

Peace Tax Fund

Quarterly Update

National Campaign for a Peace Tax Fund & The Peace Tax Foundation



“With or Against Us”

BY MICHAEL J. JORDAN

To some, the with-us-or-against-us smacks of Stalinism. They say it muzzles domestic critics and squelches dissent from those abroad who fear repercussions from the world's economic and military superpower.

The president's good-versus-evil rhetoric also denies shades of gray, says Richard Falk, professor of politics and international affairs at Princeton University. Such language "implies too much clarity in a world that's much messier than that," he says. "It shows a lack of respect for the sovereignty of other countries and may place them between contradictory pressures."

President Bush's with-us-or-against-us slogan was an effective rallying tool following the Sept. 11 suicide attacks. But the power of those words is fading with every civilian casualty in Afghanistan, and could even be polarizing opposition to the US course.

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Until now, supporting the United States in its war against terrorists has been relatively easy for many members of the United Nations. But faultlines deepened in the international coalition this week when President Bush informed the UN General Assembly that he intends to take the antiterror campaign beyond Afghanistan.

In comments before the assembly of more than 1,000 delegates, the president warned that some states, "while pledging to uphold the principles of the UN, have cast their lot with the terrorists," alluding to Iraq. There will be "a price to be paid," Bush said.

That message has some diplomats and UN-watchers wondering how Washington will simultaneously hold together its coalition while broadening its war aims. Meanwhile, a growing number of UN members are signaling a waning appetite for Bush's "with-us-or-against-us" campaign.

New World Order

BY JENNIFER BEALL

Welcome to the world. That's one message citizens of the US can get from the events of September 11 and the subsequent anthrax scares. While we were once separated from the rest of the world by our wealth and power, these events, I think, have helped to narrow that divide and, if we will let them, can narrow it still further. The flowers laid at the gates of American embassies all over the world after September 11 were evidence of this narrowing gap. I have never been very patriotic, so I was amazed at how moved I was when I heard our national anthem sung by a British choir several days after the 11th. Suddenly, we weren't a military or economic superpower; we were just a country that was feeling overwhelming grief, something that others understood and shared.

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Facing September 11

Sept. 29, 2001 -- The nearly 7,000 people who died in the terrorist attacks on Sept. 11 will always be remembered together -- as a group -- and fixed to the events that took them from this world. But as time passes, we're learning more about each life that was lost that day... and the thousands and thousands of gaps they've left in the lives of others and throughout the world.

A family in Mexico lost a father who sent home parcels of clothing and shoes. There's a family in Connecticut that's missing a great cook. Bruce Springsteen lost a fan. So did Madonna and the Backstreet Boys. And the Yankees, and the Mets and the Orioles. Mr. Fix-It is gone. So is a banjo player. A Gaelic football player-turned-golfer who just broke 100. A grouch. A commander of a VFW Post. A baker in Queens. A card player and a woman who couldn't hold a tune, but who danced with abandon.

A New Jersey Little League team lost its coach. There's a canoeist missing from the Delaware River. The Food Network lost a viewer; so did Animal Planet. A choir lost a voice. There's a cyclist missing from Central Park. There's a Sunday School teacher gone from his classroom in Northern Virginia. A Cub Scout Den lost its leader. A dance floor lost a man devoted to Salsa. Nephews and nieces lost an uncle who always remembered to send a card.

A vegetable garden in Brooklyn needs weeding. And there's a spread of perennials in Connecticut that needs attention. A wife lost a husband who loved to eat. There's a barbecue grill on a new patio that needs tending. The women's gymnastics team at UC Santa Barbara lost its coach. The world lost a marathon runner, a woman famous for her hors d'oeuvres, a family historian, and a stubborn woman.

There's a DJ missing. A Scrabble player. A practical joker, and a fundraiser for Broadway Cares. A five year-old and a three year-old are missing the guy who gave them piggy-back rides. There's an empty seat in a casino in Atlantic City. And a family is missing its black sheep.

*Transcript of a piece by Scott Simon
of NPR's Morning Edition*

Meanwhile

According to the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), about 35,615 children died from conditions of starvation on September 11, 2001.

RELEVANT STATISTICS

- * Victims: 35,615 children (source: FAO)
- * Where: undeveloped (poor) countries
- * Specialty programs: none
- * Newspaper articles: none
- * Messages from the president: none
- * Solidarity actions: none
- * Minutes of silence: none
- * Rock Concerts: none
- * Organized forums: none
- * Papal messages: none
- * Alert level: zero
- * Military mobilization: none

Imagine a "United we stand" effort to eradicate hunger.

From COPRED via e-mail.



The National Campaign for a Peace Tax Fund & The Peace Tax Foundation



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Peace and Security

With shocking suddenness our illusion of safety has vanished. We understand painfully the results of violence which many must bear in addition to desperate want. Our vulnerability humbles us.

For me, equally as shocking as the tumbling towers is the fact that for several weeks, I was barred from Senate and House office buildings, my usual lobbying beat. An answering machines states a Senator's inaccessibility. Several of my Capitol Hill friends are taking Cipro because of exposure to letters laced with anthrax.

Amid the shocks, there is a sense of *deja vu*, especially for those of us who have lived through past wars. First, pacifists are shamed and blamed. Here are some quotes from columns in the Washington Post: "The American pacifists...are on the side of future mass murders of Americans. They are objectively pro-terrorist... The pacifist position is evil...largely reactionary, largely incoherent...opposition to war is rooted in America-hatred, is intellectually dishonest, elitist and hypocritical." Pretty strong stuff.

Second, dissent seems to end where war begins. Opposing voices are muted and marginalized. Journalists who pose skeptical questions have been inundated with furious responses calling them disgraceful, even traitorous. Polls show that a substantial majority support war "even if many thousands of innocent civilians are killed." What happened? I thought tolerance of dissent and respect for a diversity of beliefs were among the nation's most cherished ideals.

Also, in times like this, national self-interest becomes the will of God. Religious people equate God with country. A tribal god smiles on all its nation does.

Three days after the horrors of September 11, I returned to Capitol Hill to lobby for the Religious Freedom Peace Tax Fund Bill. In one office, the Congressman's chief of staff began our visit with a cautionary, "I'm not a pacifist, Marian." I asked, "OK, so what kind of a 'not-pacifist' are you? The kind who seeks 10-fold revenge or the 'weeping prophet' who truly seeks an outcome of peace which implies justice?" I mentioned the hundreds of thousands of children who have died in Iraq since the Gulf War because of US embargo on medicines and food. He seemed surprised at the statistics and acknowledged that the

embargo may well be experienced as terrorism.

He said, "I keep reminding you how much we do for other countries; now I think maybe we could do more." He reminded me that even as we spoke Congress was passing, probably unanimously, a resolution to give the President advance authority to commit acts of retaliation without further authorization from Congress. Later he withdrew a caution ("I think you should lie low for a while") and encouraged me to keep explaining that some taxpayers, for reasons of deep belief and conscience, cannot participate in military actions.

I have learned not to attempt a conversion to my point of view, but to challenge others to live up to the highest good they know. And I expect them to return the challenge. That's the best way to teach and, more importantly, to learn.

Now is a time to talk not just of peace, but of peace and security. When desperate populations beat at our door and menace our ease of life, we *have* to care about reducing the repository of resentment instead of storing up more hatred. If one believes that waging war will not make US citizens safer or create a more just world, then advocating for peace is an act of true patriotism, a step toward security. Addressing the needs of those most desperate aids their survival and, incidentally, our standing in the world.

Poof! Our stable reliable world is gone. Our feelings of vulnerability and fragility can be fruitful if we use this time for sustained reflection and humility. Personal self-righteousness does nothing to combat national self-righteousness.

Honesty about our own struggles is important. We were sent this useful anecdote: Following September 11 a Native American grandfather spoke to his grandson about his feelings. "I feel as if I have two wolves fighting in my heart. One wolf is the vengeful, angry, violent one. The other wolf is the loving, compassionate one." The young boy asked, "Which wolf will win the fight in your heart?" The grandfather replied, "The one I feed."



Marian Franz is Executive Director of the National Campaign for a Peace Tax Fund

When Did the War Start and When Will it End?

BY TOM KIERANS

For most Americans, it started on 9/11, but who decides when a war starts? Is it the president of a country? For some people, questions like this are offensive because they don't seem to take into account the dimensions of the 9/11 attacks. What, though, if the hijackings had killed 1,000? Or 10? Would the deaths of 10 people still qualify as an "act of war"? Would one person's death at the hands of a terrorist constitute an act of war? Why wasn't war declared on the Oklahoma City terrorists, or wasn't there enough secret evidence linking them to a wider network of fanatical supporters?

The last people who should decide on whether a murderer should be executed are the family of the victim. Their decision is necessarily emotional and even time may not allow them to develop a dispassionate opinion. It is that same emotion which meets any critical observations on the 'war on terrorism' with outraged "World Trade Center!" cries.

The shock at the scale of the tragedy in New York stunned Americans (and indeed the rest of the globe) enough that any action by the Bush administration seemed reasonable. The shock shouldn't disable critical thought, though. A time of crisis is the ideal time to think long and hard before a decision, a time when we should be aware of our need to step back from the instinctive, emotional reflex and see the full context of terrorism in its many forms and origins.

For instance, in the hours after the WTC towers collapsed, President Bush declared that it was an act of war. It certainly felt like one, but was it really? Don't you need an opposing government against which to have a war? It does appear more like the war on drugs (and who foresees a victory there?) or the war on poverty, or war on anything else you

please. Calling it a war may communicate the seriousness of one's intent to respond proportionally, but it doesn't actually make it a war. War is open armed conflict between two or more parties, nations or states. Could the only remaining superpower versus a fanatical religious cult qualify as "two parties" and be a war? Could Joe Public declare war on Canada? Would Canada be entitled to bomb Joe Public's suburban house in response?

It would have been perfectly reasonable to treat the September 11 attacks as abominable crimes, crimes against humanity which measure up against many of


the worst things humans have done. To surf the wave of shock and to arrive instead at a self-declared war without geographic or chronological end is quite another matter. It is a war unlike any other, we are told; George Orwell would



by Martyn Turner, from *The Irish Times*

have been proud of such a euphemism for a permanent state of war.

Think back to the issues in that other country, USA pre-9/11, and look at the political issues today. Think about which issues have disappeared and which remain. Fluttering from the political flagpole are "patriotism," diminished civil liberties, and increased spending on the military. Gone are all issues of concern to progressive activists, replaced only with an atmosphere hostile to dissent.

This 'first stage' in Afghanistan has generated the maximum of political and international support imaginable because it has so far (including the unexpected collapse of the Taliban) mirrored the militarized police action many recommended. The hawks' thirst for the next military campaign, though, will likely reveal the hollowness of a unilateralist's war against any nation viewed as insufficiently compliant or strategically inconvenient. Don't expect a 'war' without end to keep support without end. 

Pacifists' Role Misunderstood

BY BARBARA PUGH CAREUTHERS

I felt as though I had been stabbed in the heart by a recent "hate" letter directed at pacifists. I wonder at the advisability of publishing a letter like that, although that did prompt this letter.

I do not understand how things can get so twisted in a person's mind that the freedom we enjoy and that so many have fought for is questioned.

People are pacifists because of religious, spiritual and ethical beliefs. It takes a lot of courage to stick by one's beliefs, especially if they are in opposition to the majority. I know because I am a pacifist and have been all my adult life.

I protested the Vietnam War and I am not proud of the way our returning military people were treated at the end of that conflict.

My dear son-in-law was in Desert Storm and Somalia as a Marine sergeant. I made sure that I wrote and sent him things he needed. He was aware of my beliefs, but he also knew that I loved and supported him.

I hold two degrees from Kent State University in Ohio. I was on campus in 1969 at the time of the shootings of students by National Guard troops. I have grieved every May 4 since then and have attended memorial services, but I also read with tears and breaking voice the names of the Vietnam war dead on a replica of the Vietnam Wall when it came to Bakersfield. There are names on the Wall of my classmates and friends who were killed in that conflict.

During Desert Storm Kent State undergraduates wanted to protest, and I was terribly afraid the same tragedy would occur again on the campus.

Those of us who were graduate students -- and especially those of us who were pacifists -- kept things from getting out of hand. We organized letter-writing programs to support people serving in that conflict and held prayer services to try to keep them safe. We organized various religious groups on campus and turned the protests into something productive.

We did not believe in war because of our moral and ethical beliefs, but we did not think it right to disrespect the people who served. I am very proud of the major part I played in that program.

In times of war and military conflict, pacifists have served in noncombat roles. Pacifists who chose to be medics risked their lives to get wounded to safety, and gave aid and comfort until they could be evacuated.

Pacifists serve in war-time jobs, often replacing those who were serving in the military at such risky jobs as firefighting. They serve in hospitals, wrap bandages, fold parachutes, inspect airplane parts to make sure crews are safe. Those who serve in the armed forces have noncombat positions, but that does not mean that they are not placed in danger. Remember, they choose not to carry weapons. In time of war, pacifists serve their country; they just do not fight the war directly.

Perhaps the man who wrote the letter about pacifists will read this and understand what pacifists do. Most of us do not protest, but find ways to serve in support of our country without supporting war.



Barbara Pugh Careuthers of Bakersfield is a retired professor and school administrator.

From www.bakersfield.com,
Tuesday October 30, 2001

In the summer of 1995 I participated in a peace-related work camp in Northern Ireland that was sponsored by the Church of the Brethren. When, in 1994, I signed up for the trip, I did so knowing that there might be attacks by paramilitary groups while I was there. By the summer of 1995, though, a cease fire was in effect; even when visiting a country best-known for terrorism (I got some very strange looks from people when I told them I was traveling to Northern Ireland, not the Republic of Ireland!) I seemed to be insulated from such things. I no longer feel quite so insulated, although even now the chances of my becoming the victim of any sort of terrorist attack are much smaller than my chance of dying in some more “usual” way.

I am not used to living with the fear of being attacked. Many of us are not. The United States has had a unique history in this respect. Because we have no memory of sharing borders with hostile nations, we don't understand invasion and attack as most countries do. We have felt invulnerable for so long that it was an overwhelming shock when we realized how deeply we could be hurt. Since September 11th, anthrax has made many people afraid of trips to the mailbox or the post office (although fewer have died of anthrax in recent weeks than were killed in a single car accident I heard about on the radio the other day). Even though experts think that the anthrax attacks originated in the United States and have no connection to Osama Bin Laden, most people associate the two. Warnings about smallpox and other potential biological, chemical, or other attacks have done nothing to calm people's fears. Some suspect that our media and government are using these scare tactics in order to drum up support for our attacks on Afghanistan!

It is hard to know how to live our day to day lives now. Perhaps we should ask the people of Afghanistan how they do it. They know only too well what it means to be constantly aware that an attack can come at any time. Of course, we can't truly understand what the people of Afghanistan have been experiencing for years, most recently at American hands. Most of us can't imagine the devastation there. And, of course, if someone mailed envelopes filled with anthrax to locations in Afghanistan, they would not be able to respond by issuing antibiotics to thousands of people, as we have. As unprepared as we may be to deal with terrorist threats, we have many resources available to us that other parts of the world do not have.

I wonder if, in the final analysis, we as a country will have learned the lessons we should have learned from these experiences. For a while I had hoped that we would; now I'm not so sure. I was amazed when the president didn't attack Afghanistan within days of September 11th. Just when I began to dream that he would try to find a new way of dealing with the situation, though, he fell into the violent pattern that our presidents have traditionally followed. (When will our leaders realize that peace cannot be achieved through war?) Once the military became involved, it seemed (to borrow a term from those who oppose the Peace Tax Fund bill) that the floodgates of violence were opened. While Bush has said that he doesn't intend to harm civilians in his attempt to find and defeat Osama Bin Laden, many have already been hurt or killed. (The Bush administration has admitted that it will be almost impossible for us to catch bin Laden and that terrorism would not be defeated even if we did, but they persist in this exercise anyway.) There is small comfort in knowing that, at least this time, we will be held more accountable for the so-called “collateral damage” we cause. After all, if we claim that we will not harm civilians, questions must be asked when our bombs repeatedly hit buildings whose roofs bear the symbol of the Red Cross! Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld has said that the Taliban is responsible for all of the civilian deaths in this conflict, even the ones we inflict.

Fortunately, though, there are still some reasons for optimism. The peace movement is experiencing a revival in this time of war. While many proudly display American flags and adopt an “us against them” attitude, many are also trying to understand Islam. We are learning new geography lessons, as we do every time we get into a war. (For instance, how many of you know just how small a percentage of the world's Muslims live in the “Arab world”? How many of you knew this before September 11th?) This time, instead of just learning the location of the country we're bombing, many of us are seeking to understand the religion that has been implicated in the attacks. Bookstores have been selling more copies of the Koran than usual, and many of us are making an effort to get to know Muslims in our communities.

While our government has started down the path that pacifists have dreaded, I still hope that some good will come out of this situation. Perhaps we will at least learn how precious life (*every* life) is; perhaps we can still achieve a greater level of unity with the rest of the world.



Conscientious Objectors' 911 Calls

Since September 11 the volume of phone calls to the Center on Conscience and War has been much greater than any time since the Gulf War. Although we do not expect the draft to resume in the foreseeable future, we've received an extraordinary number of requests for information about how the draft would work and what conscientious objectors can do to document their claim. Government officials repeatedly have indicated that they do not anticipate a draft at this time, and in early November we talked with Lewis Brodsky, the Director of Public and Congressional Affairs for Selective Service, who said that the government has not turned to them in responding to Sept. 11. At this point they do not have the funding or other resources available to actually begin a draft. However, this could change, and calls asking the questions continue to increase.

Selective Service has two sets of procedures; one that gets the first draftees into boot camp within 14 days and one that gets the first draftees into boot camp in six months. When asked which scenario Selective Service intended to use, Brodsky said that he did not know, but, ideally, they would use the six months scenario if they had enough lead time. However, they could use the two weeks Emergency scenario if necessary, or possibly even a combination of the two. He said they would "get by the best we can at the time."

In any of the scenarios, the time period in which to apply for reclassification as a CO will be approximately 10 days. For this reason, even though there is not yet a draft on the immediate horizon,

we recommend that all COs under the age of 26 prepare a packet that contains support letters and answers to the questions that will be asked at the time of classification and support letters. There are also things which can be done at the time of registration to enhance each CO's packet, should the draft be reinstated. [Individuals or groups that wish detailed information about how to set up a CO packet should contact the Center on Conscience & War, 1830 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20016 (202) 483-2220, nisbco@nisbco.org and ask for "Basic Information on the Draft and Registration." There is no charge for the packet.]



The most likely draft to happen, however, in the opinion of both the Center and Selective Service, is what is known as the "Doctors' Draft." This misleadingly titled system would provide for medical personnel of all sorts, including women, to be drafted to provide the medical services needed by the military. Although many COs initially believe that working as medical personnel in the military is within the constraints of their beliefs, most find out otherwise. The goal of any member of the armed forces to provide for the efficient running of a killing machine—medical personnel are no different in that regard. Qualifying individuals would be liable for this draft until they are 46. [For further information see CCW's free pamphlet: "Questions and Answers—Are Health Care Professionals Subject to the Draft?"]

J.E. McNeil is the Executive Director of the Center on Conscience and War.



Positive Change

While working in the Peace Tax Fund office, I've seen a lot of periodicals with which I hadn't previously been familiar. We exchange periodicals with many groups, religious and otherwise, because it helps us to see what's going on in areas related to us; we also stay alert for mentions of the Peace Tax Fund.

Articles in these magazines often advocate a change of lifestyle or a level of spirituality that can be difficult to achieve. They also frequently point out the things that the US and its citizens are doing to harm the planet and its people. They can make me feel hopelessly inadequate and irresponsible.

On the positive side, they also make me aware of new possibilities, things I hadn't thought of before, as most people have not thought about the peace tax fund issue. It may be as difficult to bring these possibilities into being as it will be to get the Peace Tax Fund bill passed. Just as the Peace Tax Fund bill is worth all of the hard work we put into it without the expectation of immediate results, though, it is worth considering these alternatives and doing what we can to make them reality.

Although I've recycled and tried to conserve resources for years, I think I work even harder at it now, in part because of all of the articles I see at work. I'm also taking advantage of more opportunities to be environmentally and socially responsible. For instance, I've done research on hybrid cars; my husband and I have decided that we should buy one the next time we need a new car. I've also transferred my 401(k) from my previous employer to an IRA that invests in socially responsible companies.

The Fall 2001 issue of *Yes! A Journal of Positive Futures* contains several articles about what can be done to change the U.S. energy policy and protect the environment. I found Guy Dauncey's article on "A Sustainable Energy Plan for the US" to be especially eye-opening. The nice thing about this article is that it doesn't just say "We need to stop

BY JENNIFER BEALL
using fossil fuels." Of course, it does say this, but it also lays out a pretty reasonable-sounding plan for switching to renewable energy sources and increasing the efficiency of cars and appliances so that they run on less energy. It doesn't say that cars should be completely abolished by 2010 or that everyone should give up their computers, home appliances, etc. in order to save energy. Instead, it shows ways in which we can produce and use energy more responsibly by making reasonable changes in the way we live. This seems to be a plan that could be embraced by the general public.

An article by K.C. Golden in the same issue called "Seattle: Kyoto Cool" points out that, despite George W. Bush's lack of support for the Kyoto climate change pact, Seattle is working on going beyond the goals of that agreement. It's encouraging to know that a real US city, not just isolated individuals within it, is doing something about the situation. After all, if the home of Starbucks coffee and grunge rock can make responsible changes in the way it produces and uses energy, it seems reasonable to expect that we can all do it! Of course, making reforms on a national level involves persuading Congress and the president to do something about it, which would not be easy.

In his article, Guy Dauncey issues a challenge. He says, "What is needed is a massive mobilization of 10,000 nonprofit groups and their members around a sane, sustainable energy plan that will phase out fossil fuels..." Concern about the environment is quite compatible with Peace Tax Fund members' opposition to paying for the military. Just as the money being spent on the military threatens (and causes) death and destruction, so the use of fossil fuels is threatening the web of life in which we are entwined. We, as a country, would be much better advised to spend this money to feed the hungry, resolve conflicts in non-military ways, and devise more responsible ways to run the machinery that makes our way of life possible. I know that many Peace Tax Fund members are already doing everything they can to preserve the environment. Perhaps we should take up the challenge posed by Mr. Dauncey.



Home Thoughts from Abroad

BY TOM KIERANS

For decades, the British have struggled to quash Irish terrorism. The Irish Republican Army (IRA) planted bombs in central London during the peak Christmas shopping season, at military barracks, in pubs, and at Canary Wharf (London's architectural equivalent of the World Trade Center). It was dramatic enough that after every incident nobody really felt safe being in a crowd, until the memory began to fade and some other bomb exploded. The IRA strategy was to make Britain's occupation of Northern Ireland so costly that it would no longer seem worthwhile to the British public. The IRA funded its operations through armed bank raids in Ireland and through the donations of Irish-Americans.

The response to IRA terrorism was to try to beat them at their own game. The British poured troops into Northern Ireland (thus amply supplying the IRA with new targets) and the Irish patrolled the border (between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland) to try to minimize any logistical support from activists in the Republic. In Britain, where the Irish are the largest minority, I remember the discomfort of speaking with an Irish accent for fear of being suspected of planting the most recent car bomb; news reports there always noted that the suspect had an Irish accent. In their efforts to be seen to be "hard on terrorism," British police arrested countless suspects and later were found to have manufactured evidence in the cases of some of the most bloody terrorist acts. The Irish government, too, supported the effort to apprehend terrorists and joined in some of the more absurd legislative postures, such as banning the broadcasting of interviews with IRA supporters and apologists.

It seemed an unbroken circle of violence; the IRA would conduct some atrocity they deemed sufficiently 'spectacular', the police in Britain would arrest many and increase the military presence in Northern Ireland, reports would soon follow of illegal detention, torture, etc, by the British in Northern Ireland, and the general public in Ireland would have their impressions of anti-Irish attitudes in Britain confirmed yet again. Inevitably, some percentage of Irish people would agree with the IRA

that violence was the only thing that the British would understand, and the whole cycle would begin again. While that continued, there was enough terrorism from Unionist "Loyalists" for the IRA to claim that it was just defending its own community.

The way it is all ending now is shocking, despite its many interruptions and staggered progress. Like two heavily armed soldiers on opposing sides who begin by giving up a small weapon each, then another, then another, the fringes of the two sides in Northern Ireland have been enticed into politics. Where before they had fought the system they opposed, now they were assured of proportional influence and given guarantees of their safety. The British government and the IRA both began the process by acknowledging that, after 30 years of The Troubles, there was no way either side could achieve a military victory and that some method must be found to avoid another generation of conflict.

There may be no parallel between the current "War on Terrorism" and "The Troubles," though Britain does find itself involved in the former before it has quite finished with the latter. But when President Bush talks of this being "a long war," it is hard not to be reminded of the 30 years of war in Northern Ireland; when Attorney General Ashcroft talks of restrictions on civil liberties, it is hard not to remember the Anti-Terrorism Acts in Britain and Ireland which did little but fuel the resentment of terrorist supporters; at a time when US bombs in Afghanistan cause 'collateral damage,' it is hard to forget the numerous recruits drawn to IRA terrorism by stories of unfair British actions and human rights abuses. Most of all, when military action seems to many to be the sole reasonable response to 9/11, it is hard to ignore the political negotiations which achieved peace in Northern Ireland when military action simply wouldn't work. After more than a generation of military conflict, peace came only when both sides (one powerful, the other weak) absorbed the fact that a military victory was unavailable to either side and that addressing grievances in good faith would provide the only escape from further decades of violence and misery.



By contrast, says one analyst, British Prime Minister Tony Blair is making a convincing case. "Blair is not boxing leaders in, but saying, 'This is the moral imperative, this is the task at hand, will you help us?'" says Scott Lasensky, a Mideast expert with the Council on Foreign Relations.

"If you ask whether we condemn the Sept. 11 attack, we're with you," says one South American diplomat. "But is more violence the best answer? The Americans don't leave room for alternative opinions. When will countries speak out: after 1,000, 100,000, or 1 million more are killed?"

Yesterday, UN officials were rushing to put together an interim government in Kabul. And US Secretary of State Colin Powell earlier indicated he thought a UN peacekeeping force in Afghanistan should be led by Muslim states such as Turkey, Bangladesh, and Indonesia.

To encourage the coalition support of all of America's key partners in the campaign - from Russia to China, from the Middle East to Africa - Washington will pay them off in one way or another, says a diplomat from a NATO country. Each country, he says, expects the US "to offer economic or military assistance, debt relief, or at least that Washington will turn a blind eye to human-rights abuses or political repression."

They would be happy to have Mr. bin Laden out of the picture, the European diplomat says, but "it's not that there's genuine anger against terrorism. They're looking to benefit somehow, to promote their own interests."

Pakistan, for one, was rewarded by Bush this week with a \$1 billion aid package and the likelihood that assorted sanctions will be lifted.

Important Arab and Muslim coalition partners also need something to soothe their restive publics: a renewed American push to mediate the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and greater "balance" toward the Palestinian side.

So they praised Bush for his vow Saturday to pursue a "just peace" and then for becoming the first US president ever to utter publicly the name "Palestine." However, the Arab world seemed to overlook that Bush also rejected "national aspiration" as justification for "the deliberate

murder of the innocent" - an implicit reference to Palestinian terror attacks on Israelis.

A quick test of coalition support came last week when Lebanon refused to freeze the assets of Hizbullah, which is supported by both Syria and Iran. Syria is expected to follow Lebanon's example. Under a new UN Security Council resolution, sanctions of some sort may be in the offing. But would the US pursue a military option as well? Furthermore, will the hawks at the Pentagon prevail and win approval for attacks on Iraq?

European public support for the Afghan war is dwindling, so a move on Iraq may cause coalition defections on the Continent. If nothing else, it would further inflame Arab-Muslim public opinion and perhaps apply enough pressure on the regimes to cause "diminishing returns" in coalition partnership, Lasensky said.

Out of self-preservation, then, they would presumably withdraw, regardless of the with-us-or-against-us ultimatum. "I can see some in the Middle East associating that phrase with American policy writ large," he said. "And there are a lot of US policies they oppose."

And that might spell the end of the coalition itself. If that happens, even countries that steadfastly support the war in Afghanistan say America would have only itself to blame.

While much of the world views America as a mostly benevolent power, diplomats say, there was sufficient anti-American resentment pre-Sept. 11 that it won't take much more than the passage of time for remaining sympathy to dissipate altogether.

Which is why so many diplomats say they hope the events of Sept. 11 will spur Washington to reflect on the sources of terrorism and anti-American enmity - and reassess its policies abroad.

"As long as the great socio-economic disparities are there, the problems will remain," said a diplomat from a developing Asian nation. "If you act as if other countries don't exist, as if other people don't exist, they will find the means to bring attention to themselves."



*By Michael J. Jordan, The Christian Science Monitor ,
from the November 14, 2001 - www.csmonitor.com*

Letter from the UN

BY ROSA COVINGTON PACKARD

The National Campaign for a Peace Tax Fund (NCPTF) is the US member of Conscience and Peace Tax International (CPTI). Marian Franz, Rosa Covington Packard, and John Randall, who are board members of the NCPTF, represent CPTI at the United Nations in New York. *Quarterly Update* carries Rosa's regular 'Letter from the UN' column.

On September 11, the Special Session of the General Assembly on children scheduled for September 12 was postponed and the annual non-governmental organization (NGO) conference then in-progress was canceled. On September 16, the Mayor of New York addressed the General Assembly. The NGO briefings by the Department of Public Information (DPI) have now resumed and NGO representatives are allowed back into the UN with heightened security.

On Tuesday, October 23, I attended my first meeting of CONGO, the organization that represents the NGOs with consultative status to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. CONGO cooperates closely with the Department of Public Information (DPI), which provides weekly briefings and organizes an annual conference and other programs to orient NGOs with all levels of status to the United Nations' work.

The CONGO meeting discussed NGO access to the UN. The short-term issues were the concerns raised by heightened security. Participants expressed a desire for equal protection for all: delegates, staffs, missions and visitors. The "protection" is somewhat uneven. I was glad to introduce Conscience and Peace Tax International (CPTI) to other CONGO members and to say that I hoped we would spend some time thinking about the differences among real security measures, those measures that make people feel secure but do not truly protect them, and those measures that in the name of security are imposed by those who wish to limit our ability to do our work.

The long term issue of regularizing minimum standards for NGO access to open General Assembly sessions, to UN Summit Meetings and their preparatory conferences, and to Special Sessions of the General Assembly was explained by Bill Pace of the World Federalist Movement. Pace chairs the International NGO Task Group on Legal and Institutional Matters that prepared the General Assembly Resolution on NGO Access for circulation among NGOs and presentation to the General Assembly. The full text of these papers is available at www.wfm.org/ngo.

NGOs have participated without formal rights in General Assembly work over the past 55 years, but participation in each event is separately negotiated. Since the turnover of delegates is frequent it means continual re-education on the issues. For NGO representatives, this means arrangements are made at the very last minute; this severely affects the participation of representatives who must get visas and raise money for travel.

The proposed resolution calls upon the General Assembly to formally accept the unanimous decision of the 54 nations of ECOSOC in 1966 in adopting Resolution 1996/31, establishing uniform procedures for "Participation of Non Governmental Organizations in International Conferences Convened by the United Nations General Assembly and Their Preparatory Processes," and to apply those procedures to NGO

participation in Special Sessions to which NGOs are invited. The resolution would encourage the General Assembly to extend additional arrangements on a case by case basis to improve interaction with accredited NGOs such as dialogues, panel discussions and oral and written statements. It also encourages the General Assembly to extend consultative status with the General

Assembly and to use and perhaps expand the existing ECOSOC mechanisms for granting, reviewing and monitoring consultative status.

This effort, a step in UN reform, calls on UN Member States and NGO organizations, networks and coalitions to endorse Resolution 1996/31. I was inspired by the cooperative work towards consensus on this issue.

The award this year of the Nobel Peace Prize to Kofi Anan and to the United Nations is timely and deserved, both as affirmation and encouragement. Many UN accomplishments give us hope: international treaties, global summits, relief work, work monitoring human rights and the negotiating opportunities provided by the UN presence. It is a story many of us do not know well enough because it is not well reported in our media. Browse www.un.org and its links, and don't forget to visit <http://cpti.ws>, which is the Conscience and Peace Tax International web site.



An Open Letter to the Inland Revenue

Monday November 5, 2001

BY GIDEON BURROWS

Dear Inland Revenue [Britain's IRS],

In September, I rose to the challenge of completing my self-assessment tax forms on time. As you know, I was self-employed as a freelance journalist for half of last year and I owe you £3,549.35 in tax.

You'll be pleased to know there's a cheque on the way, but note it will be £354.93 short. I've decided not to pay 10%, the proportion of my tax that goes to the military. I absolutely object to the bombing of Afghanistan, and I'd rather spend my hard-earned currency on something nice, like flowers or cake.

I don't remember completing the tax form that said how the government could spend my cash. I imagine the form, called SA24 or something similar, would contain long lists of options with tick boxes to complete. Schools: big tick. Hospitals: big tick. Millennium Dome: reluctant small tick. You get the idea.

In the absence of SA24, please allow me to explain my position. If a magazine pays me, say, £200 for an article, roughly £50 of that goes to the tax office. Fair enough, redistribution of wealth and all that. But 10 per cent of that goes to the military: would you donate a fiver to something you didn't support?

Waging war cannot combat the political ideas, however wrong, that led to the terrorist acts of September 11. Indeed, bombing will only make those ideas stronger.

Hundreds of civilians, having already suffered 20 years of repression and war in Afghanistan, are now being killed by American and British weapons. Yet they are no more deserving of death than the 4,000 people who perished in those Manhattan towers.

There has been too little debate in parliament. Labour MPs have been forced to vote for President Blair rather than for their own conscience or on behalf of the people who elected them. Maybe I should write to my MP to complain?

Britain has a rich heritage of conscientious objection. Hundreds refused to fight in two world wars. Whether chief whip Hilary Armstrong likes it or not, this war is also a matter of conscience and I conscientiously object. Those who are not with us are against us? Very well, Hilary. I am against, but it's going to cost you £354.93.

Withdrawing financial support for the war seems to be my only means of objecting to the bombing, short of flying to Tajikistan to chain myself under a tank. Other protests - overnight vigils outside Downing Street, floating peace lilies down streams, buying the Socialist Worker - just don't seem to be working.

Last week, Tony Blair urged us not forget the image of those planes flying into the World Trade Centre. I haven't forgotten where I was when it happened. I was protesting outside Europe's biggest ever arms exhibition at London Docklands, in the shadow of Canary Wharf.

Shopping for arms on September 11 were Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Israel, China and Sri Lanka - hardly bastions of world peace or human rights. The British government spent around £250,000 of taxpayers' money to host foreign delegations at the fair. Perhaps I should add another 1% to the amount I won't pay?

This week is Landmine Action Week. No, not an opportunity for America to show off its new kit by showering cluster bombs over Afghan villages, but rather a call to ban all forms of mines, including cluster munitions.

(continued on page 13)

(An Open Letter to the Inland Revenue, continued from page 12)

Every week, civilians, including children, are maimed or killed by unexploded cluster ordinance left in Kosovo by American and British forces more than two years ago. The use of cluster bombs over Afghanistan is unforgivable, and I won't pay for it.

I suspect, sooner or later, I'll receive a stern demand from you for payment, followed by another letter inviting my presence before a magistrate to account for my actions. Whether that account is heard in Sutton, Sudbury or somewhere else, it will at least give this war some of the legal critical examination that Mr Blair and Mr Bush seem so keen to avoid.

It may not be an international court or even the European Court of Human Rights (though, there's an interesting idea) and withholding my £354.93 is hardly going to stop the military machine in its tracks - "Sorry, sir. No fuel left. That Burrows from south London was paying for this trip!" - but however small my action, it is one I feel I simply must take.

Any consequences will be uncomfortable for me, but they will be nothing compared to the Afghan mother who buries her young child thanks to a conflict she has nothing to do with.

Yours sincerely,

Gideon Burrows

*From The Guardian (www.guardian.co.uk).
Gideon Burrows is a freelance journalist and a
peace and human rights campaigner*



Fundraising Initiatives

The impact of September 11 on the income of the Campaign and Foundation is still unclear but, to judge from contact with our members, the need for the work to continue and grow is strongly felt and fundraising is key to making progress.

With the part-time help of a fundraising professional (Steve Serafin), we're working on a range of fundraising activities. For instance, during the latest board meeting seven board and staff members participated in a phonathon for a few hours, raising over \$500 and renewing contact with many supporters whose membership had lapsed. The feedback was very positive and we received several additional pledges of unspecified amounts.

Along with regular fundraising activities such as direct mail appeals, we have been working to encourage major donors to fund specific projects and parts of our work which particularly interest them. This initiative involves going far beyond the Washington DC beltway.

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For instance, Steve Ratzlaff (Chair of the NCPTF Board) and Marian Franz (Exec Dir of NCPTF) - both pictured above - recently visited Pennsylvania to meet some of our major supporters there and to explore ways in which they can help make the peace tax fund a reality.

Another important area of support is corporate members (churches, peace groups, etc). Steve Ratzlaff has turned his enormous energy to asking 1,000 churches (yes, 1,000, one by one) to donate \$500 annually. If your church is one of the remaining 997, please help!



Reprisals by US Could Be a War Crime

Any act of reprisal by the US government for last month's attack on America could constitute a war crime, according to the director of the Irish Centre for Human Rights at NUI Galway, Prof William Schabas.

Prof Schabas, an expert in international law from Canada who has worked in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, has said that the anger of the victims and their families can well be understood. However, the attacks were not a threat to democracy, he says.

"Democratic regimes have survived far worse. It is the reaction to terrorism that destroys democracies.

"Some American politicians now argue that criminal justice is inadequate because the events of September 11th were 'an act of war' ", he has noted. "But according to international law, we must know what state committed it. A group of individuals, even numbering in the hundreds, cannot commit an 'act of war' ".

The Galway-based academic made his comments as he prepared to host a conference in NUI Galway last week on international abolition of the death penalty.

"Modern democracies have perfectly adequate justice systems for dealing with terrorists," he emphasised. "We track them down, catch them, bring them to trial and impose fit punishment.

"That is what the US and Britain did with those responsible for the Lockerbie crash, and for the US embassy bombings in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. It is what the United Nations is doing for those accused of genocide and crimes against humanity in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda.

"How much more healthy it is for democracy that Slobodan Milosevic, the former Serbian leader, be

judged by an international court rather than murdered by a Cruise missile aimed at his home. As for the two Lockerbie defendants, one was acquitted by Scottish judges earlier this year. Had the advocates of assassination and summary execution prevailed in that case, an innocent man would have been killed in the name of democracy's war on terrorism."

He added: "Perhaps those who harbour terrorists may themselves be accomplices in an 'act of war'. But let us remember the last time this bold claim was made, in 1914, when Austria-Hungary declared war on Serbia because a Serb nationalist had assassinated its archduke. It unleashed a cascade of belligerent declarations justified by an earlier equivalent of article five of the NATO treaty.

"We now look back in horror and bewilderment at how an overreaction to terrorism, in the name of punishment and retribution, provoked a chain of events that ultimately slaughtered an entire generation of European youth."

Democratic regimes have survived far worse. It is the reaction to terrorism that destroys democracies.

Any act of reprisal that took civilian casualties or was directed against civilian objects was forbidden under international law, he said. "It is a war crime. To the extent that reprisals are allowed at all, they must target purely military objectives."

International solidarity should not become "a pretext for promoting a US political agenda that has little to do with catching the perpetrators and preventing future crimes," he said. "The right to life of thousands of innocent civilians in New York city and Washington has been egregiously violated. But that same right also belongs without exception to civilians in Belgrade, Baghdad and Kabul."

*From The Irish Times, October 1, 2001,
www.ireland.com*

Books

<i>Seeking Peace</i> , a new book from the Bruderhof, \$15.00.....	_____	_____
<i>Communities of Conscience: Collected Statements on Conscience and Taxes for Military Preparation</i> , 2nd edition, \$7.95.....	_____	_____
<i>War Tax Resistance: A Guide to Withholding Your Support from the Military</i> , 4th edition edited by Ruth Benn, \$12.00.....	_____	_____
<i>Questions that Refuse to Go Away</i> , by Marian Franz, \$5.95.....	_____	_____
<i>The Tax Dilemma: Praying for Peace, Paying for War</i> , by Donald Kaufman, \$4.95.....	_____	_____
<i>Why I Am a Conscientious Objector</i> , by John M. Drescher, \$4.95.....	_____	_____
<i>Handbook on Military Taxes and Conscience</i> , produced by Friends Committee on War Tax Concerns, \$2.00.....	_____	_____

Tools for Peace Tax Fund Activists

NEW VIDEO available in January 2002! Contact the office for details.		
Basic Questions and Answers about the PTF Bill brochure (new) \$0.10 each...	_____	_____
<i>Activist Guide: Speaking for Conscience</i> , \$9.95.....	_____	_____
Text of the Religious Freedom Peace Tax Fund Bill		
5 page version 20c each, 1 page version 10c each.....	_____	_____
“Funny Money” flier (\$.01 each).....	_____	_____
Peace Tax Fund Basic Brochure, \$.10 each	_____	_____
<i>What would you do if your beliefs were declared illegal?</i> Penny flyer, \$0.03 each.....	_____	_____
<i>Conscientious Objector</i> . Poem by Edna St. Vincent Millay, \$0.25.....	_____	_____
<i>Paying for Peace</i> . Peace tax campaigns throughout the world, \$5.00.....	_____	_____
<i>Stages of Conscientious Objection to Military Taxation</i> , \$0.20 each.....	_____	_____
Buttons: “Taxes for Peace Not War” or Dove with Leaf (circle one), \$0.50.....	_____	_____
NCPTF Poster: Dove and Planet Earth, \$1.00.....	_____	_____
Back issues of the Quarterly Update newsletter (\$1.00).....	_____	_____
Bibliography/ Contacts relating to the Peace Tax Fund and War Tax Resistance - compiled for the VIII International Conference, July, 2000 - (\$0.50)	_____	_____

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UPDATE

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Rep Clay, Wm. Lacy	Rep Hoeffel, Joseph M.	Rep Norton, Eleanor H.
Rep DeFazio, Peter A.	Rep Honda, Michael M.	Rep Oberstar, James L.
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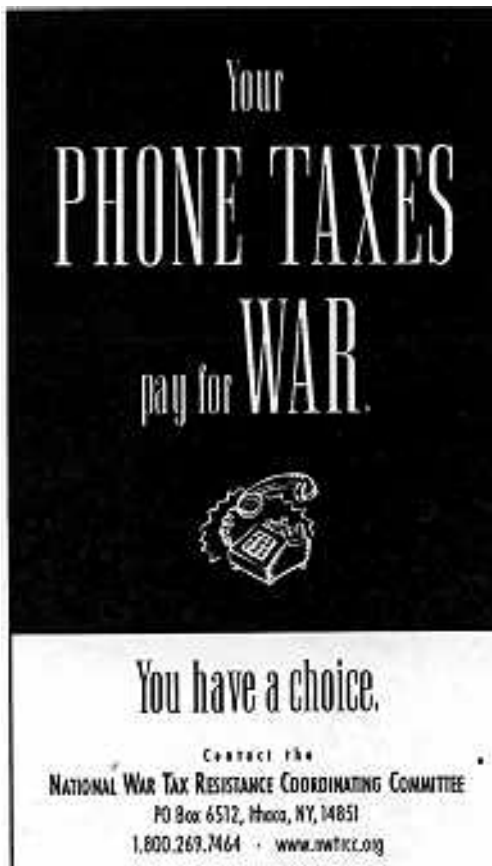
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The National Campaign for a Peace Tax Fund advocates for legislation enabling conscientious objectors to war to pay their federal taxes without violating their beliefs about not participating in the military. Contact us at the address above or at (202) 483-3751; toll free: (888) PEACE-TAX; Fax: (202) 986-0667; Email: info@peacetax.com; Website: www.peacetax.com. Printed on recycled paper.

Issue iv/2001



Peace Tax Fund Fact Sheet

The Religious Freedom Peace Tax Fund Bill would allow conscientious objectors to pay their full federal taxes into a separate fund which could not be used to support the military.

Conscientious objectors are people whose consciences forbid participation in war in any form, because of their deeply held religious or moral beliefs.

In the 107th Congress, the Religious Freedom Peace Tax Fund bill (H.R. 1186) was introduced to the House by Rep. John Lewis (D-GA-5th) and currently has 27 cosponsors (see page 15 for list of cosponsors).

Contact Points

Senator _____

U.S. Senate

Washington, DC 20510

Representative _____

U.S. House

Washington, DC 20515

Capitol Switchboard: (202) 224-3121

President George W. Bush

The White House

Washington, DC 20500

White House Comment Line: (202) 456-1414

White House Fax: (202) 456-2883

