

# QuakerAction

Shared Security Issue

## There is no “them”

The U.S. can be a force for the common good—if we invest in peaceful ends to conflict and adopt restorative alternatives to healing a broken world.

From Somalia to the West Bank, take a look at policies that currently perpetuate instability and approaches that make all of us safer.



Zacaria Said Ali Abdirahman, 15, learns about electrical installation through a training program in North Galkayo, Somalia.



American Friends  
Service Committee

[www.afsc.org](http://www.afsc.org)





# None of us is safe until all of us are safe

## Friends,

On the July morning after the announcement of the George Zimmerman verdict, I went with a friend to worship at an African-American Baptist church in Philadelphia. Disbelief, grief, holy outrage were all evident in response to the verdict, along with a passionate commitment to realize—finally!—the dream Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. spoke about so eloquently 50 years ago.

I watched the adult members of the church comforting their young people and making ample room for them to share their gifts during the service. For this community, the racism and injustice that led to Trayvon Martin’s killing and the verdict that condoned it are not abstractions. Racism is a brutal assault that every day threatens the lives of their precious children.

My experience that Sunday led me to reflect on my own Quaker community—predominantly white, as are many mainline churches in the U.S. What will it take for white faith communities to recognize that, by our inaction, we allow the epidemic of violence and poverty in communities of color to continue?

Here is the challenging truth: The same systems that disadvantage and marginalize African-Americans confer privileges on the white middle class—privileges that are hard for those who benefit to see or acknowledge. “Liberty and justice for all” may be our national aspiration, but it is not our national reality. We must understand—and act on that understanding—that our lives and destinies are bound up together, that “we” cannot be safe unless “they” and their children are safe too.

The “we-they” dynamic within the U.S. also plays out in our foreign policy.

We view ourselves as exceptional and other countries as “less than.” How else could we wage war so often? How else could we so easily dismiss innocent lives lost in a misguided drone strike as “collateral damage”?

In Southeast Asia, Afghanistan, and the Middle East, our government entered into conflicts it did not fully understand, arming one side while labeling another as “terrorists.” And once a person, organization, or country is designated as “terrorist,” even peace and humanitarian contacts are forbidden.

Overseas, as at home, our fate is connected with the fate of others; war-making and drone strikes create new enemies, making our country less safe, not safer.

Even Secretary of Defense Chuck Hagel acknowledges that “most of the pressing security challenges today have important political, economic and cultural components, and do not necessarily lend themselves to being resolved by conventional military strength.”

The time is ripe for a renewed understanding about a source of strength that has the power to make all of us secure.

The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) and the Friends Committee on National Legislation (FCNL) partnered to develop this new narrative for transforming the role of the U.S. in the world.

A dynamic group of Quakers with diverse foreign policy experience further honed the initial working paper, which has now been published as a document called

“Shared Security: Reimagining U.S. Foreign Policy” (read more on page 15).

What is shared security? Below is a succinct summary based on a blog post I wrote with Diane Randall, the Executive Secretary of FCNL:

*Global problems of conflict, poverty and climate change require cooperative solutions. Shared security offers a new vision for how the world community can live more peacefully and justly, acknowledging and building upon the interconnections of our human family, with greater care for our planet, and respecting the dignity of all.*

Shared security envisions a new role for the United States in the world—an informed U.S. foreign policy responsive to the complex challenges faced by our interdependent global community. Shared security requires that governments (including our own), nongovernmental organizations, and multinational corporations cooperate

in a shared search for solutions to the common threats we face. Security for any one country, including the United States, depends on advancing global security for all.

In this issue of Quaker Action, we explore what it means to advance the common good and global security for all, and tell stories of how AFSC is working on such a vision in our international work.

Please visit the Shared Security website ([www.shared-security.org](http://www.shared-security.org)), take a look at the document, post your own response or reflection there, and join us in creating a more peaceful planet for all.



In peace,

Shan Cretin  
General Secretary

## In this issue



### Page 4

Young men and women coming of age now in Somalia have never known a time without civil war. Alissa Wilson looks at how some are ending the cycle of violence—and what the U.S. can do to support, instead of hinder, their efforts.

► Also: 20-year old Abdirizak on becoming an electrician



### Page 7

Violence has not brought peace to Israel and Palestine, and the threat of violence—supported financially by the U.S.—has only exacerbated the conflict. Our Middle East staff talks with Israelis and Palestinians about how they feel the impact of U.S. military aid in their daily lives.

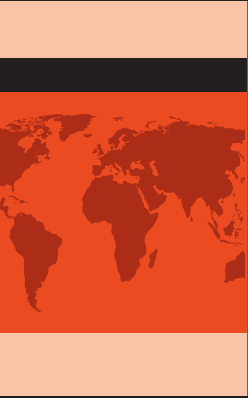
► Also: By the numbers: U.S. aid to Israel/Palestine



### Page 12

When we focus on building trust and friendship instead of walls and fortresses, peace and true security are possible. Memories of Laurama Page Pixton’s role in bringing together Americans and Soviets in the midst of the Cold War provide a model of what diplomacy could look like today.

► Also: Common ground in Southeast Asia



### Page 15

Examples of positive alternatives to war and violence abound in AFSC’s work, but showing policymakers the effectiveness of a “common good” approach to foreign policy is a challenge. A new collaboration between AFSC and FCNL hopes to change that.





In Israac Village, young men including Mohamed Abdihayir, age 26, and Zacaria Said Ali Abdirahman, age 15, learn about the flow of electrical currents.

## The chance to make a living, peacefully

### In Somalia, U.S. counterterrorism laws are counterproductive

In Galkayo, Somalia, Hassan bakes bread to sell at the market. His baking business helps his family make a living and provides a new food source for his neighbors. The life he lives contradicts the dominant U.S. media portrayal of young Somalis, who are typically depicted as drivers of violence and chaos, fueling decades of civil war.

Hassan's reality is just one small part of an untold story of resilience, conflict transformation, and constructive engagement within many unseen communities dedicated to a peaceful future in Somalia.

Throughout Somalia, teenagers and people in their twenties are becoming en-

trepreneurs instead of joining armed groups, with the help of trainings by AFSC partners—small, local organizations and communities laboring to replace decades of animosity with collaboration and hope. Community members are coming together across lines of age and gender to talk about what they need in order to reconcile differences, and how they can forgive and begin to heal.

Despite the groundswell of Somalis collaborating with organizations like AFSC on peaceful initiatives, the degree to which affected communities can be engaged is limited by U.S. counterterrorism policies.

Can we stop the next war if we don't open dialogue with community stakeholders most familiar with the roots of conflict in their region? Can Somalia build a secure future if young people like Hassan are denied the chance to make a living peacefully?

#### Jobs, not war

Economic hardship, often more so than ideological conflict, fuels enlistment in armed groups. That's why a large part of working for peace is finding sustainable ways for young people to make a living and providing hands-on job training so they are prepared to do the work.



Above left: The electrical installation training in Israac Village included young men ages 14 to 26. Above right: Baarlin Hassan Hashi, 26, and Ikraan Ahmed Hassan, 18, clean hair dryers after a lesson in a hairdressing and beauty therapy class.



Skills training is informed by each community's needs, which vary from one place to another. In Somalia as elsewhere, AFSC works with local people to identify needs in the community, including what businesses are most needed and likely to thrive.

Young Somalis then receive six to twelve months of training, including a week of concentrated conflict-resolution education—which has led many to play active roles in their community and become valued as resources instead of burdens and detractors.

Diving into running a business is no easy task. Upon graduation, participants receive a starter kit with tools and materials they need to start working as well as seed funding to cover initial costs, like renting a business space.

Parents have told us that this program means they no longer have to worry about their children joining armed groups for the \$100 monthly salary.

#### Creating space to shake hands

Our locally driven programs develop some intriguing solutions to conflict. Ask a Somali teenager what would make her community more secure, and you're likely to get a different answer than what an outside organization might see.

In Beled Hawa, where AFSC runs a student civic engagement program, the community identified that the town social hall, destroyed during the war, needed to be rebuilt. People had used the hall to address grievances, ranging from personal disputes to inter-clan fighting that

led to revenge killings.

Because the youth spoke up about the need to rebuild, AFSC supported the project with materials; the community provided additional materials and labor.

Another program shows another solution. For years, only armed groups had traveled between the towns of North and South Galkayo.

Young people (peace ambassadors sup-

ported by AFSC) from each town wanted to change that. They approached community leaders for permission to bridge the divide. The leaders said yes, but were skeptical that a transition was possible.

On their first journey across the divide, youths from each town brought messages of peace to clinics, markets, and any other place where people gathered in the other town.

After a few months of that work, the youth

#### FREE TO EARN, FREE FROM MAKING WAR

*Compared to other parts of Somalia, North and South Galkayo have been relatively calm. However, young people often leave these towns for work related to armed groups if they feel they have no other way to provide for themselves or their families. Young men become members of these groups and young women become cooks or provide other services. AFSC programs give them a peaceful and productive alternative to working with armed groups. Here is one young man's experience.*

#### Abdirizak Mohamed Farah, 20 years old, electrician trainee, Galkayo

"When I came to Puntland Minority Women Development Organization (PMWDO) [AFSC's partner organization that provides job training to young people of all genders] and requested to participate in the skills training program—as my dream was to be an electrician one day—I felt joy that I lacked perfect words to express. We are ten children in our family. My aunt is the one who supports us, as my father is jobless.

"Since I have started the lessons, I have acquired new skills. Also, my aunt has enrolled me in school now, which has come at an opportune time. During my free time I work with our PMWDO instructor when he gets contracts to do electrical installations. After working, our instructor gives us some money, at times \$10, \$20 or \$30, depending on how many we are and how much he has been paid. I used the earnings to buy a new uniform to replace my old one. I have also started freelancing with some of my classmates—we get jobs and work together as a team.

"The skills I have gained from the training—like fixing bulbs, sockets and switches—will support me. Consequently, my family will become less vulnerable. I will be able to keep using these skills to generate an income, and the skills will stay with me for my entire life."



organized a soccer match and invited people from both towns.

It was the first time in years that leaders from the two towns had shaken hands.

This exposure started a conversation that has contributed to greater integration; the towns are even sharing an airstrip, and commerce flows freely between the two locations.

Seeing peace take hold in these communities shows what a conflict transformation approach can achieve in Somalia.

**Left out by law**

Somalis living in areas controlled by al-Shabaab do not have access to AFSC’s programming because of U.S. counterterrorism legislation.

It is illegal for organizations to work with members of “blacklisted groups.” For example, if a member of a blacklisted group receives trainings on nonviolence, a U.S. organization could be sanctioned or have its leadership sentenced to up to 15 years in prison. This is a serious impediment for peace workers. In order to promote peace and security, it is vital that peace workers’ activities are legally protected.



The State Department can give waivers to peace and humanitarian organizations, but such waivers require prior government approval of a work plan. This is difficult for organizations that want to remain independent from political influence or the appearance of taking sides.

Laws that isolate, rather than engage, people are counterproductive. They restrict effective peace programs in the communities that need them most. By limiting nonviolent engagement, we in

the U.S. are limited to only approaching conflict areas with military tools—tools that displace and destroy communities, disregard the spiritual belief in “that of God in every one,” and perpetuate cycles of violence.

**Opening the way for inclusive peace-building**

There is still hope for the kind of inclusive peace building that eradicated the fear separating North and South Galcayo.

AFSC and a community of peace organizations are calling for changes in the law, urging U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry to use his powers to lift barriers to peace-building programs that reach out to all parties in conflicts through nonviolent and inclusive processes. We have the support of figures such as President Jimmy Carter and former U.S. ambassadors.

We will continue to bear witness to the successes of our partners in Somalia, gained through the power of nonviolence. ■

ALISSA WILSON

*Alissa is AFSC’s Public Education and Advocacy Coordinator for Africa.*

# War isn’t working

## Billions in military aid failed to bring peace to Israel-Palestine

Since World War II, the U.S. has given more military aid to Israel than to any other country. Partially because of this aid, Israel’s armed forces constitute one of the most technologically sophisticated militaries in the world.

President Obama pledged as recently as March 2013 that the U.S. would continue its multi-year commitment—a 10-year, \$30 billion military aid package agreed upon in 2007, running through 2018—subject to the approval of Congress.

But what is the impact of this military aid on Israeli and Palestinian civilians: has it made either one safer and more secure?

There are voices on both sides that object to the actions enabled by U.S. aid—to the daily practices carried out by the Israeli military in the occupied Palestinian territory with military equipment paid for by the U.S. The aid has had a cost in civilian lives and infrastructure, and has supported illegal settlements and other discriminatory and violent practices toward the Palestinian population.

Talking with Israelis who are willing to speak out about the deepening militarization of Israeli culture and with Pales-

tinians who can testify to the destructive effects of current military aid, we hear strong voices illustrating why further military aid is counterproductive to finding a durable solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

### ZVI, TEACHER

Thirty-five year old Zvi, an Israeli combat pilot turned classroom teacher, was over 10,000 feet off the ground when he first acknowledged to himself that he opposed funding for weapons.

It was just a few days after five children had been killed during the bombing of an ammunition warehouse. It weighed on his mind that they were disregarded as mere collateral damage. He struggled with what he would do if he received a similar command. That’s when he knew he wanted to leave the military to become a teacher.

It was a difficult moment of insight to reach, he explains. When you are “only allowed to think under specific guidelines,” it is difficult to liberate your mind and see things from a different perspective, he says.

Now a history teacher in Tel Aviv, he has found that history books offer only a very specific perspective, and that the army is closely related to the education system. He has seen how soldiers work as teachers’ aides, come to talk to students, and offer boot camps at school, and how a colonel who has led a platoon in combat can easily get a job leading children in a classroom, regardless of educational background.

Zvi says that individuals are pressured by the system, friends, family, and the desire to be good citizens—and that this pressure is so strong because there is no acceptable way of challenging this line of thinking, leading children to “become agents of the system,” he says.

Zvi questions the motives of people in control of the economy and politics, and whether they would want to end the conflict and demilitarize society. “It is a justification for the elite to remain in power and benefit from the occupation,” he says of the deep militarization of his society.



Left: Rahmo Abdi Rahman, 17, Baarlin Hassan Hashi, 26, and Mumino Adan Ali, 23, take part in a hairdressing and beauty class.

Right: During a lesson on electrical installation, Zacaria Said Ali Abdirahman watches Abdirazak Mohamed Farah, 20, practice a new skill.



# Can the security of one people come at the expense of denying basic rights to another?

## SARAH, TEACHER

Sarah, an Israeli who served in the army at age 18 and now, at 30, is on the reserve list, has also seen ways that army service changes how people think.

“You follow orders,” she says. “Israeli society does not question how you live. People are less likely to challenge the values and principles.”

If ordered, she will refuse service, though it means facing a prison sentence.

She says that spending money on weapons is not the solution, but that funds should go instead toward creating more cooperation between Israelis and Palestinians.

Like Zvi, she feels that a different political culture among the Israeli public is badly needed. “The problem not only is what the army does to Palestinian society, but also the ability to question things,” she says.

## MOHAMMED MOUSA, PALESTINIAN FARMER

Mohammed Mousa’s (Abu Tayel) brother is the head of the village council in al Majazin in the occupied West Bank, one of 12 villages in the south Hebron hills that are all slated for demolition. The area is inhabited by 1,622 Palestinians who rely on farming and husbandry of sheep and goats for their livelihoods.

Mohammed retells how, two months ago, the Israeli army informed the villagers that access to the grazing land would be forbidden between 6 a.m. and 2 p.m. every Monday, because the area was designated by the Israeli occupying forces as “Firing Zone 918.” Israeli evacuation orders were issued to remove the inhabitants.

“It is strictly forbidden for any human or cattle to move during the designated times, while the Israeli army has the chance to test its weapons using live ammunition, wreak havoc, spread terror and fear among our children and adults. Training includes helicopters hovering in the skies, tanks firing at targets, and regular live ammunition...”

“More than half of the family members are children under 18 years of age, and we all wait in silence and fear until the military exercises are over. We are denied of living with dignity, in an inhu-



Palestinian activists confront heavily armed Israeli soldiers during a weekly nonviolent demonstration against the separation wall. Photo: [www.ryanrodrickbeiler.com](http://www.ryanrodrickbeiler.com)

**Men and women have the right to live their lives ... free from fear of violence, oppression and injustice.**

—U.N. MILLENNIUM DECLARATION

## UM ALI, CAREGIVER

Um Ali, 65, is responsible for the well-being of 50 extended family members in another village called Touba in the West Bank.

Although Touba does not fall within the 918 firing zone, demolition orders on their tents and shelters were issued.

“The military is not seeking to create security in the area, but rather to prepare for war,” she says.



# Military security harms human security

Given that equality is one indicator of a more peaceful society, military “security” harms both the Israeli and the Palestinian capacity to build real human security.

As it is now, U.S. military aid to Israel and support for the militarization of Palestinian security forces only serve to sustain the occupation. This aid does not help build peace. U.S. policy must change, and U.S. military and militarized aid should be rechanneled to non-military ends, such as investment in business, health care, and education, either at home or abroad. AFSC’s Israel and Palestine programs are working to raise awareness of the necessity of making these changes while also working to end Israel’s occupation and build peace in the region.

As Zvi, Sarah, Mohammed, and Um Ali can attest, there is still a long way to go. ■

A note on names in this article: Names of Israeli teachers are pseudonyms. The teachers we interviewed are unable to give their real names due to a government regulation that forbids teachers from criticizing the education system.



Top from left: One of Um Ali’s grandchildren; Um Ali with a granddaughter. Photos: AFSC staff. Bottom: Spent tear gas grenades fired by Israeli forces during weekly demonstrations. Photo: [www.ryanrodrickbeller.com](http://www.ryanrodrickbeller.com)

## A CLOSER LOOK

# Aid to Israel and the Palestinian Authority

**Israelis, Palestinians, and Americans alike** know that the conflict in Palestine and Israel must end—and that the solution is not continued violence. Despite its calls for a non-military end to the conflict, the U.S. continues to fund the militarization of the conflict through the direct and indirect military assistance it provides to the Israeli military and the Palestinian Authority.

Direct U.S. support for the militarization of the conflict in Palestine and Israel in the form of military aid is obvious, but it is important to note that *even aid provided for ostensibly non-military purposes is often rechanneled toward programs that have some military aspect to them.*

To get the full picture of how the U.S. supports the militarization of the conflict, we therefore have to look at programs that are officially non-military in nature but that fund militarized actions, such as training police forces in paramilitary tactics or counter-terrorism funding used against political dissidents. Such an analysis shows that much of the non-military aid to Israel and the Palestinian Authority is in fact funding militarized programs.

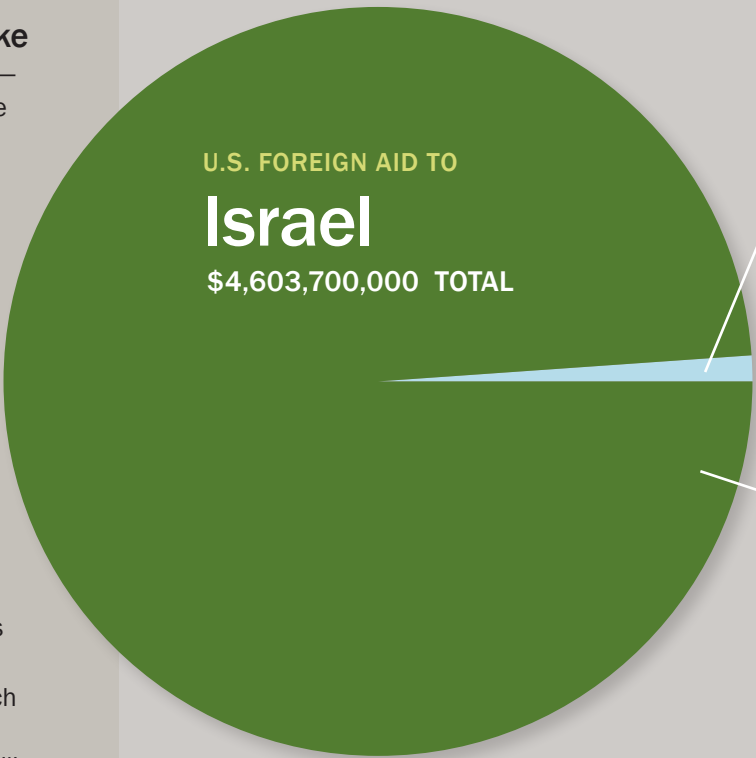


**Non-military aid**  
Aid that has no explicit military justification or militarized elements within the project.



**Military aid**  
Aid that is used to fund the purchase of arms, support militaries or paramilitary forces, and assist further U.S. or foreign military priorities.

**Militarized aid**  
Aid that may be classified by the U.S. government as non-military, but which actually supports military action.



**Non-military aid** \$23,000,000

**Migration and Refugee Assistance Funds** ▪ \$20,000,000  
Resettlement aid for humanitarian migrants from the former Soviet Union, countries in Eastern Europe, Africa, the Near East, and elsewhere. Though humanitarian aid, these funds continue discriminatory immigration policies that privilege Jewish over Palestinian immigration.

**American Schools and Hospitals Abroad Fund** ▪ \$3,000,000  
Program to strengthen schools and hospitals overseas that best demonstrate American ideals and practices. Funding provided includes grants to medical facilities in Israel for building or renovation of facilities and procurement of scientific, medical, and educational equipment.



**Military/militarized aid** \$4,580,700,000

**M.O.U. Grant** ▪ \$3,075,000,000  
Memorandum of Understanding pledging direct military aid to Israel, subject to exceptions to typical constraints on U.S. military aid. Concerns have been raised that the way this aid is used violates provisions in Foreign Assistance Act and Arms Export and Control Act that forbid weapons shipments to countries with a history of human rights abuses.

**Support for Israeli Missile Defense** ▪ \$305,700,000  
Funding to help develop missile defense systems including the Arrow II, Aaron III, David’s Sling, and Iron Dome systems. Separate from congressionally-approved military assistance to Israel.

**U.S. EUCOM Military stockpiles in Israel** ▪ \$1,200,000,000  
Program to store missiles, artillery ammunition, and armored vehicles in munitions bunkers in Israel; amended in 2010 to expand stores from \$800 million to over \$1.2 billion dollars’ worth of arms and ammunition. Israel can access these weapons with congressional approval, as in 2006 during its war with Lebanon.

U.S. FOREIGN AID TO THE  
**Palestinian Authority**  
\$508,700,000 TOTAL



**Non-military aid** \$395,700,000

**Direct Budgetary Aid to Palestinian Authority** ▪ \$200,000,000

**USAID Assistance—West Bank and Gaza**  
For governance, rule of law, civil society ▪ \$17,300,000  
For health, education, social services ▪ \$94,100,000  
For economic development ▪ \$62,600,000  
For humanitarian assistance ▪ \$21,700,000



**Military/militarized aid** \$113,000,000

**I.N.C.L.E.** (International Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement) ▪ \$113,000,000  
Funding for security forces, including paramilitary-style training for maintaining military control over sections of the West Bank. Activities of security forces have been criticized by human rights groups.

All figures for fiscal year 2012.  
SOURCES:  
Israel: [www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33222.pdf](http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33222.pdf)  
Palestine: [www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RSS22967.pdf](http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RSS22967.pdf)





Sign in Ellenton, S.C., reads: “It is hard to understand why our town must be destroyed to make a bomb that will destroy someone else’s town that they love as much as we love ours—but we feel that they picked not just the best spot in the U.S., but in the world . . . We love these dear hearts and gentle people who live in our home town.”  
Photo: From Glenn T. Seaborg’s 1972 pamphlet, “Nuclear Milestones”

## From the archives

**Cultural exchanges, covert meetings made space for peace between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.**

It was an unusual setting for an unusual conversation on disarmament and the arms race in the midst of the Cold War.

Twenty Soviets and Americans—mid-career professors, journalists, and leaders—hashing out their common concerns for the world’s future and their shared role in securing control of nuclear and other arms. Their meeting ground: the high-rises of Pitsunda, Georgia, on the coast of the Black Sea, amid vacationing blue-collar Soviet workers.

Over seven days in December 1970, as they covered everything from environmental disruption and the Middle East to space communications and relations between their two countries, they became colleagues despite the social divide.

They became friends during the breaks before dinner and on afternoon trips to nearby farms and factories.

This was the fourth “reciprocal seminar” organized by AFSC and the Institute of Soviet-American Relations, based in Moscow, following the first held in Sochi in 1966.

AFSC organized ways for Soviets and Americans to form these bonds throughout the Cold War. The format and faces changed with the decades, but each gathering opened hearts and minds, leaving deep impressions on the representatives as they returned home to their lives in different worlds, now a bit less isolated from one another.

One American said after the seminar in Pitsunda that they had gotten to know the 10 Russian participants “as people, and well enough so that none of us will ever forget them, or think of Russia without it being somehow personified by them.”

### Looking for peace in the midst of war

For 25 years, the woman behind these meetings was Laurama Page Pixton. Handling logistics as the coordinator of AFSC’s East-West desk, she was tasked with setting a scene conducive to the kind of open dialogue that tore away the masks of nationality and made space for diplomats to relate to each other on a human level.

“She was a big believer in person-to-person relationships leading to diplomatic relations—that dialogues will lead to human understanding,” says Sally Harrison, who got to know Laurama in AFSC’s Philadelphia headquarters, where their offices were side-by-side.

It was not easy work, but Laurama was a natural fit—humorous and likable, she made a good impression on Russians at the embassy, and over the years formed a close relationship with the ambassador.

“She had this open personality that made it effective,” says her younger brother, Ed Page. “She was naturally an outgoing and persuasive person.”

Laurama found her passion for peace-building as a student at Swarthmore College, where she first encountered and considered the Quaker testimonies. She graduated in 1944. Her brother says that among Quakers, “the whole system was looking for peace in the midst of war,” and Laurama was no exception.

She turned her eye toward international understanding. She spent a year working on a ranch in Mexico, directing recreational activities for Polish refugees during World War II. Later, Laurama, her husband John Pixton, and their children lived for a year in Mo-

rocco, where they carried out AFSC service with Algerian refugees. Laurama taught sewing and John taught carpentry.

A few years later, in 1964, she joined the AFSC’s International Division and began her work administering Soviet-American exchanges. In addition to the reciprocal exchanges of academics and journalists, she coordinated visits of disarmament specialists, and eventually assumed responsibility for coordinating annual work and study projects for young leaders, known as the Tripartite Dialogues.

### Relating as people, not categories

Tripartite Dialogues had originally been held as seminar work camps, bringing together 20-somethings from the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union, and the United States. But later on, the organizers experimented with a new travel seminar format, allowing the group to visit a cross-section of their host society.

The 1973 cohort met in the United States, spending a week in formal and informal discussion at the Quaker study center Pendle Hill, outside Philadelphia; a week in homestays with families in Detroit, Akron, or Louisville; and a few days visiting Washington, D.C., and New York City, with meetings at the State Department, the Pentagon, the UN, and the Quaker United Nations Office. Among the group were teachers, secretaries, social workers, and graduate students.

Witnessing 20 young people divided by the Iron Curtain grow close over the course of three weeks, Laurama reflected on what it all meant:

*“I know of no other project which allows Soviet and Western young people such an opportunity to be together in a relaxed and informal setting for such a long period of time, getting to know each other so well, and learning so much from each other. [These are] young people who need to understand each other, to work together for a better and more peaceful world, young people who will be leaders of the future.”*

The seminar included much-needed time and space for people to challenge their peers’ and their own ideas without feeling threatened or pressured to maintain the party line.

The human spirit inevitably broke through every time. One American who participated in the 1973 seminar reflected, “It may be belaboring the obvious, but at different times it was absolutely exhilarating for me to realize that we are all moved much by the

same things: the Soviet and English people are just as interested in life and living as we are.”

### The payoff of quiet diplomacy

Three decades of this quietly practiced and persistent diplomacy did add up to what Laurama had predicted when, in 1973, she wrote, “One needs to have faith that the cumulative number of participants over the 11-year span of Tripartite projects will have a cumulative effect.” As professors, scientists, journalists, and political analysts, participants went on to influence foreign relations.

What she didn’t know when she wrote those words was that nearly a quarter of a century later, the man who served as Gorbachev’s foreign affairs spokesperson would publicly acknowledge her role in laying the groundwork for peace, for the impact she had on his own thinking.

According to Laurama’s brother Ed, Genadi Gerasimov (1930-2010) was among a small group of diplomats who gathered in meetings organized covertly by Laurama in the mid-1980s. It was Gerasimov who said in 1989 that each Eastern European country is “now on its own,” as Gorbachev declined to intervene as popular unrest spread.

At a private-sector speaking engagement in Philadelphia in the late 1990s, Gerasimov asked Laurama to stand up as he said, “I want to recognize someone in this room, without whom I would not be here.”

Laurama passed away in 2006, but her memory lives on in the legacy of AFSC’s East-West desk, her allies in the Soviet Union, and their impact on countless Americans, Britons, and Russians.

Quakers working for peace today tap into the power of person-to-person cultural exchanges for revealing the shared stake people have in a peaceful future despite the conflict at hand.

In order to create peaceful ends through peaceful means, the shared security concept (see page 15) calls for the U.S. diplomatic presence in other countries to create security through building trust and friendship, not walls and fortresses. Revisiting stories of the past gives a reminder that an approach we see as possible in today’s world is more than a proposition—it’s a proven path to breaking the isolation that enables war. ■

NEAH MONTEIRO

*To dig deeper into the work of AFSC during this time, contact the AFSC Archives at [archives@afsc.org](mailto:archives@afsc.org).*



Above: Demonstration in London. Photo: Used in AFSC slideshow. Middle: Group at first Endicott seminar. Laurama is in the middle of the second row. Photo: AFSC Archives. Bottom: Laurama, second from right, with Pitsunda seminar participants in 1970. Photo: AFSC Archives.



# Today: From prejudice to peace

On the banks of the Mekong River in a place where Thailand meets Laos, a group of 25 young people gathered to take part in the Mekong Peace Journey.

It's a fitting place for them to meet, as they come from all the countries—Cambodia, Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, and Myanmar (Burma)—of mainland Southeast Asia through which the river passes on its path to the South China Sea.

The Mekong is a richly diverse region that has suffered from painful conflicts in the past. These conflicts are exacerbated by the Mekong region's underdevelopment, political instability, and problems with labor migration and human trafficking. On occasion, according to longtime observers, politicians have encouraged nationalism and hatred of neighboring countries, leading sometimes to political distrust, cultural prejudice, and an absence of mutual understanding among peoples from different countries.

Rebuilding that understanding is at the center of the three-week peace journey, held annually in Southeast Asia.

Leang Linda was among this year's participants. She is from Cambodia, where border conflicts with Thailand and Vietnam have in the past been used as a political tool to shift attention away from political problems within each country.

Rejecting violence and discrimination, they developed a more profound understanding of identity based on love, friendship, and respect for diversity.

But during the peace journey, while learning about peace and conflict transformation and exploring issues of diversity and conflict, Linda and her peers connected over their common roots and values. Rejecting violence and discrimination, they

developed a more profound understanding of identity—one based on love, friendship, and respect for diversity.

Linda says the experience changed her in ways she never expected.

"I changed my way of thinking, prejudice, and discrimination toward Thai and Vietnamese," she says. "I started to think, and I built close relationships with them."

After the program, participants plan or join peace-building efforts in their own countries, such as organizing peace networks, peace walks, and peace biking events.

As she prepared to return to Cambodia, Linda said, "I feel I am ready to be a peace builder." ■

CHHIT MUNY

Muny is AFSC's Peace Partnerships Program Officer in Southeast Asia.

Thai Volunteer Service and the Cambodian Working Group for Peace, both AFSC partners, have organized the Mekong Peace Journey each summer since they first dreamed of it in 2010.

# War is not the answer. So, what is?

## Quakers roll out new vision for U.S. foreign policy

On many fronts, Quakers and our allies in the peace movement have made headway in changing the narrative about war. People are beginning to acknowledge that war and violence are poor tools for addressing many of the greatest threats we face today.

Aura Kanegis knows this well from her work in Washington, D.C. as AFSC's director of public policy and advocacy. Her role keeps her in touch with policymakers at the highest levels of government, as well as with individuals and communities where AFSC works around the world.

In the last few years, she has seen policymakers beginning to grasp the shortfalls of current approaches—but few see a way forward for changing U.S. actions and investments to meet these realities.

"There is a recognition that old ways aren't working—but a great lack of vision for what could work, a way forward from the world as we know it to the world we hope to see," says Aura.

As Aura talked with Bridget Moix,

who at the time was leading foreign-policy lobbying on behalf of the Friends Committee on National Legislation (FCNL), they saw an opportunity to bring together the best thinking from peace and conflict studies, policymaking circles, and community-based peace-builders to set a clear direction for making the world more secure for everyone.

"For this era, we need new tools to challenge the overall way we look at security, because the problems of the 21st century can't be solved with individual countries acting in their own self-interests or prioritizing militaristic policies over fundamental human needs," says Aura. "In the face of impending climate change, economic challenges, and resource shortages, we will all lose if we do not change together."

Enter "shared security," a term Aura and Bridget coined for their policy framework, which they propose as the foundation for an ethical and effective U.S. engagement with the world. "It's our effort to show what's possible when major powers apply



Mekong Peace Journey participants from five countries meet on the bank of the Mekong River bordering Thailand and Laos.



Top: Walking between beds of rice seedlings at an AFSC partner farm north of Pyongyang, North Korea. Photo: Stephen R. Smith  
Bottom: Health clinic staff member from AFSC's partner, Friends Women's Association. Bujumbura, Burundi. Photo: AFSC/T. W. Moore



**“The possibilities of constructing a global community where all can live in dignity and peace are visible if we stretch our eyes over the horizon, to a new world waiting to be built. Experience tells us that this can be achieved. Faith moves us to action.”**

—SHARED SECURITY: A QUAKER VISION OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

their resources to shared well-being rather than national competition,” explains Aura.

After months of seasoning from the Quaker community, FCNL and AFSC are preparing to introduce this vision to wider audiences, including allied U.S. policymakers who are eager to address the roots of conflict and prevent it, but who often don’t have alternative tools at hand.

The goal is to shift foreign policy. Bridget says that the question they have now is, “How can we use this frame in a way that engages others?”

*We hope to encourage a creative discussion about how the U.S. can engage with the world as we seek to find shared solutions to shared problems. Please visit [sharedsecurity.org](http://sharedsecurity.org) to share your ideas on reimagining U.S. foreign policy.*

#### Global cooperation and the rule of law

Reorient foreign policy away from global military domination and toward shared problem-solving. Give stronger voice to regional governments and multilateral institutions like the African Union. Uphold and expand international law. Sign and ratify global treaties on arms control and human rights. Renounce torture. Commit to cooperative international problem-solving.

#### Restorative approaches to heal a broken world

Demilitarize approaches to global problems. Withdraw military forces and contractors from Iraq and Afghanistan and invest instead in small-scale, local peace-building, reconciliation, and trauma healing. Close military bases and covert intelligence programs. Accelerate reduction of nuclear stockpiles. Fund nonproliferation efforts and support nuclear-free zones. Lead efforts to reduce international trade in weapons.

#### What you can do

We invite you to help envision a new U.S. global policy for living in the world we seek. We hope you can improve upon the ideas presented in shared security, stimulate new thinking, and develop specific ideas for action within your community and with policymakers.

Download or order a copy of “Shared Security: Reimagining U.S. Foreign Policy,” at [sharedsecurity.org](http://sharedsecurity.org), where you can also access a study guide to use with your congregation or community group.

Share your responses through the website, share the pamphlet with others, and bring your proposals directly to policymakers. ■

## How would shared security affect U.S. foreign policy?

We believe the U.S. needs a more ethical, effective, and less costly foreign policy to address today’s interdependent world. Complex challenges require new ways of thinking about our security. They require cooperative strategies for shared solutions.

Excerpted below are the principles underlying shared security, with a sampling of policy proposals.

*Go to [sharedsecurity.org](http://sharedsecurity.org) for a fuller view of each principle.*

#### Peaceful ends through peaceful means

Adequately fund civilian institutions oriented toward preventing and ending wars. Train diplomats in conflict resolution, preventative diplomacy, transitional justice, nonviolent problem-solving, and other skills. Reorient U.S. foreign assistance away from equipping foreign militaries, and toward comprehensive civilian rule of law and justice systems. Ensure U.S. policies are not fueling violence or abuse in other countries.

#### The planetary imperative

Lead international efforts to shift economic policies away from endless growth toward sustainability. Initiate a price on carbon. Shift energy supplies from fossil fuels to renewable resources. Base peace agreements upon shared management of natural resources.



## Donor profile

### Ed Page: Behind-the-scenes champion for peace

The year was 1938, and 11-year-old Ed Page was in Dusseldorf, Germany, for a month, waiting for the ship that would take him home to the U.S. after several years spent at a boarding school in Switzerland.

One Sunday, he ran out to play with his new German friends and experienced something he knew he never wanted to see again.

“My friends were in Hitler youth garb,” recalls Ed, a longtime AFSC donor. “I yelled ‘hi’ and they were immobilized like they were in a trance. And I remember the trains that would come by where we were staying. The men would be singing at the top of their lungs and they were similarly in the thrall of Hitler. This experience got me to be a freedom fighter at an early age.”

Ed returned home to Chicago, and six years later, at his sister Laurama’s urging, enrolled at Swarthmore College. Soon after graduating, he embarked on a 40-year career in marketing and advertising.

Meanwhile, Laurama—a major influence on her brother—spent 25 years on staff at AFSC, where she led the organization’s “quiet diplomacy” efforts that brought together diplomats from Britain, the Soviet Union, and the U.S. during the Cold War years. [Read more about Laurama Page Pixton on page 12.]

“Near the end of Laurama’s work, as the [Berlin] Wall was coming down, we could sense the opening up under Gorbachev and the ending of hostility,” Ed says.

But he, too, was doing his part to promote peace. As a member of a national group called the Business Executives for National Security, Ed helped persuade the Pentagon to close several obsolete military bases and limit the production of chemical weapons.

Proud of the accomplishments of his sister and her husband, Ed decided to honor them by creating the Laurama Page Pixton



Photo: Stacey Marks

and John Pixton Fund, which supports AFSC’s work to promote peace with justice. He also has remembered AFSC in his will because he believes in the organization’s ongoing work for peace.

Ed likes to tell one story in particular that, to him, encapsulates the dedication to peace embodied by his sister, her husband, and the Service Committee.

He recalls that in the early 1960s, AFSC helped refugees fleeing the Algerian War. Laurama and John Pixton were part of that effort. “My sister taught sewing, and my brother-in-law taught carpentry [to the refugees],” Ed says. “This was all aided and abetted by the American Friends Service Committee, so the organization’s activism deserves a lot of support.” ■

WILLIE COLON

## Securing the future

Many supporters are surprised to learn that AFSC operates with only a modest endowment. Currently, about 4 percent of each year’s operating budget is generated by income from endowed funds.

Looking ahead to our second century of Quaker service, we recognize the prudence of diversifying and stabilizing our sources of income. A healthy endowment will enable AFSC to seize opportunities and take strategic risks across the decades ahead.

Donors like Ed Page (above), persuaded by AFSC’s peace and justice initiatives and determined to amplify them in the years to come, have established named endowments with the Service Committee. For information on how you can join Ed by creating your own named endowment, please contact our Gift Planning Office at 1-888-588-2372 or [giftplanning@afsc.org](mailto:giftplanning@afsc.org). Your endowment gift will help ensure that AFSC remains a powerful voice for our shared values.



Human rights summit in Washington, D.C.  
Photo: AFSC/Carl Roose



# News from around AFSC

## Young activists find power in human rights framework

As Washington, D.C. works toward becoming a true Human Rights City, AFSC is expanding the reach of human rights lessons that have engaged D.C. school children for five years. This summer, AFSC's D.C. program hosted a week-long human rights summit, inviting high school and college students from St. Louis; New Orleans; Greensboro, N.C.; Logan, W.Va.; and Washington, D.C.

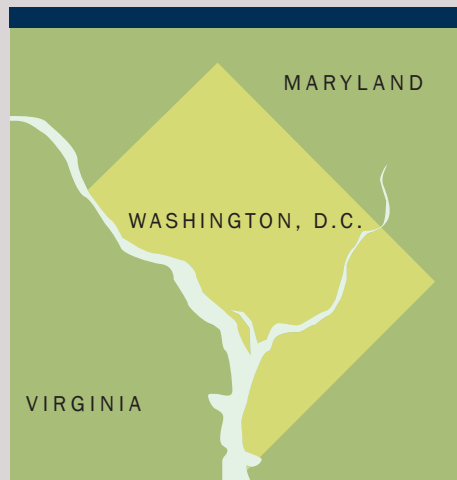
Together they explored the United Nations' Declaration on Human Rights, conducted research on a human rights issue in their respective communities, and helped one another prepare for meetings with their Congressional representatives on Capitol Hill.

Asia-Vinae Palmer, an intern with the New Orleans program, said the experience put her in touch with the power of her own voice. "I came to the city thinking that my voice was powerful, but upon leaving I knew that it was not only powerful, but it mattered—and there are people who will listen and work on creating change."



## North Korea farm visit

Linda Lewis, director of AFSC's program in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK or North Korea), traveled to North Korea in the wake of political tensions this spring to visit AFSC's partner farms. Hers was the first American group



to visit following the end of the joint war games between the U.S. and South Korea.

"Our partners were pleased that we were willing to come to Pyongyang," Linda says. "We ourselves were also pleased that the tensions hadn't gotten in the way of what is a usual visit to our partners."

The AFSC delegation spent a day at each farm, meeting first with the farm engineer and political officers to talk about how the harvest went, review any problems, and discuss new developments on the farm. Then they toured the fields before sitting down for lunch.

Linda narrated a slide show with photos from the farm visits, which you can find online at [afsc.org/lindas-trip](http://afsc.org/lindas-trip).

## West Virginia win: Medicaid expansion

In May, West Virginia increased access to health care when Gov. Earl Ray Tomblin announced a long-awaited decision to expand Medicaid coverage for low-income workers under the Affordable Care Act. At least 91,500 working West Virginians will get insurance coverage under the expansion.

AFSC's Rick Wilson and Beth Spence worked with several religious, labor, and advocacy organizations to bring the voices of those impacted by the decision into the debate and in front of the governor, state legislators, and public officials.

Medicaid expansion was the top item

on the platform of Our Children, Our Future, a campaign opposing child poverty, in which AFSC has been very active. The coalition sponsored a Kids and Families Day at the state legislature that over 450 people attended, and held regional forums throughout the state. Rick and Beth spoke at public forums, published op-eds, met with state officials, and worked to mobilize supporters of the expansion to contact the governor's office.

"We were proud to be part of a large collective effort that will help a lot of people," Beth says. ■

## CELENA ROBY

Celena Roby, a survivor of domestic violence who still suffers from its effects, shared her story at a day of action and in a widely distributed, AFSC-produced booklet supporting the case for Medicaid expansion. Celebrating the victory when the expansion was announced, Celena told the Associated Press: "A lot of the time, the reasons that people stay in domestic violence situations are economic. You add health care to that, and that makes it an even greater burden...This would allow me to take care of myself, making it easier for me to take care of my children."



## Snapshot

### A look at AFSC around the world

Ikraan Ahmed Hassan, 18, and Khado Hussein Ilmi, 17, practice designs of flower motifs on cardboard during a skills training in North Galkayo, Somalia. Somali women wear henna during festive occasions like Ramadan, Eid, and weddings.



Photos: Skip Schiel, Bryan Vana, Todd Drake, Lori Fernald Khamala, Bryan Vana, Sergio Rogene, Bryan Vana, AFSC Denver, Stephen R. Smith, Ryan Rodrick Beiler, Bryan Vana, AFSC Burundi

## Left to right, top to bottom:

1. Rehabilitating an empty lot into a kids' playground; Beit Dajan, Occupied Palestinian territory
2. St. Louis youth lobby for gun control; Washington, D.C.
3. Interfaith vigil for immigrant rights; Greensboro, N.C.
4. Art project at newcomers school; Greensboro, N.C.
5. New citizen; Miami, Fla.
6. Local peace network meets; Lilavois, Haiti
7. Lobbying for immigrant rights; Washington, D.C.
8. Children at "Not one more deportation" rally; Denver, Colo.
9. Inspecting seed trays at partner farm; South Pyongan province, North Korea
10. International Women's Day march; Kalandia, Occupied Palestinian territory
11. West Virginia youth on Capitol Hill; Washington, D.C.
12. Burundian parliamentarians tracing the root causes of the South African conflict; Cape Town, South Africa





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# QuakerAction

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## Shared Security

AFSC's Mireaya Medina (right), artist Robert Khasho, and two young Friends gather for a team huddle in front of the "Doors of Peace, Hope, and Opportunity" mural they helped create at a houseless-safe camping site Portland, Ore. Photo: Kirby Urner

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### Who we are

The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) is a Quaker organization that promotes lasting peace with justice, as a practical expression of faith in action. Drawing on continuing spiritual insights and working with people of many backgrounds, we nurture the seeds of change and respect for human life that transform social relations and systems.

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