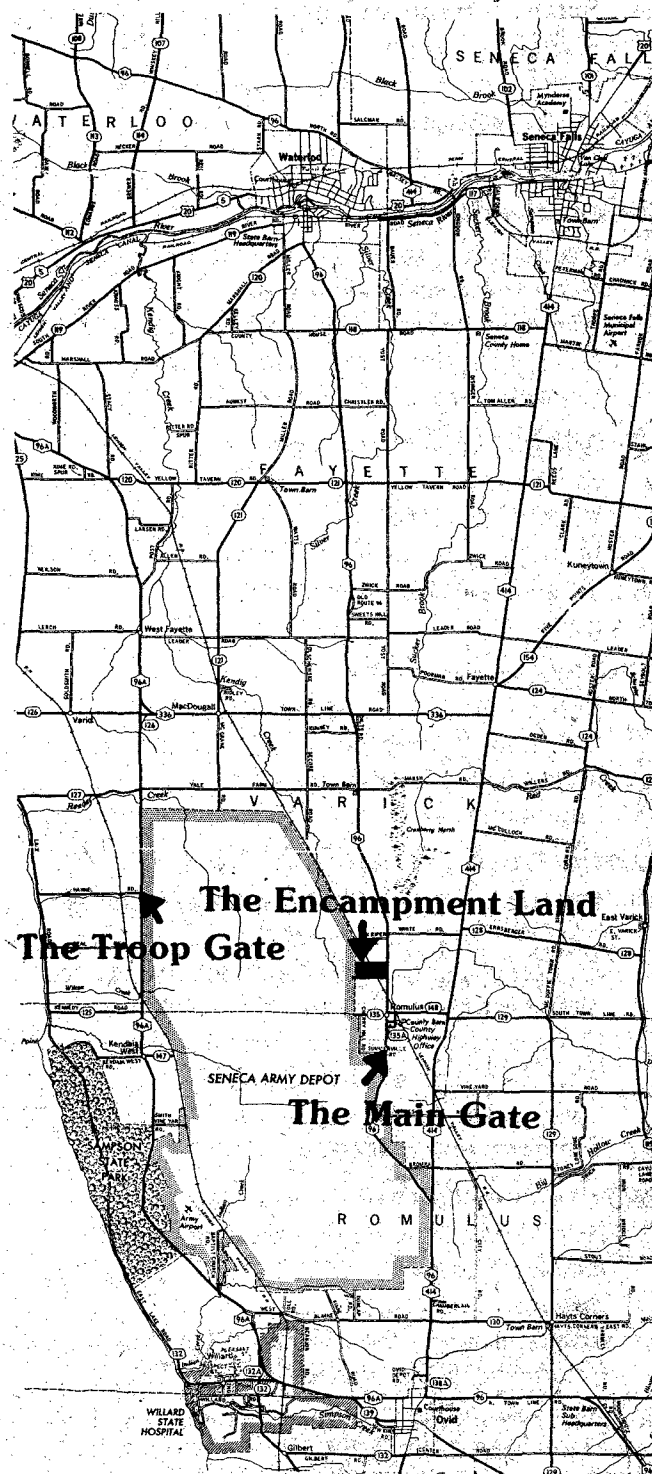
Seneca County is a sparsely populated, rural county in upstate New York. In 1980 it had a population of slightly under 34,000 which included the residents of the Seneca Army Depot. The population is 98% White, and 1% Black and 1% Hispanic; most of the Black and Hispanic residents live near the city of Geneva, which is just outside of the county line. The major ethnic backgrounds of the people in Seneca County are, respectively: English, Italian, German, and Irish. Most residents are conservative Republicans, particularly those who live in the Southern part of the county.

The county can be divided geographically into two areas: North and South. The northern half of the county includes the towns of Waterloo and Seneca Falls, where over half of the population of the county lives. Many of the residents of these two towns work at either the Gould Pumps plant or Phelps T.V. Tubes. The southern half of the county is largely farmland. Although many of the farms are large (over 1,000 acres) agri-business operations, there are a growing number of small farms owned by Amish farming families who have migrated to the area from Pennsylvania. The Seneca Army Depot and the Willard Psychiatric Center (a State Psychiatric Hospital) are the primary employers in the area.

Seneca County is economically depressed. The area has a 12% unemployment rate; and in 1980 the median household income was approximately \$16,500, although that figure may be lower now, due to the present economic climate. Many local farmers feel they are land poor (they own family farms but lack the money to pay taxes). Since tax rates are based on property values, and many of the local farmers have large land holdings, they pay higher taxes than many of the residents in the county's more urban areas, although they tend to use the county services less frequently.

The Seneca Army Depot and its now defunct neighbor, the Sampson Naval Base, have always had a major influence on the county. Many of the current residents first came to the area during WW II and the Korean War, were stationed at the military bases, and later chose to remain in the area. The creation of the Naval Base alone added over \$50 million to the local economy. After the Naval Base closed it became an Air Force Base in 1950, and then in 1960 it was turned into the Sampson State School for the Mentally Retarded and Disturbed. The school was closed in 1971. There was much local opposition created because of the loss of jobs created by the closing of the school. Local people blockaded the entrance to the school when employees removed the residents; and one man protested by setting himself on fire.

The Seneca Army Depot has been an even more consistent influence on Seneca County than the Naval Base. Even the water for the town of Romulus itself is stored on the Depot. The economic dependence on the Depot by local residents is an important factor to recognize and be sensitive to.



Seneca Army Depot

The Seneca Army Depot (SEAD) is one of several facilities used to store nuclear weapons for the Department of Defense. It is located on 11,000 acres of rural land in upstate New York and is operated by the U.S. Army. The earliest known use of SEAD for nuclear weapons-related work was in 1944 when uranium was stored at the depot for the Manhattan Project (the government project which developed the first atomic bomb). Eleven of the storage bunkers used were found to be radioactive in 1980. These bunkers have since been sealed off.

In 1957 the Seneca Army Depot began storing tactical (short range) nuclear weapons and in 1961 began distributing "special weapons" items and repair parts both here and overseas. Nuclear weapons are routinely referred to as "special weapons" in Department of Defense documents.

It is the policy of the Department of Defense (DOD) neither to confirm or deny the presence of nuclear weapons at a particular location. However, evidence shows that SEAD is a major nuclear weapons facility and is the only East Coast "transshipment point" receiving nuclear weapons from the Department of Energy (DOE), the manufacturer of the weapons, for eventual deployment in Europe.

Evidence includes:

— Seneca Army Depot has a storage area essential for the housing of nuclear weapons. It consists of 60 to 70 reinforced earth-covered bunkers as well as a 28,000 square foot earth-covered, temperature-controlled building essential for plutonium maintenance. (Plutonium is the explosive element common to most nuclear weapons.)

— This nuclear storage area is guarded by 200 to 250 military police who are authorized to use deadly force in order to prevent intruders from approaching the bunkers. These police officers have received anti-terrorist training. The 1982 military construction hearings include a request to increase the number of military police at SEAD.

— Included in a 1967 SEAD employees' handbook is a list of four "occupational skills": "nuclear weapons officer," "Nuclear weapons assembly technician," "nuclear weapons maintenance technician," and "nuclear weapons electronics specialist."

— A 1975 technical manual includes SEAD in a list of "military first destinations" for the receipt of nuclear weapons and "limited life components" (this refers to tritium, an element used to trigger nuclear warheads).

— A July 1980 DOD/DOE planning document identifies SEAD as the East Coast transshipment point for nuclear munitions.

The Seneca Army Depot's 1982-1983 operating budget exceeds 30 million dollars. Over 80 percent goes to pay the wages of civilian and military personnel.

The depot provides nearly 1,400 jobs; 800 of the jobs are held by civilians while the remaining 600 jobs are closed to civilians. Many of the civilian jobs require a high level of skill or security clearance and are filled by persons who are brought to the depot from outside the Finger Lakes region. Many of the low skills jobs are filled by family members of military personnel stationed at the depot. The end result of

this employment situation is that only a small percentage of all the jobs at the depot are open to local people.

SEAD is a federal facility and therefore pays no sales tax or property-related taxes. The depot occupies about 4% of Seneca County's land area. The depot's land and buildings are reported to have an assessed value of \$250 million and could be paying over \$8,000,000 per year in property-related taxes in Seneca County. A private enterprise would also be paying millions of dollars in sales tax on the materials it would be buying for its operations. The depot has within its boundaries a department store, restaurant, two bars, a lunchette, a grocery store, liquor store, bowling alley and gas station. These nine enterprises are included in the depot's property tax assessment of over \$250 million and are for the use of military personnel and their families. Sales made in these businesses are not subject to sales taxes.



View of encampment land from roadside. Photo courtesy of Nuclear Times.

Less than 1% of the military personnel at the depot own homes in the community and pay any property-related taxes. 67% of the military personnel and their families live on the depot in military housing. These persons do not contribute rent or sales tax revenue from utility bills to the local economy.

The presence of the Seneca Army Depot in the Finger Lakes region represents many direct hazards to the area.

—The presence of nuclear weapons at SEAD makes it, and the surrounding area, a prime target for nuclear attack. Civil defense evacuation plans have never been rehearsed and are widely considered absurd.

—In addition to the radioactive bunkers noted earlier, SEAD poses hazards to the area and to the workforce because of its handling of tritium, a radioactive element used in the triggering device of nuclear weapons. The depot replaces these devices routinely because tritium is so short-lived. A recent report on tritium noted: "People who make it or handle it soak it up like sponges...they cannot avoid breathing it, swallowing it, and absorbing it through the skin.

Nor can they prevent its discharge into air and water."

—Transportation of radioactive material occurs regularly through the area, and has since the 1940s. The transportation most likely includes the shipping in and out of tritium, uranium and components and assembled nuclear weapons. These materials are transported by truck, train and aircraft, through and over the Finger Lakes region. There is a possibility of an accident. According to the Center for Defense Information, "An accident involving an airplane or truck transporting nuclear weapons conceivably could result in breakage of a weapon's protective casing and the release of deadly radioactivity." The Pentagon acknowledges that it is during transportation that nuclear weapons are most vulnerable to accident. They also admit to 32 nuclear weapons accidents and over 100 incidents involving nuclear weapons over the last 30 years.

—According to SEAD's public relations manager, Robert Zemanek: "Nuclear emergency plans exist for on-base personnel only. There are no similar plans for the surrounding community."

Survey of Seneca County

In 1982-83, a survey of attitudes about the Seneca Army Depot was conducted by the Finger Lakes Peace Alliance in the communities surrounding the Depot. The responses of the three distinct groups surveyed—the residents of Romulus, Geneva, and faculty of Hobart and William Smith Colleges in Geneva—are discussed in the informal observations below.

—Most people in Romulus have lived there for a good part of their lives, many all their lives, while the Geneva people averaged under 20 years, and the faculty under ten years.

—Almost all people saw economic problems as paramount.

—Most people in Romulus do not work at the Depot: only 5 out of 50 did, and those were civilians. None of the Geneva people interviewed were employed at the Depot. Few Romulus people even had family members who worked at the Depot, although almost everyone knows someone who works there. Only 9 out of 67 surveys even had families who worked there. Very few from either group saw their jobs as dependent on the Depot in any way.

—Most agree that the Depot creates jobs and brings money into the community they live in; however the faculty felt that there was a definite negative effect on the environment and personal safety. The Romulus group tended to believe that there was no negative effect and even a few positive ones.

—Almost all people surveyed had heard about nukes at the Depot. Romulus people mostly by word of mouth, Geneva people by rumor and media, and

faculty mostly through media. Most people did feel that the information about nuclear weapons at the Depot was true.

—Romulus people, in general, are somewhat concerned about nuclear weapons at the Depot, but don't think about it much. Geneva people were about 50% concerned, and 50% did not respond. Faculty were almost all very concerned.

—Romulus people were reluctant to put themselves on our mailing list to receive more information. 5 out of 50 did. 31 out of 50 from Geneva did. And 8 out of 17 faculty did.

My interpretation of the results are not meant to be conclusive, but I hope they will paint a picture of some of the people you are going to meet. I think that in general, people in the Romulus area are pretty friendly and open to talking if they don't work at the Depot. Their perceptions of what kind of threat the Depot poses to their lives are influenced by the closeness and seeming permanence of the Depot. I think, and this is purely conjecture upon my part, that a sense of apathy about the Depot comes from trying to block out extreme fear and has to do with having lived with the Depot for so long. By getting into any extended conversation with someone, you will see that the concerns are there, just below the surface.

Further away, in Geneva, there is enough distance for people to form an opinion about the Depot—to be concerned, active, somewhat divorced from it. The Depot is not an integral part of their lives the way it is for the people of Romulus, Varick, Ovid, and other towns closer to the Depot.

—Julie Kline

Rural Organizing

In any rural area, organizing is a long, slow process of developing dialogue with people. Those of us in Wayne County (north of Seneca County) have worked specifically on several projects: The Lakeshore Alliance, focusing around the issue of nuclear power; draft/registration counseling and counter-recruitment; the Nuclear Freeze Campaign. We have had some degree of success in all of these endeavors, gaining access to institutions such as churches, town council meetings and school systems. While the political sense of the county has not dramatically changed, we have been heard and listened to. The longer history in this area of active involvement in the underground railroad and women's rights provides us with a rich tradition from which to work.

Vis a vis the Women's Peace Camp, we feel the most important thing to be remembered is that no one will be able to come in for a week or two—or even two months and expect to change the local community. Unlike an urban area where the influx of new ideas happens at a fast rate, change and exposure to new concepts is slow to happen. People's priorities are much more centered around their local community. If you haven't been further away from home than Rochester, it's difficult to be concerned about the rest of the US much less people across the ocean in Europe. The large number of people coming into the area is going to be a threat to the folks who live there and to their way of life. This is only a natural, human response. This fear needs to be respected as such and not translated into an "us and them" situation. It is going to be the responsibility of the women at the camp to keep interactions positive.

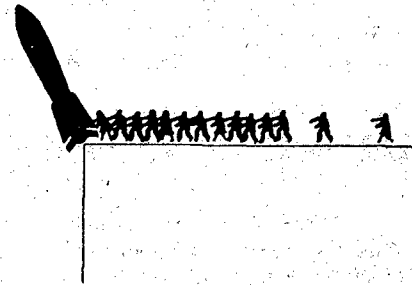
In a sense, people involved with the camp will be acting as ambassadors to the area. More important than what is said is how it is said. If people feel that they are respected for who they are, then with time they will listen—they may not necessarily change their minds. This doesn't mean that nothing has been accomplished. Dialogue and developing mutual respect are the first steps towards change.

Given the short length of the Peace Camp compared to living in an area, all interactions with the community will be important; trips to the laundromat, grocery store, etc. If the women you meet at the laundromat remember you as caring/easy to talk with, her attitude towards the camp, and subsequently the Depot, will be influenced.

An important thing to remember is that there is a country way of talking that could easily lead one to think of people as slow or stupid. Be careful of this and listen carefully to what is being said. The sentence structure and concepts may appear to be simple—in fact, they probably are, due to lack of outside exposure—but the feelings at the base of these ideas are profound and come from the life experiences of the people. They are going to know when someone is being straight with them and when they're being given a line. It will, therefore, be important for people to be clear in their own minds why they are at the Peace Camp in order to speak thoughtfully to the local community.

If you come from a large urban area, your way of life is totally foreign to life in this area. Farmers, in particular, have to work extremely hard. They, more likely than not, don't

know about cultural affairs, haven't read very much and haven't traveled. However, they do know how to grow crops, read the weather and fix just about anything. They often don't have time to work on "causes" as they certainly don't have 9-5 jobs. (*The aspects of rural vs. urban lifestyles have been characterized in an attempt to make a point; no one anywhere fits into a strict mold.*) Summertime, in particular, is not a good time to expect much from farmers. They will already be spending long days in the field, working on putting food up, etc. It may also be difficult for them to accept/understand how anyone can take so much time off in the middle of summer "just to camp out." This is another reason why it is so important for people involved with the camp to be able to know and express their convictions about what is being done at the camp.



Up to this point as local activists, we have maintained a positive relationship with the local police. Anytime there has been a demonstration or vigil we have made a point to go and talk with them and show that we realize that they have a job to do and that we respect that. This in turn relaxes them and makes them more sympathetic in their dealings. Women at the Peace Camp can build on this relationship. Understanding and respect can only make for a more positive experience all around.

It is important to remember that the Depot is the focal point in terms of the Women's Peace Camp. We can't see "organizing strategies" being used with the local community in the context of the Peace Camp. Community support and sympathy is desirable and certainly makes working on the Depot easier. But ultimately they don't have the power to make the Depot go away. Educational materials on peace conversion of military facilities will, however, be helpful in dealing with a group of people, many of whom depend on the Depot for their livelihood.

Whatever happens this summer, you will be leaving a legacy behind you. You will go back to your homes/jobs/lives and the Peace Camp will have been yet another experience. But what you do and how you do it will leave a lasting impression on the local community. The issues won't go away overnight, women that come to the camp later in the summer will be counting on the foundation being laid by their predecessors and those of us living in the area count on being able to follow through with the ongoing work that needs to be done with a project of this size.

—Kathryn Slining & Betsy Painter

Peacework at the Seneca Army Depot

Peace organizing work in the 1980's began at the Seneca Army Depot when awareness and concern about the likelihood of nuclear weapons storage at the Depot motivated a small number of people to begin holding periodic vigils.

The presence of nuclear weapons at the Depot was confirmed after extensive research into Department of Defense documents was done by Rochester journalist, Mark Hare. In October of 1981 he published the material in Rochester's *City Newspaper*. His article was re-printed in several newspapers across N.Y. state.

Concern about Seneca Army Depot grew once this information was made public. In November of 1981 people from various cities and towns in upstate N.Y., representing different peace and social justice groups, gathered in Geneva to discuss what could be done. Much enthusiasm was voiced for different levels and approaches to peacework at Seneca Army Depot, and after much struggle with internal politics the group formed the Finger Lakes Peace Alliance (F.L.P.A.).

In December of 1981, F.L.P.A. sponsored its first vigil at the main gate of the depot, attracting over 100 people. Since then many other actions of varying types have occurred at the Depot. A Rochester based group, Catholics Against Nuclear Arms, has held a number of small civil disobedience actions that have made a significant impact on the base.

In April of 1982 F.L.P.A. organized a three mile "Walk For Life" that culminated in a large rally at the main gate of the Depot. Also during that Spring women from Syracuse, Rochester and Ithaca, forming the Upstate Feminist Peace Alliance, organized a Women's action at the Depot. Over 300 women from across N.Y. state gathered on May 15, and

performed street theater, released balloons with messages on them, and attempted to deliver a message to the base commander explaining the reasons for the protest.

These more direct forms of action are not the only ways in which people have tried to reach others with their concerns about the Seneca Army Depot. Ongoing peace organizing work has been the primary focus of the Finger Lakes Peace Alliance. In the last year F.L.P.A. has written a fact sheet about the depot that has been widely distributed, and has also maintained a bi-weekly leafletting campaign to reach civilian and Army workers. Other ongoing projects of the Alliance include surveying in the communities surrounding the Depot, and research into conversion possibilities.

The future of peace organizing work at Seneca Army Depot will continue to encompass a variety of approaches and tactics. The Women's Peace Encampment will mark an important beginning of new and creative ways of protesting and will bring international attention to the Depot. Another large-scale action is planned for October of this year at the Depot which is likely to attract thousands of people. This action will coincide with the international days of protest against the deployment of Cruise and Pershing II missiles, during October 22 thru 24. Mobilization for Survival and the Nuclear Weapons Facilities Networking Project are sponsoring the action and organizing is already underway in N.Y. state.

It is hard to project the impact that all of this will have on the Depot. But, clearly concern is growing. As we join our voices to the millions worldwide who say NO to nuclear weapons and YES to a future of peace and justice, we will be heard.



View of Encampment land from roadside. Photo courtesy of Nuclear Times.

Things To Know

Logistics

Respect for the Land

The 51-acre Peace Encampment near the Seneca Army Depot has been farmland, probably for years. Are we sure that a peace camp is the best use for this land—wouldn't it be better left in agriculture? This question is asked to elicit respect for the land and to insure that a women's camp will not ruin the soil forever.

Simple numbers of people can ruin soil—thousands of feet can compact soil as surely as giant tractors. Compaction can render the soil forever unfit for farming and can totally inhibit the soil's ability to soak up water. Some farmland in the Finger Lakes region is among the country's best and good soil is the basis for NY's bountiful agriculture. Your neighbors, many of them farmers, will judge you partly on your treatment and development of the land.

These Finger Lakes are the water-heart of the Iroquois confederacy and bear names of some of the six nations. To the Iroquois, these lakes are the ridges on the turtle's back; the turtle is our earth. Much of this area's land is claimed by Native Americans right now in court. You may hear about this land claim from local people who are very threatened by it.

This land is important, productive and sacred. It was not created to be a playground for city dwellers. If women trample the land, if cigarette filters are thrown in the dust to remain for years to come, the earth will soon look like a fireman's carnival that stayed all summer.

I am a local white redneck who grew up on a dairy farm in this area. I do not want to romanticize my people. Many white country folks here are intensely racist; some are hostile to outsiders; some of us abuse the land ourselves. But there are reasons for our jokes about city slickers. If you think you are better than us, have no respect for our ways, we will know it.

This applies to our working the land. Commercial and organic farming, cutting trees and draining land are all common activities and all can be done for good reasons and with some sensitivity. On the other hand, the country is not a paradise with no environmental problems of the cities. Herbicide run-off, toxic waste dumps and polluted wells are rural hazards to good living and demand political action.

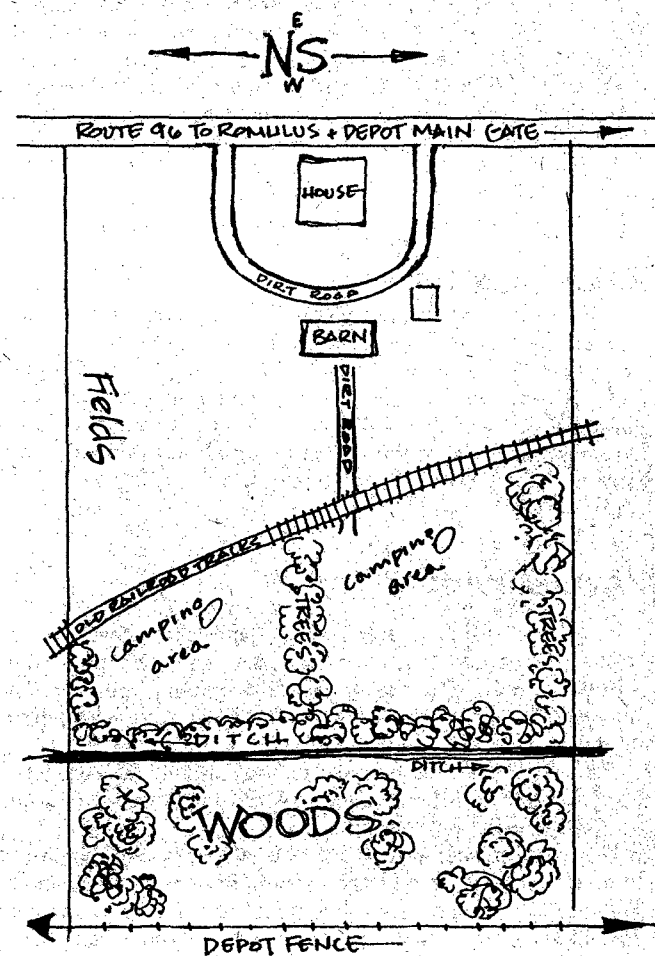
Let's work on solid policy for this fine land's use and help soil-consciousness be on everyone's mind, not just the site coordinators. Gardens and other plantings will encourage this, especially if many women are involved. Many compromises are needed in a land venture such as a camp. Some areas (parking, paths, etc.) will be sacrificed somewhat to soil compaction; keeping this to a minimum is important. With organic methods in gardening, we must return to the earth the fertility we take away.

As well as peace among peoples, the Seneca Women's Peace Camp has the potential to teach us much about peace with the land.

—Tina Wright

The Site

The Encampment site is a 51-acre farm located at the edge of the village of Romulus on Rt. 96. The Depot fence is our back boundary, with a small trailer park and farms on the other sides. There is an old house close to the road which will be used as an office and perhaps as a medical area. The land itself consists of flat fields which are poorly drained (be prepared for mosquitoes and bugs). The front fields will be used for parking, workshops, and the reception area. About 1000 feet back an abandoned railroad track cuts the property. The two smaller back fields, shielded by trees and invisible from the road will be prime camping space. Please be prepared to carry your gear, supplies and water back to this area, as it will be accessible only to emergency vehicles. There is an open soil conservation drainage ditch which runs behind the camping fields. Fifteen acres of woods separate the ditch from the depot fence.



The site. Graphic by Laurie Goldman.

Directions

From NYC and states to the South (by car):
Find Interstate 81, and follow North through Binghamton to Whitney Point Exit [about 20 miles]. Exit and take Rt. 79 West to Ithaca. Stay on 79 through Ithaca until junction of Rt. 96. Take Rt. 96 North. Several of the small communities along here are speed traps, be careful. At Ovid (a blinking red light) Rt. 96 turns to the right. Follow 96 around the Depot and through Romulus. The Encampment is on your left as you leave the village.

From Boston and the East (by car):
Take Rt. 90 West (NYS Thruway). (Routes 5 & 20 are parallel to the Thruway and free, but much slower. They are fine bike routes.) Get off the Thruway at Exit 41—Seneca Falls—take 414 South to Rts. 5 & 20. Turn right. Continue until junction with Rt. 96 South in Waterloo, turn left. The Encampment is between 10 and 15 miles south on your right just as you enter Romulus.

From Buffalo, Toronto and West (by car):
Take the NYS Thruway (Rt. 90) to Exit 42. Follow signs to Geneva. At Geneva, take Rts. 5 & 20 West. Continue until junction with 96A South. Take 96A South for several miles. Turn right onto 336 East (There is a sign for the main gate of the Depot). Turn right at junction with Rt. 96 South. The Encampment is on your right as you enter Romulus.

By bus:
The bus from Binghamton to Rochester/Buffalo stops in Geneva. Five or six buses are scheduled each day. Call in advance if you need to be picked up in Geneva. Geneva is also on the Buffalo to Boston bus route. You would need to take an Express bus to Rochester or Syracuse and transfer to a local bus to Geneva. Three buses a day travel from Syracuse.

Living On the Land

We are responsible for the land we use this summer. It is ours to respect, to improve, to learn from, and to restore. The number of women that the land can sustain, in an ecological and healthy way, is limited. If you are coming in a group of any size, and are planning to camp on the land, please let us know in advance, so that we can plan for your arrival. Write or call the Women's Peace Encampment, 5440 Route 96, Romulus, NY 14541.

Accessibility

The land can be considered minimally accessible to mobility impaired women, since the reception area, the workshop area, and one end of the camping area are flat and easily navigated. We will also have one wheelchair accessible port-a-jane on-site.

Electricity will not be available to individual campers. Medical support is limited, and we do not have wheelchair accessible vans, at this point.

Differently-abled women who have specific requirements to make their stay at the Encampment and their participation in the actions possible are asked to call ahead to determine if conditions as they develop at the Encampment can meet their needs.

Orientation Sessions

Orientation sessions will be scheduled at least several times a week for women arriving at the Encampment. We will share basic information about the daily workings of the Encampment, and our responsibilities, upcoming events, and logistical questions. Sessions will also include information about the local area, role playing, strategizing about outreach, and sharing ideas about actions and events to plan during your stay. The orientation workshops will provide women coming alone a chance to get to know other women just arriving at the Encampment.

Building our Community

We will all need to work together to make the Peace Encampment run smoothly. Besides planning actions, workshops for ourselves and the community, street theater, leafletting, etc. at the Seneca Army Depot, this will include cooking, orienting new arrivals to the camp set up, washing up after meals, childcare, garbage disposal, gardening and land work, and safety. There may also be carpooling, and supply runs.

We can all expect to share the responsibility for the many tasks of encampment maintenance. Your input on how to share these tasks is welcome. Perhaps we will have informal communities designated by camping area, or affinity groups, and divide the chores by day or week. Whatever the arrangement, the encampment is all of ours. Expect to join in.

Non-Violence Preparation

Non-violence preparation for civil disobedience and direct action will be available regularly throughout the summer. Groups or individuals considering potential arrest situations should take part in non-violence preparations. It is encouraged for all women participating in the Encampment.

Sessions will include theory of non-violence, quick decision making, role playing, feeling sharing, legal and jail information. Shorter update sessions will be available for groups that have done civil disobedience/direct action before. Women who want to help with non-violence preparation sessions should contact the Geneva office. Also contact us, if you want preparers to come to your area before the encampment begins.

Health and First Aid

Come prepared with what you will need to care for your anticipated health needs at the Encampment. Pack a small first aid kit (see supplies). Self-sufficiency is important because there will be limited on-site supplies. There will be on-call, backup physicians within a 20 mile radius of the encampment, and directions to the nearest clinics and hospitals. The on-site medical station will have some supplies such as bandaids and splints, as well as basic herbal remedies. There will be people on-site with medical training and others with backgrounds in alternative medicine. Your contributions of any medical supplies are appreciated, as well as your services if you are a healthcare worker (let us know in advance so we can count on you).

Camping

Women staying at the Encampment need to be prepared for primitive camping conditions with minimum facilities. The Encampment will provide port-a-janes, and water for drinking, cooking, and washing. Showers on-site are unlikely. Electricity will only be available in the house/office and workshop area.

We expect women to be mostly self-sufficient in terms of food, equipment and supplies. Food and camping equipment and some cooking equipment will be donated to the Encampment. (Contact us in advance if you will need basic camping equipment—tents, sleeping bags, etc.) You will be spending most of your time outside. The temperature will often be quite hot during the day and cool at night. It will rain. Bring warm clothes, a camping-style sleeping bag, rain gear. Unlike commercial campgrounds, we will not spray with insecticide. Expect mosquitoes.

Few foods keep well in hot weather; don't take risks. Bring food that keeps well. Ice will be available in nearby towns. You may want to borrow an ice chest to bring.

Please read over the list of what to bring before you leave. Check to see that the equipment you have collected is in working order. Set up your tent before you leave to make sure it is waterproofed and not missing parts.

If you haven't camped before, don't worry, few of us are experts, and everyone will forget to bring something. You may want to borrow equipment from friends, or come with a group of women who are sharing equipment together. If you are coming alone, consider asking a friend who has camped to help you pack.



Women's Peace Camp, Valkenburg, Holland. Photo from Fotografie Reflex '82."

What to Bring

Listed below are items that you will need for "encamping," in addition to what you would plan to bring for any visit of the length you are anticipating.

Shelter

tent, ground cloth or plastic
sleeping bag

Clothing

sturdy shoes, two pairs (not sandals or clogs)
warm clothes for cooler weather (cotton or wool will keep you warmest)
hat or bandanna for sunny days
rain gear (poncho, tarp, or plastic)

Food and Cooking Equipment

Non-perishable foods (bread, peanut butter, fruit, etc.)
utensils, plates, cups, etc.
water jug
cooking equipment—stove, gas, pans, pot holders, etc. (opt.)
camping knife
biodegradable soap

Other Equipment

Small pack
flashlight and batteries
clock (optional)
cooler or ice chest (optional)
clothes line
garbage bags
toilet paper
chairs, or blankets to sit on
shovels, or brooms (longer stay)

Health/Personal Items

First aid-kit (band-aids, tweezers, packs, antibiotics, allergy medicine, herbs, etc.)
needle, thread
suntan lotion
towel
mosquito repellent (not spray)

Miscellaneous

money for gas, car repairs, food, donations to the Encampment
outreach supplies—poster board, markers, materials for banners, paint
musical instruments, song books
resources, leaflets, books for a free-library
toys, puppets, costumes.

You will be sharing the Peace Encampment with women of varying backgrounds, lifestyles, ages and experience. Please have consideration for others camping near you, and to the agreements we make as a camp about cooking, fires, garbage disposal, quiet time, etc.

Differences and Dialogue

The Women's Encampment is meant to be a place of safety for all women, a place where women can gather strength to protest the nuclear threat. Women of all races, classes, religions, ethnic backgrounds, sexual preferences, are encouraged and expected to participate. It is with this in mind, that we briefly discuss the issue of *homophobia* (fear or discomfort of lesbians and/or gay men) as it pertains to lesbianism and as it relates to the visions of the encampment.

One vision of the encampment is that it will provide an environment where women are free to be themselves. For lesbian women, this means a place where lesbians can feel safe and unself-conscious about their sexual choices, a place where lesbianism is appreciated as one of the many life choices that women make.

Another vision of the encampment is that it will be a model for ways in which women can work together, a place where women can share plans for a peaceful world. In such a world, all would be welcome; lesbians would not have to hide.

That is the kind of environment we hope the encampment will offer, both to women who are camping on the land, and to men and women who come to the reception area. That is the kind of environment we hope the encampment will offer to lesbian women. It is important that we make the camp a place of safety, especially in light of the fact that the land and the Depot are located in a conservative rural area.

People in the area, who might be opposed to women protesting at the Depot, may want to undermine women's sense of unity—by singling out certain women, such as lesbian women, to harass or attack. No women at the encampment need suffer harassment; all women at the encampment will need to be supportive of each other, to keep such harassment from happening.

And overall, it will continue to be important that we remember why we come together—not to be disrespectful of each other's lifestyles, not to be judged on our differences; we come together to protest nuclear destruction; we come to share plans for a world where all of us have choices, where all of us are safe to be ourselves.



Children

Children are welcome at the Encampment (boys up to and including age 12). If you are planning to bring children, please have someone from your area contact one of the offices for an update and details on facilities, safety and expectations. (A check of the site is being done concerning possible radiation hazards.)

One of the tasks women will be encouraged to take part in is childcare at the Encampment. Childcare will be shared in shifts, in an effort to make it enjoyable for all and not a burden for a few. It will allow parents or the responsible person more freedom to participate and allow children to participate in Encampment activities at the level they choose.

Local encampment groups should talk about how they would like to be involved with childcare at the site or in their own communities before arriving. Although children will probably participate in many Encampment activities and actions, all women are welcome to seek out and do special programming, games and songs for children at the Encampment and in the Community. Do you know of clowns, puppeteers or organizations that might want to do programs or take on childcare during major actions? Please let the upstate office (Women's Peace Encampment, 5440 Route 96, Romulus, NY 14541) know of any children's activities you would like to schedule. Feel free to bring or get donations of toys, art supplies or other things children might need.

While we are committed to providing childcare at the Encampment, we must remember that this is a protest action and childcare will depend heavily on the number of women in attendance at a time and camp conditions. The Women's Encampment is neither highly structured nor a vacation camp and conditions may be rough.

Men, Mixed Groups and the Encampment

The reception area of the Encampment will be open to everyone. We encourage people to stop by and visit, learn about the issues and the Encampment, find friends, make plans, etc. Mixed groups are welcome to use this area as a staging ground for actions at the Depot, as a temporary storage place for banners, etc.

Lists of public and private campgrounds will be available for friends and families of women staying at the Encampment, or anyone needing assistance.

On several occasions during the Summer, women will organize workshops and activities for the community at large. Contact the Geneva office for times and places.

All sympathetic groups and individuals are encouraged to plan actions at the Depot and educational activities at nearby locations throughout the Summer. These can be coordinated with Encampment activities and publicized on our calendar.

Support in the form of food, supplies, camping equipment, money etc. are welcome and needed! Organizing to coordinate donations of these items is also needed. Contact your local group or the Geneva office if you can help.

Remembering Our Roots

Homeland of the Cayuga Nation

The original homeland of the Cayuga Nation, one of the Six Nations in the Iroquois Confederacy, extended from Lake Ontario to the Susquehanna River. In 1789, this was reduced to a 64,000 acre reservation along upper Cayuga Lake. In two later land transactions (1795 and 1807), the Cayugas lost additional lands. It is the legality of these two transactions that is being disputed. The Cayugas believed that New York State, in purchasing reservation lands without federal authority, violated the Nonintercourse Act (1790) which affirmed that the federal government had exclusive control over the extinguishment of Indian land titles. While they may have lost possession of their lands, the Cayugas believe they did not lose title to it. Since 1849, the Cayugas' attempts to regain a portion of their homeland have been unsuccessful.

In 1979-80, local, state, and federal officials negotiated a settlement with Cayuga leaders, Frank Bonamie and Vernon Isaac, a compromise proposal which would provide the nation with a 5,480 acre reservation on former state and

federal park land and an \$8 million trust fund. Native traditionalists objected to the extend of state jurisdiction, and acceptance of money in exchange for much of Cayuga land represented by the compromise proposal. Rep. Gary Lee (R-Ithaca) successfully led opposition to even this settlement in Congress, leaving the Cayugas no choice but to file suit against 7,000 property owners in Cayuga and Seneca counties. Another attempt to settle this land claim controversy is now underway. A task force of government officials and representatives of the Cayuga Indian Nation met in May, 1983, to establish procedures for reaching a settlement.

A successful land claim would provide a foundation for rebuilding the now scattered Cayuga Nation and ensure their survival as a people. The Cayuga claim to this land demonstrates dramatically the need to use land for life and community-building rather than for harboring instruments of death and destruction.

Native Women Seek Justice

We native women remember that "The life cycle of the creation is endless. We watch the seasons come and go, life into life forever. The child becomes parent who then becomes our respected elder." The disruption of this life cycle is evident in the abuse of sterilization techniques in recent years. It is estimated that between 24 and 42 percent, roughly one third, of all Indian women have been sterilized without their consent or full consent. Dr. Connie Uri found that in 1975 alone 25,000 Indian women had been sterilized within the facilities of the Indian Health Services. At Claremore, Oklahoma in 1974, 52 native women were sterilized in the month of July alone.

Sterilization is only one end of the cycle of reproductive failure. A study showed that in 1979 on the Pine Ridge Reservation, 38 percent of the pregnancies reported to the Public Health Service Hospital resulted in miscarriage. This was seven times the national average. Of those children born, the incidence of a variety of birth defects, including cleft palate and clubfoot, is much higher than in the general population. This can be attributed in large part to uranium

mining in the Black Hills, where radioactive water levels far exceed maximum federal safety levels. Infant mortality rates in that area are twice the national average. The situation is similar in the Four Corners area of the Southwest, where the largest open pit uranium mine in the country is situated directly across the road from the Laguna Pueblo.

—Laurie Sprung

Our Mother Earth—it is with a deep respect that we women honor our close relationship with the mysterious forces of nature. For we carry within the unspeakable void—a womb. Everything must be born of woman. This female power is a power that this western world has forgotten. Our Mother Earth—it is with an understanding that she is sacred as the foundation and carrier of life.

We native women have a grave concern for our peoples' health in light of the violations of our Mother Earth through environmental contamination.

Akwesasne (the St. Regis Mohawk reservation) encompasses about 6 square miles in portions of Quebec, Ontario, St. Lawrence County, and Franklin County.

Through the middle of the reservation runs the St. Lawrence River, often called "alphabet soup" by scientists because of the multitude of chemicals that large industries—ALCOA, Domtar Paper Mills, General Motors and Reynolds Metals Co.—disrespectfully discharge into it.

Since 1959, when the Reynolds Metals Company was built 1000 feet from Akwesasne, the Mohawk people have been exposed to high levels of flouride emissions. (In 1973, due to pollution control equipment, Reynolds reduced emissions from 300 lbs/hr to 112 lbs/hr.) In spite of lengthy bureaucratic delays (on the part of both US and Canadian governments) and broken promises, they have pressed a demand that full-length studies be undertaken to demonstrate the effects of these flouride emissions.

In 1979, Korro, a Cornell University veterinarian, after conducting extensive diagnostic and pathological testing, concluded that due to the chronic flouride poisoning, no cattle born on Cornwall Island would live more than 5 years. Losses were so high that many farmers have been forced to give up raising cattle. The Mohawks' lifestyle which included fishing, farming and hunting has been totally disrupted. In February, 1980, the St. Regis Mohawk Band filed a \$150 million class action lawsuit against Reynolds and Alcoa. A successful lawsuit is a small consolation. "They can pay us \$150 million, but if we can't live here, what good is it? This is our ancestral home. How do you compensate for a way of living?"

—Michelle Burnham Gray



Madonna Thunder Hawk of Women of All Red Nations
Photo by Ellen Shub.

Abolition in Central New York

Abolitionism in Central New York developed along three lines. First, political abolitionists sought to agitate against slavery within the established Whig and Democratic parties and to form new, anti-slavery ones. Second, women and blacks organized separate anti-slavery societies because both groups were excluded from the regular political process. Third, many abolitionists included non-violent and violent forms of resistance to civil authority, frequently involving breaking the law. As legal means of redress were increasingly closed to the rank-and-file abolition movements, resistance increased.

Women and blacks were at first committed to the non-violent wing of the abolitionist movement. Women were deeply grateful to the leader of the non-violence, anti-political abolitionists, William Lloyd Garrison. Lucretia Mott of Philadelphia and Elizabeth Cady Stanton of Seneca Falls remembered Garrison's championing of the rights of women at the 1840 World Anti-Slavery Convention in London. The "Woman Question" split the American Anti-Slavery Society in that same year. The loyalty between the women and Garrison was mutual. In the two decades after 1840, free Blacks played an increasingly important role in the anti-slavery movement. They also began supporting Garrison's nonviolence. But they largely moved to supporting slave rebellion. Frederick Douglass, an escaped slave, began his career in New York by opposing the militant Henry Highland Garnet in the 1853 National Convention of Colored Citizens held in Buffalo. Garnet's "Address to the Slaves of the United States" was rejected by the Convention as too radical but was republished six years later privately by John Brown. By 1847, however, Douglas had moved away

from Garrison both physically and emotionally. He began agitating for slave insurrection in Rochester in his newspaper "The North Star." But from Garrison, Douglass maintained his loyalty to the Women's Movement.

A nonviolent tactic advocated widely within abolitionism was economic boycott. Merchants in Central New York, such as Thomas McClintock and Richard Hunt of Waterloo, formed Free Produce Societies to enforce a boycott of slave made goods from the South. They staged "Abolition Fairs" to sell both their free produce and their ideas. For one such fair, James and Lucretia Mott's children wrote the following couplet:

*If Slavery comes by Color, which God gave
Fortune may change, and You become the Slave.*

Nonviolent cooperation in developing the Underground Railroad in Central New York provided an opportunity for Black "conductors" such as Rev. John Thomas, Harriet Tubman, and Sojourner Truth to work alongside sympathetic whites. The passage of the Fugitive Slave Law changed the tone of Abolitionist activities until Vigilance Committees were established in many Upstate communities to violently resist the return of fugitives to the South. The famous Jerry rescue in Syracuse, led by Samuel Joseph May was an example of Upstate resistance. The anti-slavery Congregational Church shocked even abolitionists by calling a Black man to be their minister. And in 1856, the South Butler church ordained the first woman into the ministry. The issues of women's rights and Black rights are always connected, despite all efforts from the establishment to pit them against each other.

Birth of Feminism in Seneca Falls

Lucretia Mott's visit to Waterloo, N.Y., in July, 1848 provided an occasion for a reunion with her old friend Elizabeth Cady Stanton. The two women had met in London in 1840 at the World Anti-Slavery Conference. Mott and several other American women delegates had been excluded from the meeting and forced to listen from a special section of the hall. Stanton and Mott had been so disturbed by this exclusion that they had vowed to call a convention to discuss rights for women when they returned to the United States. The claims of family and political reform had intervened, but the tea party at which they met again in Waterloo would prove the spark which set off a second American revolution. That revolution is still unfinished, but its roots can be seen in the Seneca Falls convention and the Declaration of Sentiments and resolutions it adopted.

Why such a momentous event should have occurred in Seneca Falls is explained in part by Stanton's residence there. Two years of domestic isolation in a frontier region, with little domestic help and less intellectual stimulation had aroused her sense of injustice concerning women's political and social position, her own most of all. It was this frustration which she poured out at Jane Hunt's house. By her own description, she aroused her listeners and they decided to finally call that meeting which Stanton and Mott had discussed eight years earlier. Present in addition to Hunt, Mott and Stanton were Martha Wright, Mott's sister and Mary Ann M'Clintock. M'Clintock was experienced in abolitionist organization and offered to help Stanton frame a declaration and resolutions to consider at the meeting. Stanton put the call announcing the meeting in the local paper and secured the Seneca Falls Wesleyan Methodist Chapel as a meeting place.

With little more than a week's notice, the meeting opened on July 19th to a large crowd. During the two days, more than three hundred people attended and one hundred women and men signed the Declaration of Sentiments, based on the Declaration of Independence. This document and a series of resolutions adopted by the convention were given widespread publicity from a sometimes mocking press. The meeting had confronted issues which had troubled men and women across the country. To understand why so many people should come to a meeting in a small upstate village, the political and reform context of 1848 must be examined.

The dialogue over slavery had become divisive enough to split the Democratic Party in June, 1848. A Free Soil Party was formed which was represented by a local group of electors in Seneca Falls. They had met in June and were preparing to select delegates to a convention in Buffalo later in the summer. Several of this group attended the Women's Rights Convention looking for a further platform for their questions about the nature of citizenship. Some of them were legal reformers who had been active in the passage of a Married Women's Property Law in New York in the spring of 1848.

Religious organizations had been contending with the questions of women's participation, and slavery again brought this issue to the fore. In 1843 Abbey Kelly spoke in Seneca Falls and attendance at her lecture (which was held

in an orchard because none of the local churches would allow her to preach there) became the basis for an excommunication trial for Rhoda Bement, a member of the local Presbyterian Church. Bement's right to request her minister read announcements for abolitionist activities was the immediate cause of her trial, but her challenge to church authority was the basic issue. Bement and her husband attended the convention and signed the Declaration of Sentiments.



Maggie Kuhn of the Gray Panthers at Anti-Nuclear March on Washington, May, 1979. Photo by Ellen Shub.

Area Quakers had more recently confronted the role of women in the meeting and the propriety of support for abolitionist activities. In June, the Genesee Yearly Meeting had split over the issue. Many signers of the Seneca Falls document were area Quakers. Historian Judy Wellman of SUNY Oswego, who is writing a collective biography of the Seneca Falls signers has concluded that these political splits and religious ferment provided an atmosphere where people were anxious to discuss the issues of basic human rights. She has also argued that Stanton was a crucial link between Quakers, like Mott, political abolitionists and legal reformers. Stanton's acquaintance with abolitionists because of her husband's activity and with legal reformers, many of whom were her father's associates and former law clerks, brought people to the meeting no other individual could have.

The lasting results of the Seneca Falls Convention are found in the documents it produced. The language of the Declaration of Sentiments reminded readers of the natural law tradition on which the country was founded. The organizers consciously put themselves in this tradition, where the truth of equality and rights for women were declared self-evident. The grievances listed paralleled the usurpation of power the colonists had addressed to King George almost 75 years earlier. The resolutions adopted by the group built on the Declaration and suggested that women act to gain natural rights denied them, including access to professions, politics and the pulpit. They called for an end to the double standard of morality and behavior.

These resolutions still provide an agenda for the women's movement. Although suffrage was achieved after nearly 75 years of struggle, the resolution which asserts *That woman is man's equal... was intended to be so by the Creator and the highest good of the race demands that she should be recognized as such* still remains a political goal. The resolution which reads *Resolved that women of this country be enlightened in regard to the laws under which they live,*

that they may no longer publish their degradation, by declaring themselves satisfied with their present position, nor their ignorance by asserting that they have all the rights they want, still applies to the current dialogue over the ERA or the Family Protection Act.

The timeless nature of these documents explains why women have traveled again and again to Seneca Falls to reaffirm these goals. In 1908, on the 60th anniversary of the Convention, Harriot Stanton Blatch kicked off a New York State suffrage campaign by placing a plaque on the Wesleyan Chapel in Seneca Falls. In 1923 the Women's Party gathered in Seneca Falls and adopted the Equal Rights Amendment, the Lucretia Mott Amendment as they called it.

In 1980 Congress enacted legislation establishing the Women's Rights National Historical Park in Seneca Falls and Waterloo. The history of this movement will be told in the house Stanton occupied and the Wesleyan Chapel, now a laundromat. The strength of the tradition found here will continue to inspire feminists and enlighten visitors, a lasting tribute to the Convention organizers.

Labor History

Carmen Lucia, like Mother Jones, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Clara Lemlich, the women of Lowell, MA and the women in the trade unions today are part of a proud and fiery tradition of working women seeking justice. The struggle for safe working conditions, equal pay, child care, and an end to exploitation for the sake of profit continues.

Imagine. 1937. A group of female clerks dressed in white suits with red sashes on strike, standing in front of the 5 and Dime, their employer. The problem: wages. Their strategy: a picket-line preventing warehouse men from delivering products. Their strength: womanness, and the spiked-heeled shoes they held in their hands, prepared to strike anyone who dared to cross their line. *We can't kill them... if they were men we'd fight, but women... how are we going to fight women? We're not going to have our heads broken from the nails on their shoes.*

Carmen Lucia was organizer of that strike. A native of Calabria, Italy, and an immigrant to the United States in 1904 at the age of 2, Carmine Lucia is known for her work in union organizing. At the age of 14, she dropped out of elementary school. Like so many other female immigrants, she began to work in a factory. At 16 she was organizing with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

Carmen Lucia helped to organize many different union shops. From Amalgamated, she went on to work with the Necktie Workers Union, and eventually the International Millinery Workers. She retired in 1974 as the Vice President of the Millinery Workers Union.

The strike at the 5 and Dime store was part of a successful effort to organize clerks and department store workers in San Francisco. When Lucia arrived in San Francisco, she was resented by the existing labor movement. The resentment, she claims, stemmed from men who felt that she was taking on a job which they had viewed as impossible. Because clerks were so diversified, they were too much of a challenge to organize.

Lucia took on the challenge. She became the official advisor of the Clerk's Union—planned to be an industrial union, CIO style. Despite counter-organizing efforts by male labor-organizers, the successful Clerks Union formed, its founding strength were mostly women workers of variety stores such as Woolworth's and Newberry's.

Lucia's strategy seems a keystone in her successful organizing. She didn't tell women what to do. She provided them with information, enthusiasm and experience. She kept watch over the surrounding political climate so that she could advise and take advantage of certain situations. She arranged that the clerks elect their own officers, making clear her intention to help organize the union until it was able to stand on its own.

As a woman, Carmen Lucia felt that her ability to organize was different from men's. She found it much easier to approach workers at their homes because they had less fear of letting a woman in than a man. In all of her travelling to "instigate" labor organizing, she did not rely upon "bravery," but instead she attributes her success to her sensitivity to and recognition of people's needs and feelings. Quite often she was called upon to establish contacts in areas where male organizers had failed.

Lucia remembers that women in her day received little recognition for their work. The public was "offended" when women scored victories, proving themselves equal and competent in their work. The labor movement itself did not want to give credit to women in it. But despite the public's opinion, women were there in force and numbers. In soup-kitchens and doing support work, Lucia calls women the "hidden force of the American Federation of Labor."

They called her an "incendiary spark," another great organizer and explorer of women's talents.

(Carmen Lucia currently resides in Rochester, N.Y. This essay is taken from an interview with her, published in New Women's Times, Vol VII No VI, June 1982.)

Everything Is Connected

The Cruise, Pershing II and the Arms Race

The History

The United States and Soviet Union, representing 11% of the world's population, have spearheaded and shaped global military competition since World War II. They spend half of the world's military budget, export 58% of the world's international arms trade and control 96% of the world's stockpile of nuclear weapons.

The nuclear and conventional arms race is not a new game to the superpowers. Since the end of World War II, the US and the USSR have been playing military hardball, often utilizing their aligned nations, members of NATO/WARSAW and the third world, as the playing fields for this competition.

World War II ended in 1945. From 1945 to 1949, the groundwork was laid for the "cold war." In 1949, twelve nations formed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), formally establishing a collective defense to "prevent aggression or to repel it, should it occur," to "safeguard the freedom, common heritage and civilization of their people's, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law." In 1953, the Eastern bloc countries followed suit and established the WARSAW Pact.

Throughout the 1950's and 60's, the cold war continued. The U.S. sent nuclear weapons to Europe in the mid-sixties. The Soviet Union lagged behind in technological innovations, but did begin it's aggressive program with the first testing of inter-continental ballistic missiles (ICBMs) in 1957. (An ICBM can travel over 6,000 miles with great speed.) In late 1958, the US placed 105 intermediate range missiles in England, Turkey and Italy. Each of these missiles could reach the interior of the Soviet Union. In 1962, the Cuban Missile Crisis brought to light the threat of nuclear competition for the west. The Soviet Union placed nuclear warheads on Cuban soil. The situation put the US in a grave position, forcing President Kennedy to agree to remove the 105 intermediate land based missiles from European soil.

There was an added incentive for removal of these systems. Land based missiles are the most vulnerable of all systems, because they are easily detected by the opposition. The US took on an aggressive program to beef up its air based and sea based intermediate range forces upon the withdrawal of the 105 land based systems. With the promise of removal of these land based systems, the Soviet Union removed their warheads from Cuba. Further, each nation informally agreed not to deploy intermediate land based missiles in the other's hemisphere. Since that time, the arms race has taken on new dimensions. Highly accurate air based and sea based forces, as well as new technologically

advanced ICBMs and short range systems bring the world much closer to a nuclear holocaust.

During the 60's and 70's, the US defense policy was based on the theory of *Mutual Assured Destruction* (MAD), that nuclear war would be deterred because neither country would strike first fearing massive retaliation. Now, the US is developing new, and more accurate nuclear and laser systems with the capability of knocking out the military installations of the Soviet Union in one blow before they can retaliate. The Soviet Union is responding to this by developing comparable weapons. Thus, the US strategy for deterrence, based on MAD, is being replaced by a strategy of *First Strike*.

The Human Costs

Technological advances in weapon systems and constant changes in strategic doctrines have made disarmament problems increasingly complex. For example, there has been no downward trend in nuclear testing since the Partial Test Ban Treaty was signed in 1963. Clearly, as the technology advances, more tests are required and the danger to our lives of a nuclear accident or sickness as a result of fallout increases. Means for verification and negotiation are not able to keep pace with the skyrocketing nuclear expansion programs.

Over 1.6 trillion dollars was spent on military related activities from 1978-82, worldwide. This translates into one million dollars spent on weapons every minute of every hour of every day of 1981. In 1981, an estimated 3 to 12% of the global production of 14 particular minerals, which are equally important for civilian and military sectors of industry, were mined for civilian purposes. Military consumption of resources directly competes for resources which could otherwise be available for social and economic development. World-wide, forty thousand children die every year from malnutrition and poverty-related diseases because money is being used for military purposes. In 32 countries, including the two superpowers, the governments spend more for military purposes than for education and health care combined. The \$9 trillion spent for defense in the last decade appears to have diminished rather than strengthened world security.

The Conventional Connection

Looking at conventional wars alone, since 1960, a total of ten million people have died, more civilians than soldiers. Over 65 major wars, in which 1,000 or more people were killed, have taken place in the last 22 years. They have been fought on the territory of 49 nations, representing

approximately two-thirds of the world's population. Presently 40 conventional wars are underway. Conventional wars are on the rise as is the international arms trade. Twenty years ago, developing nations accounted for only 10% of the world's military expenditures; their share has now doubled. Arms imports of developing countries have risen sharply, amounting to \$20 billion, three-fourths of the world's arms trade.

While the conventional and nuclear build-up is not new, what is new is the nature of the weaponry. More sophisticated and deadly weapons are being transferred around the globe every day. The difference between nuclear and non-nuclear begins to blur as we perfect the destructive power of conventional forces and develop mini-nukes to be used in small regional "skirmishes." A conventional war already in progress could be the spark that ignites the flame, the conflict which will put to use these tools of mass destruction.

Strategic Parity

Given this tense situation with trip-wires spanning the globe, why would the superpowers continue to escalate the nuclear arms race? The presidents of both nations have used the need to catch up—close the gap—as the rationale for these escalations. In laying the groundwork for the NATO decision to accept 572 new missiles, western military planners contended that the Soviet Union has an edge on medium and tactical range nuclear forces in the European Theater. Simultaneously, the State Department in 1978 declared that "in terms of overall strategic nuclear power, the two nations are roughly equal." Furthermore, the fact of strategic parity between the two countries has been acknowledged repeatedly by "responsible" US government officials among them, former President Carter, former Secretary of State Harold Brown, and Air Force Chief of Staff Lew Allen Jr.

The NATO Decision

Despite claims of parity, the ministers of NATO in December 1979, agreed to a "dual decision" to deploy 572 new long range theater nuclear weapons (LRTRNF) in five NATO countries starting in December 1983, if Intermediate Nuclear Force (INF) talks between the United States and the Soviet Union failed. One hundred and eight Pershing II missiles would replace the Pershing Ia sited in West Germany and 464 ground launched Cruise missiles would be stationed in the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Belgium, Italy and West Germany. Although the 1979 decision is still the official policy of NATO, the Netherlands and Belgium have deferred their decision to receive Cruise missiles.

The hub of the NATO strategy as embodied in the dual decision is this: "If the Soviets are threatened by the new missiles, that is fine. Then it is in their interest to negotiate. If they are not threatened, then the deployments shouldn't be a matter of concern." What this appears to do is force the Soviets into negotiations. But in fact, the dismantling of existing missiles under these circumstances might be politically impossible for the Soviet leadership concerned about appearing weak. And it carries with it the danger of a Soviet response which raises the level of escalation further. The Soviet Union was eager to negotiate, even before NATO's decision.

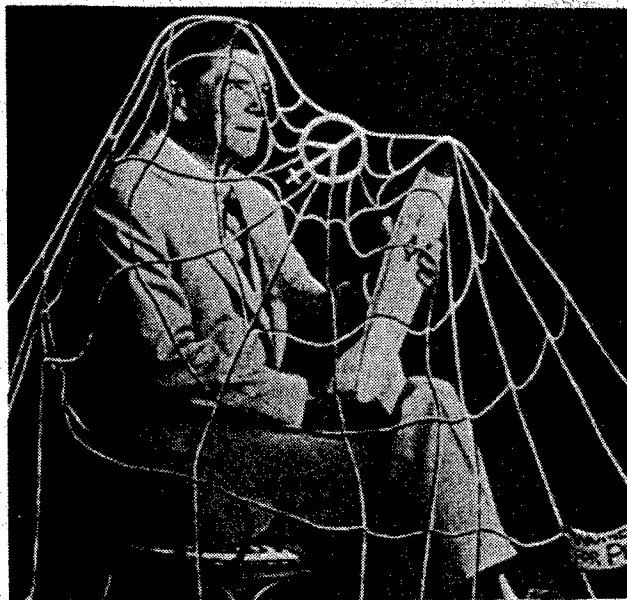
First Strike Escalation

The deployment of these systems will dramatically change the nature of the arms race. These systems are first strike systems, able to knock out Soviet systems before the Soviets can get their missiles out of their launchers. This is due to the speed and accuracy of the Pershing II (8 minutes to the Soviet Union) and the unverifiable nature of the Ground Launched Cruise Missiles (GLCMs). A GLCM is able to fly at low altitudes without being detected by radar, as they are small and mobile and can easily be hidden.

Putting intermediate range first strike systems in Europe will force the Soviets to adopt a Launch-on-Warning system. A system whereby, the Soviets release their forces if they perceive a US attack. These systems are highly dangerous in light of present and future arms negotiations. Because of the lack of verifiability of the GLCM and the speed of the Pershing II missiles, it is contradictory for President Reagan to contend that he is serious about arms control, as it will be virtually impossible to write a treaty about these systems.

The deployment of these new systems coupled with the independent upgrading of the French and British forces, will force the Soviet Union to deploy their own versions of Cruise and Pershing II missiles. Escalation such as this deployment, threaten the future of arms negotiations and doom our planet to catastrophe.

For this reason, the Euromissiles have become the focus of an international controversy. While the United States and the Soviet Union conduct an extensive propaganda war over these systems and/or proposals, a huge broad-based disarmament movement has taken root in Western Europe to prevent the deployment. Marches across Europe, direct actions at installation sites, peace encampments and major political party and labor union activity continue to fuel a quickly growing grassroots opposition making the deployment of these new systems much more difficult for all of the governments involved to implement.



The Web spun from Greenham Common. Photomontage by Cath Tate.

Labor Connections

Those who attempt to reach out to industrial workers and technicians on the disarmament issue are often confronted with serious doubts and questions: "I've made a moral decision not to cooperate with the military, why can't they?"; "They're not important, we need to convince management/legislators to change."; "Why won't they do something to stop the arms race?"; "Don't they care?" Clearly there are reasons why most working people have not joined our movement. And if we don't take the time to sort them out, our work in this crucial area will be ineffective.

One of the major causes of militarism is the powerlessness of working people to affect change. The great dreams of our grandparents who began to organize for better wages, and working conditions are still unmet. Their dreams of remedying the social ills created or exacerbated by capitalism—patriarchy, environmental degradation, war, racism—are barely touched. That these were and are the goals of the progressive wing of the trade union movement is obvious to those who are familiar with our history.

In the United States only 20% of the workers are organized; in Canada not much more than 30%. History clearly shows that people have little power unless they are organized.

If long-term social change is one of our goals then we should work toward allowing working people, as well as others, the ability to affect change. The fact remains that moral decisions are tied to economic ones; the ability to make moral decisions rests on free choice. If we are blackmailed by economic dependence on military contracts, moral choices are perverted. Convincing management and/or the government to make minor changes may only be in the interest of capital. We need to continually examine our strategies to offer ways that everyone can become a part of the movement.

If we examine these issues we'll find that the majority of workers desire a peaceful, non-exploitive world. But there is a tremendous sense of powerlessness, something that we all face at times in our lives. Despite a small minority of workers who do see it in their interest to build these horrible weapons and who cooperate with the world-wide sale of the North American way of life, the majority are our allies. These political attitudes mirror society as a whole.

If we can internalize this awareness, our work will be sustained. If we can accept the premise that increased power for the trade union movement can only help our cause then we can more easily accept setbacks and individual betrayals. We can accept these just as we know that the fruits of our work may never be seen. From this awareness, comes the strength of radical non-violence.

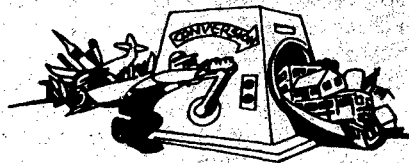
Once we have made this or a similar analysis, ways to proceed become apparent. It must become clear through continuous discussion that we do share this analysis and support the rights of workers: affirmative action for women and minorities, health and safety guarantees, accessible daycare, etc.

A period of self-education will help to discover what these issues are in particular workplaces. If we learn what the structures of different unions are we will be better able to make connections. We will avoid trivializing and ignoring what are usually democratic structures.

As the cornerstone of our convergence with workers, in peace conversion, their interests and structure need to be well understood. Peace conversion is not just planned economic conversion in the interest of capital. It guarantees retraining and support during a transitional period, and production that will meet the needs of our communities; that is, more worker and community control of the workplace.

We need to study the conversion strategies being used and proposed. What are the successes of the Lucas Aerospace workers in Europe? What has been the effect of their alternative use campaign? What strategies have been put forward for workers control in [the capitalist countries of] Europe, Canada and the United States?

We need to ask ourselves if we harbour classist attitudes? Do we feel that we have to educate workers about the issues? Most working people are just as capable of understanding the complexities. Do we trivialize the role that production workers can play or do we support the contribution they can make? Do we understand the privileges of higher education, economic security, etc. that some of us have received? Do we make real efforts to make our groups accessible to working people?



There is no substitute for actual experience in the workplace. It is often not until one works on a production line or at menial office work in an unhealthy atmosphere that one learns how powerless people can feel. Only after we have worked through these discussions and self-education can we begin to build up the trust that is needed for this kind of organizing.

We are forcefully asking military production workers to take up the disarmament issue by coming to our demonstrations and study groups, and by respecting our blockades and picketlines. By the same token we can lend our support to their struggles. We can do our printing at union shops even if it costs more. We can join strike picketlines as supporters, being careful not to judge the workers' tactics too quickly. We can support unions' legislative struggles such as the current Ontario campaign for strikebreaking legislation. The lack of laws to prevent strikebreaking during a legal strike has resulted in the death of one United Steelworkers' member and arbitrary arrests of picketers with repressive bail conditions in another strike.

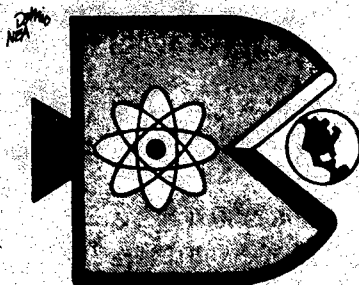
Most importantly we can rally support from the disarmament movement for their causes. We can challenge other peace activists to support those that they are continuously going to for support.

Past anti-war movements have failed to address patriarchy as the premier cause of militarism. Similarly, the current movement's unwillingness to build meaningful alliances with working class people, especially industrial workers, is limiting our effectiveness. It confines us to a pattern of organizing for reforms, rather than for peace conversion and workers control of the workplace.

More Plowshares, Fewer Swords: A Look at Conversion

Conversion is one way of addressing the economic issues linked to the arms race. It simply means the transfer of skill, production, machinery and resources from military to socially beneficial civilian use. It is a way to create jobs, job security, utilize our resources to meet human needs and plan for a more peaceful, just economy.

Economic conversion is a term already familiar to labor unions. Some conversion of facilities was experienced after World War II, and some unions have already endorsed the concept, particularly the International Association of Machinists and the United Auto Workers, two of the largest and most heavily defense dependent unions in the U.S. Seymour Melman is a principle architect of this concept which would make our present economic system stronger and provide more fully for people's needs.



Nuke-Man

Peace conversion extends this definition some to include attempts at decentralization, appropriate use of technology, worker democracy, disarmament, health and safety issues, community control, and concerns about sexism and racism.

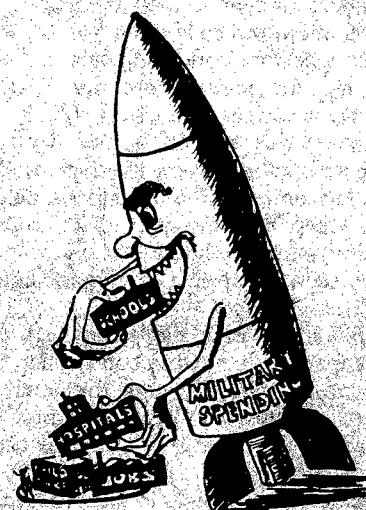
The importance of planned conversion cannot be underestimated. Conversion requires "preparing alternate use plans for the facility which are based on a thorough and accurate evaluation of current skills and equipment available to be converted." (the Case for Economic Conversion) It must involve all affected parties—trade unions, management, and community representatives, and should guarantee retraining and the continuation of income at union scale to the people currently working at the facility. (SEAD Fact Sheet; Finger Lakes Peace Alliance)

"The most complete and detailed model of an alternate use plan has been developed by the workers at Lucas Aerospace in Great Britain. In 1974, the Combine Committee representing shop stewards at all the Lucas plants and in all the unions at Lucas decided to draw up an Alternative Corporate Plan. The Plan, based on suggestions and answers to questionnaires distributed to rank and file workers came up with 150 socially useful products which could be produced with existing equipment and skills."

"Between 1970 and 1974, 5000 workers at Great Britain's largest private military contractor, Lucas, lost their jobs. As a result the planning was begun by unionists that resulted in the Alternative Corporate Plan being presented to management for negotiation in 1976. Although the Lucas workers have not won implementation of their comprehensive plan they have seen some of their ideas realized and have almost completely prevented layoffs for five years. As a result of the initiatives of the Lucas workers and the Centre for Alternative Industrial and Technological Systems, other shop stewards committees have prepared their own alternative plans for major British industries like Vickers and Rolls Royce. In addition to producing plans, alternative products have been built including a novel heat pump, an energy efficient low pollution diesel/electric power pack, and a road/rail vehicle. Some of these products are being considered for manufacture. (The Case for Economic Conversion in Massachusetts, Bay State Conversion Group)

In the U.S., Varian Associates of Palo Alto, California has redirected scientific and engineering talent in electronics from military application to producing efficient photovoltaic cells for converting sunlight to energy. Prime military contracts have been significantly reduced.

Acurex in Mountain View, Calif. has applied systems engineering skills to advanced large-scale solar industrial applications. They have developed a solar system that assists in food processing and has been installed. Other Acurex solar projects include deep and shallow-well irrigation systems, industrial process solar steam, large scale solar total energy systems and the development of photovoltaic converters. (Dave McFadden, Plowshare Press, 1978) Some companies in the U.S. have converted on their own out of necessity when contracts were cancelled.



Peggy Lipschutz

Community/CPE

The serious challenge of building positive alternatives to our present military economy is not possible without conversion work at the local level addressing local weapons facilities. There are a number of conversion projects active in the U.S. including Mid-Peninsula Conversion in CA, St. Louis Economic Conversion Project, MO, and in Rocky Flats, Colorado. Each one uses different approaches to convert a military facility. Some groups devote considerable time to education and worker outreach, while others work with community groups to regain community control.

In the Finger Lakes region of New York State, outreach is currently being done to the community and workers at the Seneca Army Depot (SEAD). By providing information regarding the hazards of the Depot, outreach workers hope that people will be more receptive to the idea of converting the facility. Such hazards include: The Depot being a prime target for nuclear attack, health hazards to workers due to the handling of radioactive tritium, and the possibility of accidents in the transportation of nuclear weapons and materials to and from the Depot. (there are no emergency plans for the surrounding community in case of a nuclear accident.

Once conversion is actively desired in the community, they will find themselves in a fortunate position. SEAD, besides being a storage site and transshipment point for nuclear weapons, houses machinery which is designed to recondition, retool, and dismantle old or obsolete ammunitions, including missiles. Local peace groups are suggesting that the Industrial Plant Equipment Program be expanded to include the reconditioning of machinery in the production of necessary social and consumer products. They feel that the Depot's role could be expanded with a national program of disarmament in place.

At the national level work is being done on legislation. Passage of a conversion bill would:

- guarantee one year pre-notification in the event of plant closures.
- pay salaries and benefits to displaced workers.
- provide training and retraining for workers who need it.
- create alternative use and planning committees at defense facilities.
- make communities eligible for planning grants.
- transfer government capital and technology from military to civilian purposes.

No such legislation has yet been passed, but a bill (HR-6618) is pending in the House.

Conversion as a strategy for social change is dependent on an alliance of trade unions, management and community representatives, including neighborhood groups, Black, Latino and Women's organizations, environmentalists and engineers. This is certainly one of the most positive aspects of organizing for conversion. The peace movement can breaking some of its "barriers" through working with these groups. Each of these voices is essential for planning for conversion and each has a strong interest in job creation and a healthy economy.

Obviously people who depend on the arms race for their livelihood may be wary of any changes. Yet these changes and reductions in military spending are essential for the health of our economy, although they could cause short run economic dislocation. Conversion planning can appeal to these communities in a number of ways. Alternative use planning can protect workers from the impact of military contract cancellations. It not only protects existing jobs, but also has the potential for increasing employment possibilities. And instead of just demanding the shut down of a facility to break through the "iron triangle" of government, military and corporate interests, activists can call for conversion planning and a transfer of spending. The way towards peace can also be the way towards jobs and a sensible economy.



Non-Violent Civilian Defense

Non-violent Civilian Defense or social defense is a non-violent alternative to military defense. It is based on widespread political, economic and social noncooperation in order to oppose military aggression or political repression. It uses methods such as boycotts, refusals to obey, strikes, demonstrations, and setting up alternative government.

Social defense is based on the principle that no regime—whether democracy or military dictatorship—can survive without the passive support or nonresistance of a large fraction of the population. Since social defense relies on resistance by large sections of the population, it is the nonviolent equivalent of guerilla warfare.

Social defense acts as a deterrent by appealing to the civilian population in the aggressor country through its broad base, its nonviolence and the justice of its cause. The methods of social defense maximize political opposition within the aggressor country.

Social defense is not automatically successful, just as military defense is not automatically successful. Its effectiveness can be improved by advanced planning and practice. Although social defense is based entirely on nonviolent methods, violence and suffering caused by the aggressors is still likely. Social defense is not an easy road to peace, but it does offer some hope for creating a world in which social struggle continues but large scale war and violence are greatly reduced.

The rhetoric of those who advocate spending money on weapons is that military hardware is needed in order to deter potential aggressors or invaders. But is the goal of deterrence best achieved by expenditure on weapons? After a great deal of military expenditure by many governments, the threat of war is as great as ever.

Social defense is an alternative to military defense which can reduce the threat of invasion in a number of ways.

Firstly, other governments cannot pretend that their military arsenals are for defensive purposes if the supposed opponent relies on social defense and has no arms.

Secondly, since with social defense there is no military defense capability, nuclear attack and aerial bombing to overcome such defenses become useless exercises and hence much less likely.

Thirdly, if social defense is seen by potential aggressors as being well coordinated and strong, the estimated cost of an invasion escalates. Because of the broad base of social defense it is extremely difficult to overcome: as long as there are committed people, there is resistance.

Social defense may sound promising when used against aggressors who must pay attention to "public opinion," as in most Western "democracies." But can it work against really ruthless attackers? Can it work against repressive regimes such as the dictatorships of Hitler and Stalin?

Historical examples suggest that the answer is yes.

Effective nonviolent resistance to the Nazi occupiers occurred in the Netherlands, Denmark and Norway during World War II. For example, the Nazi regime in Norway run by Quisling tried to force the schools to teach Nazi doctrines. The teachers publicly refused, and many were arrested and sent to concentration camps. But they continued to resist,

and finally the Quisling government worried about angering the Norwegian people too much—released the teachers. The schools were never used for Nazi propaganda.

Even in Nazi Germany itself, nonviolent resistance was effective in some cases. In 1943 in Berlin, thousands of non-Jewish wives of Jews arrested by the Gestapo demonstrated outside the detention center. Eventually the prisoners were released. Nonviolent resistance also has been used with some success in the Soviet Union, for example in prison labour camps at Vorkuta in 1953.

Even the most ruthless dictatorship depends for its existence on passive support or nonresistance by a large fraction of the population.

Social defense can be successful against severe repression. But the methods and tactics used need to be specially chosen if repression is harsh. More use can be made of quiet "mistakes" in carrying out tasks and "misunderstandings" of orders. And when support for the resistance is widespread, open defiance becomes possible.

Social defense is at variance with our present political and economic system. It advocates shared control as a replacement for the military defense hierarchies which keep power and knowledge in the hands of the minority. The continuance of the military system is in the interests of a powerful few, including weapons manufacturers, top government bureaucrats and other vested interests.

A second reason is that the idea of social defense is fairly new. It is true that the methods of social defense, such as strikes, boycotts, demonstrations and "go slow" campaigns, have been used for many centuries. Furthermore, organized campaigns of nonviolent action have been developed, for example under Gandhi's leadership during India's struggle for independence and as part of the black civil rights movement in the USA in the 1950s and 1960s. But it is only in the last 25 years or so that social defense has been proposed as a full-scale alternative to military defense.

Because social defense is largely dependent on a closely knit network of alliances throughout the community, it is important for people to strengthen these community ties. They already exist in the form of sporting clubs, child-care centers and trade unions. They include informal friendships and links between neighbors, work-mates and students. All these relationships are crucial to the success of any social defense operation. They provide support and ideas for people resisting either an occupying army or a military takeover. In any community action, it is important for people to act together, knowing that thousands of others are doing the same.

Finally, preparation to use nonviolent methods is important, just like it is with violent methods. Most historical uses of nonviolent resistance have been spontaneous. With thorough preparation, the chance of success is increased. People can learn about what to do and train in the use of methods and strategy of nonviolent action.

Social defense skills must be promoted gradually throughout all communities in the world if we are to have a viable alternative to the nuclear arms race.

Racism and the Struggle for Peace

The anti-war movement has been an important force in our society for challenging U.S. militarism internationally. It has helped to make peace and disarmament pressing issues for millions of U.S. citizens. And yet, it has not fully recognized the links between militarism and racism, and it has given relatively less attention to the effects of economic injustice. These have been serious drawbacks. We want the peace movement to be as powerful and effective as possible. In order for this to happen, however, it must become functionally multi-racial and focus on racism and economic injustice as well as international militarism.

While the causes for particular wars often appear complex, racism has played a pivotal role in virtually all military conflicts. There are six ways in which we understand racism, militarism and economic injustice to be inter-related:

1. Every military conflict has been over control of land and resources. Historically, people of color have borne the brunt of the world's great wars of domination, for it is the land, resources, and human labor of the Third World that the Western powers have constantly fought over.

2. The ability of a country to wage war or to conquer another people depends on instilling "enemy thinking" in the minds of the populace. Enemy thinking, in turn, depends on racial and cultural stereotyping.

3. Because of racism, the U.S. armed services are disproportionately made up of people of color. Since most of these "economic conscripts" are unskilled, they end up in the front lines of battle, victims of the white generals and presidents who wage the wars.

4. Wars are undertaken at the expense of those who can least afford them—poor people in general, and people of color in particular—as budgets which would otherwise fund human services are given over to the military.

5. Production for military use has proven to be both inflationary and job-reducing. Racism in U.S. society guarantees that the majority of jobs created in the military sector will go to skilled, educated white workers, thus reinforcing existing racial and class inequalities.

6. Poor people of color have not been visible in the mainstream peace movement because they are already experiencing war in their own communities.

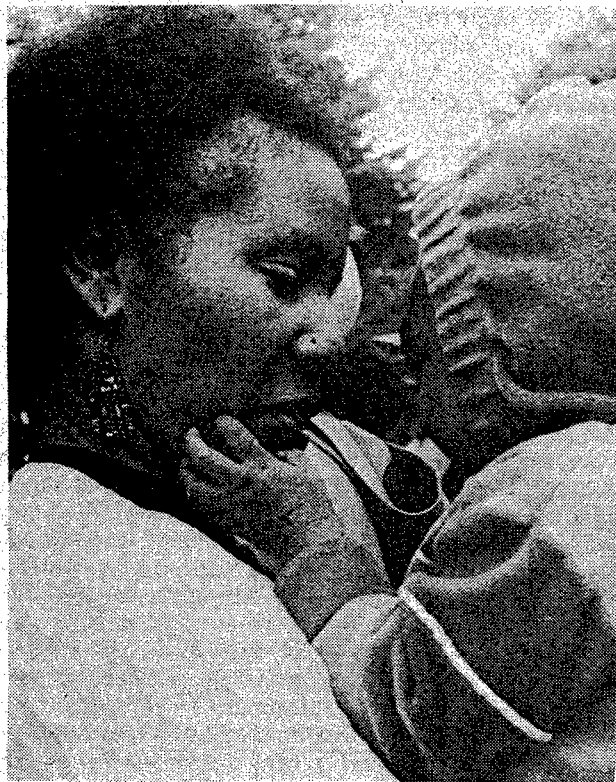
We believe it is essential that everyone who is serious about stopping the war machine and establishing a real peace understand the racist nature of war. It is no coincidence that former President Carter reinstated draft registration at a time when the military was complaining that there were too many people of color in the armed forces. They realize that people of color might not be counted on to fight against their brothers and sisters in Third World countries.

We are encouraged by signs that the peace movement is concerned about its white, middle-class image. We too are concerned, not only about the image, but about the analysis and strategy which flows from white, middle-class leadership. We are convinced that it is difficult for white, middle-class people to see the connections between racism, militarism, and imperialism. Poor people of color understand these connections far better. That is why we believe there have been deliberate attempts to keep the movement for peace and disarmament separate from the movements for racial and economic justice. It was when Martin Luther King wed the struggle for civil rights and economic justice to the struggle against the Viet Nam War that he became most dangerous to the ruling establishment.

If real peace is to be achieved, the white peace movement must aggressively seek leadership and direction from Blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans, and other people of color. They must participate in all aspects of organizational planning, decision-making, and outreach. It is only with their active involvement that it will be possible to build a truly broad-based, multi-racial, multi-cultural movement capable of winning.

White organizers must learn to struggle with their own racism, which often comes up in subtle, but significant ways, and keeps them from working with or taking leadership from people of color. Racism is learned behavior and therefore can be unlearned, though the process is often painful. We are convinced, however, that this struggle over racism in the movement is a healthy one. If we are to be genuine peacemakers we will have to work unstintingly for justice.

—excerpted from an open letter to the peace movement,
adopted by the Advisory Board of United Methodist
Voluntary Service, February 1982.



Mother and daughter for peace at the June 12, 1982 rally in New York's Central Park. Photo by Ellen Shub.

Reweaving The Web

European Disarmament Movement

On December 12, 1979, NATO Defense and Foreign Ministers agreed to deploy 572 Cruise and Pershing II Missiles in Great Britain, Italy, West Germany, the Netherlands, and Belgium. While Norway and Denmark, both NATO members also, have banned nuclear weapons from their soil, they could be called upon to provide support functions in the event of a NATO emergency. Both Cruise and Pershing II are *First Strike Weapons*; Cruise Missiles can fly undetected, below radar, with an explosive force 15 times more powerful than the bomb that was dropped on Hiroshima, and the Pershing II will be able to fly deep into the Soviet Union in 6-8 minutes with pinpoint accuracy.

NATO's Dec. 12 decision, along with President Reagan's references to a "limited nuclear war" in Europe, have been catalysts for the rapid growth of the European disarmament movement. Literally millions of people have been mobilized in an effort to stop the deployment. *The purpose of Pershing II and Cruise missiles was to 'reassure' Europeans and to achieve unity in NATO. They haven't. They are causing the largest demonstrations in modern history across Europe, and Europe is drifting away from the U.S. In England, Belgium, Holland, Norway and W. Germany, public opinion polls show the majority increasingly opposes the missiles. (Pershing II and Cruise Missiles—Spreading the Chaos, Clergy and Laity Concerned)*

Many Europeans see the U.S. and NATO as one and the same, realizing that the U.S. government has a much greater interest in having our missiles stationed in Europe than simply "to protect our allies." They also recognize that once the missiles are sited, their governments will have little or no control over them. However, while many activists perceive their own countries to be hostages of the U.S. in this respect, an increasing awareness has developed of the major role the European governments have played in holding NATO together and in paving the way for the deployment to proceed quickly and smoothly. Thus, "No to NATO and the Warsaw Pact" is a common chant at demonstrations, and many disarmament groups include on their agenda the demand that their country pull out of NATO.

While there is certainly concern among Europeans about the USSR's role in the arms race, there is noticeably less red-baiting and anti-communist rhetoric than in the U.S. There is a certain underlying solidarity between Europe and the USSR as a result of the shared experience of the devastation of 2 world wars on their continent; this is coupled with an unease about the U.S. governments seeming blindness about the realities of war, both conventional and nuclear. Thus, while the sense of being caught between the two "super-powers" is very real, the overall climate is one of greater objectivity and openness.

It is important to avoid thinking of Europe as a unit, and to recognize the factors that distinguish the movements in each country. However, it is clear that within Europe there is a great deal of communication and coordination, and much less of the type of nationalism that has led the U.S. to greater

isolationism and a kind of political tunnel-vision. This is aided both by the relatively small size and the physical proximity of the European countries. As a result, there is a clearer understanding of and respect for the interdependence of all peoples.

In many ways, peace camps characterize the strength and decentralized nature of the grassroots peace movement as a whole. Attention to process and well-thoughtout political philosophy and strategy seem less important than the creation of support and space for people to act spontaneously on their convictions. Peace Camps tend to be very action-oriented, and often theory comes as a result of experience, rather than the other way around. The first Peace Camp was formed when a small group of women, mainly housewives, marched from Cardiff, Wales to Greenham Common, England in the summer of 1981. (see article on Greenham) Since then about 14 other Peace Camps have sprung up in Great Britain, a few of which are women-only, as well as an International Peace Camp in Comiso, Sicily, site of Italy's Cruise Missile Base. There are plans for Women's Peace Camps this summer in Germany, Holland, Scotland, and Italy.

Peace Camps often address a range of issues, including education about the connection of the military buildup with the economic situation of both the specific country and the local community. Many are structured to illustrate a vision of a different way of life. Most are committed to the idea that peacemaking must happen first on a local level, and have adopted non-violence as a foundation. Response to the Peace Camps has been varied, but generally there has been quite a bit of initial suspicion and in some cases open hostility from local residents. The search for the most productive ways for Peace Camp members to work within their local communities without losing focus on the missile bases at their front doorsteps remains an ongoing issue.

Women are at the forefront of the peace camp movement in Europe, and Women's Peace Camps have been instrumental in furthering discussion and awareness of why women choose to work apart from men on disarmament issues, as well as what the gains of such separate strategizing can be. The range of the Women's Disarmament Movement in Europe is as great as it is in the U.S., including groups such as Oxford Mothers for Nuclear Disarmament, who organize specifically around their common concerns as mothers, Women of Sicily for Nuclear Disarmament, who come from a feminist perspective and link issues of militarism to the violence women face in their daily lives, Women for Peace in Scandinavia, who have organized Peace Marches from Copenhagen to Paris (Summer 1981) and from Scandinavia to Moscow (Summer 1982), women in West Germany who organized actions opposing the military conscription of women in case of war, the Women's Peace Camp at the military airbase in Soesterberg, the Netherlands (Summer-Fall 1982), which attempted to draw a wide range of women while maintaining a clear commitment to being a

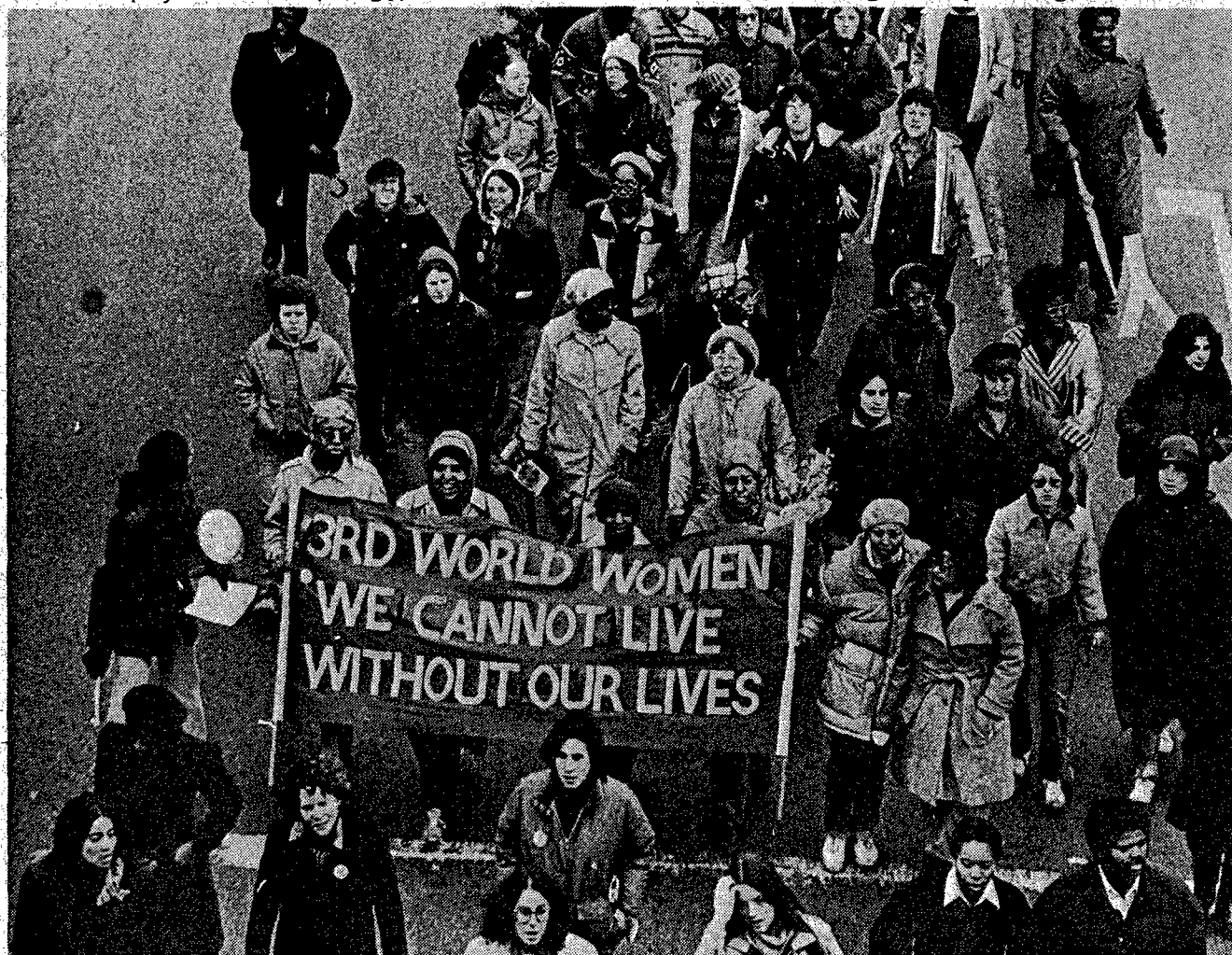
women-only space, and women in both Great Britain and Sicily who live and work at mixed Peace Camps, attempting to bring those groups closer to an understanding of feminism and what it has to offer the disarmament movement as a whole.

Issues of how women's peace groups that don't come from a feminist perspective can connect with those that do, what the relationship to men should be, and whether the main focus should be on the Cruise and Pershing II deployment or on the connections to other issues, are all ongoing discussions within the European Women's Disarmament movement. While there is much dialogue about how to reach out to a broader range of women, the classism and racism inherent in a predominantly white, middle-class movement is rarely discussed. It is striking to see that many women became involved with Women's Peace Camps out of a deep personal need to act against the deployment, and have become aware of feminism as a result. It is also true that women who have worked solely on "feminist issues" in the past have been moved to address the connections between these concerns and the increasing militarization of our societies as a result of NATO's decision to deploy the missiles.

There does exist a greater sense of immediacy in Europe about the deployment—not surprisingly, since First Strike

weapons are due to be stationed there later this year. The Cruise and Pershing II issue is a major part of the agenda of most European Disarmament groups, although in many instances, not the sole one. As the movement in Europe grows, information about it becomes more accessible to Americans. In particular, we have heard a fair amount over the past 9 months about the Women's Peace Camp at Greenham Common. However, in the same way that many Europeans assume that the Nuclear Freeze Campaign is the U.S. Peace Movement, Americans often perceive that stopping the deployment is the *single* aim of the European Peace Movement. This is no coincidence; the traditional media's focus is typically on the most mainstream and least radical expression of people's protests. When this is coupled with the fact that viable international information-sharing networks are only beginning to be formed, we are often left without the means to increase our understandings of the breadth and background of each other's movements.

The American and European Disarmament Movements clearly need to connect and collectively strategize in order to have the greatest impact. In particular, the Seneca Encampment must network with Women's Peace Camps in Europe and all over the world, not only to maximize our effect, but to provide ourselves with the courage and support that comes from feeling we are part of a global sisterhood.



Memorial March for murdered Black Women in Boston. Photo by Ellen Shub.

Greenham Common

A current Greenham Common leaflet boldly declares: *For centuries, women have watched men go off to war; now women are leaving home for peace.*

In the twenty short months since its inception, thousands of British women have converged upon the Greenham Common Peace Camp, England, to publicly denounce the planned deployment there of 96 Cruise Missiles from the U.S. Representing the majority, these staunch women have engaged creativity with relentless persistence. They've endured evictions, arrests, police brutality, harassment and difficult living conditions in order to bring about public awareness of the siting of the Cruise Missile in Britain, and of the nuclear weapons issue worldwide.

They've brought inspiring originality to their protest actions: Dancing on silos; Embracing the 9-mile perimeter base; women holding hands; Entangling machinery in webs of wool; Weaving yarn/pictures/poems/balloons into the Air Force Base fence; Teddy bears' picnic; and Costumed snake dances inside the Base Property itself.

They've consistently, without fail, held to a principle of non-violent direct action.

I personally feel that it is not possible to work for peace by using violent means. It seems to make a mockery of it.

—Toni, Greenham Common

In late summer, 1981, 40 women who called themselves Women for Life on Earth marched with their children the 120 miles from Cardiff, Wales to Greenham Common. Ignored by the British press for the duration of the march, the women ended by demanding a publicly televised debate with the Ministry of Defense on the issue of the planned siting of Cruise Missiles in their country. They were denied that debate, and spontaneously set up a camp outside the U.S. Air Force Base at Greenham Common. Greenham Common AFB is only one of over 100 U.S. Air Force Bases in England. There are currently 15 other peace camps in Britain.

Two women, Toni and Theresa, from the Greenham Common Peace Camp recently spoke in Rochester as part of a 2-month U.S. tour that will take them to the West Coast.

Theresa explains her reason for joining the camp:

They tell us that the Cruise Missiles are for defense and that they are a deterrent. I know for a fact that Cruise Missiles are offensive weapons. They are designed as a first-strike weapon, which means they are designed to attack.

I'm living and working at Greenham Common in a protest and a struggle for my life and for my future.

Annihilation is not something for me to contemplate; it's something for me to rebel against.

Many British women, as mothers, assert that their part in this protest is in the best interest of their children; that it will help ensure through non-violent direct action a future without fear of nuclear terror for their children.

Says Toni: I feel very frightened for my daughter's future as well as my own future, the future of my friends, the people I care about. I have to work for [that] future.

Women have joined the peace encampment because of other reasons, too. Many feel that it is empowering for them to work with women to identify the problems of a violent society structured by patriarchy. In joining together they actively reject traditional roles and initiate creative, imaginative and effective action.

The Peace Camp at Greenham has captured the imagination of people worldwide. Currently at the camp are American, Japanese, French and German women. The profile of women there has shifted from a middle class beginning to a cross-section of backgrounds and ages. The youngest is 7, while the oldest is 73. Britain's unemployed women are joining their voices with the already mounting voices of protest at the camp.

Their surging numbers reflect only a part of the whole cost to Britain of the current nuclear escalation—indeed to any country competing in the arms race: cuts in education, transportation, housing, welfare, health care services, food stamps. In essence, it is this myth of security through weapons which denies fulfillment of very pressing human needs.

About 35 women claim Greenham Common Peace Camp as their full-time address. Numbers of women there at any given time may range from 6 a night to 30,000 for the Dec. 12, 1982 *Embrace the Base* action.

Women at Greenham have found it a necessity to create an all-women camp. Here women can deepen their own self-confidence and learn to trust their own ability to make decisions in a very supportive environment.

I feel that one of the very vital aspects of the camp is that women have the opportunity and space to grow and learn a lot for themselves is Toni's reflection on this aspect of the camp.

As a mixed Camp during its first 3 months, women felt that the men were over-protective and "found it very difficult to remain non-violent when they saw their women-friends being treated badly [by police]."

Although they do not take part in actions or sleep at the camp, there are many ways in which men can and do assist. Men visit, set up support groups or contribute donations, transportation, child care and fund-raising efforts.

I choose to work with women because for me personally everything I've struggled against, every form of exploitation and oppression I've experienced in my life has been because of male creations, male values and male realities. And I believe in working with women, we can bring about the new values, the new ways... a complete alternative to the patriarchal system.

—Theresa

Greenham has no formal "structure", no leaders, steering committee, no one spokeswoman. In fact, when interviewed each woman makes clear to the press that she speaks only for herself and is not a leader. If she finds herself being called upon by the press continuously, she may decline interviews and refer the press to someone else, or simply disappear for a short while.

Word of mouth and chain letters are the vehicles of widespread communication about an upcoming planned

event. A list of some 3,000-plus addresses spreads word about actions, weaving its message among women throughout Britain and Europe.

The path of non-violent direct action has been rough at times. After a second eviction from their occupied land next to the base, the spirit of the camp prevailed upon the women to continue, undaunted. Barred from setting up caravans, tents or structures, the women cleverly devised *washing lines* and *benders* to keep themselves dry and protected. A *washing line* consisted of a rope strung between 2 trees with plastic draped over it. *Benders* were made by tying saplings of trees together and draping plastic over them. Donations of food, money, firewood and bedding are some of the resources which allow the women to subsist and continue their work for peace.

The Greenham Common women are faced with other strong concerns. As the siting of the Cruise Missiles nears, more dangerous tactics have been adopted by the government.

Police brutality has escalated. Women have been hospitalized for internal injuries (from being kicked), being beaten unconscious, bruises and dislocated joints (from being dragged around by one appendage or another).

Appalling, still, is the fact that no independent body exists to investigate the police; they investigate themselves and find themselves "not guilty!" Says Toni, *It's so very frightening because you have no recourse to the law.*

Any and all of the information about police brutality towards Greenham Common women has effectively been censored by way of a *D notice* issued by the government. Although not enforceable, newspapers know of its issuance. Any paper reporting any police brutality towards Greenham women loses, for a period of about 3 months, all government cooperation in the way of dispensing government news/information. Thus, any paper reporting about police brutality would "collapse" shortly thereafter.

We feel that if the people in the country knew that women at the camp were being beaten up and injured, that support that's already there would grow enormously. People would be appalled by it. . . . We can't get (the police brutality) published.

—Toni

The U.S. personnel on the base, in the past, have been armed but have had absolutely no jurisdiction. Recently that changed: U.S. armed personnel have been told to shoot on their own initiative.

British police are not armed. But recently a special police force has been formed in Britain called the Atomic Energy Police. This is a force of 500 *armed police* who are allowed to work in complete secrecy. They are allowed to detain *anyone* or raid anyone's home on suspicion of any connection with terrorist or subversive acts to stop the deployment of the Cruise Missiles.

Although legal aid is made available to those unable to pay for representation in court, Greenham Common women have, on many occasions, been denied that legal aid which is their right during court hearings.

A Greenham woman involved in direct, non-violent action for peace, when arrested, is charged with *breach-of-the-peace* and is inevitably found guilty. When she is then bound over to *keep the peace* or sent to prison. *Keeping the*

peace in the authorities' terms means she is not allowed to take part in any actual work for peace for a long period. When a woman refuses to accept that kind of bind-over she faces a jail sentence. For some women, setting foot back onto the Peace Camp means a 2-year imprisonment. Some women, under penalty of *incitement* cannot *incite* others to trespass onto the Peace Camp land.

Immediate impact and effectiveness of the actions at Greenham Common can be measured by noting a few developments over the last 20 months.

1. Recently the government claimed that it was going to spend about *1 1/2 million dollars* in an advertising campaign to promote the Cruise Missiles! Because of the uproar in the country against that kind of money being spent on political propaganda, the government backed down. Toni muses: *But that merely means they will still do it but say they're not doing it. It's a worrying thing but. . . . It's also an indication of our strength and effectiveness.*

2. While only 10% of Britain's population knew of the Cruise Missile last year at this time, 90% now know what a Cruise Missile is. Sixty-one percent of Britain's population is now opposed to the siting of the Cruise Missile in their country.

3. International newspapers are covering the activities of the Greenham activists.

4. Peace Camps have sprung up all over Europe as well as 2 now being planned in the U.S. Greenham Common is being used as a model for some of these camps.

Clearly the Women's Peace Camp at Greenham Common has been very effective. How long women intend to remain there may depend on how effective they feel they continue to be. Theresa claims that if she stops seeing results from the actions at Greenham that would only be an inspiration for her to work harder and be more determined.

I intend to stay here. . . . to oppose Cruise Missiles and nuclear weapons indefinitely.

—Theresa (4/29/83)

And so the peace camp continues, season after season, providing insight and inspiration for people all over the world.



International Connections

Comiso Women Say No to the Cruise

An imagined thread linked Comiso to Greenham Common on December 12, 1982, as Sicilian women held a sit-in at the proposed Cruise missile base at Comiso. Comiso is due to receive 112 Cruise missiles in 1983. A feminist collective in Catania (Coordinamento per l'autodeterminazione della donna) has been active in the peace issue since September 1981 when they drew up their own document which was then translated into English and French and taken to Amsterdam to an international meeting of women for peace. The most important points of their statement are: "The violence of war equals the violence of rape; this is the historical memory that women have of all wars. It is not by chance that war goes through the same stages as the traditional relationships between the two sexes: aggression, conquest, possession, control. Of a woman or of a land—it makes little difference." And again, "For women, ourselves, the war has already begun: the raising of military expenditures means cutting expenditures for social services."

Links with Greenham Common were established when two Greenham women visited Sicily and showed slides of their peace camp and women's actions. This reinforced the will of the Catania group to work separately and to hold the women-only action on December 12, 1982. On that day they sat in a circle in front of the Magliocco airport with other women, some of whom were from Comiso itself. Magliocco has since had a web woven across its gateway on January 4, 1983 by 30 women from the Peace Camp, from European countries and the USA, which blocked the entrance from 6 am to midday. The women also distributed leaflets to explain why they were there.

—reprinted from *Isis*, C.P. 50, 1211 Geneva 2, Switzerland.
Subscription for one year \$15.

Israeli Women Speak Out on Peace

Discussion during a recent conference in Israel on "Violence Against Women" turned to "Women and War." Below is an account of what was said. The source is the *Jerusalem Post* of November 3, 1982.

War is the ultimate barbarity created by man, perpetrated against people, bombs do not discriminate between women and men, children and old people, those who willingly fought the war, or those who took a stand against it. But war, and the threat of war, exact a particular price from women.

It was this price—the way that war specifically affects our lives as Israeli women—that was the theme of one of the workshops held recently as part of the fifth national feminist conference. The overall theme of the conference was "Violence Against Women," and it attempted to cover all aspects of such violence—not only the more obvious brutality of rape and battered wives, but also the more subtle and insidious forms of violence against women, such as pornography, violence within the family, the violence done

to women through sexist language. Although these and other workshops were well attended, a large proportion of women at the conference felt that it was unrealistic to devote time to these issues in the current circumstances, that the issue to be dealt with now was women and the war.

"As feminist women, we have to make the connection between an ideology of war, and our vital life interests, which are further and further regressed by a siege mentality. We have to understand the propaganda of fear, of the enemy without, waiting to destroy us—a fear exploited by both sides as a means of controlling society, and of oppressing women." . . .

What of the future? Three courses of action were outlined in the last part of the workshop. The first was to become involved politically, to understand the political processes and the machinery of power—and to use this understanding to further our own interests.

The second course of action suggested was for women to unite and get in touch with their own strengths. . . . And the third is to work with Palestinian women. And of course, all these courses of action should be embarked upon simultaneously. "Our strength lies in the extent to which we can work with Palestinian women," said Katznelson. . . .

If women are able to reach out to each other, across borders, to join their strengths and find a way to make their voices heard, there is yet hope of a better world—a world in which war will cease to exist as an option for solving political conflicts.

—*Isis*

Canadian Women Refuse the Cruise

Because we see the nuclear threat to world survival and the oppression of women as rooted in the politics of domination, we also see that world nuclear disarmament would be only a partial step toward a lasting world peace. We must challenge not only the arms build-up but also all the props that support militarism as the characteristic solution to problems between individuals or nations, in society and the world. We must consciously seek out non-hierarchical alternatives which enable us to live in a healthy, sensible and loving world.

—Women's Action for Peace

The Women's Action for Peace of Toronto and Ottawa is active in the movement to refuse the Cruise/refuse le Cruise in Canada. The U.S. and Canada recently signed an agreement that will allow the U.S. to test Air Launched Cruise Missiles in Cold Lake, Alberta. The guidance system for the Cruise missile is being built by Litton Systems, Ltd. outside of Toronto. The Litton Plant has been a focal point for Canadian activists in the Cruise Missile Conversion Project and the Alliance for Nonviolent Action. Canadians join Upstate New Yorkers in the Nuclear Weapons Facilities Networking Project, a network of activist groups working on education and conversion at weapons facilities. The Networking Project is sponsoring a walk from Kingston, Ont. and civil disobedience at Griffiss Air Force Base in Rome, NY during the end of July.

At the Foot of the Mountain

The Shibokusa women of Kita Fuji have developed a strong movement at the foot of Mount Fuji, near a fortified military base. The struggle for their land and for a human life is centuries old. In the seventeenth century, they made a modest living growing beans and radishes and creating a silk-worm industry. Then in 1936, militarism disrupted the fragile prosperity of the community. First, the army executive drills on their land. After the war, the US army troops stationed on the site led to a startling increase in prostitution. Women were treated like dirt on the ground.

Nothing changed after the San Francisco Peace Treaty signed in 1952 and when in 1955 farmers protested, they were arrested as rioters. But wide publicity following a car accident in which the chief of police was killed drew attention to them and they were promised more land. Then, as men left the land, the women took over the struggle against the military base, building a series of small cottages around the base, small bastions of ordinary life amid the soldiers' incessant preparations for death. The women have now built fifteen!

In 1970, the police came to evict the women—who decided to stay until death. At the last minute Kimie Watanabe, the leader, said that they would better serve their cause alive. They surrendered but they learned that they had nothing to lose and this knowledge makes them strong.

They disrupt military exercises by making their way into the middle of the exercise area, popping up in the middle of the firing. They are often arrested, but the police don't like their screaming and have realized that they make trouble.

The women have been attacked by right wing groups who harass them, crying "go home, you old witches," and throwing stones and burning brands. The women say that they are so old that they don't know when they were born and who they are... so they think that if anything happens to them it is no disaster. The young women who are now bringing up their children will then take their places.

What do they want to achieve? They wanted to get back their land, but now they have realized that the whole phenomenon of militarism is violence against the land, wherever it takes place. And they added, "You see, Mount Fuji is the symbol of Japan. If they are preparing for war on her flanks, how can they say Japan desires peace?" and "Don't imagine our lives are miserable. It's fun to make a nuisance of ourselves and embarrass those men. This work is our whole life... We will continue it to the end... Men will not endure the worst: they have no patience, they give up or get violent, rather than sitting it out."

"We are not clever, most of us have hardly been educated at all. But we are strong because we are close to the earth. Our conviction that the military is wrong is unshakable."

—excerpted from *Keeping the Peace*, ed. Lynn Jones

Interventionism and the Final War

It is usually assumed that nuclear war, if it comes, will begin with a full-scale nuclear attack by one super-power upon the other. But there are reasons to believe that it is more likely to grow by gradual stages out of a non-nuclear "local conflict" in Asia or Africa or Latin America into which the superpowers are ultimately, and disastrously drawn.

The nuclear powers appear increasingly inclined towards intervention in local Third World conflicts. After Viet Nam, for a time the US government relied on "surrogate" states like Iran or Indonesia to protect its interests abroad. When the Shah fell, Washington changed tactics. Policy now calls for direct intervention, or the threat of intervention, by special operations forces (like the Green Berets), the US Navy, the Rapid Deployment Force, and the like. Meanwhile, the USSR has shown a greater readiness to intervene abroad, indirectly or directly, as Angola, Cambodia, Ethiopia, and Afghanistan demonstrate. A current or future act of intervention could one day lead to a confrontation between the superpowers.

Developments in weaponry, the growth of the arms trade, and superpower interventionism are combining to make nuclear war far more likely. It is therefore essential that the anti-nuclear movement, the anti-intervention movement, the anti-draft and counter-recruitment movements, and the movement to control the international arms trade work together. None of these movements can achieve its goals alone. If interventionism and the trade in increasingly lethal weapons continue, nuclear disarmament will be either impossible to achieve or impossible to maintain. If we do not overturn present nuclear policy, it will be impossible to

compel the superpowers to give up the practice of interventionism or to convince the world's nations they do not need the arms they are buying in such quantities to protect themselves against interventionary tactics.

At first sight, the fact that these issues form an inseparable whole may seem a formidable obstacle to the success of the peace movement. In reality, it constitutes an extraordinary opportunity. First, it provides a solid basis for coalitions between the anti-nuclear movement and the various anti-interventionary movements (such as the movement against US intervention in El Salvador). Better still, it provides the basis for coalitions with all those constituencies—the poor, the elderly, the minorities, the handicapped—who are suffering from the shifts of public funds from the social sector to the military establishment. Last, it provides the basis for linking the widespread persistence of anti-interventionist sentiment (the so-called "Viet Nam syndrome") to the growing outpouring of anti-nuclear sentiment.

For all of these reasons, but most of all because of the terrifying litany described above, it appears absolutely essential that the peace movement view non-interventionism and nuclear disarmament as related goals of a unified struggle. Indeed, it seems absolutely inescapable that the only way that we can prevent an interventionary war fought with conventional weapons from escalating into a superpower war fought with nuclear weapons is by preventing the interventionary war in the first place.

—freely adapted from a talk by Michael Klare, 6/14/82, NY.

Feminism And Non-Violence

Women's Peace Movement: On To Seneca

For the last 10,000 or so years, women have generally served society as peacemakers. Women have cleaned up after the manmade wars. They have tended the wounded, comforted and cared for the widowed. They have been the peacemakers within the family, and within the community. Women have raised and trained the young, formed and staffed the charities, healed the sick, assisted at births and tended the dying. Women have enriched and enhanced the living-out of human lives, in all ages and in all regions of the earth.

In their rightful quest for liberation from the limitations and restrictions imposed on them by the stereotypical roles assigned them throughout most of history, women sometimes ignore the significance of their noble peacemaking tradition. No attribute, no skill is more needed today. Women's traditional preference for nonviolent solutions to human problems deserves to be honored by women and men alike, and greater use must be made of these skills.

In the nineteenth century, women began to emerge in more formalized peace activity through the formation of peace societies. They wrote treatises, held discussions and corresponded with other peace societies. These came about as a reaction to the expansion of huge armies wielding highly destructive weapons. In response to the fervent new nationalism, women saw internationalism as the answer, and began corresponding across national boundaries. Such corresponding peace societies were well developed when Bertha von Suttner wrote her famous book, a call to "Lay Down Your Arms." She later persuaded powder-maker Alfred Nobel to establish a peace prize, and still later, was herself made a Nobel laureate.

The women's peace movement grew out of the early women's rights movement. Lucretia Mott, a Quaker from Nantucket who became an early activist in Philadelphia in the anti-slavery and women's rights societies, was one of the first espousers of peace and nonviolence in this country. The first Women's Rights Convention she co-convened in 1848 sparked a national movement, which became international with the formation of the International Suffrage Alliance, many of whose members were pacifists.

In 1915, suffragists from 12 countries, some of whose husbands, brothers and sons were slaughtering each other on the battlefield in the "Great War," came together to protest the war and plan for peace, in the first international women's peace congress. From that gathering emerged the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, with Jane Addams, head of the new U.S. Women's Peace Party, its first president. She and Emily Greene Balch, the League's Executive Secretary who had been fired from her teaching post at Wellesley for her pacifist views, received the Nobel

Prize for their work with the WILPF. Triennial world congresses and international summer schools have been consistent features of WILPF work throughout the years.

After World War I, sentiment for peace and disarmament reached a high pitch. The fledgling League of Nations called a disarmament conference in 1932. So many women's organizations came to the conference in Geneva with their millions of petitions and signs that one New York newspaper headlined, "Where Are The Men?" But the conference failed as war clouds gathered. Mussolini invaded Ethiopia, the Japanese invaded Manchuria, the League of Nations dissolved, and soon Hitler's forces terrorized the continent as World War II erupted. Once again, the disarmament movement was ended by the outbreak of war.

After the War, the Women's International Democratic Federation was formed to respond to the needs of women and children; they were also strong advocates of peace and disarmament.

In the late 50s and early 60s, nuclear testing in the atmosphere by the United States and the Soviet Union spurred a vigorous ban-the-bomb movement. When women discovered that radioactive Strontium 90 was turning up in their breast milk and babies' bones, they descended on Washington. Women Strike for Peace was born in 1961, and a partial nuclear test ban treaty was concluded in 1963. WSP is currently engaged in an "I Don't Want To Be One in 20 million" campaign.

The elegantly understated slogan "War is Not Healthy for Children and Other Living Things" accompanied the birth of Another Mother for Peace. Based in California, it drew support from some Hollywood personalities, and sent its unique newsletter nationwide.

Many church women's groups, which had long given lip service to peace, became more and more active on behalf of peace and disarmament. Catholic groups, orders of nuns, and Protestant denominations in Church Women United were often instrumental in opening up discussion of peace issues in their respective churches.

When in 1975 the United Nations proclaimed International Women's Year, it adopted the theme, "Equality, Development, Peace." The year produced the Mexico City Conference involving women by the thousands; the first women's international disarmament conference, held at the U.N., hosted by WILPF; and an international congress of women in East Berlin.

The U.N. Special Session for Disarmament in 1978 spawned further action for disarmament as new groups emerged. The clarion call of Helen Caldicott, alerting all to the medical effects of nuclear power and war and urging women to organize against nuclear armament, led to the formation of Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament,

which features actions such as Mothers Day marches. Randall Forsberg founded the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, with as many women as men on its Board of Directors. She later launched the campaign for a nuclear freeze. Alva Myrdal, the great Swedish disarmament minister, received the Nobel Prize, long overdue recognition of her work.

As the new feminist movement developed, spurred from rebellion in the ranks of male-dominated peace organizations, new women's peace groups sprouted across the continent and in Europe. Women for Peace groups from Scandinavia collected half a million signatures in four months time to present to the U.N. Secretary-General at the opening ceremony of the Copenhagen U.N. Conference on the International Women's Decade in 1980. The following year WILPF and Women for Peace held a march in Amsterdam in which 10,000 women participated. Women in New Zealand ran a relay for disarmament from both ends of the country to the capital. A women's march from Copenhagen to Paris in 1981 for disarmament and a nuclear-free Europe involved thousands along the way. The next year Scandinavian women led a march across the artificial East-West barrier from Stockholm to Minsk and Moscow.

Meanwhile the Women's Pentagon Action, articulating the feminist viewpoint, dramatized feminist determination to confront militarism in actions legal and illegal at the Pentagon, in 1980 and 1981. These actions helped bring a feminist spirit and creativity to the peace movement.

In 1982, WILPF launched the Stop The Arms Race (STAR) campaign, enlisting hundreds of thousands, and bringing 10,000 NATO women to NATO headquarters in Brussels to demand a stop to the planned deployment of Ground-Launched Cruise Missiles (GLCMs) and Pershing IIs in NATO countries.

In the fall of 1981, a group of 40 women and children walked from Wales to Greenham Common Air Base in England where the new US GLCMs are slated to be deployed late in 1983. They decided to stay, encamped, and won international acclaim for the harassment, arrests, evictions and bitter winter weather they endured. Other women's encampments followed, at Comiso in Sicily, in Germany, England, Canada, and now, in historic Seneca County, site of the Seneca Army Depot, transshipment point for the Pershing II and other nuclear weapons being sent to other countries.

The Seneca Women's Encampment was conceived at a global feminist disarmament conference just prior to the U.N. Second Special Session on Disarmament, hosted by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the American Friends Service Committee, and attended by representatives of the new Upstate Feminist Peace Alliance and Greenham Common peace camp.

At a time in history when the quality of human life is rapidly deteriorating as the expansion of militarism dominates our lives, and the existence of life itself is further threatened, women are once again rising to the emergency and accepting responsibility for their own lives, the lives of their children, and all life on Earth.

I Am a Dangerous Woman

*I am a dangerous woman
Carrying neither bombs nor babies
Flowers nor molotov cocktails,
I confound all your reason, theory, realism
Because I will neither lie in your ditches
Nor dig your ditches for you
Nor join in your armed struggle
For bigger and better ditches.
I will not walk with you nor walk for you,
I won't live with you
And I won't die for you,
But neither will I try to deny you
Your right to live and die.
I will not share one square foot of this earth with you
While you're hell-bent on destruction,
But neither will I deny that we are of the same earth,
Born of the same Mother.
I will not permit
You to bind my life to yours
But I will tell you that our lives
Are bound together
And I will demand
That you live as though you understand
This one salient fact.*

*I am a dangerous woman
Because I will tell you, sir,
Whether you are concerned or not,
Masculinity has made of this world a living hell,
A furnace burning away at hope, love, faith, and justice,
A furnace of My Lais, Hiroshimas, Dachaus.
A furnace which burns the babies
You tell us we must make.
Masculinity made "femininity,"
Made the eyes of our women go dark and cold,
Sent our sons—yes sir, our sons—
To war,
Made our children go hungry,
Made our mothers whores,
Made our bombs, our bullets, our "Food for Peace,"
Our definitive solutions and first-strike policies.
Masculinity broke women and men on its knee,
Took away our futures,
Made our hopes, fears, thoughts and good instincts
"Irrelevant to the larger struggle,"
And made human survival beyond the year 2000
An open question.*

*I am a dangerous woman
Because I will say all this
Lying neither to you nor with you
Neither trusting nor despising you.
I am dangerous because
I won't give up or shut up,
Or put up with your version of reality.
You have conspired to sell my life quite cheaply,
And I am especially dangerous
Because I will never forgive nor forget
Or ever conspire
To sell your life in return.*

—Joan Cavanagh

Some Thoughts on the Connections Between Feminism and Non-Violence

Feminism is a value system which affirms qualities that have traditionally been considered female: nurturance of life, putting others' well-being before one's own, cooperation, emotional and intuitive sensitivity, attention to detail, the ability to adapt, perseverance. These traits have been discounted by societies which teach competition, violent conflict resolution, and materialism. Feminism insists that the qualities traditionally considered female be recognized as deserving respect and manifesting great power. These qualities need to be emphasized more so as to create a balance with the traditionally masculine attributes of assertiveness and effectiveness in the world.

In contrast, the system which we currently live under is called *patriarchy*. *Pater* means owner, possessor, or master. In a patriarchy, all civil and religious authority belong by birthright to men.

Nonviolence, like feminism, is a political theory and a way of life. Nonviolence holds life to be the highest value—life in its full wonder. Killing people, hunger, poverty, ignorance, psychological manipulation, the lack of meaningful work—these are all forms of violence. Nonviolence is organized and goes out to confront the violence of society. It is not passive. It uses anger, not to wipe out the opposition, but to change unjust conditions. As a philosophy and body of political tactics it has not been limited to any race, class, or sex; and it has been used effectively to draw the line on the violence of the prevailing society.

Power

Nonviolence entails a different understanding of power than that which predominates today. Usually power is understood as the *power-to-do-to*. In practice, such an understanding of power leads people to dominate, to want to control, to belittle, to deny the existence of the other, or to consider the existence of the other only in terms of one's own self-interest. In the extreme, such an understanding of power leads people to seek the total extinction of other people. The power of nonviolence, on the other hand, is the power simply to do, or the *power-to-be*. Power from a nonviolent perspective is expressed in terms of empowerment of ourselves, of others, communication, sharing, creating an alternative social order which draws boundless strength from having incorporated the energy of everyone's perspective. Nonviolence and feminism realize that we have to be, and can be truly powerful, but only if we share power.

Nonviolence and feminism have both recognized the extent to which we give others power over us. Nonviolent activists have long urged non-cooperation as an effective nonviolent tactic, for example, refusing to pay taxes when that money goes for war rather than meeting human needs, refusal to cooperate with the draft, refusal to obey racist laws, strikes against unjust working situations. Similarly, many women are withdrawing support from men to one degree or another as we realize the extent to which we have cooperated with our own oppression.

A feminist/nonviolent philosophy of power holds great significance for creating an alternative social order—one that

is more just and loving. Social systems we can envision as being radically different include health care, the educational system, child-rearing, the workplace and purpose of work, neighborhood development, the role of science, to mention just a few.

Non-Violence and Feminism

Feminism and nonviolence are both deeply concerned about and committed to process. Just as feminists have long insisted that the way we do our work and live our lives is at least, if not more, important than the goals we attain, nonviolent activists have historically maintained and acted upon the thesis that the means used determines the end obtained. Or, in other words, we cannot create a loving, caring, cooperative global society by climbing over, dismissing, and destroying each other. Both nonviolence and feminism act against oppression; both pit themselves radically against the very basis of the predominant world view which seeks to objectify, quantify and control.

By emphasizing that socialization into distinct sex roles is a deep-seated cause of violence, by pointing out all the subtle and not-so-subtle forms of male domination that used to get glossed over, by insisting on decentralized, non-hierarchical processes for meetings and the accomplishment of tasks, feminists have already made significant contributions to the theory and practice of nonviolence. Still, much remains to be done.

Feminists correctly maintain that the personal is political, but sometimes the truth of this statement weighs too heavily in favor of the personal. Many feminists, however, have made the connections between personal and state violence. We can see that socialization into distinct sex roles leads, for example, to rape, battery, pornography, and low paying jobs for women. We can also see that the same socialization prepares men to be soldiers, to kill and be killed. It leads men in positions of state and corporate power to design and carry out the foreign, domestic, economic and military policies we have, in which a few people exercise immense power and privilege at the expense of the vast majority of people who do not. Abundant examples can be found of patriarchal "problem solving" which solves nothing. When faced with the problem of unemployed minority youth in California, Governor Jerry Brown's solution was to recruit these young people to the National Guard and station them in inner-city ghettos. Or, upon the occasion of a tree cutting incident on the border separating North and South Korea, then-President Ford's solution was to put the U.S. on nuclear alert. With its long tradition of analyzing state violence, organizing opposition to it, and developing alternatives, the nonviolent movement can and has made valuable contributions to the feminist effort to link our personal lives with larger political issues.

Feminism and nonviolence are closely linked on a very basic level. So much so that we believe it impossible to implement one without the other. Or maybe it's more accurate to say that feminism and nonviolence offer two ways of approaching the same reality. Both emphasize that "our liberation consists in affirming 'I am,' without making

another the Other." (Mary Daly, *Beyond God the Father*.) To assert "I am" without objectifying the opponent strikes at the basic assumption of the world view which makes domination and oppression possible, which makes the manipulation of persons as if they were quantifiable objects possible. In this respect, and speaking generally, women have something of an advantage over men. For the most part, women have been socialized to recognize and consider others, and now women are also recognizing and considering ourselves. Nonviolence comes at this same reality from a different direction in that it tries to perfect the ways we can engage in conflict to right wrong behavior, and still affirm the opponent as a person.

Suggestions for Strengthening the Links

1. The nonviolent movement needs to give greater attention to stopping the physical and economic violence directed specifically against women. This means supporting women's efforts to end violent pornography; supporting rape prevention and rape crisis work; supporting the Equal Rights Amendment, etc.

2. Peace organizations with traditional male leadership patterns need to change. Most nonviolent activists give lip service to the ideals of feminism. However, this often tends to ring hollow because we have barely begun the difficult task of rooting out male privilege—even in nonviolent organizations. To accomplish this requires more than men relinquishing positions of power (though that's a good start!).

It means creating new ways of working together—ways that are more intuitive, less hierarchical, maybe even less rational. It also means creating and strengthening support systems ranging from shared childcare to women's, lesbian and gay programs and caucuses. It means building community.

3. Peace groups and feminists can and should work together to develop new patterns of child-rearing which break traditional sex role expectations and encourage nonviolent conflict resolution.

4. We can work together to make military spending a "women's issue," pointing out how the huge military budget consumes human and material resources which would be better used to meet human needs: health care, child care, job training, cleaning up the environment, etc.

5. We can work together to challenge military recruitment and the draft on the basis that the military mentality and experience encourage violence against women and gays, in that the military dehumanizes soldiers as it trains them to dehumanize others, and the methods used in boot camp are designed to manipulate people on the basis of their sexual insecurity. We can work together to popularize the fact that women being in the military does not mean increased opportunity, but rather further oppression. Last, but not least, we can work together to deepen the understanding that the way male children are usually brought up cripples them emotionally and teaches dominant and aggressive attitudes and behaviors which prepare them to accept without question their assigned role as soldiers to kill and be killed.

—Helen Michalowski

Sisters for Feminism and Non-Violence

Many religious orders of women were founded to bring about human rights for those who were powerless in their times, and to base their actions for justice on gospel principles of peacemaking.

The Congregation of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Peace was founded by Margaret Anna Cusack in 1884 in Nottingham, England to promote the peace of the Church both by word and work."

In March 1982 the women of this Congregation published a Disarmament Statement as follows:

We, the Congregation of St. Joseph of Peace, an international Community, publicly declare our resistance to the production and deployment of all nuclear and other instruments of mass destruction.

We are committed to encouraging and assisting in the urgent work of educating ourselves and others to the immortality of a continued proliferation of nuclear and other mass destruction arms.

We all need vision: "Without vision the people perish," as the Book of Proverbs warns. Faith's contribution to this vision is the assurance that peace is possible. That is our starting point, and our major resource is the word of God.

The principle of non-violence is profoundly simple: *It is the committed belief in the ultimate value of every person.* Feminism makes the same claim. It is, as Francine Cardman says, "a movement that seeks to end domination and subordination in human relationships and to bring about justice, freedom, and mutuality in all areas of life." Peacemakers guided by feminist values, however, do not wish conflict away. On the contrary, they deal with

differences in creative fashion using dialogue, discussion, resistance at times, and persuasion as the norm in settling conflict—and not threats of violence, force, or power—military or otherwise.

To effect a really liberating change, action must begin with consciousness! We will never act if our awareness is not sharpened and deeply rooted:

Do not model your behavior on the world around you, but let your behavior change modeled on your new mind. This is the only way to... know what God wants... (Rm 12)

The Prophet Amos called the traditional peace offering an "empty ritual" when it was not accompanied by just deeds. Judith Dwyer termed it a "costly silence" to refuse a call to peace action. Dorothy Day began everything she said and did with the implicit conviction that one person can indeed make a difference. During the tumultuous '60's her prophetic acts (arrests, challenging military power, etc.) attracted even the attention of the FBI who collected a thick portfolio on the Catholic Worker Movement.

Whether it's working with battered women, engaging in civil disobedience, sharing in a political process, resisting arms build-up, confronting patriarchy in its many forms, or addressing injustices in church structures, it is the person—the woman or man—who transforms the unjust situation to the extent to which s/he struggles to overcome it.

There is an unfinishedness about peacemaking. Action is demanded, but faith is the indispensable pre-requisite. Peace is possible.

—Louise Dempsey, C.S.J.P.

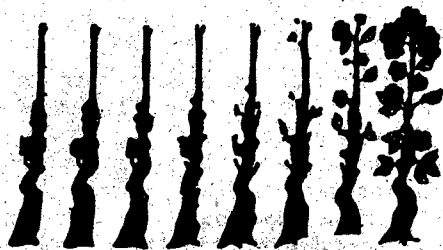
Former President of Sisters of St. Joseph of Peace

Contradictions Between Feminist Anger and Non-Violent Practice

Mix radical feminism with a commitment to nonviolence and what do you get? Ultimately one should get a revolutionary process that would turn the patriarchy into pea soup, but in the current state of affairs the two mix like oil and water.

The basic tenets of applied nonviolence hold vast relevance for women's self-defense alternatives. This will be a well-kept secret, however, unless its advocates can convince feminists that nonviolent techniques will not compromise women's rage and strength. Frankly, most feminists are skeptical of nonviolence, or what is interpreted as nonviolence, and for understandable reasons.

Around the world women are waging a life and death struggle against the random and institutionalized violence aimed at us. As feminists we view with absolute abhorrence the old advice regarding rape, to "relax and enjoy it," or the equivalent police warning that women who fight back risk death in the struggle with a rapist. Thank goodness we are reacting to these misogynist myths. In exploring the boundaries of our new strength and in vowing to end our victimization, women are rejecting anything and everything that smells of passivity. And, God knows, the nonviolence movement has long fought the bad PR that casts it as a philosophy for the "squeamish."



The term "nonviolence" has often been a stumbling block for those who would advocate its use. By taking "violence" as the root and countering this with the prefix "non," the term is self-defined in the negative. And hence the apologies and endless explanations: A.J. Muste wrote, "Nonviolence is not a negative thing. It does not mean the absence of violence, the renunciation of action, submission. It means resort to a superior form of struggle... And Ralph Waldo Emerson explained, "Non... is the peace principle to be carried into effect by fear. It can never be defended, it can never be executed, by a coward." In response to those who say that violence is necessary in any serious struggle, Barbara Deming suggests that one could substitute for the word "violence" the words "radical and uncompromising action"—words which could just as well describe nonviolent

actions. Joan Baez, likewise, has stated that Gandhi's term "satyagraha" (translated as "truth force") is far more appealing than the term "nonviolence" because the word "force" suggests aggressive and active behavior, though in this case motivated by truth rather than muscle.

Unfortunately the image of nonviolence continues to be confused with passivity and so has been considered equivalent to submission. When I told a friend that I was writing a book on nonviolent self-defense tactics for women, she smirked and said, "What do you recommend... prayer?"

One problem here is that the focus of nonviolent literature has been almost entirely on inter-group conflicts. Very little has been written about employing nonviolent techniques in day-to-day life. So, though many of the techniques are applicable to personal self-defense, the connections have not yet been made and are not accessible to women seeking this information. We are left then with the assumption that if we don't advocate the martial arts approach, we are in effect advocating passive, victim behavior. Nonviolence remains a shadowy third alternative, highly suspect to many, about which very little of practical use to women is actually known.

Heretic in Both Camps

In advocating nonviolent self-defense tactics, I am consciously afraid that I will be rejected by the two movements with which I identify. I am concerned on the one hand that I'll be rejected by the advocates of nonviolence for my rage and bitterness and my inability to feel compassion for the rapist. Some of my friends have falsely assumed that I am committed to nonviolence for the sake of the oppressor. Ideally there should be truth to this. Ideally I would refuse to harden my heart as the rapist has hardened his. But in reality this is not yet true for me. This has been a problem for others who have considered nonviolence, as evidenced by Gene Sharp's statement in *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*. "When understood as a requirement for nonviolent action (rather than a helpful refinement), the demand for 'love' for people who have done cruel things may turn people who are justifiably bitter and unable to love their opponents toward violence as the technique most consistent with bitterness and hatred."

On the other hand, I am afraid I'll be rejected by my feminist sisters, especially those who advocate the martial arts, for my insistence that preparation only for physical counter-attack leaves women still at the disadvantage. In spite of good intentions, some segments of the feminist movement have relegated "self-confidence" to the sole domain of the martial arts. But the confidence that women learn in the martial arts can and must be learned as a defense measure apart from the martial arts because masses of women will never step foot inside a martial arts class. We all share the need for self-defense but we don't all share the desire or opportunity to become involved in the martial arts. We cannot afford to narrow our range of know-how and defense tactics. We need to examine all options.

Redefining Victory

One place to start is in rescuing the identifying characteristics of "victory" from the patriarchal dictionary. Traditional western concepts of victory are very tangible—the opponent is visibly defeated: knocked out cold, bleeding from the nose, staggering away with black eyes, or worse. It is assumed that the victor will suffer least in the confrontation and the loser will suffer more.

This response to conflicts is a familiar temptation to most of us. When I am full of anger or tired, my immediate response to confrontation is a desire to hurt back. I imagine I'd like to punish men who terrorize women, who terrorize me. Some days I walk down the street just wishing a man would try to "mess with me" so that I could teach him a lesson. "Success" measured in cost to the opponent is immediately dramatic and satisfying. Revenge is sweet. Victory is seeing my molestor, my harasser, my rapist castrated, humiliated, punished.

But nonviolence would presumably deny us even the fantasized revenge that is so emotionally satisfying. As Judith Steinem wrote in the introduction to her book *Nonviolent Power* in nonviolent conflict resolution "success is measured by what the resister actually gains and not by what he costs his opponent." (An example of this would be a woman who successfully talks a rapist out of rape, in which case she has been successful in resisting attack but has not hurt the would-be attacker.) This type of "victory" may seem strangely empty without the traditional exponent of revengeful hurting back.

I had an experience in a park with a harasser who persistently shouted "Big Tits" at me and taunted me with graphic descriptions of his fantasies. I committed myself to dealing with in an unthreatened and unthreatening way and eventually hit on the right combination of verbal defenses that turned him away. And though I felt strong and was grateful to be unharmed, I was not really sure of my accomplishment. Had he intended to force me to leave the park with him? I know that what happened was not what he had in mind but I'll never know just what he was expecting. I later began to wonder if there had been a threat there at all. The problem here is that the skill of averting a dangerous situation before the danger has been manifested and without using physical counter-violence seems rather unsatisfying in these days when women desire a show of strength. The "victory" is elusive. This is not a criticism of nonviolence as much as it is a question of how to answer a desire to hurt back. Our rage must be taken seriously.

Barbara Deming addressed women's fear of nonviolence when she wrote, "I know that many women are leery of nonviolent struggle—afraid that the compassion it requires may cramp us. But isn't it only incomplete compassion that we have to fear—compassion that leaves out of its beam our own selves? The one-sided kind that is, of course, expected of women through which we have often, yes, lost ourselves. It has to work both ways: No, you are not the other; and no, I am not the other. No one is the other."

Non-Violence—Different for Women

Mary Crane concludes that "nonviolence for women may be different from nonviolence for men." She urges women, for example, to learn aggressiveness, in contrast to the traditional assumption that nonviolent persons need to overcome aggressiveness.

There are other ways in which traditional nonviolence may differ for women. In Richard B. Gregg's often cited chapter on moral jiu-jitsu (in *The Power of Nonviolence*), he argues that if an attacked person abandons the traditional procedure of counter-violence and meets the opponent instead with a fearless, calm and steady attitude, the attacker (who would be more at ease with physical combat) will be thrown off balance and become startled and insecure. The attacked person then has the advantage and can use the lever of wisdom to "subdue the rough direct force of his opponent."

Though this is the key to nonviolent self-defense, there are problems of interpretation when applying this to women's needs. The refusal of a victim to use violence, when the victim is a woman, may be perceived as her inability to use violence and thus may reinforce the assumption that the woman is powerless. Women are chosen as victims primarily because it is taken for granted that we will not—resist. How can we convey (in a short time) that we are acting in resistance?

Another problem nonviolent women face is that police often base their response and description of an attacked woman on whether she looks as if she struggled with the attacker. Presumably a physical struggle is proof that the encounter was unwelcome. In promoting nonviolent self-defense we will have to be alert to this.

One of my fears is that I'll be attacked and not be successful in defending myself with my nonviolent tactics and that I will *then* feel as though I didn't really try, because "trying" carries the image of physically fighting back. This is a perversion of the old guilt often experienced by raped women that they didn't do enough to resist it.

Passivity in the face of attack is the worst option, but the martial arts offers an option for a very limited number of women. There are other alternatives. We must concentrate on what will work best for us. I believe that nonviolence holds the key. The task of those advocating nonviolence is to answer the contradictions that make feminists leery, clarify its applicability to a rape situation, and examine the old assumptions that hinder its acceptance.

—Pam McAllister,
reprinted from WIN Magazine, Apr. 26, 1979



Why a Women's Peace Camp?

The Women's Peace Encampment grew out of the Global Feminist Disarmament Conference in June 1982; the Encampment is to be an act of sisterhood in support of women at Greenham Common. Seeds for believing in the effectiveness of such actions were planted at Greenham Common; and with the Women's Pentagon Action; and with Women's Strike for Peace; and at the Seneca Falls Women's Rights Convention; and with women throughout time who have chosen to act. This time women are choosing to act for an end to violence against the Earth; and against the deployment of Cruise and Pershing II missiles; against the nuclear mentality.

—Bette Shulman

There is a unique, strong and beautiful energy that flows among women and out from women when they come together—a spirit and joy that is quite different from the energy, often positive, that can be generated from women and men coming together.

This special energy flow comes, perhaps, from the communal expression of the feelings of care and concern that every woman carries in her, but that are most often expressed at the individual level, where they must compete with, and are ruled by, dominant values such as competition, "might is right," possession, etc. In addition, an all-women space allows women the safety to feel the anger towards male domination—in all its expressions—that is inside us. We are more easily able to move beyond anger because there are no representatives of the source of that anger among us.

Women need occasions such as the Women's Peace Camp to share this safe, joyous energy in order to affirm our belief in and hope for a future and the possibility of living peacefully together.

For these, and other reasons an all-women's peace camp is an essential part of the struggle against militarism and sexism. Activities involving women and men are just as essential, for different reasons.

—Helen Durie

I'm 64-years-old. All my life up to the time my father died I listened to him telling my mother over and over "What do you know... you don't know anything." In my own marriage of 35 years, my husband has never asked "what do you think?" and when I tell him anyhow, he always disagrees with me even when he agrees. It has taken me a long time working on women's actions to find out just how dumb and smart I can be.

I'm leaving out all the other steps of the way which have led me to believe the following and with all my heart; that as women we have to set up a separate consciousness about our ties to this "Patriarchy" that can no longer preserve life on earth. We may have to think the unthinkable like the Women's camp at Comiso has begun to do. I don't know. But now, for this time our peace camp, we as women need to be by ourselves without men's voices to blur the issues.

Anyhow even if we disagree and complain all summer, I for one sure don't want to hear some man's voice saying "Oh, you women, you're all alike, always complaining!"

—Joan Durant

We don't think that women have a special role in the peace movement because we are naturally more peaceful, more protective, or more vulnerable than men. Nor do we look to women as Earth Mothers who will save the planet from male aggression. Rather, we believe that it is this very division that makes the horrors of war possible. The so-called masculine, manly qualities of toughness, dominance, not showing emotion or admitting dependence, can be seen as the driving force behind war; but they depend on women playing the opposite (but not equal) role, in which the caring qualities are associated with inferiority and powerlessness. So women's role in peacemaking should not be conciliatory but assertive, breaking out of our role, forcing men to accept women's ideas and organization, forcing them to do their own caring. Women have for too long provided the mirrors in which men see their aggression as an heroic quality, and themselves magnified larger than life. Nuclear technology is built on the arrogance and confidence of mastery (over nature as well as women) which this has fed.

—Keeping the Peace, p. 23

To me, it is a vast statement that no longer will women sit back and allow men to make the decisions alone which affect the entire globe.

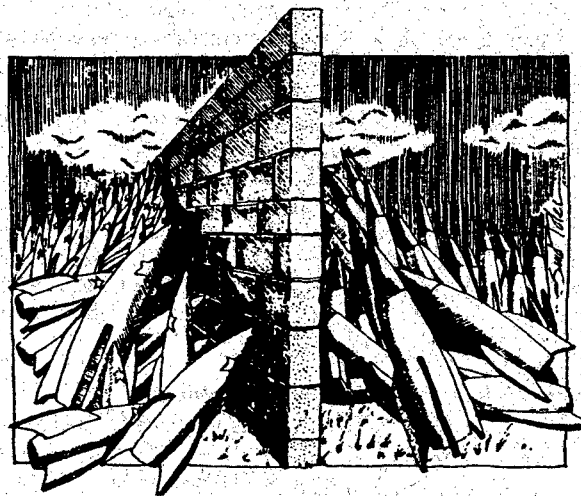
—Rebecca Linsner

An action of this length without men... allows for creativity and a community unique within the American peace networks with the possibility of a totally new direction emerging from the acknowledgement of women's experience.

—Terry Faatz

You might say that women's culture and women's politics have had the same fate and history as (that of) other colonized peoples, and now we must give expression to these (our own culture and identity).

—Vera Williams



Throughout history, in all the world's warring, feminist process has never been used for conflict resolution.

—Helene Aylon

One effect of a women's only action is the creation of a role reversal. Throughout our story, despite periods of women's uprisings, men have generally been the ones to go forth, with their swords, tanks and philosophies, to bring about change. Women, generally, have stood back, supportive, loving or outraged, with children at hand—strengthened by the call on them to endure and create a life for themselves and their families.

In a women's action, men stand back. If willing, they take on the support roles. They learn, hopefully, to be stronger in a very different way than before. Not necessarily the intent of feminist organizers, the effect of a women's action on men in the movement can be as empowering for those men as it is for the women themselves.

—Barbara Reale

I have had the dream that women would at last be the ones to truly experiment with nonviolent struggle, discover its full force.

—Barbara Deming

We've taken (women's) space and in it we are finding ourselves. But I think there's a deep difference between affirming this as a necessity for a time and making the metaphysical statement that for all the time to come men are fated to be what they are now under patriarchy.

—Barbara Deming

My fantasy is that a group of women and men will decide that it is crucial to make the connections between feminism and militarism, and that the most effective way to do that is a women-only action.

—Carol Baum

All those who feel the effects of violence must be willing to challenge it. And challenge it in a way that affirms our vision of a non-exploitative, non-authoritarian, non-sexist, non-armed future.

It is said that when an oppressed and frustrated group begins to have hope, that anything can happen. As evidenced by the Women's Pentagon Action, Greenham Common and many actions like them, women and all those who withdraw their cooperation are beginning to have hope. This spirit can only help energize the whole movement for peace and social justice.

—Susan Pines

Speciesism

... humanity's domination of nature, which has resulted in the ecological crisis. It includes speciesism, the belief that humans are superior to other animals.

—Joan L. Griscom

The domination of nature by humans has led to poisoning and paving over the beautiful earth and the threat of nuclear holocaust. Domination of other species has led to extinction of various animals and enslavement of others. I feel this tragedy in my gut.

I suffer with the dogs, cats and other animals subjected to electric shock, irradiation, chemical poisoning and other painful procedures in research labs. I suffer with the calf separated from his mother after one day and sentenced to spend his short life in a cramped stall—without exercise (so his meat will be tender), without fresh air or sun, with a healthy diet (anemia is induced so that the meat will look white—a gourmet's delight), without contact with his own kind—until he is slaughtered. I suffer with the fox, raccoon and other animals caught for hours or days in a steel leghold trap until they chew off their leg to escape or are stomped to death by the trapper—to provide fur for fashion. I suffer with the elephants and pandas and other wild animals whose homes are destroyed by agriculture, construction and mining or drilling; both the wasteful, consumptive lifestyle of some nations and people and the explosive population growth of others leave little room for wild creatures.

Just as I delight in the diversity of people (so many different colors, facial varieties, customs, personalities, etc.), I

delight in the diversity of non-human animals, plants, and other life forms. As I see more and more animals driven to the brink of extinction (the blue whale, the wolf, the American bald eagle and on and on), I feel a wrenching grief.

My emotions and thoughts are in harmony on this issue of animal rights; I find faulty logic in the belief that humans are superior to other animals. Regarding intelligence, some researchers regard the intelligence of whales and dolphins as equal to or superior to ours. (See *Minds in the Waters*, edited by Joan McIntyre.) Surely, many other animals have more "earth wisdom" than humans because they don't destroy the environment that sustains them. One way to define intelligence is adaptability to a changing environment; humans are learning very slowly that reliance on high-technology weapons is lethal in the nuclear age.

Another measure of "superiority" is our treatment of others. In this respect, non-human animals also show love, courage, loyalty and self-sacrifice. We are not alone but are connected with other beings in the inter-dependent web of life.

These realizations have led to changes in my life, e.g., becoming a vegetarian, avoiding luxury items made from leather and other parts of animals, and putting a lot of time and energy into activism for animals.

If you want to learn more and work against speciesism, read *Animal Liberation* by Peter Singer and contact Mobilization for Animals, POB 1679, Columbus, OH 43216.

—Linda DeStefano

Feminism and Ecology

In the three years since the Conference on Women and Life on Earth, in the wake of Three Mile Island, the eco-feminist movement has grown and moved outward.

The Conference grew out of hope and fear—out of fear for life and the awesome powers of destruction arrayed against it and out of hope—a hope for women's power to resist and create.

We are both a beginning and a continuation. We are a beginning for this decade but we continue the work of the many brave and visionary women who have gone before us. There was Ellen Swallow, the founder of ecological science. There was Rachel Carson, who wrote *Silent Spring* twenty years ago sounding a warning about chemicals and pesticides which was not heeded until years later. There were the women of the Women's Strike for Peace and the ban the bomb movements of the fifties, mailing their babies' teeth to Congressmen as a reminder of future generations. And there are the brave women scientists who have spoken out more recently and the women who have been at the forefront of anti-nuclear struggles, peace movements, struggles against toxic wastes and for occupational health and safety. There are those who have helped us to imagine the world as it could be—artists, poets, writers, and dreamers who have given us new visions of culture, health, technology, community and politics. And there are our sisters the world over, with us in the creation of a planetary movement. We are shaking the world.

Over ten years ago, this wave of the feminist movement began. We said then that the "personal is political," that the denial of our selfhood was systemic and political, that masculine society even had a name: "patriarchy."



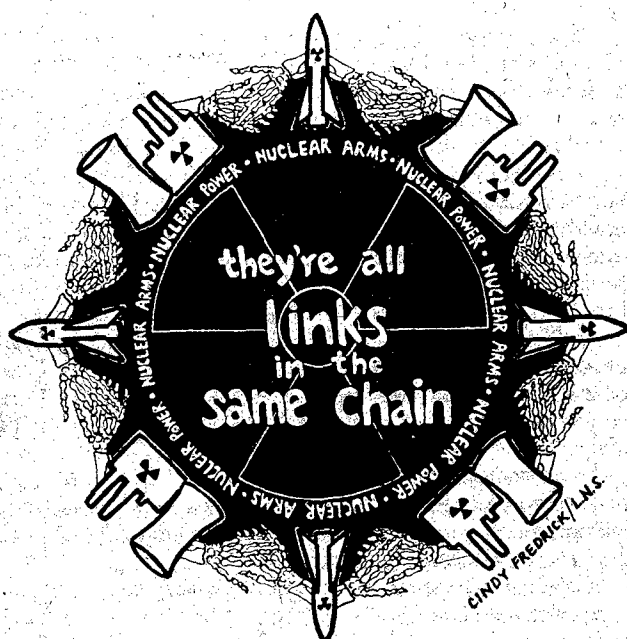
Many more women now see their oppression as political, not individual. Over the past ten years women have begun to rediscover our history, and to name and work to end violence against women in all its forms, demand equal rights, the right of every woman to decide when and if to bear children, and to express her sexuality freely.

But as we have gained in consciousness and numbers the devastation of the planet has accelerated. Every day brings new disasters, some irrevocable. The story of Love Canal where a school and homes were built on a hazardous waste site is a warning of things to come. Three to six nuclear bombs are produced each day. The Pentagon nuclear arsenal now numbers over 30,000 warheads and it is growing. There are thousands of toxic waste dumps around the country that won't be discovered until observant women notice a common birth defect or sickness in their neighborhood. The coastlines are deteriorating, and the Amazon forest, the source of much of the earth's oxygen, is being rapidly defoliated. Each day a whole species of life becomes extinct, never to be seen again on this earth.

Eco-feminism is about connectedness and wholeness of theory and practice. It asserts the special strength and integrity of every living thing. For us, the snail darter is to be considered side by side with a community's need for water, the porpoise side by side with appetite for tuna, and the creatures it might fall on, over skylab. We are a woman identified movement, and we believe that we have special work to do in these imperiled times. We see the devastation of the earth and her beings by the corporate warriors and the threat of nuclear annihilation by the military warriors as feminist concerns. It is the same masculinist mentality which would deny us our right to our own bodies and our own sexuality, and which depends on multiple systems of dominance and state power to have its way.

We oppose war and we recognize its terrible face when we see it, undeclared but all around us. For to us war is the violence against women in all its forms—rape, battering, economic exploitation and intimidation—and it is the racist violence against indigenous peoples here in the U.S. and around the world, and it is the violence against the earth.

—excerpted from an article by Ynestra King, in *Women and Life on Earth Tidings*, May 1981



Non-Violent Action

Non-Violence at the Peace Encampment

History of Non-Violent Action

The use of nonviolence runs throughout history. There have been numerous instances of people courageously and nonviolently refusing cooperation with injustice. However, the fusion of organized mass struggle and non-violence is relatively new. That synthesis originated largely with Mohandas Gandhi in 1906 at the onset of the South African campaign for Indian rights. Later, the Indian struggle for complete independence from the British Empire included a number of spectacular nonviolent campaigns. Perhaps the most notable was the year-long Salt campaign in which 100,000 Indians were jailed for deliberately violating the Salt laws.

The militant campaign for women's suffrage in Britain included a variety of nonviolent tactics such as boycotts, noncooperation, limited property destruction, civil disobedience, mass marches and demonstrations, filling the jails, and disruption of public ceremonies.

The labor movement in this country has used nonviolence with striking effectiveness in a number of instances, such as the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) free speech confrontations in Spokane, San Diego, Fresno, etc.; the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) sitdown strikes

from 1935 through 1937 in auto plants; and the UFW grape and lettuce boycotts.

Using mass nonviolent action, the civil rights movement changed the face of the South. The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) initiated modern nonviolent action for civil rights with sit-ins and a freedom ride in the 1940's. The successful 1956 Montgomery bus boycott electrified the nation. Then, the early 1960's exploded with nonviolent action: sit-ins at lunch counters and other facilities, organized by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC); Freedom Rides to the South organized by CORE; the nonviolent battle against segregation in Birmingham, Alabama, by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); and the 1963 March on Washington, which drew 250,000 participants.

Opponents of the Viet Nam War employed the use of draft card burnings, draft file destruction, mass demonstrations (such as the 500,000 who turned out in 1969 in Washington, DC), sit-ins, blocking induction centers, draft and tax resistance, and the historic 1971 May Day traffic blocking in Washington, DC, in which 13,000 people were arrested.

Guidelines for Non-Violent Action

The Womens Peace Camp encourages creative, life-affirming acts of resistance to the presence of weapons of destruction at the Seneca Army Depot. For the purpose of building trust and a common foundation for safety for all women at the Camp, participants in actions at the Depot agree to the following:

- Our attitude will be one of openness and respect toward anyone we encounter.
- We will not engage in physical or verbal violence toward anyone we encounter.
- We will not bring or use any drugs or alcohol (to the Depot) other than for medical purposes.
- We will not run. (Very important for safety at the Depot.)
- We will carry no weapons.

All participants in civil disobedience at the Depot are asked to participate in a non-violence preparation session.

Women doing non-violent direct action (illegal) are responsible for notifying other women of where and when the action will take place. Women engaging in a spontaneous action should attempt to verbally warn other women and should attempt to find support people.

All individual women and groups of women doing civil disobedience are responsible for having support people who will take responsibility for the arrested women's possessions, emotional support, contact, bail, etc. when and if the women are detained.

Creativity and Non-Violent Action

What it means to be creative in a civil disobedience (CD) is best illustrated by examples from the past. CD is as varied as the times, places, and issues it's been used for. It can occur spontaneously as a response to an unjust situation or it can take months of planning and outreach. Suffragists in England would often go into fancy restaurants and start to give speeches to unfriendly crowds about why women should have have suffrage, until they were carted off by the police. Thousands of Indians led by Gandhi made salt at the sea illegally. Blacks and whites entered segregated luncheonettes, confronting hostile patrons and certain arrest and beatings.

The recent history of mass civil disobedience actions in the peace and anti-nuclear movements has consisted of a good deal of planning, including: non-violence preparation, formation of affinity groups, support networks and large outreach efforts. Some feel this has taken some of the creativity and spontaneity out of civil disobedience. But it has made it possible for huge numbers of people to participate and inspired others to resist.

Within the context of these large actions, many groups have used their imaginations in planning protests. At the Women's Pentagon Action in 1980 and 1981, women wove the entrances of the Pentagon shut with colorful yarn. The police cut the yarn as the women continued to weave, as the police grew weary they would arrest the women, often others would pick up the yarn and continue. This action was inspired by the Spinsters affinity group who wove at the Vermont Yankee nuclear plant. They had a flyer which read:

*We will meet, all of us women of every land,
we will meet in the center, make a circle;
we will weave a world web to entangle the
powers that bury our children.
We, as life-givers, will not support any life threatening
force. Nuclear madness imminently endangers our
children, their future and the earth. On Monday,
women will be reweaving the web of life into the
site of Vermont Yankee.*

This weaving has inspired others, including the women at Greenham Common.

At the June 14 "Blockade the Bombmakers" action a women's affinity group did a slow motion dance past the police into the blocked-off area at the U.S. Mission. At a demonstration against the neutron bomb in NYC, people dressed up like buildings and sat in the street carrying signs expressing the absurdity of saving property and destroying life. At a recent action at the State Department against U.S. intervention in Central America, people wore aprons bearing the names of missing or killed Salvadorans. People have been arrested for climbing over makeshift ladders onto nuclear sites, for throwing blood on the walls of the Pentagon and for planting trees on corporate property. All these actions add to the drama and defiance of civil disobedience, so when considering what your affinity group might do at the Seneca Army Depot, use your imagination.

Summer Scenarios

August 1 has been chosen as the date for a major action at the Seneca Army Depot. It will include a non-violent civil disobedience action. Women are working on making this a creative and theatrical action with props, costumes and puppets. Some of the ideas are: having everyone dress as an endangered species; building an alternative city; planting seeds and plants; and showing examples of how the Depot can be converted. The layout of the Depot puts some limitations on what can be done. Blocking the gates is an obvious part of the action, but each affinity group is encouraged to be creative. Your ideas are needed to help make this a strong and powerful protest against the Euromissiles.

There is also the hope that affinity groups will be committing civil disobedience actions throughout the summer. The Women's Encampment for a Future of Peace and Justice, 145 Tremont St., Room 607, Boston, MA 02111 (617) 338-6378, will be coordinating a calendar of actions planned. If you know your plans in advance, contact them. There will be non-violence preparations in local communities and at the Encampment from which new affinity groups will be formed. We expect many of the actions will grow spontaneously from women at the Encampment.

Affinity Groups

An affinity group (AG) is usually composed of 5-15 people who have either been brought together at a preparation in non-violence, by being in a local peace or women's group or other type of work, or just because they're friends. In addition, many affinity groups choose to focus around a specific interest, issue or philosophy such as lesbians, women healthcare workers, mothers or Quaker women. Affinity groups are the basic decision-making body of an action.

Affinity groups serve as a source of support and solidarity for their members. Feelings of being isolated, or alienated from the movement, the crowd, or the world in general can be alleviated through the love and trust which develops when an affinity group works, plays, relates together over a period of time. By generating familiarity and trust, the AG structure reduces the possibility of infiltration by outside provocateurs.

The concept of affinity groups is not a new one; the name goes back to the *grupos de afinidad* of the anarchist movement in Spain in the early part of this century. But actually affinity groups are probably the oldest and most ubiquitous form of organization by people seeking to make a better world: what makes more sense than small groups of friends who share an "affinity" working together?

We hope in organizing for the Encampment, that many affinity groups will continue as political/support groups doing peacework and women's organizing together.

We feel that affinity groups should meet regularly, or at least several times, before the action to build community in the group, work on their process, plan out a strategy, and have a good time being together. Group names and even identification such as t-shirts or armbands can help bring a group together. At least one group meeting, preferably the one right after your non-violence preparation together, should be devoted to legal and jail preparation, in which everyone's questions, fears, reactions, emotions, and attitudes are explored in depth. Also, if there is energy for it, an affinity group can practice their action strategy with other AG's, visit the site ahead of the action, do fund-raising if the group formed before arriving at the Encampment, etc.

Principles of Unity

Simply put, principles of unity are a set of starting agreements for affinity groups. Every affinity group must decide within itself how it will make decisions and what it wants to do. This process starts when the AG forms. If an affinity group is forming to take part in an action at the Encampment it will have to reach consensus on the Nonviolence Guidelines. Later it will decide what actions to create and what legal stance to take. If a new person asks to join the affinity group, they can find out what the group believes in and what they plan to do, and decide if they can share it. Some groups ask that all members share a commitment to non-cooperation, for example, or to

non-violence as a way of life. Others might have less sweeping agreements.

A group cannot hope to reach consensus decisions without having some base of agreement. Once a basis is agreed upon, working out the details of specific issues and actions is not as difficult as one might expect, provided that there is a willingness to go along with a good idea even if it is someone else's.

Roles Within the Affinity Group

- Facilitator(s), vibes-watchers (see consensus section).
- Spokeswoman—to convey AG decisions to supporters and other AG's.
- Media spokeswoman—represents your AG to the media. Be sure to tell reporters you are speaking for your AG only.

It is a good idea to rotate the above functions so that women have a chance to try out new skills and so that no one gets bored or left out.

- Other functions, which are difficult to rotate, are:
- Contact person—receives information for the group.
 - Medic.
 - Support person(s): once you take on this responsibility, you should see it through.

Support

It can be hard for you to decide whether to do civil disobedience or support. The support women are a crucial link in the affinity group. It can be difficult, tense work, but the rewards in love and trust from the women you support are great. Many women choose to do support work because they can't risk going to jail, for financial, health, or emotional reasons; but they want to make it possible for other women to participate in the action.

Women doing support work should be part of an affinity group and go through nonviolence preparation either before or after coming to the Encampment. Non-cooperation, legal penalties, and likely police strategies are important for all participants in an action to be familiar with.

Support responsibilities include:

Before the Action

- Know the women in your group, by name and description.
- Make a confidential list with the following information for each woman:
 - name of arrestee
 - name used for arrest (if any)
 - to what extent the woman plans to cooperate, PR, bail, etc.
 - who the arrestee would like to have contacted, when, and under what circumstances.
 - special medical information
- Hold money for use in emergencies, and for bail if desired.
- Hold IDs for women who don't give their names.

During the Action

- Keep in touch with the protesters for as long as possible. Keep track of changes in strategy, location, morale, etc.
- Be ready to follow police wagons or buses. Since we are unsure whether we will be arrested by military or civilian police, and it is unclear where we will be processed, try to follow the women as closely as possible. Ask the police where arrestees are being taken. Try to know where the women are through the whole arrest process.
- Note the activity of each woman when she was arrested. Watch and note how she was treated by the arresting officer, try to get his/her badge number.

After the Action

One of the reasons for scheduling a major action in early August is so that if women are arrested, they can have the support of the Encampment if they are detained. We may be held in a gym, or split up and taken to jails around the area. We may be held on the base. Women may need to return to the area later for trials. Support them by attending court appearances, writing letters, and visiting them if they are in jail or detained. Your constant concern and persistence limits what officials can get away with—even if you agitate from the outside. Vigils outside the jail or court, and press releases to the media can also help the cause, and put pressure on authorities to release women.

Consensus

Consensus does not mean that everyone thinks that the decision made is necessarily the best one possible, or even that they are sure it will work. What it does mean is that in coming to that decision, no one felt that her position on the matter was misunderstood or that it wasn't given a proper hearing. Hopefully, everyone will think it is the best decision; this often happens because, when it works, collective intelligence does come up with better solutions than could individuals.

Forming the Consensus Proposals

During discussion a proposal for a decision or course of action is put forward. It is amended and modified through more discussion, or withdrawn if it seems to be a dead end. During this discussion period it is important to articulate differences clearly. It is the responsibility of those who are having trouble with a proposal to put forth alternative suggestions.

The fundamental right of consensus is for all people to be able to express themselves in their own words and of their own will. The fundamental responsibility of consensus is to assure others of their right to speak and be heard. Coercion and trade-offs are replaced with creative alternatives, and compromise with synthesis.

When a proposal seems to be well understood by everyone, and there are no new changes asked for, the facilitator(s) can ask if there are any objections or reservations to it. If there are no objections, there can be a call for consensus. If there are still no objections, then after a moment of silence you have your decision. Once consensus does appear to have been reached, it really helps to have someone repeat the decision to the group so everyone is clear on what has been decided.

Difficulties in Reaching Consensus

If a decision has been reached, or is on the verge of being reached that you cannot support, there are several ways to express your objections:

Non-support ("I don't see the need for this, but I'll go along.")

Reservations ("I think this may be a mistake but I can live with it.")

Standing aside ("I personally can't do this, but I won't stop others from doing it.")

Blocking ("I cannot support this or allow the group to support this. It is immoral." If a final decision violates someone's fundamental moral values they are obligated to block consensus.)

Withdrawing from the group.

Obviously, if many people express non-support or reservations or stand aside or leave the group, it may not be a viable decision even if no one directly blocks it. This is what is known as a "lukewarm" consensus and it is just as desirable as a lukewarm beer or a lukewarm bath.

If consensus is blocked and no new consensus can be reached, the group stays with whatever previous decision was on the subject, or does nothing if that is applicable. Major philosophical or moral questions that will come up with each affinity group will have to be worked through as soon as the group forms.

Roles in a Consensus Meeting

There are several roles which, if filled, can help consensus decision-making run smoothly. The *facilitator(s)* aids the group in defining decisions that need to be made, helps them through the stages of reaching an agreement, keeps the meeting moving, focuses discussion to the point at hand, makes sure everyone has the opportunity to participate, and formulates and tests to see if consensus has been reached. Facilitators help to direct the process of the meeting, not its content. They never make decisions for the group. If a facilitator feels too emotionally involved in an issue or discussion and cannot remain neutral in behavior, if not in attitude, then she should ask someone to take over the task of facilitation for that agenda item.

A *vibes-watcher* is someone besides the facilitator who watches and comments on individual and group feelings and patterns of participation.

A *recorder* can take notes on the meeting, especially of decisions made and means of implementation and a *time-keeper* keeps things going on schedule so that each agenda item can be covered in the time allotted for it (if discussion runs over the time for an item, the group may or may not decide to contract for more time to finish up).

Even though individuals take on these roles, all participants in a meeting should be aware of and involved in the issues, process, and feelings of the group, and should share their individual expertise in helping the group run smoothly and reach a decision. This is especially true when it comes to finding compromise agreements to seemingly contradictory positions.

Consensus

- **Responsibility:** Participants are responsible for voicing their opinions, participating in the discussion, and actively implementing the agreement.
- **Self-discipline:** Blocking consensus should only be done for principled objections. Object clearly, to the point, and without putdowns or speeches. Participate in finding an alternative solution.
- **Respect:** Respect others and trust them to make responsible input.
- **Cooperation:** Look for areas of agreement and common ground and build on them. Avoid competitive, right/wrong, win/lose thinking.
- **Struggle:** Use clear means of disagreement—no putdowns. Use disagreements and arguments to learn, grow and change. Work hard to build unity in the group, but not at the expense of the individuals who are its members.

Large Group Consensus

It is sometimes difficult to formulate proposals that can be consented upon in a large group. It is often helpful for a small group to formulate a proposal after hearing the viewpoints of the whole group. Often it is helpful for people who have strong opinions or conflicting opinions to be represented in the small group. The proposal should ideally be written up beforehand—all should have time to read and think about it.

The large group is divided up randomly into small groups of 5-6 people. Small groups sit together, and relay clarifying questions through a spokesperson. Questions are answered. A minute or two of silence can help each individual to think about the proposal. A consensus process of identifying objections, concerns, etc. can continue on in the small groups. The whole group facilitators can check for objections, amendments, etc. When the group re-gathers concerns are stated and recorded. Changes are checked with the author of the proposal. The small group process may need to be repeated several times before the group as a whole can achieve consensus.

The Role of Consensus During an Action

It is clear that consensus is a time consuming activity. It is therefore important for affinity groups to make their fundamental decisions prior to going into an action. Questions, such as: How do we respond to police activity

designed to keep us away from the site of the action? What do we do if faced with a provocateur in our group or outside the action? What do we do if the action changes focus or scope at the last moment?, are best decided in advance.

In the event that unplanned for circumstances arise in the middle of an action, a quick decision-making process needs to be implemented. It helps to have selected a facilitator in advance. Obviously a recorder and a time-keeper are not needed.

It will be the facilitator's duty to quickly and succinctly articulate the problem to be discussed and to eliminate those points where agreement has already been reached. It is the responsibility of everyone in the group to keep the discussion to a minimum (remember you may have to act quickly). If your point has been made by someone else, there is no need to restate it. A calm approach and clear desire to come to an agreement quickly can help the process. Strong objections should be limited to matters of principle.

Confronting Authority

Authority is defined as "the right to command and to enforce obedience." Civil disobedience confronts that definition with a belief that the individual can and should be empowered to act following her/his conscience regardless of legislation. The officer confronting you probably believes that might makes right, s/he is in charge, lawbreakers are wrong, and that violence is an acceptable tool in conflict resolution. You probably believe something quite different. When two such different frames of reference encounter each other, it's not surprising that there is often anger, fear, hostility, uncertainty, confusion and violence. There can be other responses: creativity, patience, openness, problem-solving and communication. You have a great deal of power in the situation. What do you want the outcome to be? How much energy will you put into it? There aren't any wrong or right answers, just honest, realistic assessments of your limits and the situation. Barriers can be broken down. First, though, you have to *want* to get past them. There are several things you can do. This is not an absolute, 100% successful list that will work for everyone. Take what is helpful, leave what isn't.

1. Try to put yourself in the other's place. What must it feel like to have this strange looking bunch of people coming toward you carrying shovels and cartons of plants? How do you know they won't throw things? Maybe your leave or day off has been cancelled. You've probably been told to expect violence. You're wondering about what will happen.

2. Listen. We're always so intent on getting our message across, we often don't hear what's coming back. Ask questions—sincere ones! What do you think of these protests? The demonstrators? What do you think about the Russians? Reagan? Did you have to come in early today? What's it like working at the base? Do you think we're all commies? Do you live around here? Where are you from? And that oldie, but goodie, some weather we're having, huh? Calmly listening does not mean you agree with what the person is saying or that "he won."



Women's Peace Camp, Valkenburg, Holland. Photo from Fotografie Reflex '82.

3. Try to find common areas. This won't happen if we don't listen first. If we really want to build a better world—non-violently—we have to accept that all of us will be living on it and somehow have to live together. If we make people into the enemy, it's that much harder to work it out.

4. Be aware of how you come across. We often come across as smug, arrogant, self-righteous, inflexible, aggressive, unreasonable, and inhuman. It's ironic that those are the same labels we often give to the "authorities." Introduce yourself, ask for the officer's name. Try to get beyond the roles of "protestor" and "official."

5. Maintain communication. We often assume that something is obvious when in fact it is not. Support people in an affinity group can say to officers "these are non-violent people, they won't hurt you." Those risking arrest can say what they are doing: "I'm going to walk through here now, I won't hurt you." I remember once being violently grabbed, choked and held by the neck while the officer was screaming into my face "sit down, sit down!" I kept saying "you're hurting me, I won't hurt you, please let go" over and over, looking right at him. Suddenly he stopped yelling, looked right back, shuddered, let go and said "I'm sorry, I'm sorry, please sit down," touched me three times on both shoulders and backed away. He was terrified—first, I think, of me and then of his own violence.

6. Consciously try not to let things escalate. Take a deep breath (or five). Say things in your head before saying them aloud. Be aware of the image you present, your non-verbal communication, your emotions.

7. Be prepared for less than perfection. In spite of your best efforts, the officer may not want to respond to you, be very hostile, or violent. Think through beforehand how you'll

respond. Role-playing can be extremely helpful.

Most of these ideas are for that scariest confrontation: one to one in a civil disobedience action. There are other things you can do, if you're comfortable with them, to build communication and change over the long run.

1. Have as much contact with officialdom before an event as you feel good about (people often have a valid fear of being co-opted before and event and so minimize contact). Meeting officers in non-confrontive situations (church, town meeting, community event, etc.) can help later.

2. Have individuals or a small group of people who will initiate contact with officers at an event by going over, introducing themselves, answering questions, explaining what affinity groups are, how decisions are made. This wards off the seemingly inevitable "Who's in charge here?" People who used to be in the service or who have worked with bureaucracies a lot can often be very good at this.

3. Build in things to prevent violent behavior: non-violence preparation for participants, non-violence as a ground rule of the action and publicized as such, legal observers at the action, media present, supporters taking photographs, community meetings before or after an action to address the concerns of residents, employees and service people, and making the civil disobedience part of a planned campaign.

The personal here is truly political. How you deal with the authorities can change their conceptions of you, the situation, and (maybe!) the issues. The most important things are to do only what you're comfortable with and remember that we're all imperfect humans. Good luck!

—Kath Buffington

Non-Cooperation

In the past few years protestors around the country have been choosing in growing numbers to continue their resistance to the nuclear industry in the jails and courts. This section is being included so that each person who participates in the actions this summer as part of the Encampment has an understanding of why people noncooperate. We do not expect that each protester will noncooperate: for both personal and political reasons many people choose not to resist the arrest procedure. We want everyone to understand noncooperation, however, so that informed decisions can be made about it and so that people who are not prepared for noncooperation do not feel pressured into it.

A refusal to cooperate with the imprisonment of oneself or others is sensible and natural to many of us. The deliberate and punitive denial of freedom that jail consists of is abhorrent to all of us. Many of us oppose prisons altogether, viewing the inequalities and injustices of our society as its culprits, not the victims who end up rotting in its jails.

Once we're arrested we'll be taken to the courts and jails. Hampering our removal and refusing to assist these institutions in their protection of the Depot is work of inestimable value. Noncooperation impedes our removal



First Women's Pentagon Action, January 17, 1980. Photo by Ellen Shub.

and prolongs our ability to accomplish our goals of stopping the violent business-as-usual of our targets. We become great burdens to the courts and jails and the status quo becomes more difficult and costly to protect.

One way of refusing to participate in arrest and detention is by going limp. A decision to go limp is a decision to approach the arrest situation with peaceful resistance and may involve discomfort and strained communication between the demonstrators and arresting officer, largely because one of the two people is being dragged along the ground, and one is struggling to carry the other. Although very common, even going limp is not an easy way to noncooperate; we are forcing the police to either join us or carry us away. We frequently find ourselves being carried or dragged by an angry police officer unsympathetic to our claims that we are acting as much on her or his behalf as on our own. This is an uncomfortable dilemma which runs throughout noncooperation and which can only be eased, if at all, by sensitive discussion with sincerity and conviction on our part about our motives and goals.

By our refusal to cooperate, we keep reminding them of our dissent, refusing to allow them the godlike sense that their will alone exists.

—BARBARA DEMING

Some demonstrators refuse to cooperate partially or wholly with court procedures: they refuse to enter a plea, to retain or accept a lawyer, to stand up in court, to speak to the judge as a symbol of court authority (but rather speak to her or him as a fellow human being), to take the stand or question witnesses. They may make a speech to those assembled in the courtroom or simply lie or sit on the floor if they are carried in, or attempt to leave if not forcibly restrained. The penalties for such noncooperation can be severe, because many judges take such action to be a personal affront as well as an insult to the court. Some judges, on the other hand, overlook such conduct, or attempt to communicate with the demonstrators.

Physical noncooperation may be sustained through the booking process and through court appearances; it may continue through the entire time of one's detention. This might involve a refusal to walk, to eat, to clean oneself and one's surroundings. It may even lead prison officials to force-feed and diaper the inmate.

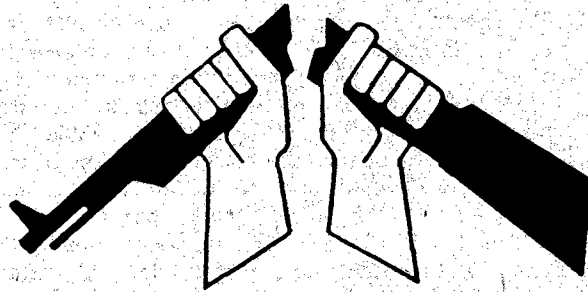
Another form of noncooperation is fasting—taking no food and no liquid except water, or perhaps fruit juice. While abstaining from food can be uncomfortable and eventually risky, abstaining from all food and liquid can be extremely dangerous almost immediately. Five or six days is probably the longest a human can go without liquid before incurring brain damage and serious dehydration. Usually authorities watch persons who are “water fasting” closely and take steps to hospitalize them before serious consequences occur, but no demonstrator can ever count on such attention and should therefore be prepared to give up the fast or perhaps be allowed to die, as did several Irish freedom fighters during the H-Block hunger strike.

There are other forms noncooperation may take and other reasons for it to occur. The refusal to give one's name undoubtedly springs from a desire to resist and confound a system that assigns criminal records to people, that categorizes and spies upon them and that punishes organizers and repeat offenders more strenuously. It relays a

message that none of us should be singled out: we'll all be doing this again and again.

Many nonviolent activists, however, acting with the openness and confidence that characterizes and strengthens nonviolent action, do not choose to hide their identities. They may still noncooperate, however, by refusing to reveal an address, or by refusing to promise to return for trial, increasing the burden on the courts to quickly deal with us and enhancing our solidarity and strength as people working together, filling the jails.

Many activists also choose to resist the codification of people by social security numbers. The questions we are asked about background and employment are means to facilitate both their processing of us and their preparation of files about us. The very fact that we may be privileged enough to have jobs and perhaps be ushered in and out of the jails more politely and efficiently than other “criminals” is something that some of us are unwilling to take advantage of.



Noncooperation is difficult. It is rewarding, powerful and inspiring, but it can be frustrating, time consuming and even painful. Noncooperators must be careful not to pressure others into joining them. Anyone who tries to noncooperate must feel flexible enough to give it up if it becomes too much to handle.

It might be best to try out various levels and approaches to noncooperation, as they feel appropriate. Noncooperation can be very powerful as a response to unjust demands by guards. It feels particularly natural and effective at such times.

It is likely that noncooperators will be subject to intimidation and threats. For this reason it is important that we prepare ourselves for this ahead of time, rather than planning to change our minds about noncooperation under duress. Successful intimidation from the guards will only encourage them to treat the remaining noncooperators more harshly.

On the other hand, cooperation is no “easier.” We are all working to stop nuclear terror and jail is an effective and, for many, frequently inevitable place to continue the struggle. Strong and principled steps are being taken by noncooperators, and they are having a great impact. We would all do well, for ourselves and for the movement, to prepare ourselves to cooperate less with the government, the courts that protect it, and the jails they put us in.

Legal Information

Since no scenarios have yet been decided on for our actions, this section of the handbook will give an overview of possible charges and consequences for actions taken on or within the boundaries of a military base, as well as general information about dealing with the legal system from within. When scenarios are decided on, additional information (if needed) will be provided.

Our approach to the legal system is up to us. We retain as much power as we refuse to relinquish to the government—city, state or federal.

The criminal "justice" system functions to alienate and isolate the accused individual, to destroy one's power and purposefulness and to weave a web of confusion and mystification around any legal proceedings. If we are well-prepared for our contact with this system, we can limit the effect it has upon us, both personally and politically. It is extremely important that we be firmly rooted in our own spirit and purposes, our commitment to one another, and the history and tradition of social struggle of which we are a part. We should try to maintain our nonviolent attitude of honesty and directness while dealing with law enforcement officers and the courts. Nonviolent action draws its strength from open confrontation and noncooperation, not from evasion or subterfuge. Bail solidarity, noncooperation, and other forms of resistance can be used to reaffirm our position that we are not criminals and that we are taking positive steps toward freeing the world of nuclear terror.

The federal authorities may try a number of intimidation tactics as a way of breaking up communication and solidarity among demonstrators. At a recent action (March, '83) that over 800 people took part in at Vandenberg Air Force Base in California, authorities tried everything to intimidate the 250 demonstrators that were arrested. Individuals who were seen as 'leaders' were quickly singled out and put into solitary confinement. Many were also left in handcuffs overnight, not given blankets, sanitary needs were ignored, and so on... Some of this treatment was the federal authorities response to mass non-cooperation, which in spite of their response was still very effective, but much of it was an experiment with how much intimidation it would take to break solidarity. It is important that we be prepared for this sort of treatment, and that we develop ways to maintain our solidarity and support of one another. Solidarity cannot be broken by courts, jails and other external forces if we hold fast to it, it is ours.

Discuss the issues raised in this legal section with your affinity group—particularly noncooperation, the demand for unconditional release and your attitude toward trials. Think out various hypothetical situations and try to understand how you will respond to these situations.

The decisions that we make are political, not legal. The reaction of the government to what we are doing, to what we stand for, will also be political. We can have quite an impact on what happens to us in jail, in court, and during processing, if we are prepared. It can be as important a part of our nonviolent opposition to nuclear deployment as everything that comes before the arrest.

Possible Charges, Consequences

Any illegal act committed by a civilian on, or within, the property limits of a military base is a federal offense. A federal offense is one committed on federal (government) property (as opposed to state property) and means we will be dealt with by federal authorities. We will also be subject to harsher penalties than under State laws.



Heidi Davis, arrested for defacing government property with blood, Women's Pentagon Action, November, 1981. Photo by Ellen Shub.

1. Ban and Bar letters: For the first time offenders a Seneca Army Depot the most likely result for entry onto the base (to blockade or sing or dance...) is being given a letter barring you from reentry onto the base. The process for receiving the letter will likely be much the same as an arrest (see arrest procedure) in that you will be detained for a short while on the base, questioned and so on, and then released with a bar letter, having no official charges filed against you. Although this has been the response to past actions a Seneca Army Depot, as well as many other military bases, it is important not to count on it because, as we know the decisions of the authorities are most often arbitrary ones.

2. Entry or reentry onto a military base. A Misdemeanor (see definition later on). This charge comes under section 1382 of the U.S. criminal code, title 18 and reads as follows: *Whoever, within the jurisdiction of the U.S. goes upon any military, Naval or Coast Guard reservation...for any purpose prohibited by the law or lawful regulation: or whoever re-enters, or is found within any such*

reservation... after having been removed therefrom by any officer or person in command is subject to a maximum fine of 500 dollars and/or 6 months in jail.

At past demonstrations on military bases this charge has been most often given to people who reentered after having received a Bar letter. At the most recent Bandenburg action, however, many first time offenders were charged under this section. The jail sentence for other actions have usually been relatively short (3 to 45 days) but at times have been harsh (3-6 months).

3. Malicious Mischief: Comes under sections 1361 thru 1364 of the U.S. criminal code but only sections 1361 and 1363 apply to any possible action that we might take. These sections pertain to depredation or destruction of government property.

a. Section 1361: *Whoever willfully injures or commits any depredation against any property of the U.S... is subject, if damage does not exceed 100 dollars, to a fine of 1000 dollars and/or 1 year in jail (this is a misdemeanor). If damage exceeds 100 dollars you are subject to a maximum fine of \$10,000 and/or 10 years in jail (this is a Felony offense, see definitions).*

b. Section 1363: *Whoever, within the territorial jurisdiction of the U.S. willfully and maliciously damages or destroys, or attempts to damage, any building, structure, machinery... is subject to a maximum fine of 1,000 dollars and/or 5 years in jail. If the life of any person is placed in jeopardy one is then subject to a maximum fine of 5,000 dollars and/or 20 years in jail (a Felony offense).*

Definitions

1. Misdemeanor—This is a moderately serious offense. Possible misdemeanors relevant to us include: Unlawful entry or re-entry onto a military base and Malicious Mischief (damage under 100 dollars). You may plead not guilty and are entitled to a jury trial.

2. Felony—These are very serious charges and should not be looked upon lightly. Possible felony charges relevant to us include: Malicious Mischief (damage over 100 dollars) or placing the life of someone in jeopardy. You may plead not guilty and are entitled to a jury trial. Anyone risking a felony charge should get more legal advice than this handbook offers.

Arrest Procedure

Although there will probably be state and or local police around during an action, we are within the jurisdiction of the Federal authorities, including Federal Marshals and Military Police (MP's), and will be arrested by them unless authorization is otherwise given to the state and local police. The federal authorities are legally required to order you to leave the area, warning you that if you do not you will be arrested, and give you a reasonable opportunity to disperse. If you do not move they are then supposed to tell you that you are under arrest and inform you of what you are being charged with. Before any questioning begins they legally must read you your Miranda Rights informing you of your right to remain silent and to be represented by a lawyer. Remember, our legal system is very arbitrary and these procedures may not be followed by the authorities, so it is important that we are aware of our rights and of the proper procedures.

Some people choose to cooperate with arrest by walking with the arresting officer. Others may refuse to move, and go limp, as a form of non-cooperation with their arrest. Consider whether you are going to do this in advance and discuss the whole issue of non-cooperation carefully with your affinity group. Remember that if you go limp you may be charged with resisting arrest (a misdemeanor, see definitions). Either way your conduct should be accompanied by a sincere and principled attitude.

Once you are arrested you will most likely be taken onto the base for preliminary processing. You will be asked your name, address and age and you may or not be fingerprinted and photographed at this time.

While your name, address and age are all that the authorities need to ask you for in order to process you, it is likely that they will ask for additional information such as your social security number. Whether you choose to provide the federal authorities with your proper name, address and age or any additional information that they try to ask for is a personal decision depending on your willingness to cooperate with the processing and your ability to risk further detention. The authorities will find it difficult to release you if they do not know who you are, but they may try to intimidate you into providing more information than is necessary to identify you.

Once preliminary processing is finished, and assuming you are cooperating (please read non-cooperation section) you will either be released with a Ban and Bar letter (see possible charges and consequences section) or you will be turned over to Federal Marshals and taken to a nearby police station. Since no arrests have occurred at Seneca Army Depot that have gone beyond getting a Bar letter it is not known which city police station people will be taken to. It will most likely be Geneva or Waterloo, but could possibly be Seneca Falls, Auburn or Syracuse. If there are large numbers of us we may spread between these places.

Processing will continue at the police station. If you were not fingerprinted and photographed before you will be at this time. You may also be stripsearched.

Once processing is completed, and assuming you are cooperating, the police (or a judge if you are given a bail hearing at this time) will either issue a Desk Appearance Ticket (D.A.T.) or set bail.

The D.A.T. constitutes a release on your own recognizance subject to an implied promise that you will return on the appointed date for your arraignment; it must be signed by you and contain all the information requested (name, address, age). In the alternative, the police may set bail. This is a specified sum of money put up by the defendant as a guarantee of sorts that he or she will return for arraignment. The money is forfeited if one does not appear and a bench warrant is issued. The police's estimate of the likelihood of your returning will be used as the basis for deciding whether to release you on your own recognizance (ROR).

In the last several years, the anti-nuclear movement has staged dozens of huge civil disobedience actions all over the country. Experience has shown that bail is usually dispensed with and people are offered ROR.

Out-of-state demonstrators should have the name, address, and phone number of a local person to be given to the police as a reference so that the police can verify who you are. (The local contact person should be informed that

you are using her/him as your reference, so that they will be reachable that day.) We do not think that out-of-staters will be handled differently from others.

Non-cooperators or people refusing, or unable to pay bail, if it is set, will be held in jail until brought before a Federal Magistrate or Judge for arraignment. This must be done within 72 hours. It is likely that if you are being held that you will be taken to Syracuse, where the federal court is for that district, and where there is a more "secure" jail.

Arraignment

The arraignment is an appearance before a judge where a plea is entered. You are entitled to be represented by a lawyer. If you are destitute, the court is required to appoint one for you. (If you wish to retain private counsel, you can request an adjournment to a later date to give you time to do so.) If you choose to represent yourself, you should feel some confidence in your ability to articulate your concerns and have some familiarity with the legal process before doing this. It is our hope that this handbook is providing such familiarity, but you may want to have counsel assisting or advising you.

It is possible that before you are asked to plead, you will be offered an ACD, an ACD can only be given by a judge if the DA agrees not to prosecute and you agree to accept it. It means your case is adjourned for 6 months and automatically dropped at this time provided you are not arrested again during that time. If you are arrested, and the courts *know* about it, this charge may be reactivated and you may be contacted by the DA and given a trial date.

If you are not offered an ACD or if you refuse it, you will be asked to plead. If you plead not guilty, a date will be set for your trial—*You are entitled to a jury trial.*

If you plead no contest or guilty, the judge will sentence you. (A no contest plea can be made in lieu of a guilty plea, but it is the *same* as a guilty plea for the purposes of sentencing.) The DA will make a recommendation on sentencing. You can talk to the DA about this: this is a further opportunity for you to explain the reasons for your actions and to ask for an unconditional release, suspended sentence or light sentence.

Bail, ROR and Pre-Trial Detention

At the arraignment, the judge will decide whether to set bail, release you on your own recognizance (ROR) or hold you pending trial (if she/he cannot identify you).

Bail is the most graphic example of the economic discrimination which pervades our judicial system. If you have the money you go free; if you don't, you sit in jail, whether you are innocent or guilty of the charges before you. Bail solidarity is the *attempt* by as many people as possible to refuse to pay bail or accept ROR until it is offered to everyone (including organizers, repeat offenders and people of color).

This will be hard to achieve if there are many separate arraignment dates. It will be easier if protesters are arraigned all at once the night or day after the protest. Perhaps solidarity can be maintained with those with whom one is in contact during the arraignment. Some people, for personal, medical, work or other reasons may choose to bail out.

Some protesters may choose to refuse bail or ROR, because both are conditioned on a promise to return for trial.

That promise is in turn conditioned on an implied acceptance of the authority of the criminal justice system to arbitrate guilt or innocence. Protesters may demand unconditional release. Refusing to give information demanded by the police or corrections officers or refusing bail or ROR will result in pre-trial detention. This forces an immediate resolution of your confrontation with the legal system; it avoids lengthy and continuing entanglement with the court system. (These effects of noncooperation may be taken as sufficient reason to noncooperate. There are strong moral reasons, reasons of conscience and integrity, as well as political reasons—e.g. opposition to the courts and jails that protect the nuclear industry, opposition to all courts and jails—that motivates many noncooperators. These issues can be discussed in nonviolence preparation and with your affinity group.)

The CD committee recommends that blockaders make a commitment to bail solidarity. We demonstrate our commitment more effectively by not cooperating with the bail system's "easy out" for those who can afford it. The campaign leaves the decision to individuals and affinity groups to determine whether or not to maintain solidarity with noncooperators.



Non-U.S. Citizens

If you are not a U.S. citizen and you are visiting the U.S. under a tourist or student visa, your right to remain in the country may be affected if you are arrested. Your visa permits you to remain in the U.S. for a temporary period of time, however, the federal government has discretion to revoke this permission if, for instance, you break the law. The shorter the period of time that your visa authorizes you to stay in this country, the greater the possibility that your right to remain here may be adversely affected by being arrested. It is likely that non-U.S. citizens may also be held on higher bail than American citizens. The authorities will be much less likely to release non-citizens on ROR or with an ACD. More information will be provided at the time of the action for non-U.S. citizens considering taking part.

Minors/Youthful Offenders

If you are *under 16*, your case will be handled in Family Court. You will be released into the custody of your parent or legal guardian. You may need a notarized form authorizing a particular person who will be present at processing as your guardian. (Get details on this from your trainers. *Please take responsibility for yourself*—this cannot be left to support people to do for you.)

If you are age 16-19 and this is your first arrest, the judge must grant you Youthful Offender ("Y.O.") status. This negates your conviction if you plead guilty or are found guilty. Your record will be sealed when the case is over.

Trials

You are required to appear in court on the trial date which has been set. You effectively promised to return when you paid bail or accepted release on your own recognizance. Your return or failure to return reflects on yourself and the collective integrity of our political movement. It may affect the court's willingness to grant such releases to other defendants in the future or cause the court to question our dedication or courage.

Failure to appear will lead to a bench warrant being issued for your arrest and forfeiture of your bond (if you put up bond instead of bail).

It is extremely important that people handle all the particulars of their trials themselves, if they choose to go ahead with trials. All too often we have seen that some demonstrators expect somebody else to follow up on their legal matters for them.

represented by counsel is often available. You should speak to women who have represented themselves. The most important thing is to remember that you have choices. The system teaches us to think that there is only one way of doing anything, but it is our questioning that brought us to civil disobedience in the first place.

In November of 1980, as part of the first Women's Pentagon Action one woman chose to sing her "defense." She sang Malvina Reynolds' "It Isn't Nice to Block the Doorway." She was found guilty.

When arrested while making a statement through an act of civil disobedience, I prefer to go pro se [represent myself] because of the control it gives me in the courtroom. It means that I am a woman in charge of my life and responsible for my decisions and behavior, and that I am prepared for the results of my action. Using a lawyer means that I must sit quietly and humbly through specious legal arrangements over my behavior and the proper punishment for it. It means that I am like a child with parents arguing about my naughtiness and what to do about it so that I will "learn a lesson" or "will have learned a lesson." I should add, however, that having a lawyer around to advise and explain potentially complicated issues is helpful.

—Catherine de Laubenfels

arrested at

Women's Pentagon Action 1980, 1981

Representing Yourself

The Constitution gives you the right to represent yourself. The right is founded in the understanding that someone else may not say quite what you want said in your behalf, or may not say it in the way you want it said. You therefore cannot be forced to let someone speak for you.

Trials and hearings resulting from civil disobedience at the Seneca Army Depot are particularly suited to unearthing the reasons behind, and the possibilities for, self-representation. What need is there for a lawyer to explain a woman's motivation for "trying to stop the European Deployment?" Perhaps she can better explain her own motivation. Why water down a deeply political and personal act of civil disobedience with a lot of legalistic jargon? Why let the application of the energizing ideas contained in the philosophy of nonviolent civil disobedience stop with the arrests? If you choose to participate in this action, it will be the result of much thought and consideration. Why not continue to involve yourself fully all the way through the trial? A lawyer must adhere to the legal restrictions of the courtroom and translate everything into the proper categories. You as a *pro se* litigant have much greater leeway. If you don't understand something don't hesitate to ask questions about what is happening during the trial.

While we encourage everyone to seriously consider the option of self-representation, we recognize that for some it may not be suitable. Representation by an attorney may be the best route, if you desire an acquittal at any cost. In a group trial, the option of having some but not all defendants

The decision to go to trial is a political one. You should keep in mind what it is we are trying to achieve and evaluate whether your trial will further these goals when making this decision. Keep in mind that courts are conservative forums for social change. You must be very creative if you are to make any headway at all; even then, the cards are stacked heavily against you. Most important, the decision to go to trial involves a commitment by you of *your* time and energy.

The actions of the government and the courts, especially in cases like these, are motivated at least as much by political factors as by the technicalities of the statutes and court rules. Legal tradition and "proper form" may not always provide an accurate picture of what we can expect. In the past few years, the anti-nuclear movement has seen some rather startling results come out of the courts—which seems to be directly related to the innovative nature of what we have put into them.

Legal Support

The C.D. committee will try to provide as much legal support as possible for women arrested at Seneca Army Depot. There are a few supportive lawyers that have been contacted who may be able to be on hand to help at the time of the arrest and with later court dates. At this time however, we cannot promise this as our work is still in the early stages. We do encourage women to become as familiar with the legal information as possible and to try to be as self-sufficient as you can.

Doing Time

Any act of civil disobedience implies the willingness to risk jail for one's convictions. This risk is deemed less serious than the consequences of complicity in a wrong or danger, or the concession of a matter of conscience. The risk of jail in any particular action may be relatively great or small, but it is important that all who undertake such an action do so responsibly, having given thought to the possible consequences and prepared psychologically for the possibility of jail.

Jails are rotten places, they are houses of misery. No matter how "progressive" and "modern" they may claim to be, they are all founded on overt or implied violence, the denial of individual dignity and decency, and a basic insensitivity to the value of human life. They are simply one inevitable link in a social chain that includes poverty, social alienation, unemployment, and the organized theft on which private wealth is based, which achieves its perfection in the massive organized violence of nuclear technology.

The experience of jail can provide a useful introduction to the underside of American justice and what is known as "The American Way of Life." As such, it is probably an experience at least as necessary to a well rounded education as any time spent in a university (and it costs less). It is a side of life that is experienced by millions and yet remains generally hidden and invisible to most of us.

For jail is a kind of home for the poor. This is not to say its residents have broken no laws—though many, simply awaiting trial, have been convicted of nothing. The point is that the bail system, the determination of sentences, and the central respect given to property before human life in our court system, discriminate against the poor. The very definitions of crime in our society select against those crimes committed by the poor. Therefore it is possible to say that people sit in jail less for a charge on which they are arrested than because they could not afford to pay a fine, to raise bail, to hire a better lawyer; because they have no property to mortgage or influential friends to guarantee their bond. Generally speaking, jail impoverishes them further; people are not improved by the experience.

For those who land there as a consequence of conscious decisions, jail can present an opportunity for testing and strengthening spiritual and political convictions. Though it should not be courted imprudently, it is something that must be faced and certainly be endured. Those arrested as a result of civil disobedience have the advantage over most prisoners of knowing that they are there having made a conscious choice. That knowledge can make the difference between what is otherwise a thoroughly miserable situation and a larger possibility for reflection and education. What is more, it can provide you, when the time comes, with a reserve of strength of which you were previously unaware.

Jail is a lonely place. It aims to weaken solidarity, to try to isolate people from one another and reduce one's concentration to the demands of authority and of one's own survival. However, no one in jail for affirming her or his conscience, is ever alone. Remember that and you should have no trouble getting by.

What exactly can you expect? Jails differ as to particular conditions, regulations and privileges allowed. Yet, jails are

enough alike that it is possible to make some rough generalizations.

You can expect overcrowding, which means frustrating and irritating levels of noise and distraction, little personal space or privacy, scant regard for cleanliness. You must exercise patience, consideration and discipline to preserve peace and sanity. It will be difficult to sleep, there will be blaring radios and TV's, slamming bars, and loud arguments, which may make you irritable and short tempered. Learn to watch for this in others and try to respect their need for space. Time will be distorted. Days will slip by but each hour will seem like eternity. Food will be starchy and dull (don't expect vegetarian menus). You and several other prisoners will be locked up most of the day in a cell containing only a toilet, sink and a few bunks.

You may be issued a uniform. In that case your clothes will be confiscated along with all your other belongings. You can expect a complete strip search, possibly including rectal and vaginal examination for contraband, which will be the first of many other casual assaults on your dignity.

You will learn to wait, for a phone call, a shower, a meal, the answer to a question, the time of day. The granting of the simplest courtesy, privileges or rights will be subject to the arbitrary whim of a particular guard trying to teach you to behave, submit, obey. This can become boring and exhausting. You will experience what it is like to be entirely subject to impersonal regulations and arbitrary and senseless demands. In this you will also realize what it means to be poor in this society and have to wait for welfare, unemployment lines, courts and innumerable offices and bureaucrats to whom the poor must endlessly present themselves.

The guards have a great deal of power and they are aware of this. And because they are human beings this knowledge tends to have a bad effect on them. Long exposure to jail, whether as a prisoner or a guard, tends to have a corrosive effect on one's confidence in human nature and goodness, and the guards are victims of this as well. They expect the worst out of people, and, not surprisingly, they are not often disappointed. Their principal concern is to preserve order, which demands an atmosphere of unquestioning respect (fear) for authority. This is their contribution to the process of "rehabilitation," supplanting personal responsibility with thoughtless obedience and submission. You should try not to indulge them in their exalted self-image. Keep expecting that they should act with respect and compassion and you may be surprised with the results. Perhaps you will surprise them into remembering that they and the prisoners in their charge share a common humanity. At least you may establish a basis for dialogue.



No distinction is likely to be made between you and other prisoners. You can expect to be treated as everyone else, though sometimes prison authorities will cater to groups of *demonstrators to create tension and resentment* in the other prisoners. Though you should always (with discretion) be prepared to explain the politics and principles behind your arrest, don't expect that you are entitled to special privileges and treatment not extended to other prisoners. On the other hand, just because your body is detained doesn't mean you've got to turn in your conscience and convictions along with your other belongings. Whether in jail or on the "outside," the freedom we enjoy is always the freedom we claim for ourselves. Being under lock and key does not deprive you of your essential freedom as long as you continue to insist on your power to say "yes" and "no" within the limits of whatever situation you find yourself. It was your commitment to make decisions for yourself about what you should and shouldn't do that landed you in jail in the first place, and it remains a good principle to live by, even in jail.

You might prepare yourself in advance by trying to consider just what you are willing to consent to and where

you would draw the line. Each person must answer this personally. One choice is to withhold consent from your imprisonment altogether, declining to voluntarily eat, walk, or obey commands. Or perhaps you are more selective, refusing to work or submit to rectal searches, conditions or commands that you feel are unjust or humiliating. In general, it is very difficult for the authorities to take your dignity from you. They prefer that you give it to them. At that point, they have succeeded in their ultimate goal, erecting an interior jail within you.

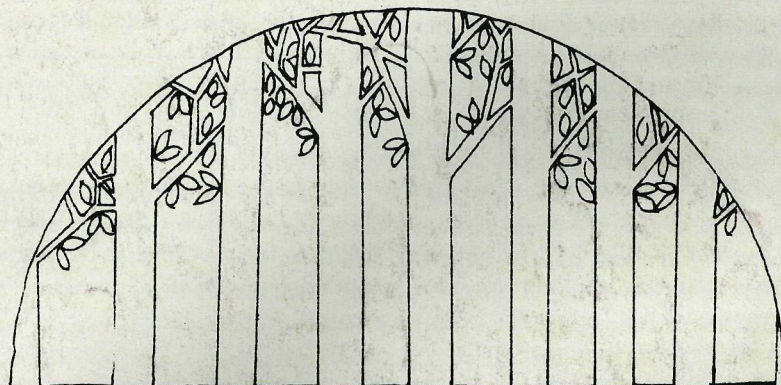
There are other symbolic forms of resistance, refusing to walk yourself into your cell and be your own jailor, fasting from some or all meals. Of course, you should be aware of the consequences of such "bad behavior": these may involve the withholding of privileges, the denial of "good time," or some form of isolation. In light of this, it may seem more sensible to just "do your time" and get it over with.

Actually, you may find that doing time is easier when you continue to insist, in some small way, on doing your thinking for yourself. You will find in the end that you're stronger leaving jail than when you entered. You'll need that strength for the outside. After all, our work will still be ahead of us.



Photo by Ellen Shub.

Peace Camp



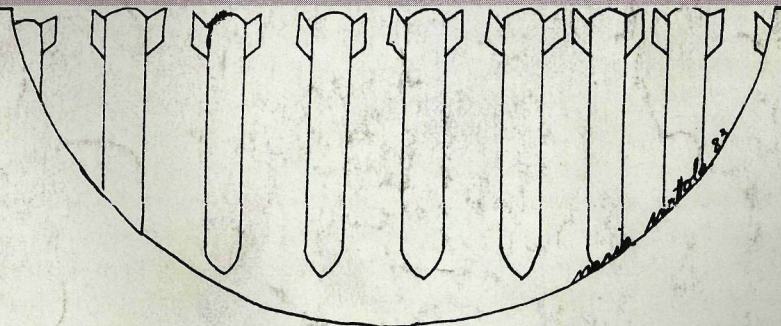
Vision Statement

Women have played an important role throughout our history in opposing violence and oppression. We have been the operators of the Underground Railroad, the spirit of the equal rights movement and the strength of the peace movement. In 1590, the women of the Iroquis Nation met in Seneca to demand an end to war among the tribes. In 1848 the first Women's Rights Convention met at Seneca Falls giving shape and voice to the 19th century feminist movement.

Once again women are gathering at Seneca—this time to challenge the nuclear threat at its doorstep. The Seneca Army Depot, a Native American homeland once nurtured and protected by the Iroquois, is now the storage site for the neutron bomb and most likely the Pershing II missile and is the departure point for weapons to be deployed in Europe. Women from New York State, from the United States and Canada, from Europe, and, indeed, from all over the world, are committed to nonviolent action to stop the deployment of these weapons.

The existence of nuclear weapons is killing us. Their production contaminates our environment, destroys our natural resources, and depletes our human energy and creativity. But the most critical danger they represent is to life itself. Sickness, accidents, genetic damage and death, these are the real products of the nuclear arms race. We say no to the threat of global holocaust, no to the arms race, no to death. We say yes to a world where people, animals, plants and the earth itself are respected and valued.

— *Women's Encampment for a Future of Peace and Justice*



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