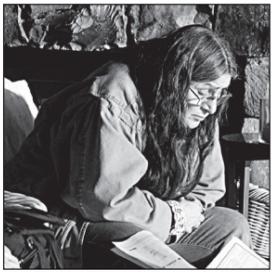


THE HUMAN COSTS OF WAR

THINKING ABOUT PDF & OUR FIRST THIRTY YEARS



IN CASE OF
A NUCLEAR
ACCIDENT
KISS YOUR
CHILDREN
GOOD
BYE



From kitchen table conversations to organizing around local and international concerns to understanding their interconnection, PDF has focused on building peaceful communities, and by extension, avoiding and stopping war.

We as donors, Board members and staff come from many walks of life, yet we have a common goal—creating the conditions for peace. It hasn't been an easy road. But after 30 years, we have demonstrated our will to stay with the work, and to continue supporting the people for the long haul.

Here in the U.S., we've achieved much in the last three decades: successes for civil rights, environmental justice, women's rights and demographic diversity within institutions. But we still haven't been able to stop war as a tool of U.S. policy and business interests. Looking back over the many times we've written and thought about war and peace, we know this is a deep struggle. We hope these stories will remind our PDF community of our long history, and give us strength to keep going.

We know we still have work to do. This is not a time to sit back.

There's a lot of fear in this country, fear of immigrants, fear of losing jobs and

homes, fear our children won't have the lives we want for them. Creative thinkers are needed at the kitchen table and elsewhere to strategize in a complex, fluid and challenging era, headlined by one of the most reactionary movements we've seen in a long time, attacking all classes and colors of people.

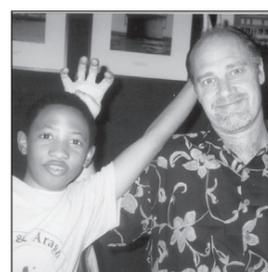
So how do we move the peace and justice movement to a different level that deals with the anger and fear so common today? It's not about putting energy on one side or another. It is about proliferating peaceful practices, working with one community group at a time, embracing nonviolence, and driving through the openings we see to move us forward.

We at PDF have been able to survive and thrive with an active Board and staff who have given it their all. I give thanks everyday to the Creator that we've been able to provide grants and resources to the people who need them. PDF's grantmaking and program services provide hope for many grassroots community groups and even for other foundations. We know what we support: peace, justice, human rights.

And no more war.



Teresa Juarez
President



CONTEMPLATING WAR WAGING PEACE

"WE AT THE PEACE DEVELOPMENT FUND ARE DEDICATED TO MAKING SURE THAT LACK OF SUFFICIENT FUNDING DOES NOT STAND IN THE WAY OF THOSE WHO WISH TO EDUCATE THE PUBLIC ABOUT THE DANGERS OF WAR AND WHO ARE WORKING TO BUILD A MOVEMENT FOR PEACE." (SPRING 1982)

In the three decades of PDF's work, which included three financial bubbles (Japanese, dot.com and the subprime mortgage crisis) and two recessions, the costs of war—both human and material—have continued to escalate. In the latest recession, while states are rocked by their own financial crises, spending on the war in Afghanistan and Iraq has continued to climb. Our grantee, the **National Priorities Project**, wisely asks—what are real costs to ourselves, our children and our future as we contemplate these never-ending wars? What does it mean to our grantees in grassroots communities around the U.S. when the Obama Administration requests \$119 billion for the war in Afghanistan and an additional \$51 billion for the war in Iraq?

The National Priorities Project adds it all up for us (see www.costofwar.com), and these are just a few of their findings. There are 2.5 million Head Start-eligible children in the U.S., but less than a million places. The Afghan War cost for 2011 would provide Head Start funding for ALL eligible children for 15.6 years. It would pay for health insurance for ALL 50 million uninsured for 1.7 years. It would make a huge dent in the cost to convert all of the nation's non-renewable energy production to solar or wind.

For the \$1.26 trillion that the U.S. has allocated to date for the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, we could double the amount of Pell Grants awarded to each of our 19 million college and university

students for the next six years. With \$1 billion, we could create direct and indirect jobs in education and healthcare, and clean energy in areas like Cleveland, OH that estimates say won't return to prerecession employment until 2024.

The U.S. accounts for 42% of the world's military spending. It drains our pockets, it kills our children and it poisons the world.

For 30 years PDF has made grants nationally and internationally trying to slow down this war machine. Peace, like war, we said, must be waged. We and our grantees have fought for economic justice, environmental sustainability, rehabilitative justice and a principled and comprehensive immigration policy, to name just a few of the issues we have championed with almost 5,000 grants totaling more than \$21 million. These are the vital resources we bring to grassroots communities. This is waging peace. ■

"JUSTICE IS NOT AN ACT OF VENGEANCE."

JOHN VAUGHN



Another Look at Peace

from *Peace Developments*,
Winter 1987–88

The Contra War in Nicaragua lasted approximately from 1981 to 1988. The war began as a series of rebel-

lions against the Sandinista government that overthrew the Somoza dictatorship in 1979. The U.S. republican administration led by President Ronald Reagan saw the Contras as a convenient tool for removing the Sandinistas from power in Nicaragua, after accusing them of supporting the guerrillas in El Salvador, being too closely allied to Cuba and being Communists. Reagan's administration covertly armed and financed the war, leading to the Iran-Contra scandal. Nonetheless, American support, overt or covert, did not favor the Contras, so both sides agreed to a ceasefire in March of 1988.

During this period, PDF supported groups opposed to U.S. financed wars in third world countries, such as the **New England Central America Network** (NECAN). NECAN was a network of 150 grassroots groups across New England, organized to oppose U.S. military intervention in Central America.

When we think of war in the Third World, the image is very different from the image of war between the superpowers. Instead of missiles and silos with someone's finger on the nuclear trigger, we think of razed houses, starving refugees, of soldiers breaking down the doors at dawn, or of people farming by night and hiding in trenches from bombing raids during the day.

Of the 20 million people killed in 150 wars since 1945, none have been killed by nuclear weapons. The plague of continual war in the Third World brings us up against the harsh truth that even with the elimination of nuclear weapons the world would not be safe from war and its devastation.

Although the methods of warfare in the Third World may be different, the causes of war are often remarkably familiar, and superpower involvement is generally close to the surface. The struggle of Third World peoples for control of their own lands and resources and for the freedom to develop along their own paths has led to civil war in every region of the world. All too often, the major industrialized countries are directly involved in these wars, either as direct antagonists or as arms suppliers, helping to fuel local conflicts at dangerous levels.

Peace requires ending the colonial era, leaving a just economic relationship between developed countries and underdeveloped ones, self-determination and an end to military intervention. Peace depends on the redistribution of resources—beginning with the land—from ownership by the very few to stewardship by the many. It will flow from political freedom, allowing more democratic governments to replace oppressive ones.

Peace, like war, must be waged. The peace community has waged peace well by helping to push the superpowers into earnest negotiations on nuclear arms and by preventing more widespread war in Central America. As we well know, this is but a beginning and the road ahead is long. We must keep up the pressure to address more fully the militarization of the earth, its terrible expression in the Third World and strategies for bringing peace with justice to the entire planet. ■

Proliferating Peace

In the 2003 run-up to the ongoing wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, PDF Executive Director John Vaughn wrote this statement on behalf of PDF.



As the President advances an unprecedented policy shift that validates war as a pre-emptive strategy in foreign policy, the Peace Development Fund casts its lot with the peace-

makers. We stand with the legions of patriotic Americans and other members of civil society around the world who oppose placing 250,000 of our sons and daughters in harm's way on the notion that violence is the most politically expedient remedy to real dangers in the world.

Justice is not an act of vengeance. It is a commitment to the universal application of certain values such as self-determination, equality, human rights and unilateral global disarmament. Now more than ever, we believe that our national security and global stability rests on our ability to build new partnerships and coalitions for the advancement of these life-affirming ideals. In this post-September 11th era, however, our political leadership has allowed our fear, nationalism and military superiority to lead us down a path that has entrenched our enemies and alienated our allies.

Many of the activists with whom PDF works are, and historically have been, domestic "casualties of war." Nevada's Western Shoshone Indians, for example, have borne the burden of the legacy of nuclear war for more than 50 years. In every region of the nation, African American, Asian American, Latino and indigenous peoples live in U.S. war zones. Their communities are disproportionately overburdened with the location of the nation's most hazardous government and industrial nuclear and chemical weapons and energy facilities.

Their struggle teaches us that our nation's current foreign policy and diplomatic strategies—built on the threat of military action—have high human consequences in the homeland, long before and generations after the declaration of war against a foreign enemy. Advocates

for social reform, through their steadfast, non-violent resistance to stateside terror and unrelenting systemic oppression, show us that proliferating peace is not simply about opposing war, but actively pursuing justice both at home and abroad.

Proliferating peace calls each of us—individually and collectively—to the consistent, sustained pursuit of equitable relationships between and among people, nations and the environment. Seeking justice and peace requires us to shape American social and cultural values to respect the humanity of all people, and apply our ingenuity to the protection of everyone, not just a select few. The persistence of inequality, political exclusion, xenophobia, and exploitation in domestic public and private policies translates into a flagrant disregard for cooperation in the global arena. When we allow our political leaders to cast segments of our population to the ranks of acceptable "collateral damage" for the achievement of political and economic goals, we silently sanction the global export of these practices in the name of preserving and defending our freedom.

PDF adds its voice to the dissenting global majority. We do so not out of a naive, utopian vision of the world, but with confidence in the aspirations and ongoing efforts of local agents of justice and peace. Inherent within their grassroots work for social improvement are achievable, alternative strategies with global possibilities for protecting the health and extending the lives of humanity; building economic systems that support the equitable distribution of wealth and prosperity; and preserving our limited natural resources and fragile environment. Imagine a world where the allocation of resources dedicated to war were applied instead to the proliferation of peace.

The Peace Development Fund and its partners will continue to mobilize and support the on-going efforts of peace-makers who have dedicated and given their lives not only to our survival, but to the uplift and betterment of the world's greatest hope—her people. ■

WAR AT HOME AND ABROAD: STORYTELLING

As Rob Wilson of the **Veterans Education Project** (VEP) puts it, "They're able to start to make sense of it all through sharing their stories." Working within a community, oftentimes with those who feel disenfranchised and not part of a movement, PDF grassroots groups give these individuals a voice. The experiences differ, as do the ages of the storytellers. Yet over many years—from World War II veterans to young children—they have shared their experiences of war to help others, as well as themselves. ■



WAR IS NOT A MOVIE

In 2005 PDF made one of its first Challenge of Peace grants to the Amherst, MA-based **Veterans Education Project** (VEP) for "Revealing the Real Costs of War." This project provided programs to college and high school students, as well as adults, about war and military service. A key goal was to provide events that broke through the severe polarization that existed (and still does) over the war in Iraq and to organize inclusive, non-partisan events to reach "beyond the choir" to audiences who were undecided about their opposition to the war or supported the war.

Their programs generated heavy news coverage in area newspapers and electronic media. "There were memorable moments at some of our events, when those who have protested against war since day one (yet had never spoken to a war veteran) respectfully exchanged opinions and listened to men and women who had fought the war," Executive Director Rob Wilson remembered. "The respect and sensitivity that grew from these encounters did more to foster a community dialogue than ten political, partisan speeches."

Veterans spoke first-hand to students and community members about a number of issues: civilian casualties, military training, the media disconnect,

dehumanization of the enemy, Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). Indeed, as part of this project, VEP's work with newly-returned Iraq veterans attracted the attention of psychologists planning a conference on understanding Iraq veterans' issues and treating PTSD. VEP staff members and speakers provided the opening session at the psychologists' all-day workshop. This collaboration with area psychologists was an important building block to their program of supporting newly-returned veterans. "Providing this level of care and support is a prerequisite to expanding our program with younger Iraq and Afghanistan veteran speakers with the experience and credibility to open the public's eyes to the human costs of war."

Since 1982, VEP has organized and trained military veterans to use their stories to illuminate the realities of war and the toll it takes, both upon those who wage it and upon civilians who endure it. By teaching the lessons of history, such as the Vietnam War, discussing the hard realities and violence, they asked listeners to think critically about war and violence and consider alternatives. "We strongly feel this contributes to peace," they say. VEP has grown from two speakers with a couple of programs to 30, with 160 program hours a year and training for eight to ten new

Vietnam Veterans Fight for Peace

From *Peace Developments*, Fall 1989

In 1969, while thousands of young men were being drafted to fight in Southeast Asia, Sylvester Stallone was teaching physical education at an exclusive girls' school in Switzerland. The Vietnam vets who survived their tours of duty frequently came home to humiliation and public reproach for their participation in the war. As the body counts mounted they faced greater abuse; no one, it seemed, wanted to hear the veterans' story.

Twenty years later, the paranoid revenge fantasies of Stallone's "Rambo" movies have formed the image many Americans, especially young people, have about the Vietnam War. Ronald Reagan was especially taken with White House screenings of *Rambo* and *Rambo: First Blood*. But for liberal news media and timid Washington policy makers, the movies tell us, we might have won the struggle for democracy against a cruel, faceless enemy.

The truth, of course, is very much different. The Vietnam War was fought with an indiscriminate fury that rivaled anything in World War II except the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Napalm and white phosphorous, saturation bombings, free-fire zones and strategic hamlets—the techniques of modern conventional warfare—found their full expression in Vietnam. But though the people of Vietnam bore the full weight of the U.S. war machine, they were not the only ones to suffer.

Since the fall of Saigon, more Vietnam vets have died by suicide than were killed in combat. Many of those who came out of Vietnam alive and physically whole carry less obvious wounds of their service: heroin was cheap and plentiful in Southeast Asia and some returned with an addiction. Many more are suffering the delayed effects of Agent Orange, the dioxin-laced defoliant that has cancer rates skyrocketing among exposed vets. And thousands of vets are dealing with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), a debilitating complex of combat-related problems that psychologists say is at the root of the vets' high incidence of homelessness and violence.

But the legacy of suffering and misunderstanding that followed the war has also brought a profound commitment to peace by many Vietnam-era veterans. In fact, at both the grassroots and the national level, Vietnam vets have been leaders in organizing against militarism: Brian Willson, the vet who lost his legs at the Concord Naval Weapons Station; Charles Clements, a former pilot turned physician, prominent activist in support of the National Freeze Campaign; and Charles Liteky, priest and winner of the Congressional Medal of Honor, who helped to organize the dramatic Veterans Fast for Life on the

steps of the United States Congress.

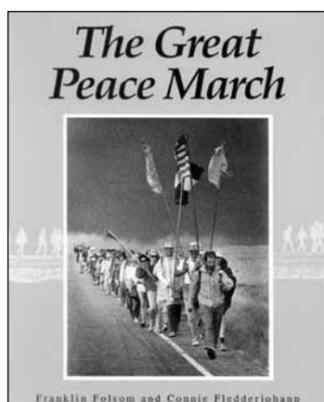
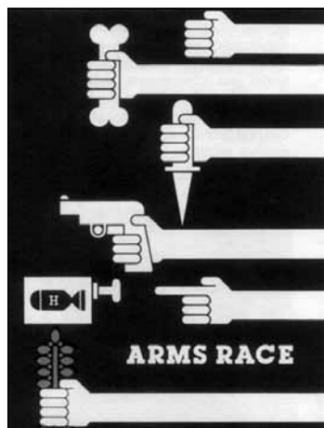
At the grassroots, among the groups which the Peace Development Fund helps to support, the involvement of Vietnam veterans had been remarkable. **Veterans for Life** of Minneapolis, the **Veterans Speakers Alliance** in San Francisco, the **Veterans Education Project** of Western Massachusetts, and the **Veteran-Vietnam Restoration Project** of rural Garberville, California, are all organizations which PDF has funded.

Through their work, these and other veterans' groups have also taught the rest of us an important lesson: by opposing the militaristic policies of our government, we honor those who died. Among the men drafted for service in Vietnam, lower-income people predominated. While many young men of means enjoyed deferments through prolonged college study or divinity school, low-income people suffered casualties out of proportion to their draft-age numbers. Their sacrifices deserve our respect.

What accounts for the emergence of the Vietnam veterans in the peace movement? One reason may be that these men and women have had to develop their own resources to find support that the government—and society in general—has denied them. President Reagan raised the Veterans Administration to cabinet-level status, but funding for veterans' health and aid programs was simultaneously slashed. In response, vets created their own veterans' centers, building up a range of organizing skills that they have been able to apply toward other issues.

Vietnam veterans have a specific motive for sharing the truth about war and military life. The government now spends \$1.5 billion annually on its recruitment efforts. As in the past, inner city youth are often the focus of recruiting campaigns, with recruiters and school administrators encouraging the belief that service is a way to escape poverty. Recruiting tactics range from subtle to overwhelming, but veterans' peace groups have developed effective ways to counter the messages that young people are receiving about military service.

The legitimacy that veterans bring to the peace movement has opened doors that might otherwise have remained closed. As a rule, western cultures have not learned to honor resistance and civil disobedience in the face of violence or oppression. Through movies, books and television, the myth of the warrior continues to be reinforced. The veterans have faced the horrible, destructive reality of that myth; their insistence on peace, and their prominence in the grassroots peace movement, are at last doing justice to the respect that nations pay to their soldiers. ■



**OPPOSING THE MILITARISTIC
POLICIES OF OUR
GOVERNMENT, WE HONOR
THOSE WHO HAVE DIED.**

veterans annually. PDF has funded VEP over these three decades, sometimes

as a community organizing grant, sometimes through Donor Advised Funds and special grant initiatives such as the Challenge of Peace.

Pacifist, war-tax resister and advocate for social justice, Randy Kehler, received the first Peace Development Fund Fellowship in 1985 and worked for PDF's Exchange Project from 1986-1988 (for more about this see PDF's history blog "30 Years of Peace Development," www.peacedevelopmentfund.wordpress.com and the article "We're Not Supposed to Blow Each Other Up"). He writes about VEP, "I've long felt that personal testimonials by military veterans—and especially combat veterans—are among the most powerfully influential activities that people who oppose war can possibly undertake. Their gripping stories very often touch a deep place inside their listeners that less personal, more theoretical presentations cannot possibly penetrate. I've not only seen this happen at VEP presentations; I've felt it happen inside me."

VEP's speakers earned the prestigious Paragon Award for Community Enrichment in 2009,

awarded by local chapters of the United Way and the Red Cross, the *Daily Hampshire Gazette* and other com-

munity business leaders to a Hampshire County organization, in recognition of "outstanding community service." The award acknowledges the hundreds of volunteer hours and the thousands of dollars of free services the veterans provide in the community each year through VEP's varied programs. The group received official commendations for its work with high-risk youth from the Massachusetts State Senate, the Congressional Black Caucus of the U.S. Congress, and the National Council on Crime and Delinquency.

Reflecting on their nearly 30 years of doing this work, Rob Wilson says they still consider themselves a grassroots organization. "Veterans are motivated by the grassroots nature of the work," he says. "They understand how important it is that other young people and the public understand the veterans' experience. Students get a perspective from veterans outside of textbooks and movies, a perspective that de-glamorizes war.

"War is so different from movies and video-games," he concludes. "Our veterans are the antidote to that." ■

**REFLECTIONS FROM
OUR READERS**



On The (Total) Human Costs of War

When peace is declared, you can count up the dead on all sides, the wounded, the missing materials, the scars in the environment, the missing pleasures and joys, and put down a number. The PDF call for essays about the human costs of war asks about family or friends currently deployed in U.S. military adventures, as though associated costs could be calculated now, in real time. Is it that simple? Those total costs will be huge, but perhaps it is way too early for even a plausible guess at the magnitude of a total.

The costs of wars continue to add up, dwarfing the so-called national debts of nations, and they will do so as long as we manage to survive the wars that we cannot seem to prevent, no matter how impoverished we become with each one, were the true costs to be rigorously calculated and updated. The definite article in the phrase "The costs of war" suggests that somewhere, somehow, sometime, a grand total can be worked up and set down in final summary splendor.

This is the assumption that I wish to challenge and which I don't think can survive intelligent scrutiny. Until easy political miscalculations can give way to plausible visionary accounting during run-ups to possible new wars, the total costs of war will increase, inexorably, with passing time. And trying to prevent costs is more complicated than ever, as wars can now start in secret, without any public discussion at all, even of benefits, as is the case, for example, in the U.S. CIA drone bombings of Pakistan.

There are some benefits to be derived from armed conflict, but the benefits side of the ledger remains permanently in heavy debt to the costs side, so that war in general is a losing proposition for all sides, as we should be constantly reminded. I urge the PDF to remind us, incessantly.

Bob Ackermann
Amherst, MA

**"Yes, That's My Story, Too."
Children of War,
Los Angeles, California**

from *Teaching Peace News*,
Spring 1993

"Being there for each other" is the guiding force behind an extraordinary organization of young people who have learned to build trust across barriers of diversity and psychological trauma. They are refugees and immigrants, or the children of these, who fled torture, imprisonment and the tragedies of war only to face prejudice, poverty and isolation in the U.S. They are youth from the inner city where drive-by shootings and gang activities cause people to fear for their lives on a day-to-day basis.

Children of War's Los Angeles chapter was founded in 1987 by a young Guatemalan refugee, Marvyn Perez, who, with his two sisters, had been kidnapped and tortured until they fled Guatemala. An example of vision and courage, Marvyn was on the first national Children of War tour to schools and churches across the country. In 1987, under the threat of Guatemalan death squads in Los Angeles, he helped organize the group's first national conference there, bringing with him a diverse group of youth.

Today, the group includes Central Americans and Cambodians, South Africans in exile, African Americans and Latinos, middle class and poor whites and children of color from all parts of the city.

Everything comes out of the sharing of their stories, their listening to each other. "Telling your story brings you into my life," explains Alex Ratner, 19. "You begin to realize that underneath our different cultures, how different we look, we all have the same hurts, the same need for love in the same way." At group meetings, in conferences they organize and lead, they explore the ways that their personal experiences reflect the larger picture; how oppressions are interlinked; how racism, sexism, classism affect them in their personal lives; how to change conditions—the violence within as well as in the larger social structure.

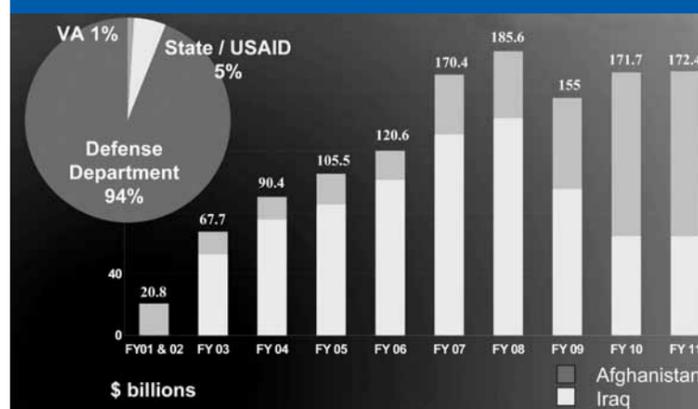


PDF's Teaching Peace School Mediators

"Our parents have their work. Children of War gives us our chance to work, to have something to do that we want to do, a chance to speak out in our own voices," says Nancy Figueroa, age 20, the daughter of Guatemalan refugees. With a grant from the Peace Development Fund, Los Angeles Children of War will finally have a part-time youth organizer to coordinate their many activities from the office, which is located in a church downtown. As part of national Children of War's 1993 "Wake Up Call!" Campaign, youth will visit six L.A. high schools and ten community-based organizations—reaching over 500 young people. This spring and summer, they will hold two youth conferences, where personal testimonies are followed by support groups and workshops on oppression theory, organizing and community building skills.

"They have seen the worst of the very worst," says Judith Thompson, National Director of Children of War. "My image is of the phoenix rising from the ashes. They come together not around a political agenda—and that's important. They come together out of the need to tell and listen to each other's stories. This is what our political movements need: this kind of community, built on compassion, feeling, and mutual support. This makes their movement solid, long-lasting." ■

IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN WAR COSTS



www.nationalpriorities.org

REFLECTIONS FROM OUR READERS

A WAR STORY OR TWO

Our phone rang at midnight. My first thought was who would call this late at night when I'm deep in sleep. My second thought... something must be wrong. It was my sister, telling me my nephew had been injured in Afghanistan.

James had joined the Marines over a year ago and had been deployed in December as part of the new buildup in Afghanistan. His job was to drive large trucks to transport supplies and men to remote places where the Taliban had the greatest hold. He was promoted to driving an armored truck that was supposed to be "land mine" proof." He told us of his fear when an IED—the new term for road side bombs—blew up three feet in front of his truck. Although it scared him and the noise was deafening, no damage was sustained. We were so thankful he was in an armored truck.

My sister got the call telling her the bomb went off right under the driver's side where James was sitting. His left leg was mangled and his bones were blown to bits.

The first friend I told said, "Thank God! Now he will be out of that hell hole with his mind and most of his body intact!" I knew she meant well but I wondered how much of his mind would come out unbroken from this experience.

My uncle, the patriarch and also a right wing fundamentalist of the family, said "Well, that's the price you have to pay to protect your country."

My sister, a Jehovah's Witness, who has not spoken to me in over 20 years because I'm a lesbian, called me at midnight to express her concern and wanted me to keep her informed.

While we waited for more news, I wondered, what kind of system do we live in, where a young man who was the first in our family to ever graduate college, yet unemployed five years later, a pagan and 14th generation Quaker, who was against this war, felt forced to join the military as his only way out of poverty?

It's a familiar story and one that reminds me of organizing poor people in rural Piedmont North Carolina during the first Iraq war. Our organization, **Piedmont Peace Project** (PPP), worked as tirelessly as any other peace organization, but possibly for different reasons. We coined the phrase "No Blood for Oil" because over 500 people connected to our organization were called to serve in that war. Our community was decimated, losing many of our doctors, dentists, lawyers, and nurses, etc. Why? Because it's only through the military that most poor people are able to gain these skills. It's a very common way poor people in the South overcome poverty and get an education.

PPP decided to organize after understanding that this war was not about national safety, but for profit and control of oil. We knew the war was starting even before most peace groups did because of our communications with members and family. Our organizing efforts became national almost immediately.

We called at the beginning of January to warn national groups, including PDF, of a major bombing invasion on January 17, 1991. Most people did not believe us, but Meg Gage, PDF's director did. She moved immediately to raise money to help us organize and continued to fund us throughout the organizing efforts. In addition, Dan Petegorsky at PDF helped us translate the complex issues of this war and what was happening so that we, the organizers, could understand and communicate them. One of the founders of PDF, Bob Mazer, especially



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"I WONDER WHERE THE PEACE MOVEMENT IS TODAY."

LINDA STOUT

stepped up to make this work happen along with many other supporters in Boston. It was a powerful and amazing partnership. None of this would have happened without their belief in our work.

We started organizing "Silent Coffee Breaks for Peace" in the textile mills where many of our members worked educating mill workers about the real reason for the war. Since everyone in the mills gets a 15 minute coffee break, it was the perfect opportunity. Some of our truck driver members drove all over the country to the different mills carrying the "Silent Coffee Breaks for Peace" organizing packets. We received a call from a truck driver in Kansas asking us to overnight organizing packets to a truck stop in Nevada where he would be the next day.

Then the truck drivers began to talk to other drivers on their CB radios and all of a sudden we were getting calls from drivers who were not even part of our group or region asking for packets. Although some drivers were hostile to the idea, when one would begin to talk about his son, daughter or other kin who was serving, the tone would change and more and more people became sympathetic and joined in the cause. *USA Today* published an article about this spontaneous phenomenon of truck drivers organizing against the war.

We decided to hold a national press conference. The advice from the national peace organizations was to "forget it" because two national marches were happening in Washington, DC during the same time and they felt that we would not be able to get coverage. We proceeded with our press conference anyway.

We created a large temporary wall—a wall for the living—and told the press we never wanted to have to build a wall for the dead again. Everyone who had a family member or friend was asked to add their name, and as anyone who has seen the Vietnam Memorial, they likewise added pictures, tokens and letters. We set the wall up in front of Cannon Mills with their smoke stacks spewing in the background. We invited the public to come and add the names of their loved ones.

At one point, I noticed the Grand Wizard of the KKK walking in our direction. I was frightened and started looking for police protection. He walked straight over to the wall, bent over and added a name and picture, I assume of his grandson. Then he quietly walked away. This was a man who had led the Greensboro Massacre 12 years earlier, and had led protests and violence against PPP.

We made national headlines in papers like the *Washington Post* and *USA Today*, and our members speaking about their children and family serving in a war for oil was picked up by CNN.

The following week we went to the Lobbying Day in Washington, DC, organized by the national peace groups, to ask our congressmen to vote to stop the war. We worked desperately to get information to our representatives who were on the floor. We soon found out that the only way to get information to the congressmen was through the young Congressional Pages who went directly to the representatives on the floor.

I immediately took off speeding in my wheelchair to our congressman's office across the street. I went in and tentatively asked for a page to deliver information that Congressman Hefner "had to have." The office person picked up the phone, called for a page, and within ten minutes he delivered our packet to Hefner. After that, I went rushing to each NC congressional office—11 total—and in an authoritative voice said Congressman So & So needs this information right now. Please call a page and have him/her deliver this

immediately. No one questioned me and I was successful in getting our packet to every single NC congressman on the floor. We know for sure that we changed five "no" votes to "yes" that day.

My nephew James had eight surgeries, with several more to go, and has a rough road ahead of him, but he's very much alive. They're predicting a recovery time of two to three years, but even that is questionable about how much use of his leg he will have. I think about James and about all of the other young people I saw at the hospital when I did visit him, who felt forced to join the military as the way out of poverty. I'm thinking about all of the newly disabled people in Iraq and Afghanistan. I'm thinking of what the next step will be so that James and all of these other young people can have the future that we all want for them, and for ourselves. We must join together to create the power to change this!

And I also wonder where the peace movement is today. It seems they're almost invisible when at one point we were so organized and strong. Because of organizations like PDF the peace movement was able to include poor people in their efforts. Now I read about protesters standing at military funerals and wonder how that message can possibly have any effect. I've been a lifelong peace activist but I would have real problems with the disrespect and lack of understanding of peace protesters if it had been James' funeral I were attending. ■

The Post-War Interlude

from *Peace Developments*, Spring 1991

The First Gulf War, from August 1990 to February 1991 was waged against Iraq by a U.N.-authorized coalition force from 34 nations led by Britain and the U. S. It was precipitated by the invasion of Kuwait by Iraqi troops and western fears about losing the oil supply.

As we listen to the "lessons of the Gulf War" drawn for us by the media, the military and government leaders, we have to be struck by how many of these lessons have nothing at all to do with Saddam Hussein, the Middle East or the "new world order," but instead seem to portray the war as a great cleansing of the American psyche.

Here are a few lessons we should have learned.

- Even a "just war" is war. We must work for the day when people will think of war as they think of slavery today: a brutal, inhuman system that doesn't work.
- War must be stopped before it starts. Now is the time to stop the war that may be waged ten years from now.
- Despite the media stereotypes of Arabs as either terrorists or wealthy potentates, the Arab world is full of desperate poverty. It is symptomatic of our relations with the Third World that we can send half a million troops and their supplies to protect our interests, but we cannot provide even minimal food relief and development assistance to victims of starvation. Without addressing these pressing concerns, the region will erupt in more wars in the future.
- During [this] interlude of peace, we have to seize the moment to challenge the underlying attitudes, assumptions and systems that will inevitably draw us into war again and again. ■

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MISSION STATEMENT

The Peace Development Fund works to build the capacity of community-based organizations through grants, training, and other resources as partners in the human rights and social justice movements. As a public foundation, we nourish, foster, and encourage the diverse, self-sustaining and economically viable communities that are essential to building a peaceful, just and equitable world.

REFLECTIONS FROM OUR READERS

The Legacy of the Peace Movement for Future Generations

The peace movement has deeply influenced the way Americans view war and war making. We can see the effects of this legacy of a change in consciousness in the fact that so many in this country are skeptical of U.S. war making in Afghanistan. A recent poll showed that 60% believe it is a lost cause, and 10% are unsure. This means that 70% do not believe a war there is good for our country. We need to take solace from this trend—the government can say that we need to be there deploying fire-power and drone missiles, and troops, but most Americans simply do not believe it. This is a powerful impact that the peace movement has had—to create more questioning minds and open hearts.

This may not be the fullness of what those of us who helped to organize the Women's Pentagon Action in November of 1980 would have hoped, but it is progress. We gathered at the building where so much death had been planned, put gravestones in the lawn, wove yarn across the entrances to symbolically reweave the web of life, and chanted and cried in mourning. I remember being amazed that we could completely encircle this mammoth building, using yarn held in our hands to travel the spaces our hands could not reach. Over 100 women were arrested at entrances to the Pentagon, but the most moving part for me was the silent march through Arlington cemetery—the earth herself seemed to hold her breath as we walked. The Unity Statement of the Action declared: "We are gathering at the Pentagon on November 17 because we fear for our lives. We fear for the life of this planet, our Earth, and the life of our children who are our human future . . . We women are gathering because life on the precipice is intolerable."

The peace movement gave birth to a very deep consciousness that I see growing every day: We are One with each other, One with the Earth, One with the great energy of the life force, and as long as we are motivated by love, we will thrive and insure a better life for future generations.

Jane Midgley
Albuquerque, NM



The Next 30 Years of Peace and Justice

A simple bequest written into your will can help ensure the future of the Peace Development Fund. Together, we can strengthen the social justice movement to create the new systems and institutions essential to building a peaceful, just, and equitable world.

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For more information about leaving a bequest to PDF and specific wording, call 800-424-3557 x101, or email ray@peacefund.org. ■