

CORINNE JOHNSON

***COMPANION IN CHALLENGE
AND CHANGE***

"FIRST YOU LEARN TO SAIL A SMALL BOAT"



INTRODUCTION

On March 11, 1946, George Benson of Salem, Massachusetts, wrote to the American Friends Service Committee, inquiring for his daughter, Corinne S. Benson, about an AFSC work camp in Leslie County, Kentucky. Corinne, he said in his letter, "stands high in her class and is well able to work with her hands."

Although the outcome of this inquiry is unclear, a month later, Corinne received a letter from Jean Atwell, Associate Secretary for the AFSC Work Camp Committee. Corinne was informed that she had been recommended for acceptance as a camper for the Monroe, Michigan project, for which it would be necessary to have "typhoid injections as a precautionary measure."

In 1950, communication between Corinne and AFSC about work camps had taken an international focus, and by February 1957 Corinne was being interviewed for the position of Administrative Assistant to Nora Booth, Director of the AFSC International Student Seminars. Part of the responsibilities of this position were to "help prepare descriptive articles and announcements for student newspapers and other bulletins reaching foreign students and organizations working with them...and assist the Director in general correspondence."

Corinne's next assignment was as Assistant in the International Centers Program. It was noted at that time that she was interested in editorial work and "has taught mathematics and therefore budget problems should be within the scope of her abilities." Indeed.

From 1968 to 1969, Corinne served as Assistant Director of the AFSC Overseas Refugee Program; from 1969 to 1972, as Associate Director of the Family Planning and Population Education Program; and from 1972 until 1978, as Director of the AFSC Latin America Programs. In January 1979 Corinne was appointed Secretary (Director) of the International Division of AFSC, her current position.

In thinking about a way to commemorate Corinne's retirement after all these years with AFSC, it seemed appropriate to ask some of the many people she has worked with as staff or committee members to reflect on the international work of the Service Committee and Corinne's contributions to that work. An initial idea was to ask for articles in the spirit of a *Festschrift*, a practice of the academic community. In this case, articles are written for an academician who is retiring in the field of his or her specialty. A number of contributors to this album have chosen this format and have written about a particular aspect of AFSC's international work and programs.

Other authors have contributed more personal reflections on working with Corinne and AFSC and, in some cases, have expressed these reflections through poetry or art work.

To all who have contributed, we say thank you. To Corinne, many typhoid injections and budget problems later, we say thank you.

Roberta Foss

I think that the varied range of contributions made to this collection is highly appropriate to the experience of working with Corinne. One essential of her approach has always been to take every opportunity to learn, to evaluate, to push herself and her colleagues to grow in skill, understanding, and feeling. The rigorous assumption that all of us working together will want to produce the best possible work underlies the International Division effort with Corinne's leadership. This assumption shows in the sometimes challenging and self-critical pieces included in this anthology. We hope that it will serve as an appreciative memoir and also as a sample of reflection on AFSC's past international work that will contribute to the future.

"Mentoring" is a fashionable career concept today but few people have been such significant exemplars in their work as Corinne has been. I am sure that there are examples every day in all parts of the world of people altering and improving their work, or seeking a new way to confront a problem, based on experiences they have had as co-workers with Corinne Johnson. This book is a small start on the thanks that are due.

Mary Day Kent

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ID-51-2-00a Credit: Corinne Johnson

China Trip 11/90 (captions)

760 College Avenue
Haverford Pa 19041

November 1996

To: Corinne

FROM: Stephen G. Cary

Subject: About Corinne

I've known Corinne longer than anyone in the American Friends Service Committee - living or dead. I married Cape Cod and when I arrived there in the summer of 1948 she was a high schooler poking around among an armada of boats in Bassing Harbor, answering to the name of Tiny - a name I have been forbidden to use under any circumstances in any AFSC context whatsoever. Apparently, Tiny is not a name that conjures up dignity, intellect, authority, or other virtues that need to be associated with one holding high office in a Quaker organization. So, for all these years I've dutifully called Tiny Corinne, all the while muttering her real name to myself.

Another bit of arcane Johnson history not widely known in Quaker circles, but deserving of dissemination at her retirement is that Tiny, I mean Corinne, majored in mathematics at Smith College, an abstruse field not normally regarded as essential preparation for seeing what love can do, but one that has produced an unbroken record of balanced budgets in the International Division and - I'm reliably informed by people in a position to know - impeccable expense accounts in pounds, marks, shekels, punts, baht, dinars, rupees, ziotys, rubles, kronas, pesos, yuans, rands, and etcetera.

Finally, before I get to the topic at hand - namely Corinne's exemplary service to the AFSC - I want to record one more non-AFSC related fact: Corinne is a cool, calculating, no-nonsense, authoritative, and skilled racer of small sailboats, widely known for her encyclopedic knowledge of winds and tides in Pleasant Bay waters. With Corinne aboard, whether as skipper or tactician, anyone who bets against her boat is crazy. She even has a civil tongue in crises, a virtually extinct virtue among sailing aficionados.

These illuminating insights aside, I come now to my central theme, which is to take note of the singular contribution that Corinne has made to the life and work of the American Friends Service Committee over many years. As one every ready to voice opinions, every tempted to substitute rhetoric for analysis, and ever jumpy in crises, I find Corinne's calm, and dignified, and ever unflappable, demeanor in the maelstrom that rages within the deceptively quiet walls of the Friends Center to be astonishing, comparable only to Mary Dyer's gentle resignation as she patiently sits at our entrance way waiting to be hanged by those nasty Puritans.

But, like Mary, Corinne has brought to her service a devotion and a competence and a faithfulness that has made our international programs - to borrow an inappropriate phrase - the best they can be. Programs don't get launched until they are adequately researched, staff aren't appointed until they're the right staff, and funds aren't spent until they are assured. And Corinne knows what she's talking about. She's been there, and there is everywhere: the remote and roadless deserts of Mali,

the embattled ramparts of the Middle East, the pickled remains of Hanoi's Ho Chi Minh, the minefields of the Rufus Jones Room on Board day.

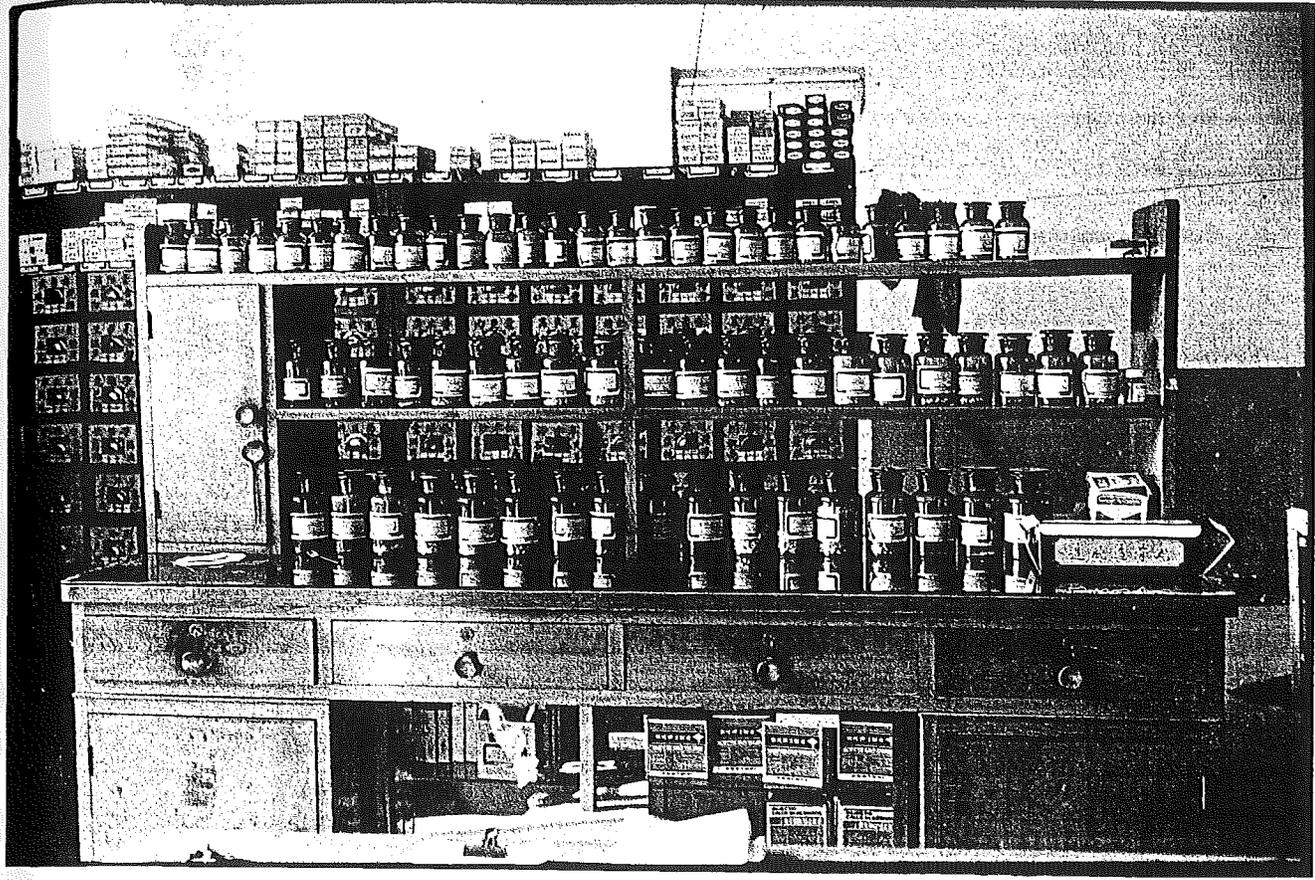
We went to China together, Corinne and I, along with a modest complement of AFSC China hands. We listened to kindergartners distinguishing between indistinguishable Chinese pronunciations. We met the Foreign Minister in the Great Hall of the People. We talked to students about Tiananmen Square. We explored the Great Wall. We sampled octopus and worse at two-a-day banquets. I was the Leader, riding alone in my Mercedes while my colleagues rode submissively behind in rent-a-wrecks, but Corinne was my mentor, offering quiet advice, sage observations, astute evaluations, and gentle critiques of the Leader's bumbling public performances. I even let her ride once in a while in my Mercedes.

All of which adds up to my view that others may have fancy titles, and relish stage center, and drive around in Mercedes, but it is the Corinne Johnsons who make the wheels go round. Technically a non-Quaker, she has been the best Quaker on the premises. Technically of limited mobility, she has been the most intrepid traveler in the organization. Technically a mathematician, she is the wisest among us. I rejoice in her strengths. I salute her achievements. I weep at her departure. I look forward to regularly calling her Tiny.



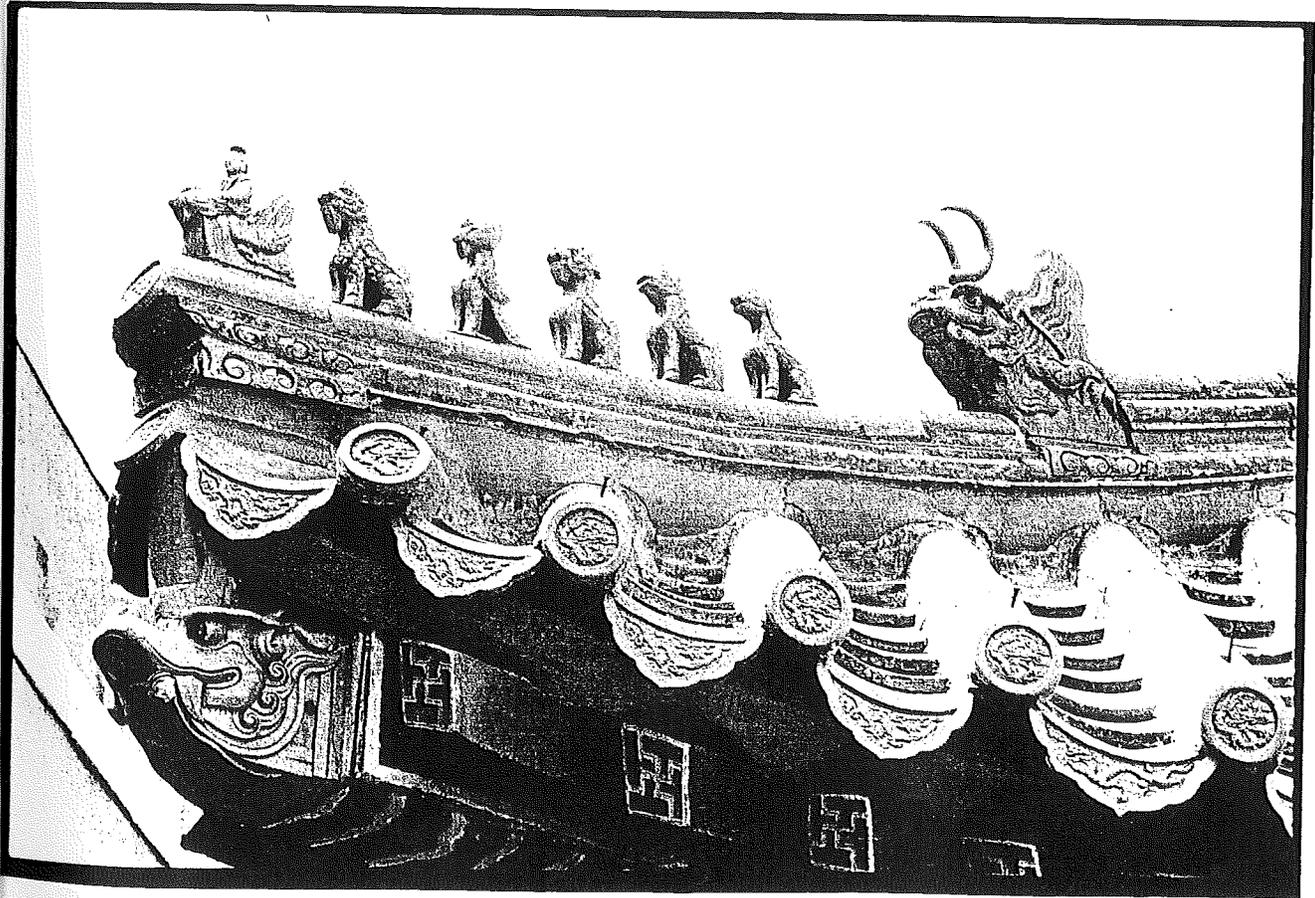
ID-51-1-17 Credit: Corinne Johnson

China Trip 11/98 (captions)



ID-51-3-32a Credit: Corinne Johnson

China Trip 11/98 (captions)



ID-27-32-12 Credit: Corinne Johnson

China 6/85



ID-33-14-9a Credit: Roberta Foss

TOKYO

~~REDACTED~~

10/86

LEAVING
FRIENDS MEETING



Louis W. Schneider
601 Highspire Road
Glenmoore PA 19343

April 17, 1996

Dear Corinne,

When I look back at the events of this century I am appalled at how the interminable succession of wars and civil strife has overwhelmed our lives. We have been to the killing fields and have stood uncomprehending even as we sought to provide relief to those who were brutalized. Any review of this leads to a horribly bleak perspective on our life and times. There is so much to be done to overcome this legacy as the world moves into yet another century.

The search for new ways to supplant destructive attitudes with high principled ones must continue. Your life's work bestows reassurance to so many throughout the world who long for peace, security and happiness. I commend you for your dedication to the effort and hope you find great personal satisfaction in what you have done.

I also congratulate you for the skill, good judgment and straightforward way in which you have managed the very complex administration of one of the most important components of the AFSC. It was my great good fortune to have had the opportunity to work with you.

With all best wishes.

Sincerely,

(signed) Lou

(Typed from the handwritten original)

In Praise of Old Hands

They don't panic.

They know what they don't know.

They've usually been there, done that and got the T-shirt.

Indeed they probably possess enough of such metaphorical T-shirts to run an Aid Programme for us on the *material issues*...

Their access to our Corporate Memory gives us the patent to all the wheels which we would otherwise waste our time re-inventing.

"Speak to Friend So and So, s/he was there from 1975..."

"Ask Friend Such and Such to go, s/he speaks the language..."

And so they re-weave the web of interconnections effortlessly, saving us years, providing the straw for the bricks of our international affairs work, which we would otherwise be dropping.

And then there's those quiet questions which reveal the weakness of our assumptions,

Or what we have forgotten and who will be upset (rightly, usually) if s/he is not consulted.

But most of all, the stamina, the accurate report writing, the dependability - not only old hands, but safe and reliable: Maybe somewhat gnarled with organizational history, and the scars of muddled committee thinking.

Thus we in QPS see your persistent, intelligent, committed service, Corinne - arising from its spiritual bedrock and devoted to William Penn's exhortation (1682) to "excite (our) endeavours to mend the world". Go safely into the future, but keep in touch...

(signed) Andrew Clark,

on behalf of Quaker Peace & Service
London May 13, 1996

MEMORANDUM

11/24/93

FROM: Dick Erstad
TO: Latin America and Caribbean Panel and other interested parties
SUBJECT: Rogelio Cova Juarez

Rogelio Cova died Sunday morning, November 21, in Mexico City of complications from surgery a few weeks before. His long-standing health problems with diabetes, and gradually weakening condition left him too spent to fight the infections and internal hemorrhaging. Friends and family who were with him on the last day report that he was lucid and able to converse with and recognize those around him, but that he seemed, as he went to sleep on Saturday, to acknowledge and accept that his death was near.

The Funeral Services were held Monday, November 22, in Sanctorum, Tlaxcala, Mexico. Ed Krueger of the AFSC U.S. Mexico Border Program had traveled to Mexico City the previous Friday to be with Rogelio. He carried the condolences of Rogelio's many friends in the AFSC community to those gathered in Sanctorum for the funeral services.

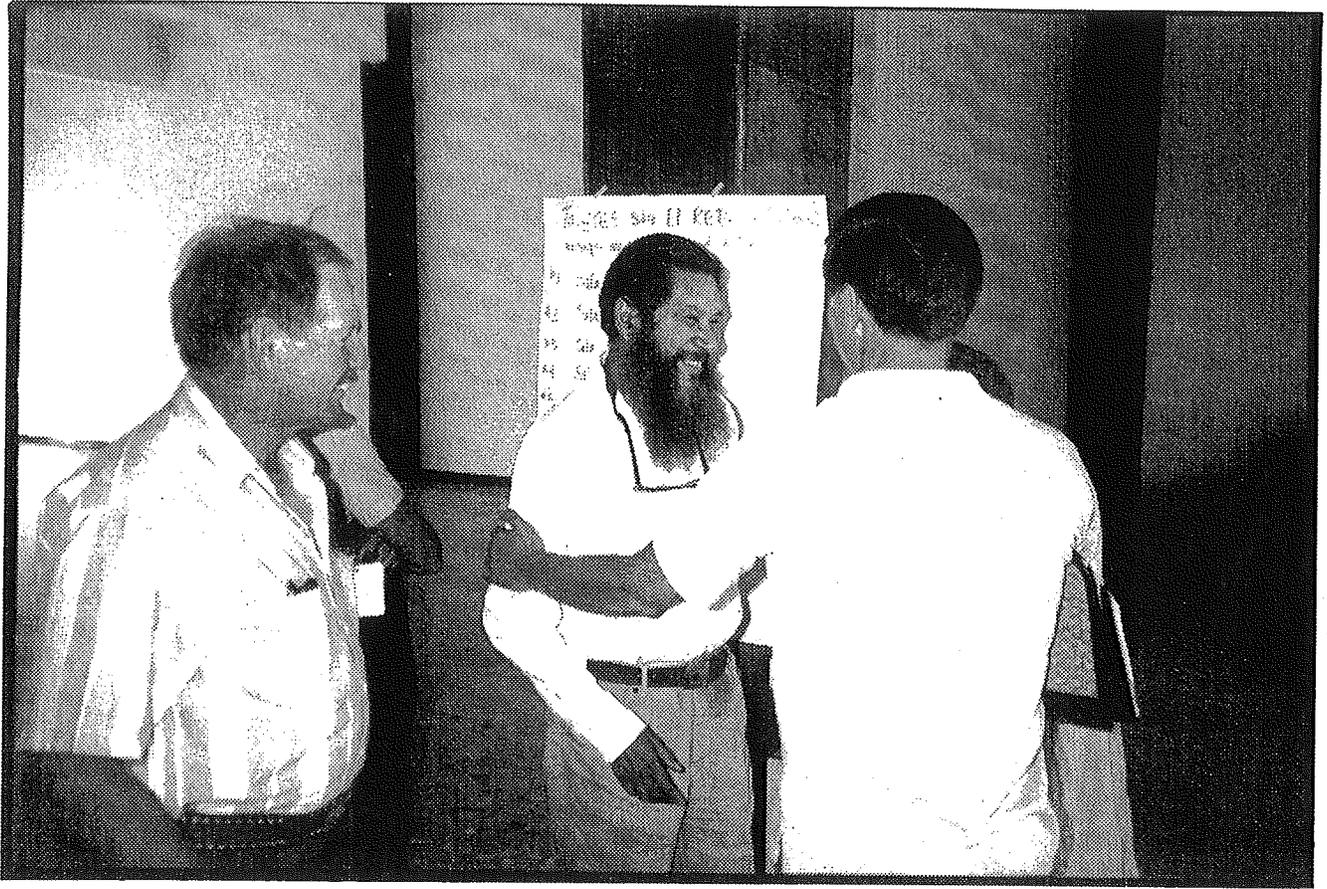
There will be a meeting for worship in memory of Rogelio on Thursday, December 9, 1993, from 3:00 to 4:00 in the Meeting Room at Friends Center.

Rogelio worked for many years with the Mexican Friends Service Committee and helped guide its development as an independent organization during the mid 1970s. He later became Director of Service, Development and Peace, A.C. (SEDEPAC), leaving that post in 1988 after a serious illness. He organized in July of 1989 a Fiftieth Anniversary Reunion to celebrate the service of more than 4500 short- and long-term volunteers who participated in Quaker service work camps beginning in 1939 in Mexico. He then established the Center for Environmental Education and Ecological Action (CEDUAM) in Tlaxcala, Mexico. His work on environmental issues received a great deal of attention in the last few years. He was recognized by the United Nations as one of the "Global 500", an honor roll of individuals making a significant contribution to the resolution of environmental problems. He and CEDUAM recently received major awards from the Mexican Government for their environmental work. He also devoted a great deal of time and energy to service to his own community, particularly helping young people get an education and a vocation for service.

The wondrous quality that Rogelio brought to his life and work was a deep respect for each person and the potential of everyone to work for a better world. He had the ability to connect the local with the global in very effective ways, and was constantly connecting with people and groups the world over to pursue a common vision of change. He could be stubborn, and often tried to do too much, but his mind and spirit were in constant creative motion, even as his body was failing him. He will be profoundly missed, but will remain an inspiration to all who knew him and carry with them a small part of his legacy.



Aldrete '96



MEXICO - 50th ANNIVERSARY

TRIBUTE TO CORINNE JOHNSON

The departure of Corinne Johnson from the arena of voluntary international work to which she has contributed so much, stirs appreciative memories of deprived people finding new hope and struggling communities embarking on a new life. But beyond these memories it invites a review, in broad strokes, of how the work of international voluntary agencies has evolved since World War II and in particular of AFSC's role in that evolution. Moreover it prompts suggestions as to the peculiarly Quaker mission AFSC will be challenged to undertake in the voluntary aid of the future.

The close of World War II brought massive movements of people throughout Europe - refugees from Nazi Germany or Nazi occupation returning to what was left of their homes, "displaced persons" as the victims of slave labor or changed boundaries were known, huddled in camps and awaiting resettlement, members of exiled governments starting life again in their own countries. The decade of 1945-55 was the heyday of relief not only to these people but to the Germans themselves, relief provided by National Catholic Welfare Conference, Church World Service, CARE, the International Rescue Committee, the AFSC and many others.

Europe, of course, historically had infrastructure, education, democratic patterns of government - in short, all the tools of Western civilization necessary to use the relief within the framework of a total rebuilding effort. It was only later, when the voluntary agencies reached out to the less materially developed countries, that relief came to be seen as inadequate and in some circumstances potentially harmful. At that moment the far more difficult concept of development aid was born, development aid that would help to supply other help that the poorer countries of the world so sorely needed - leadership, education, more than elementary work skills, community organization.

At the same time the crucial distinction between relief and development gradually came to be appreciated by at least those immediately involved in international aid if not by the general public. By the 1960s development theory indeed had become a recognized specialty for a university degree.

It was seen that each form of aid has its essentially different role to play. To begin with, the aims of each are distinct. Relief seeks to supply people, individuals, with material help such as food, blankets, perhaps tents, to restore what has been lost, and is therefore usually time-limited. Development, on the other hand, seeks to encourage the bringing of community dreams to reality, whether that dream is

building a school, digging a well or starting a health program or a cooperative, for in this process of dream fulfillment participants ideally grow in leadership, community organization and perhaps democracy.

Just as the aims are different, so is the control. An agency concerned with providing aid to earthquake victims, for instance, may well find the most effective way of bringing material help is to send its own staff to the disaster scene. Development, on the other hand, can succeed in the last analysis only if decisions are made by those who together, by trial and error, are building their own future with the help and encouragement of others.

This being the case, it follows that an infinite variety of concrete projects may lead to the development goal of community organization, leadership, and cooperation. Small wonder, indeed, that the Quaker development team in Algeria decided in one area to help with the building of a mosque as its first venture since that is what the local people most wanted.

In general, the AFSC has seen development most particularly in terms of reducing the vulnerability of communities and thus increasing their empowerment to deal with their own problems. Thus, it has meant for instance, agricultural work in Kampuchea, a health education program in Chile, or fishing cooperatives in Haiti.

As for the role of culture and customs, these were soon judged by the development "experts" to be all-important to development work just as they were seen as largely irrelevant to relief.

Over the years agencies learned to appreciate these differences ever more clearly, to see road building by its own personnel, for instance, as the supplying of infrastructure rather than development, or to make the hard choice to halt relief when disaster victims had been restored to their original condition rather than risk continuing hand-outs creating dependency.

Most important of all, in my judgment, in recent years, has been the growth of the idea that for true development to take place the representative of the helping agency must "walk in the moccasins" of those it would help. The Latins have a word for it - *acompañar* - which means more than just "to go with", rather to "help and encourage to the point of putting oneself in the other's situation." This idea is expressed in the name of a Baptist group in El Salvador which calls itself *Ser con mi Hermano* (To Be with my Brother) using the form of the verb "to be" which means "to be in one's nature" rather than *estar*, which means "to be located".

This means that the concept of development is being seen as ever more a matter of

the human spirit. I am reminded of a Catholic friend whose view of development was to place his faith entirely in one or two people among a group to be aided, people he knew intimately and trusted completely, and to leave all decisions in their hands.

Corinne has embodied the spirit of *acompanar* in her leadership of the International Division, selecting AFSC representatives who communicate that spirit to those they seek to help.

I believe that as international voluntary aid evolves in the years ahead it will be seen that the challenge of development is ultimately the spiritual challenge of "being with my brother" and thus one that Quakers are peculiarly called upon to meet. In her international work Corinne has done much to ensure that AFSC's feet are firmly in that path.

Betty R. Nute



10-44-24-26a Term 503



I consider myself very fortunate to have been involved with the Material Aids Program all of my thirty four years with the AFSC, and I enjoyed working with you although most of it was before you became the Director of the International Division. I did not see you daily because I was at 23rd and Arch until the Friends Center became a reality. You always greeted me warmly in your usual, quiet way. May your retirement years be richly rewarded as mine have been. Volunteers who were involved with the AFSC are many, and I continue to enjoy their contacts and associations. I hope you also will.

Nameless to nameless
The gentle hand of mercy
Reaches those in need.

Crying of hungers
Keep us from sleeping soundly
In this land of wealth.

George Oye



ID-33-15-33 Credit: Roberta Foss

Philippines 10/86

Designs in the Shrubbery
The Shrubbery - The Tewel
Gt. Rollright - Oxon. OX7 5RG
Tel: (01608)737077

Roger Naumann

Corinne Johnson and Quaker Work
at the United Nations - An Appreciation

I have been trying to think of a suitable epithet for Corinne, especially as we experienced her in relation to the Quaker work at the United Nations. The closest I can come to is "Sensitive Manager and Tough Diplomat". These were the two outstanding elements in the support and encouragement which the Quaker U.N. work received from Corinne and the AFSC in the mid-1980s. Without her encouragement and critical support, the work would have lost direction and fallen apart.

Diplomacy was required at a number of different levels. The period in question was one in which the U.N. came under a barrage of criticism from both "left" and "right" in the United States and elsewhere. The right was attacking it for being soft on communism and anything else which was not mainstream American. The left attacked the U.N. for being elitist, uncaring of the concerns and needs of ordinary people and uncritical of oppression and injustice. Corinne tried to ensure that we too did not take the U.N. for granted and accept it uncritically, but that we were tough and discerning in our support for its aims and institutions.

At another level Corinne had a major diplomatic job in ensuring that the very support which existed amongst Friends for the U.N. did not lead them to mistaking the reality for the ideal. There is a risk in Quaker circles of underplaying the failings of the United Nations, e.g. its impotence in the face of national governmental power; the top-heaviness of much of its bureaucracy; and the inefficiency of many of its practical endeavours whether in peace-building, in the protection of rights or in the fulfilling/attainment of basic needs. Corinne was willing to see AFSC's resources, in finance and skills, used to support the ideals of the U.N., but only so long as the wider body of Friends maintained an attitude of realism and exercised their critical faculties in relation to the U.N.

At a third level, there was a good deal of diplomacy necessary within AFSC and

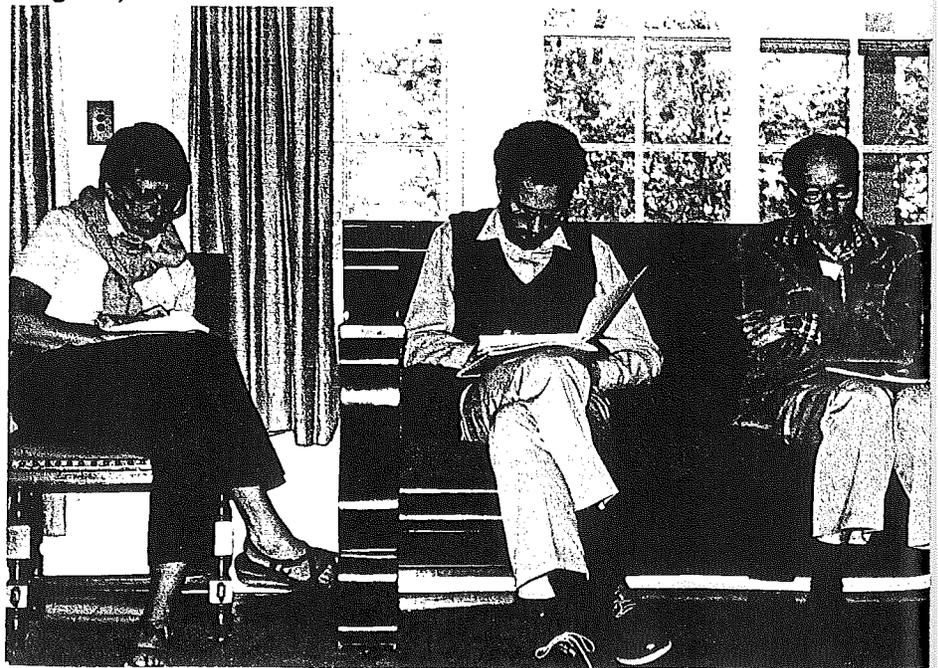
within the Quaker U.N. Team to make the effort at the U.N. worthwhile. Different causes and needs had their fervent advocates and defenders; an enormous amount of diplomatic skill was needed to help staff assess priorities, use scarce resources to maximum benefit, and work in a supportive and positive way with one another.

Much that I, as a former AFSC worker, have learnt about management has come from Corinne. In particular she was able to weld a group of dedicated, articulate, independent-minded enthusiasts into an effective team able to make a significant, albeit selective, impact on the international organisation scene. She would actively support and encourage what she could see were good ideas and practical initiatives, such as QUNO's work on African economic issues in 1985/86 or the work in support of a U.N. migrant worker convention in 1986; but she also knew how to head off non-starters. She made us all feel that our work and our presence was worthwhile but she was also good at recognising when an initiative was failing or when an individual was not performing well, and why.

Especially with hindsight and with further recent experience of the United Nations in Africa, I would like to end this appreciation with a plea that AFSC, and Friends as a whole, follow Corinne's example and approach the U.N. critically as well as positively; base U.N. work on a clear analysis of the facts and not on possible wishful thinking about what the U.N. might be; maintain a vision of a just and peaceful world in which the U.N. is but one actor. If these causes and that of internationalism are truly to be supported, more of Corinne's tough diplomacy and sensitive management are needed

Roger Naumann, 19th April 1996

(Typed from the handwritten original)



Corinne Johnson

Both before I was Executive Secretary (Director) and after, when I travelled many miles within Corinne's turf, the effects of her calm administration were everywhere to be seen. From a distance of thousands of miles; amid famine, chaos and war, she withstood inevitable missed communications from the field. Her colleagues abroad knew that as soon as possible support would come in human power, money and more importantly, ideas.

She was often in Washington testifying about the shambles of American Foreign Policy, in support of some positive State Department move, or again in relation to the Quaker UN program in New York. In her own reporting she would be self-effacing in the division Executive Committee or the National Board. It would be an error to assume that this modesty was due to lack of preparation, failure of understanding the ins and outs of AFSC decision making or knowing when to stand up and deliver a strong message. I can personally testify to this. When I was recently a member of the Peace Education Executive Committee our Committee and her Division Executive Committee disagreed about changing some Committee structures between us. She confronted me quietly, looked me full in the face and explained why she felt me wrong. She smiled sadly when it appeared I probably would not change my mind. What a wonderful human being to disagree with. We should all be so lucky!

During Corinne's tenure the role of QIARs (Quaker International Affairs Representatives) which was to deal with the history and ideas driving the conflict was strengthened. The same was true with a myriad of exchange programs between Russians and Americans. I much admired the Middle East Panel which resulted in the AFSC publication, *Compassionate Peace*, the first to present the Two State Solution as a basic necessity for Peace.

One of her great skills was problem solving in the International Division offices which were a busy area of highly talented and motivated people answering too many phone calls, writing too many letters and cables, and attending too many AFSC meetings with too few hours in the days or week-ends.

Blessings on you, Corinne. With deep appreciation,

Bronson P. Clark

As of May 1996



10-61-21-23 : Chong-He Yu



10-11-12-28a : Terry Foss

4151 Mt. View Avenue Oakland, CA. 94605 July 17, 1996

Corinne Johnson is RETIRING? Wow!
(What will AFSC do without her?)

It's so long ago I can't remember my first acquaintance with Corinne. I do know for sure she clerked the VISA Committee in Philadelphia when I was VISA Program Director. So it was sometime between 1962 and 1968. And one way or another I've been distinctly aware of Corinne's AFSC career ever since. No matter how quietly and inconspicuously she went about it, her work was always noteworthy for its particular style of excellence.

She's one of those few whose retirement causes me to say "I can't imagine AFSC without her".

Sentiment and friendship aside, it's an opinion I've heard repeatedly, and one I fully share, that Corinne ranks top of field as an AFSC program administrator.

Our debt is great.

Thanks, dear Corinne, for hanging in there through all the good and bad times, for your never failing loyalty, and for your firm commitment to AFSC's vision and practice.

As one retiree to another, then, I wish you a kind of leisure you have yet to experience, and with it, an opportunity to be and do all you've missed out on through the years of dedication to other priorities!

Barbara Graves, Former VISA Director
(Among several other AFSC roles)

10-61-21-23 : Chong-Ae Yu

10-11-12-28a : Terry Foss



ID-33-10-12 Credit: Roberta Foss

Korea 10/86

Three Generations of Appreciation from Friends World Committee for Consultation

For almost fifty years, AFSC has worked in partnership with the Friends World Committee for Consultation to oversee the Quaker work at the United Nations in New York and Geneva. This is an unique witness of Quakers - an important part of the continuum of the Quaker witness for peace - a continuum which extends from the individual conscientious protest to the quiet and gentle presence encouraging those representing the nations of the world to live up to the highest ideals represented in the UN Charter.

So much has happened at the United Nations in which Quakers have had a sympathetic role: from the Law of the Sea Treaty, to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, Migrant Workers and disarmament. Yet much of the work has been invisible - work which Friends have not been able to claim as their own, even if we were of the sort to blow our own trumpet.

Over the more than 17 years Corinne Johnson has been the Director of the International Division, the "popular" trends in peace and international work have varied; but Corinne's vision and commitment to the strand of work represented by the QUNOs and the Quaker International Affairs Representatives (QIARs) has never wavered. She has carried, too, at times an unenviable "middle role" between Friends world-wide and the American Friends Service Committee or between the concerns of the Friends World Committee for Consultation and those of AFSC. With perceptive and patient understanding of the peculiar ways of Friends, Corinne has been a most faithful Quaker International Affairs Representative both in the service of Quakers around the world and of the poor and oppressed for whose rights to peace and justice she has worked tirelessly.

Richard Meredith (Australia), General Secretary: 1981 - 1985

Val Ferguson (Britain), General Secretary: 1986 - 1991

Thomas F Taylor (USA), General Secretary: 1992 - 1997



ID-39-20-8a Credit: Corinne Johnson
El Salvador & Mexico 7/88 (captions)



ID-33-19-23a Credit: Roberta Foss
Philippines 10/86

The Genius of a Paradox: National Work That Is International and International Work That Is Domestic

Aurora Camacho de Schmidt
July 1996

I came to the AFSC in 1976 to work with the smallest program of the International Division, the Reciprocal Youth Project with Puerto Rico. I was hired to coordinate study and service trips of young people who would go from the United States to Puerto Rico and vice versa, and learn about the relationship between the island and the States. I had a counterpart in Puerto Rico, Luis Rivera Pagan, a theologian backed by a strong committee of *independentistas*. In a fast-paced year, students looked into the militarization of the island of Vieques, the sterilization of Puerto Rican women, and the effect of US culture on the Puerto Rican diet. Two journalists and a social worker went on a speaking tour raising the issues of the colonial relationship between the United States and Puerto Rico, the Free Associated State. The tour started in Philadelphia and came back via the Southeast, Southwest, Northwest, Midwest, and Northeast. There were headaches. There were also luminous moments that revealed for many of us the importance and beauty of Puerto Rico, its music, art, history, land, and people; its sheer will to exist.

At that time Corinne Johnson headed the Latin America Desk, of which the Reciprocal Youth Project was a part. For a while she had also been a member of an ad-hoc committee that met from time to time to discuss a growing preoccupation for the AFSC and its southern partner, the Mexican Friends Service Committee: the Mexico-U.S. border. The involvement of the AFSC with farmworkers in California and with health services for Chicano communities in Texas had created a privileged vantage point for the observation of the border region. A program dealing with low-income housing tenants in rural Florida was placed in the right spot to identify new patterns of Mexican migration to this country. Staff and advisors at Mexican Friends were aware of increased out-migration and the development of huge industrial parks at the border, the home of the first *maquiladoras*. Eventually the committee would come to the realization that the American and Mexican Friends Service Committees needed to undertake joint programs focusing on the border.

In September of 1977 I left the AFSC after Temple University offered me a fellowship to finish doctoral studies in Latin American literature. But I came back. In May of 1979, two days after turning in my last term paper, I became the first National Representative of the Mexico-U.S. Border Program, housed in the Community Relations Division of the American Friends Service Committee. A cluster of programs had been born that would impact all business in the AFSC.

The border region, by definition a binational and bicultural arena, was the source of new insight for the division and for the whole organization. The place

El Salvador & Mexico 7/88(captions)

Philippines 10/86

where two countries of such vast differences do not only meet, but penetrate each other, became a sign of our present unequal global society. The program also grew unequally, with some of its projects blooming and transforming themselves while others faced dead ends. The Mexican Friends Service Committee split, and the Border Program continued its work with the new organization, *Servicio, Desarrollo y Paz (SEDEPAC)*. A new level of independence in our partner required a new approach in our work. But the work, international in scope, continued to be housed in the national division of the AFSC. A community organizing approach marked the program's kinship with other domestic programs of the day: Native Americans, Criminal Justice, Women's Economic Rights, Farm Labor.

Almost twenty years later, I am grateful for the untidy logic of the American Friends Service Committee. While the Reciprocal Youth Project always declined taking a position vis a vis the status of Puerto Rico in relation to the United States, the project resided in the International Division, and Puerto Rico was seen as a foreign country, a member of the Latin American family. Staff and advisors joined forces with the staff and advisors of programs in Chile, Mexico or Guatemala at key moments of consultation. Eventually the program became independent: *Proyecto Caribeno de Justicia y Paz*. The sense of respect to the will of a community that characterizes the work of the AFSC anywhere was heightened by the realization of Puerto Rico's foreignness, its otherness, the possibility of its untranslatability to a U.S.-centered language and a Quaker-centered approach to work. The organizational chart of the AFSC implicitly stated an important truth: Puerto Rico is definitely not the United States.

The border program, in turn, is housed in Community Relations: a program that deals with pockets of Mexico inside the United States; with Mexican women workers still on Mexican soil, but working inside U.S.-operated assembly plants; a program that has created opportunities for parallel constituencies in the two countries to meet and talk for the first time, in the manner of the best Quaker International Affairs parleys. In the midst of Mexico's unquestionable foreignness, the AFSC's structure says that Mexican immigrants are here to stay, not as a star on a flag, but as a vital element of this country's neighborhoods, unions, schools and fields. I believe the Border Program, by its mere strategic location, opened doors among divisions and introduced an international perspective on the work of the whole Community Relations Division.

I want these reflections on the subtle subversions of the AFSC to be part of our collective homage to Corinne Johnson, who has shaped our work and our persons. The day I left the Reciprocal Youth Project, Corinne gave me a square wooden tile that she carved. It hangs on a wall in our living room, a symbol of wholeness. At its center is a hexagonal flower inscribed in a circle made with six petals. It is a fully opened flower, ready to take in all the light.

FOR CORINNE'S FESTSCHRIFT

John Feffer

In 1988 I was asked to write an overview of Soviet foreign policy. Not entirely versed in the subtleties of consensus, I was shocked to discover that the manuscript was copied and distributed to over a dozen people for comments. I was then expected to make all the suggestions, many of them at cross-purposes, somehow fit together.

When I finally finished satisfying this group of editors, I was told that Corinne Johnson would provide another set of comments. "Surely this stew doesn't need another cook," I thought in despair at further revisions.

When I received Corinne's copy several days later, I initially paled at the sheer volume of her comments. But as I moved through the manuscript, I realized that not only had she discovered errors that had passed by the writer and his many editors but she had also improved the style and flow immeasurably. Indeed, she had virtually done the work of the publisher. When the editor at Hill and Wang later praised the manuscript as "clean," it was Corinne's work not mine that was being appreciated.

Later I would have numerous opportunities to watch Corinne in action -- respectfully chairing a boisterous meeting of women activists in Budapest, keeping a roomful of economists in line at a Mexico seminar, firing challenging questions at Polish journalists. As head of the international division, she always worked masterfully at the "big picture" level. What continues to amaze me is how she could simultaneously address the "micro" level as well, taking time out of a heroically busy schedule to slap a sloppy manuscript into shape.

This editorial assistance was only one of the many ways Corinne has helped me professionally over the years. I owe her a great deal and will miss her presence at AFSC.



IO-16-32-20

2048987

August 1996

Dear Friends,

It is easy for me to write something about Corinne Johnson for I have been an admirer of hers for many years, ever since someone asked me to be on the Social and Technical Assistance Committee in the early 1960's. That started a pattern of continuous involvement in the committee work of the International programs that has just ended with my rotation off the Africa Panel.

The strongest memory I have of Corinne dates back to the days of the International Service Division which operated in parallel with the International Affairs Division. It was then not too long after the time when "Service work" had strong relief connotations or assistance in recovering from human or natural catastrophes. We had, however, just finished an experimental ten year development program in Barpali, India, helping a remote group in that country prepare for the coming of electric power and all of the infrastructure of the modern world. In ISD we felt the need to think more deeply about what "service" projects should mean in the years ahead.

I have a strong memory of one of our initiatives. We created a study group consisting of four people from IAD and four from ISD, two key staff and two key committee members from each. I was one of the eight since I was the Clerk of ISD at the time. Kingdon Swayne, newly retired from diplomatic service, was Clerk of IAD. Neither one of us can remember the other two committee members, although I can see in my mind what the other ISD member looked like. Three staff members were Corinne, Pat Hunt, and S.K. De from India, who was on the QUNO staff at the time. I have no memory of the fourth staff person. I am sure that my lack of memory of the other members of the group is because they were less regular or that they spoke up less strongly and clearly.

We worked together for two years. In the first year, David Sogge, just out of a Princeton University graduate program, was an intern in AFSC. He was an active member of the study group, widely read, and could provide quantities of reference material for us to read and digest. I worked harder for the AFSC on that assignment than on any other single project. It was an eye opening experience for me, for I learned what was written by that time about how well various types of development programs worked in a variety of settings. We studied lots of cases as well as literature which tried to draw lessons from experience.

One of the reasons I worked so hard was because Corinne seemed to be doing the same. She always had read all the material before our monthly evening meetings and had thought deeply about it. The discussions were never superficial, due greatly to Corinne's ability to digest a variety of materials and get to the essence. I learned the full meaning of the word "intervention" and the concept that all attempts to help in a situation were interventions in both the constructive and destructive sense of the word. We examined very carefully the concept of "intervening" in some difficult situation with the purpose of helping a group of people to organize themselves to deal better with their situation on their own. Our present practices of devolvement trace to some of that thinking. Devolvement is now standard practice, as well as the practice of seeking staff from within the culture.

There was no clerk of the study group but Corinne was clearly the leader because of her wonderful mind and her ability to get to the heart of the issue, whatever it was. What a treat for me!

One further memory of those times. This is of a Saturday morning sitting at a table in Corinne's living room not too long after that study group came to an end. This time ISD had spent some time in two meetings listing the criteria which we thought were important in choosing what programs we should run. Somehow, it fell to Corinne and me, as the key staff and the clerk, to try to make sense of the ideas that had been presented. We both had our notes taken during the committee discussions. Mine were a jumble, on paper and in my mind. Corinne's notes were in the same shape, but in her mind was the first set of program guidelines for ISD. My role was to be a foil for her to try her ideas on, offer an occasional suggestion, and tell her when the draft was good enough. What an exciting morning!

It has been a wonderful, enriching experience to have worked closely with Corinne Johnson all these years.

Oliver Rodgers

PRIVATE AID: BACK TO BASICS

David Sogge

The trial of conventional foreign aid in the court of public judgement has been dragging on for years. It's not the stuff of television extravaganza, but for many of us at the margins of the aid industry, these trials are both absorbing and distressing. The prosecutors and witnesses getting most of the attention are vicious. They use a language of meanness, cynicism and condescension toward the South not unlike the discourse used to de-legitimize and dismantle public assistance programmes in the North. We may be angered, even frightened, by the outcomes of these demagogic attacks on public benevolence, but rather than resist them we tend to cling all the more firmly to the ways we know in agencies of private aid. After all, those ways are supposed to be different: better able to reach the poor, more innovative, more participative, more cost-effective ... the list of claims is long.

New Testimony, Sobering Judgements

Yet this form of aid is now also on trial. And in recent years, independent comparative research about it is being assembled and published for the first time. The findings are based on applied social science, and therefore open to criticism of theory and method. But the investigators are at least not driven by the demagogic agendas of anti-welfare politicians and their culture-of-contentment think tanks.

Their findings, however, are anything but flattering. Indeed they offer almost no support for most of the claims made about the effects of private aid agencies' activities in Asia, Africa and Latin America. In terms of sustained impact, agencies' charity and modernization projects -- which form the bulk of their activities -- are largely pointless. Even when they succeed in their own terms, which is by no means always the case, they make little positive long-term difference in combating poverty and exclusion. And there is mounting evidence in some cases they cause outright damage, suggesting that private aid can become the "kindness that cripples".

One particularly seasoned team of researchers reached these sobering conclusions on the basis of case studies of Swedish private aid agency impact. Reinforcing them were earlier impact studies of Finnish and British agencies. The cumulative weight of this research -- the first wide-scale independent reviews of private aid impact -- is devastating. Yet the research team offers a glimpse of a way forward :

This does not mean that nothing can be done. The case studies suggest [agency] work that is most likely to have an impact when it directly addresses the social relationships that underlie poverty -- such as land holding

relationships, territorial conflicts, or having greater power to influence the distribution of profits -- and which increases the capacities of the poor to tackle these relationships for themselves*.

That is, if agencies wish to see positive, long-lasting impact of direct programming, they can chose to go about things differently. They are not doomed to ineffectual gestures. But the choice is highly charged. It requires agencies to get down to fundamentals of power and powerlessness. If agencies are to "get real" and become "hard-headed" they have to take these matters on board and make thinking about them the pivot of strategy. Why? These impact studies do not hinge on ethical imperatives, but on pragmatism. If agencies are serious about making a difference, they can't go on using strategies that don't work. Conventional private aid project strategies do not work.

For most aid agencies, these conclusions should be a source of serious concern. The case studies on which they are based are, as the researchers point out, biased toward the BEST of what private aid agencies have to offer. But more 'bad' news is to come. Results of other independent studies and of investigative journalism are going to follow. They will be even more critical, even more demanding of a re-think.

But some will provide further evidence of the validity of strategies (currently used by only a few private aid agencies) that allow poor and excluded people to gain the space to redress imbalances of power, more often than not through new, emancipatory social movements.

A Personal View of a Case Apart

Should the AFSC also be concerned? Yes in a sense. It does risk being painted with the same brush. But taking the broad (if perhaps outdated and too subjective) view of its work within and outside the U.S., I think it should be more often reassured than worried by these conclusions. As I think about my own experience of the Service Committee in the 1970s, and first-hand experiences since then as a staff member and consultant to European and Canadian agencies, (and indirect experience of numerous US-based agencies operating in Africa), a number of things set the AFSC apart from most other private aid agencies. Here are some of the reasons:

- - It is anchored in and attentive to its OWN society, working in partnerships with community, and community-of-interest organizations on home ground; it is not just a postbox- and briefcase outfit whose office could just as well be in Bonn as in Boston;

- - It is owned by real constituencies whose representatives take a lively interest in its life and activities; it can therefore withstand strong winds (as demonstrated by the Vietnam war years) without toppling over -- a capacity that most agencies, being owned effectively by staff alone, do not possess;
- - Its work is not confined to micro projects overseas, but also encompasses education and advocacy on macro levels on home ground and at the doors of citadels of power; although further dovetailing of micro and macro efforts is an obvious way forward (pragmatic arguments are here again convincing, since such integration can yield much greater impact where it counts) most agencies don't even bother to take advocacy on board, let alone integrate it with project work;
- - It is not afraid to support politically-sensitive initiatives that independent impact studies, as just noted, affirm as much more likely to have impact; in some parts of the world the Service Committee is among the pioneers of such approaches; with important exceptions (among them a few of the AFSC's financial partners in Europe), most aid agencies steer clear of these waters;
- - It is driven fundamentally by values, not "laws" of the market for charitable giving or for contracts from the official aid system; difficulties and tensions here are many, of course, but the pity is that many agencies tend to let themselves be driven by market rules, so that many cannot now be distinguished from mere businesses.

Origins

So the values underpinning the AFSC's work turn out to be not only worthwhile in themselves, but also the most pragmatic. We find here the happy confluence of two basic Quaker virtues, tough-mindedness and compassion. Its approaches stand a much better chance of making a difference precisely because they are rooted in principle and unafraid of issues of POWER -the need to create space where the powerless can achieve it, the need to speak Truth to it, and so forth.

But this can't be mere coincidence. After all, many of the Service Committee's guiding principles and vision crystallised in a place and time -- England 1640-1660 -- that bear comparisons with many situations in our own time. During my stint with the Service Committee I tried to explore that hypothesis. I was rather tartly, but correctly, told that Friends were better qualified to make such comparisons. Nevertheless, that history of 'underdeveloped' England and those Quaker origins in an emancipatory movement has been a source of wonder and reflection.**

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Of all the private aid agencies I have ever been associated with (the number now approaches 20) the Service Committee is the only one whose moral motive force stems, ultimately, from a social movement that undertook the difficult things now seen as so fundamental, notably addressing 'social relationships that underlie poverty.' Now it may be asked if that movement -which after all has given us some pretty basic norms and institutions of democracy and social justice -- had been better or worse off if it had relied on private aid agencies. But taking the long view, can there be any doubt about its impact?

The critique of private aid agencies suggest that they should get down to basics. The American Friends Service Committee is already rooted there.

* R.C. Riddell, A. Bebbington, L. Peck, 1995, **Promoting Development by Proxy. The Development Impact of Government Support to Swedish NGOs, SIDA** Stockholm, p. 79.

** One favorite source is C. Hill, 1972, **The World Turned Upside Down. Radical Ideas During the English Revolution**, Penguin, London.

Amsterdam,
September 1996

Message from Valeria Rezende, staff in Northeast Brazil for almost ten years.

Por favor, transmita a Corine o meu abraço e meu desejo de que a nova fase de sua vida seja feliz. Diga-Ihe que eu sempre apreciei muito todos os contatos que tive com ela, embora poucos e rápidos, mas marcados por sua atenção, suas perguntas muito objetivas e muito inteligentes e sua atitude de muito respeito para com o trabalho dos outros. Diga-Ihe que Ihe agradeço de coração toda a colaboração e o apolo que nos deu.

Maria Valeria Rezende

Please give Corinne a hug for me and tell her that I hope that this new phase in her life will be happy. Tell her that I have always appreciated each contact that I've had with her; although they have been few and brief, they have been notable because of her attention, her very objective and very intelligent questions and her attitude of great respect for the work of others. Tell her that I thank her from my heart for all the collaboration and support which she has given us.

(Translated from the Portuguese by Barbara C. Smith)



10-53-34-32 : Terry Foss



ID-56-33-15a Credit: Ruti

Chile 5/92 32= 75th Celebration, 33= Women's Program 75th

AFSC's 75 ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION
SANTIAGO, CHILE
APRIL 28, 1992

Presentation by Corinne Johnson

I bring you greetings from AFSC in Philadelphia. It is a privilege to be with you.

The AFSC is today celebrating its 75th birthday, taking pride not in its own accomplishments so much as in its history of walking with others who are suffering, in need, and struggling for what is right, for justice and for peace.

Based in the faith that each of us is a child of God, each of us contains a spark of the divine, each of us is infinitely precious and that therefore violence against any person is violence against God, AFSC was founded in 1917. Its purpose was to allow young people who would not fight and kill in the First World War to help those in Europe who were suffering from the war. AFSC's program was initially one to oppose war and to bring relief and reconstruction, not so much to address needs for social change.

But, as the work continued especially in the United States during the Great Depression, AFSC's concern for social justice grew, until now we perceive that peace and justice are two sides of the same coin, that each needs the other if it is to be realized.

Work for the rights of striking coal miners in the Appalachian Mountains of the United States went on at the same time that peace caravans spoke across the country against the coming Second World War. Risk was added to faith as both these programs went counter to the mood of the country. At the same time AFSC was working to bring Jewish refugees out of Germany.

Relief and reconstruction work in Europe and Japan followed the Second World War as well. But then AFSC turned its international programming toward the South and began to work with communities in their own development, consciously acknowledging the need for systemic change and supporting work to bring it about. In the post-war years at home, AFSC worked extensively in the civil rights movement, to bring equality and justice especially to the African American community. We were part of a strong movement in opposition to the Vietnam War and United States policy in Indo-China.

In our international work we have tried to stay with progress and communities as long as we are needed, and then to leave, knowing that the work will continue, better and stronger, entirely in the hands of local people. For example, AFSC supported a program in Vietnam from 1965 until the end of the war in 1975. Since then we have continued to work with Vietnam in development projects, in opposition to the United States government policy of an embargo against Vietnam. Our purpose has been to help, but

also to witness and to oppose the cruelty of the U.S. policy and hurt it has done to the people of Vietnam. When relations between the U.S. and Vietnam are finally normalized, AFSC can consider how long it will still be needed.

In the case of the Chile program, our original idea was to send staff to work with the progressive public health system of the early 1970s, both to support the work and especially to learn from it. With the change of the government in 1973, the work changed to support people and communities put at risk, and the program developed as Martin (Garate) will describe.

AFSC has been privileged to stay with the program through the years, serving to express international backing for the work as long as that was needed. But also, even as support was given by AFSC, AFSC was gaining much. We were learning from the strength of community, from the growth of individuals, from the program's successes and its weaknesses, learning much we could share in other programs around the world.

For AFSC, the program here in Chile has justified our faith, strengthened us in our resolve to continue to take risks, and convinced us further that change is not only necessary, but also possible. We will continue to put our faith in the people, in the community and in the human capacity to respond creatively, based on what we have learned from you. And we look forward to a continuing relationship and continuing opportunities to learn.

Thank you very much.

There are many reasons for admiring and appreciating Corinne Johnson. I will mention only one of them.

Over the years, but especially in the last nine or ten, Corinne and AFSC's Africa programs have supported African staff in their efforts to assume responsibility for their own development. Under Corinne's direction, we in Philadelphia have concentrated on promoting management and leadership training for national staff and on encouraging their initiatives. Our principle and practice are not to do the work for others. Rather, our place is to provide effective support of programs developed and carried out by African staff and participants. This philosophy of development may seem obvious, but few organizations practice it.

At our Cross-Africa Seminar in Bamako in March 1996, Corinne heard African staff laud AFSC for its progressive philosophy of development. Several participants said, "AFSC is the only nongovernmental organization in my country which has African staff as directors of its programs." AFSC African staff and former staff at the Seminar wrote and voted a motion of thanks to AFSC for the "tireless efforts it devotes to the attainment of a more just, equitable, and humanitarian world."

These "tireless efforts" are largely due to Corinne's work and vision.

Nancy Benson
Africa Programs
August 1996



ID-70-21-6 Credit: Corinne Johnson

Mali 3/96



ID-44-23-0a : Terry Foss

Two Voices--Twice

You say the time.
For what?
 To leave.
Why?
 New directions.
Can I really say?
 Yes.
Not now; not soon!
 Your decision; you say.

Now.
Now?
 Yes, it's time.
With regret, respect.
 Move on. I will!
May I call?
 Yes.
Thank you!
 Good decision, I say.

In our five years of working together, Corinne's and my conversations have never been so terse as the two which are characterized above. Nonetheless, I hope these two stylized dialogues reflect her graciousness to me when I first came to the AFSC, as well as my deep appreciation for her work, her ideas, her commitment to the AFSC, and the range and depth of her contributions to international work over the many years of her service.

Need around the world is overwhelming. The temptation to do something, anything possible, can be compelling. Yet AFSC's program has been directed toward excellence because the leadership has been given by one whose goal is to meet the real need, to identify the root causes and find long-term solutions. Because of Corinne's leadership, AFSC's international programs are known for consistency, for ethical implementation, and for "being there" until self-direction is solid.

Others who have had longer association with Corinne will offer cogent expressions in more depth about her many contributions to international work. I have been the beneficiary of her wisdom during our time of working together. She is always professional, but does not shy from the hard questions or the tough

10-44-23-0a : Terry Foss

analysis. There have been times when I have made decisions with which she did not agree and which were disappointing to her. Yet, she has always respected my role and has been supportive of me in more ways than I can count.

* * *

I will miss you, Corinne. I have enjoyed eliciting chuckles from you and have come to appreciate your wry sense of humor. I have been moved by your passion. It has been fun to push you through your caution to new ideas and ways of seeing projects and structures. I have learned from you that preparation which is deep and thorough brings forth new visions.

Yet, I refuse to let you go. Thank you for being willing to offer your considerable writing and editing skills. I promise to give you some time to retire and get tired of it. But I will call, and I know you will feel free to say 'yes' or 'no' each time that I do.

And, please, Corinne, refrain from bringing me back an edited copy of this tribute!

Kara

International Work

International work is a calling - and Corinne Johnson answered that call with a life in service. She touched many, many people, gaining appreciation, respect and admiration--and more. I write this note to try to set down why what Corinne did went far beyond a job well done.

International work begins - and often ends - with frustration. Frustration that the world is how it is, and that the world's resources have been dished out so inequitably. And frustration that the obstacles to real change are so numerous and so pervasive that the best of efforts often produces less than the best results.

International work begins - and must conclude - with hope. Hope that the world can and must be bettered. Hope that the ocean of light will enter as a torrent into the sea of darkness--and that the turbulent waters of this great joining will be illuminated with brilliant stabs of light.

International work is an act of faith. Corinne's influence shines through a document I was sent in my "membership packet" when I became part of the Latin America and Caribbean Panel. What are the priorities for the International Programs? "Our values lead us to seek ultimate objectives that are unabashedly utopian: peace on earth; economic, social and political justice; a life of dignity for each person, free of unnecessary suffering; and preservation of the integrity of creation."

International work is an engagement with forces of risk. There are physical dangers. There are the forces of inertia and complacency which work powerfully against success. And there is the danger of despair.

International work begins and ends with the calling to remain open to continuing revelation. What worked before is no certain guide to what will work in the future. The world changes; our understanding of the world changes; and our view of what can or should be accomplished changes.

It is Corinne's unique contribution to have applied to her life in service, the hope, the faith, the engagement, and the openness that have illuminated the path for the rest of us.

John Siceloff
202-222-7538 1717 DeSales St. NW
Washington DC 20036
9/6/96



ID-67-9-23a Credit: Lady Borton

Beijing Women's Conference 9/95

INTERNATIONAL VOLUNTARY SERVICES, INC.

Dear Corinne,

I join the whole AFSC family in wishing you joy and good health as you settle in to the task of sailing boats off Cape Cod, reading novels carefully saved for this time, and visiting friends. I realize as I write this, that I have never told you how I learned of the International Division's work.

My introduction of AFSC overseas work was with the Quaker Team in Viet Nam. They were obsessed with the search for peace. At Christmas 1968, a small group of us decided to pray for peace at the Saigon Cathedral. Clark Kerr, the rep in Saigon, convinced us that we should make paper lanterns with a million pinholes to represent the million people killed. We designed some beautiful lanterns and began the task of making the pinholes. 1,2,3... and on, 10 11, 12... Long before 2000, our lanterns had disintegrated. But we went, armed with Christmas card prayers for peace. Soon the police came and we decided to go to the U.S. Embassy and ask Ambassador Bunker to pray with us.

We were met at the barricades with police dogs and Saigon police. Yes, we were told, we could meet the Ambassador. But we had to go to the door behind the Embassy. The press, they said, could not go with us. Once behind the Embassy, the Saigon police started beating us with their clubs. Kondo, a Japanese IVS member, was thrown into the back of a jeep that sped off. As things quieted, we saw a pair of sandals on the pavement. Whose are they, someone asked. "They're Carolyn's" someone said. "Who's Carolyn?" the US marine guard suddenly became interested. "Carolyn Hamm from the Quaker team in Quang Ngai," I replied. "She's from Boston," Clark Kerr added. "My God they've got an American girl," one of the marines said.

The gate was opened. We were invited in. Soon an Embassy servant came with bottles of Coca Cola. "We can't drink these," Clark said. "Coca Cola is part of the Military Industrial Complex. There is a boycott of coke." Those of us who had been there longer explained that the bottles had been opened already and therefore we would not help the boycott by not drinking. We were very thirsty.

An hour later Kondo and Carolyn were brought in. Carolyn was grateful that we had saved her shoes. When she saw Kondo thrown into the jeep, she decided to go with him. She had kicked off her sandals so she could jump into the jeep more easily.

Beijing Women's Conference 9/95

At the station, the police shackled Kondo to the wall and began to pummel his stomach. Carolyn squeezed between the officer and Kondo. "I didn't know what else to do," she told us.

By this time, the Embassy political officer had contacted the Vietnamese political liaison office. The two protesters were returned to the U.S. Embassy.

We were told to go home. Our little group reconvened at the AFSC house in the outskirts of Saigon to write a letter protesting the police brutality. We sent our letter to President Thien and Ellsworth Bunker (with copies to the press). Clark wanted to knock the Embassy for serving Coca Cola, the drink of the oppressors. Us old-timers convinced him that this would only confuse Ambassador Bunker (who, we later learned, had been in Nepal with his wife Ambassador Carol Laise).

I am glad for this introduction to AFSC. I am more glad to have the opportunity to work with you this past decade. You have given strength to the AFSC overseas work. You are a great colleague. I have learned much from you. And enjoyed every minute of it.

With Love,

Don Luce

REFLECTIONS ON QUAKER INTERNATIONAL WORK

Catherine Essoyan

On the occasion of the retirement of Corinne Johnson from AFSC and the completion of her distinguished tenure as Director of the International Division, it is indeed an honor and a privilege for me to reflect on some key aspects of Quaker international work in the past fifteen years.

I came to AFSC in 1982 as a short term staff person hired to help respond to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. I stayed for almost ten years, working first in Philadelphia coordinating Lebanon relief and reconstruction work, later in East Jerusalem as director of the Quaker Legal Aid Center, and finally back in Philadelphia responsible for AFSC's international work in the Middle East. It was with regret that I left AFSC in 1992 when I married a high school friend and moved to live in the Netherlands where I now work at NOVIB, a Dutch development agency, as its Middle East desk officer.

I deeply valued the opportunity to work with AFSC as it is rare indeed that one has the chance to work for an organisation whose principles and core values are so deeply in harmony with one's own. Moving to work at NOVIB has also helped highlight for me those aspects of Quaker work which make it distinctive and which I especially respect and appreciate. During my entire tenure at AFSC, Corinne was the Secretary of the International Division and for my last five years there she was my direct supervisor. My experience of Quaker international work is thus deeply intertwined with Corinne's presence in ID and her influence on how its programmes were shaped during the period 1982 to 1992.

I consider Corinne the best "boss" I have ever had. I am grateful to have had the chance to work with her for so long, and I am honored now to count her among my friends. She is a highly principled person, and sets high professional standards both for herself and for her colleagues. She has an extraordinary mind and a far-reaching memory. When she takes a position or makes a decision, she defends it with conviction. However, she also has the capacity to change her mind if convinced by a counter argument, which I have found to be a rare and admirable trait.

One aspect of Quaker international work which almost goes without saying yet which I deeply appreciate is that it is grounded in fundamental Quaker principles and values: non violence, respect for the individual, recognition that the resolution to a conflict lies through negotiation, and that every party has a piece of the truth. While my period at AFSC was characterized by fiery debates concerning differing interpretations of these values in programmes, occasionally within ID and frequently

between ID and Peace Ed, the grounding of AFSC's work in these principles lent it a special resonance and depth, in my view. When I arrived at NOVIB and was given the task of drawing up four Country Policy Documents for the various countries in the Middle East where NOVIB is active, I asked a senior colleague what he thought should be the key features of NOVIB policy in the area, and he replied, "that is for you to decide." I was taken aback and both then and since I have missed the fundamental values which underlie AFSC's work in the Middle East.

Another key aspect of Quaker international work is its commitment to working in areas of conflict and standing with those most affected despite any possible personal risks. Certainly a turning point in my life was the trip I made to Lebanon for AFSC with Everett Mendelsohn in July 1982 during the Israeli invasion. As I had lived in Beirut for eight years as the daughter of a foreign correspondent, graduating from high school there in 1973, it was a very moving visit for me on a personal level. We walked into West Beirut which was under siege and visited community groups providing emergency assistance and health care to the displaced. We travelled to the South and visited Ein el Hilweh refugee camp which had been levelled. Upon our return to the US, I was grateful to have the opportunity thanks to AFSC to speak out about what I had seen and to rally support for its relief and reconstruction programme in Lebanon.

Years later, I travelled with Corinne to Iraq and Lebanon during the Gulf War. It had been an intense period at the office and I remember quipping to Corinne at the airport, "you know things are bad at work when it feels like a relief to go to Iraq and Lebanon!" We travelled overland for hours from Amman to Baghdad and later into southern Iraq, witnessing the impact of US bombing and Iraqi efforts to rebuild. Travelling with Corinne was always a privilege and a pleasure as it afforded a valuable opportunity to get to know one another better.

I also deeply valued the consultative nature of AFSC's work-although this very quality at times exasperated our field staff! I remember Corinne and I visited East Jerusalem together once as part of AFSC's assessment of the wisdom of moving toward the devolution or "Palestinianisation" of the Quaker Legal Aid Center. We talked to a wide circle of Quaker contacts including Palestinians and Israelis in the course of seeking guidance in this regard and returned with a wealth of advice and a wide ranged of nuanced perspectives. Following up on this visit with a working group of the Middle East Panel, many of whose members has served at the Legal Aid Center in the past and had rich and relevant experience, was also an process I sincerely appreciated. It is indeed gratifying to see how the Legal Aid Center has developed in the intervening years, with a highly distinguished Palestinian Board, and how it has adapted to respond to the changing political situation and resulting needs on the ground.

When I came to work at NOVIB, at an early performance evaluation, I was told that I needed to have the confidence to take more decisions alone, without discussing matters as much with colleagues. I was surprised, believing such discussion or consultation to be a strength rather than a weakness, which usually improves the quality of the decision taken, and I observed that that must be due to my Quaker "upbringing" at AFSC.

I also deeply value AFSC's readiness to speak out against injustice, "to speak truth to power" while at the same time always being sensitive to and mindful of the possible repercussions of its public statements on the people living in the conflict area in question. A couple of years ago NOVIB decided on a new marketing strategy which it dubbed "the NOVIB method": a combination of development assistance, education in the Netherlands and advocacy which it presented as if it were unique to NOVIB. I was surprised that NOVIB seemed to feel it had invented the approach as it is one that had long been familiar to me in working with AFSC!

I will sorely miss Corinne in ID and at AFSC. It is indeed hard for me, as I expect it is for many, to imagine ID without Corinne! I would like to take this opportunity to thank her for all the inspiration and guidance she has given me over the years and I wish her every happiness in her life after AFSC.

Apeldoorn, Netherlands
September 1996



ID-41-1-3a Credit: Corinne Johnson

Middle East 9/88



ID-70-22-9a Credit: Carinne Johnson

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**NONVIOLENCE IN A CONTEXT OF VIOLENCE
TWENTY YEARS OF AFSC EXPERIENCE IN CENTRAL AMERICA**

Phil Berryman

In March 1996, staff from AFSC Latin American programs gathered in Siguatepeque, Honduras to share experiences and perspectives and to explore ways to deepen networks and collaboration. The major question was very much of the 1990s: how grassroots groups can respond to economic globalization. At the same time, I found myself considering the previous twenty years - how much had changed and yet, how many things sounded familiar.

By the mid 1970s, many Latin Americans were quite convinced that their problems were due not to a lack of "development" but to prevailing economic structures. No amount of village level development could resolve the problem of say, Guatemala, whose whole economy revolved around the agroexport of a handful of products to the wealthy countries, starting with the United States. All but four Latin American countries were then under military rule, often with wholesale human rights violations. Whatever its professed devotion to democracy, the United States had provided training to many of the officers, and was often involved specifically in the histories of that military rule (the 1954 CIA overthrow of the elected Guatemalan government, and support for the brutal 1973 military coup in Chile, to mention only two examples).

The Latin America Program of the International Division, then headed by Corinne Johnson, after considerable committee discussion decided to make a fundamental shift in the direction of its work in Central America. That work had begun in 1960 with a VISA program in which young people from the United States went to Guatemala and did local development work under the supervision of the AFSC staff. Although good things were undoubtedly accomplished, those who benefited most were probably the young volunteers themselves. The second stage of the work (1971-1976) was a conscious effort to devise a project whose primary criterion would be development of Guatemala. The main actors were now Guatemalan medical students doing their field work. What made the project especially difficult was its location in a colonization area sixteen hours from Guatemala City by bus (mainly on unpaved roads) and two hours by motorboat down river in a steamy isolated colonization area. The role of the AFSC was to provide coordination and continuity as well as funding. Over the years, the project not only provided medical service to isolated communities, but it trained local health promoters in the communities.

In its switch of program emphasis, the AFSC decided to extend the program to other Central American countries, and to start from the premise that the U.S. role should receive major attention. The "Central American Representatives", as my wife Angela and I were called when we went to begin work in May 1976, were to function somewhat like QIARs (Quaker International Affairs Representatives). Nevertheless, the job description changed

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as a result of the February 1976 earthquake in Guatemala which killed an estimated 22,000 people, wounding many more and making many people homeless. Thus, upon arrival we became involved in a development project, Vivienda Popular (People's Housing), although the AFSC was one of several major funders, and administration was entirely in the hands of Guatemalans.

Some of our early work consisted of preparing an audiovisual on various approaches to post-earthquake reconstruction, researching and writing on coffee production (i.e., that workers did not benefit from the higher coffee prices that resulted from the 1977 frost in Brazil), and documenting growing tensions and human rights violations in El Salvador at a time when few were paying attention.

As tensions and conflicts gradually grew in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala, a central issue became how to respond to the growing violence. In 1977 we were instrumental in organizing a delegation from Guatemala to Mexico City to participate in ISTNA, a worldwide conference on nonviolence. Accounts of the conference indicate that there was a notable split between those whose basic commitment was to nonviolence and most of the Latin Americans whose stance was something like: "Our commitment is to liberation; we are interested in learning about nonviolence as an approach but we aren't going to make it our starting point." This split was reflective of how things stood at that time. Latin American activists were suspicious of outsiders encouraging them to practice nonviolence.

The issue was posed within the AFSC in 1979 as a result of a meeting held at Panajachel with representatives from AFSC programs in the Caribbean, Mexico, Central America, and Chile. (The meeting was a predecessor to the 1996 gathering in Honduras) The discussion led to what came to be called the "Panajachel Statement," which concerned some people within the AFSC because it seemed to signal a weakening of commitment to nonviolence. Its question, however was actually: how do we with our commitment to nonviolence continue to act in a situation of growing violence? Its most controversial point was an assertion that when individuals and groups with which the AFSC has been working become involved in violence, relations need not necessarily be severed entirely. The question was real enough insofar as people with whom we had been dealing were involved in the "popular organizations", which had at least political ties with guerrilla organizations in El Salvador and Guatemala. As Corinne remarked at the time, if the AFSC were to consistently refuse to have dealings with any group that used violence, it could certainly have nothing to do with the United States government. Moreover, it was often overlooked that whatever they might think or say, many Latin Americans practiced nonviolence at great risk to themselves (including our own colleagues in Guatemala and elsewhere in Central America).

One AFSC response was simply to document the political use of violence. For 1978 and 1979, using newspaper accounts of acts of violence (abduction, murder, torture) I compiled accounts of many hundreds acts of violence. Although this was not an ideal method, it was the only thing that could be done, particularly since the Guatemalan

military would certainly not permit any group to publicly monitor human rights. The reports were used by Amnesty International and other groups seeking to draw attention to Guatemala at that time.

With the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship and the beginning of the Sandinista government in Nicaragua, and insurgencies in El Salvador and Guatemala, revolutionary change seemed to be on the agenda. The Panajachel question - how to act nonviolently in an increasingly violent context - seemed increasingly real. There was no single formula for an appropriate response but one thing seemed clear: deeper United States involvement could only aggravate the crisis and multiply the bloodshed. The 1975 decision to emphasize the U.S. role proved more prescient than could have been imagined.

During that brief period we sought to help awaken public awareness in the United States. Thus, we put together an ecumenical delegation in late 1978 (as the Somoza regime was still trying to hold onto power) and to El Salvador in March 1980 (we were at Archbishop Romero's last Sunday mass and were in the country the next day when he was shot).

By mid-1980 it became impossible to continue to work in Guatemala. Most of the people with whom we had been working were fleeing the country, or went underground. Many people we knew were abducted and murdered. When we then came under continued surveillance (all day long, one day a week for several weeks) we had to leave in a hurry. Angie was followed in the airport - presumably by plainclothes detectives - as she was seeking to leave the country, and was probably saved by the fact that she was accompanied by friends working for an international agency who had diplomatic plates.

What was our "crime"? Travels to Nicaragua and El Salvador? Contacts with the church-based justice and peace network? Contacts with labor unions and peasant organizations? Aiding journalists and TV crews? Visits from Kai Utah Clouds, a Quaker who had come from the native American movement in the north to work in a Guatemalan Indian town (and who was abducted and cruelly murdered shortly after we left)? Association with the Vivienda Popular project, whose leaders were likewise abducted and disappeared? In any case, the Panajachel question remained a live one: what is the appropriate nonviolent response to intensifying violence?

The AFSC program response continued to be a mix that was the result both of the needs of groups in Central America and the particular gifts and inclinations of staff. Throughout the 1980s and to the present, staff members have continued to fund small scale relief and development projects, particularly in the areas of health and agriculture. Much of the work has been of a QIAR type, ranging from background analyses and developments in El Salvador during the war, to an examination of the complexities of Sandinista-Miskito conflicts on the east coast of Nicaragua, to a study of factors behind the week-long 1985 bus riots in Guatemala, to efforts to promote contacts between representatives of the opposing sides in El Salvador during the final years of the conflict as a preparation for peace.

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If for a brief moment around 1980 it seemed as though these tiny Central American countries might have the possibility to build a different kind of society, that hope (or illusion) soon gave way to far more modest aims: how to end the wars, achieve reconciliation, and address underlying issues of development and equity. Until the late 1980s, the main barrier was the obsession of the United States government and its funding of the Salvadoran government, the Nicaraguan contras, and its frustration of peace efforts. That power was curtailed, though by no means halted, by the Iran-contra scandal that unfolded after late 1986.

The even modest hopes of the late 1980s have been further frustrated by the reality of the 1990s. For years Latin Americans had called for a new "economic model," assuming that it would come from a democratic left and place priority on meeting the basic needs of the majority. The emerging new model however is hyper-capitalist, and its agenda is similar to that of the right in the United States: open doors to free trade and competition, cut government budgets, especially social spending, reorganize production (weakening labor unions).

At the March 1996 meeting in Siguatepeque, several organizers insisted that despite the apparent triumph of "neoliberalism" and globalization, it is important not to lose sight of our longer range hopes and aspirations for a qualitatively different kind of society.

AFSC work has plainly evolved and changed over time. The development generalist has largely given way to an experienced development worker, very often a Latin American. Gender issues are advancing despite well entrenched machismo. Ecological sustainability is part and parcel of, for example, agricultural development projects. Staff are looking for ways to help maquila plant workers organize to defend their rights (as has been done along the U.S.-Mexico border for years). The Comal Project in Honduras is aimed at helping small farmers and artisans use modern tools and contacts to deal directly with markets so that they can sell their products directly to Honduras (without intermediaries who take most of the profit) and internationally.

One significant development in the past two decades is that Latin Americans have increasingly come to see nonviolence as valid as a way of life; the split between those committed to nonviolence and those committed to liberation no longer holds. Latin Americans are full partners in the worldwide pursuit of nonviolence both as an instrument for change and as a spiritual commitment.

The 1975 decision was certainly on the mark, but the AFSC and its counterparts must continually take stock and make choices at each new juncture.

Excerpt from a letter from Martin Garate to Barbara Smith:

“It isn’t very long, but you can’t know how much I have thought (about this) so that I could express what I feel. The truth is I could have written many descriptions of so many occasions and moments, but nothing satisfied me like an expression of what my friendship with Corinne has been, which as I’ve said was with little contact over the years. I don’t believe I’ve done justice to what I would like to express, but I never was a poet nor a writer. What I am sending is a simple testimony, in my own words, of what Corinne has been in my life.”

MUJER (WOMAN)

What can I say? How can I describe these years of sharing and friendship? Should I start with the first time I met her in Philadelphia while applying for the position of Assistant for Latin America or when she interviewed me for the job in the United Nations Office? Or perhaps, I should recall when we began to get to know one another at the Quaker Committee of the United Nations or at the end of 1980, a transcendental moment for me, when I went to tell her that I was leaving the work in the U.N. and was coming to Chile.

I felt that she understood my desire to return to Chile to work together with my people struggling to overthrow the dictatorship which not only was killing and oppressing but with great determination was changing the profound roots of being Chilean - our culture, our approach to life and our forms of exercising power. In that moment I felt the kind of support which is not expressed in words; it is a look, a gesture, simply knowing how to listen and concur. I felt her sadness for she knew the dangers to which I returned, as she knew very well why I had been exiled from my country.

Yes, I could go on describing so many moments and circumstances in which Corinne was there when I needed her - in the work, in difficult personal moments. She always had the time, always the disposition to listen - the feeling that she had all the time in the world for me, despite the many other matters that awaited her attention.

Nevertheless, out of these times that we’ve shared - the first years close by, the last sixteen from a distance, there is something that has remained in my thoughts and in my soul about Corinne. This something which is so intangible, a certain mysterious way; I would not be able to describe it, I could not talk about it or express it, nor less define it. What is this thing which has touched me so profoundly? How can I share it today?

From the moment when I decided to share it, I have been thinking about how to express it and today I can do it; I can say with great conviction, with the humility and greatness of the word; I can share with everyone this something of her which has touched me so profoundly. She is WOMAN. She expressed the mystery of life which is woman, this

mystery of the goddess of life in each woman. To give life in the flesh, in the search to understand the beauty of our embodiment, of its greatness and its capacity to inter-relate in harmony and solidarity, not in the exercise of power.

Woman, because she expresses the strength of life against the forces of death, which it has been her experience to touch and to know in the United States, in Africa, in Asia and in Latin America. Forces which prevent the exuberance and beauty of life from manifesting themselves. Expressions of death that destroy our culture and social fabric.

I have felt in her this mystery of woman where strength and tenderness intermingle, where there is an inextinguishable fountain of energy and life. Energy that supported us, at times in projects which at first glance seemed crazy. How many times did I capture in her gaze and the brightness of her eyes, energy before an idea that could open roads of adventure. As woman she understood that life is an adventure where each moment can offer us opportunities. It is an adventure where there are risks to be taken; it can produce fruits of life or frustration. It is Pachamama, the mother earth, fountain of life and mystery, adventure which opens our eyes.

But also, I have experienced her ability to ask the incisive questions and have the strength to say no, even when she understood that so much of oneself was in the proposal. However, I never felt that this "No" eliminated creativity, or the adventure of life. Rather, it was a challenge to come back better prepared, with better arguments but without having lost the capacity to dream.

Woman, life and adventure.

Although understanding that we have grown as woman and man, I have never felt her womanhood or her profound sense of gender were directed against man in the concrete but only against the patriarchal culture which we have created and of which we are also victims.

I could intuit in my relation with her as woman that the world was not an abstraction for her - not pure rationality where the emotional, the bodily, the mythical and the dream have no space. Without leaving behind reason and abstraction, she was able to understand the profound, concrete processes of the people's lives, to feel the embodiment of our existence; to give space to feelings. I understood that her way of knowing was a constant creative interaction with the reality and not a rigid and automatic process of pure reason. I saw her experience in her whole being each situation of oppression which she had the occasion to know and to live. This is how she expressed being woman.

In the last sixteen years we have seen each other very little and we've communicated little. For a number of years we saw each other only every two years when it was time for us to return to the United States. More recently we've seen each other a little more frequently. It is strange that a friendship which sprung out of a few years of knowing one another has been maintained long distance for so many years and with so few occasions to be together.

I don't know how many more times we will see each other and share dreams and adventures and life. I don't know, really, if we will see one another again; but beyond space and time, her friendship and her presence as Woman will remain within me - Life and Tenderness, Strength and Temple.

Martin Garate
Santiago, Chile
September 27, 1996

Translated from the Spanish by Barbara C. Smith



ID-59-27-9 : Dick Erstad



ID-64-21-28 Credit: Lady Barton

U.S. News & World Report



ID-27-32-28 Credit: Corinne Johnson

China 6/85

QUAKER INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS WORK AND THE WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION

Brewster Grace

Quaker United Nations Representative in Geneva for Trade and Development

INTRODUCTION

Quaker United Nations Offices in New York and Geneva have been involved on and off for a long time on international economic issues. In the 1970s, both were active in the UN debate on a New International Economic Order. More recently, QUNO New York has closely followed and supported the work of the UN Commission on Sustainable Development.

Since 1993, trade and development has formally become a core program in QUNO Geneva with a major emphasis on the work of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (the GATT) in the final days of the Uruguay Round of multilateral trade negotiations. In addition, in view of the prospective consequences of these negotiations for developing countries, QUNO established closer relations with the International Labor Organization and the UN Conference on Trade and Development. Nevertheless, the central focus of QUNO work on trade and development focuses on the World Trade Organization (WTO) that has emerged out of the Uruguay Round and has superseded the GATT.

Motivation for work on international trade is founded on well established social testimonies and experiences of Quaker work in international affairs. Quaker social testimonies have given rise to a wide variety of concerns and activities for international economic justice in the context of sustainable development and the right sharing of world resources. In recent years, work to promote these objectives has covered a wide range of concerns. This work includes advocacy for reforms of such major international policies as structural adjustment and export promotion that shape current economic development policies. It also involves practical technical assistance and support for organizations in developing countries that are working to overcome the negative impacts of these international economic policies that frequently fail to meet, if not actually denigrate, basic economic needs at national and community levels.

At QUNO Geneva we share these concerns for reform and emphasis on national and community interests. We believe that the international community, as represented in international institutions and in member state delegations that negotiate and supervise the policies and work of these institutions, has great

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responsibility for and capacity to contribute to the economic needs of poorer countries and communities. To support these responsibilities, QUNO uses the same methods that Quaker international affairs programs have used for many years. These methods are based on representation of Quaker concerns to policy makers and on facilitating dialogue through seminars and conferences on issues of importance to those in most need of international economic opportunities and benefits. Participants in these conferences include policy makers, experts and NGOs with first hand experience in dealing with issues of economic justice.

The new element in this work is the WTO with its increasing importance in influencing the distribution of the world's economic benefits. QUNO is attempting to apply its experiences in international dialogue to promote the WTO's positive contribution to international economic equity while mitigating its negative effects on its poorer members (in UN terminology these are commonly called developing and least developed countries).

THE WTO

What QUNO can do in Geneva in trade and development policy depends on our ability to work with the WTO and its members as well as with UN agencies that have a capacity to influence WTO work toward more equity in world trade. In Geneva, one of these agencies is the International Labor Organization (ILO), about which more will be said below. At first, we need to describe the WTO and how QUNO can relate to it.

The importance of the WTO should not be underestimated. The trade rules it embodies and seeks to administer cover about 280 billion dollars of annual world trade that is growing at seven per cent annually. It is seen as central to the international trade policies of the major trading partners of the world - Japan, the EU, the US and Canada. However, the majority of its 127 members are developing countries. Thirty of the 48 least developed countries are now members and many of the rest are in the process of accession. Its predecessor, GATT, was responsible only for trade in manufactures, excluding textiles. The World Trade Organization added agreements on trade in services, agriculture, textiles and intellectual property (patents and copyrights). All of this expanded coverage resulted from the Uruguay Round.

Now that the Uruguay Round is completed, there are efforts by various members to expand WTO coverage to include such "new issues" as international investment. There are also pressures on WTO to accommodate its rules to meet the interests of primarily developed country members in international environmental and labor standards. Equally important, there are efforts to minimize radically the debilitating

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tariffs developed countries still impose on exports from least developed countries. Finally, from an NGO perspective, there is a major concern for the lack of NGO access to the WTO. There is no formal arrangement, as there is in the case of NGO consultative status with the UN Economic and Social Council, for consultation and cooperation. Important WTO documents are too often too restricted and only recently have NGOs been invited by the WTO for consultation and dialogue.

The character of WTO operations presents some interesting challenges and opportunities. It is a small organization. It employs only 450 persons as opposed to the thousands in the IMF and World Bank. Much of the technical work is done by delegations. Nevertheless, the WTO does contain important power relationships. Its trade agreements are based on negotiated balances of rights of access to other members' markets and obligations to allow access to a member's domestic market. Thus, those member countries with larger markets (e.g. the EU, US, Japan and Canada) have more "market power" with which to negotiate. They can offer relatively fewer rights in their markets in exchange for greater obligations on the part of poorer countries with smaller markets.

In spite of the distribution of power in world trade negotiations, developing countries currently see the WTO and trade liberalization in terms of improved market access leading to economic growth and development. Without these, they do not see opportunities for great social development. Rather, they see only the continuation of dependency, debt and social instability.

QUNO WORK

QUNO bases its work at the WTO on several assumptions. The first is that efforts to judge whether more or less international trade is good or bad, in and of itself, are not particularly helpful. We assume that world trade will continue to grow and that the important issue is its equity. Therefore, it is important that it be subject to rules and disciplines of trade liberalization that serve all its members' interests fairly in order to avoid abusive unilateralism by the major trading powers. A second assumption is that the world economy is better off with a WTO with commitments to equitable world trade than a world economy without rules and disciplines. The world without trade rules has historically suffered from colonial empires serving only powerful commercial interests and trade wars that have driven the world economy into deep recessions. A third assumption is that unregulated trade liberalization can and is impacting negatively on environmental and human resources and that the WTO must take this into consideration in its trade policy making.

For these reasons, QUNO has focused its modest work on the relationships between

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trade liberalization and environmental and labor standards - two of the new issues noted above. Environmental and labor resources are, in fact, being seriously affected by trade liberalization, especially export promotion and import substitution. Furthermore, NGOs are increasingly competent on issues concerning the relationship between trade and labor and trade and environment. Finally, these issues are of considerable contention between developed and developing countries, pose harsh dilemmas for both, and have potentially serious consequences for developing country potential gains from trade liberalization.

In the case of trade and environment, developed countries are concerned with promoting higher environmental standards through a variety of international conventions and domestic laws. They are wary that WTO rules concerning trade restrictions could be used by developing countries to avoid compliance with these standards. This is compounded by their apprehension that developing countries will apply lower standards to gain competitive advantages in production costs. Developing countries, on the other hand, fear that a weakening of WTO rules against trade restrictions will undermine their competitiveness and their hoped for gains in joining the WTO. They propose that instead of trade restrictions, developed countries should supply them with the necessary capital and technology to raise their standards.

One QUNO objective, therefore, has been to facilitate informal discussion outside of official circles, to encourage developed and developing country negotiators to consider some of the compromises that have to be reached in order to serve both interests. Two substantial, residential seminars have been convened over the past two years for trade negotiators, WTO technical staff and knowledgeable NGOs. These have opened considerable discussion of ways the WTO can amend its rules to allow developed countries to use trade measures to promote environmental standards without discriminating against the trade interests of developing countries. The real test of the WTO's commitment to its members' respective interests in trade and "sustainable development" will come in December 1996 when the world's Ministers of Trade will decide the future course of the WTO Committee on Trade and Environment.

Strong NGO participation in these seminars has served another QUNO objective: to bring into the debate concerns of a wide range of environmentalists in both developed and developing countries. These concerns have included those of indigenous peoples, dependent on rain forests, and traditional farming communities dependent on ownership and control of traditional plant varieties. In the process, NGOs have strengthened their credibility in trade circles. An indication of a strengthened NGO position is the recent decision of the WTO Trade and Environment Division to organize for delegations its own seminar the fall of 1996.

Many of the NGO representatives who have already participated in QUNO seminars will be invited to participate. As a result of this, we have, with some satisfaction, canceled a third trade and environment seminar that we had planned for September.

The second major QUNO concern is for prospective WTO work on trade and labor. Many developed countries and labor federations claim that the liberalization of international trade, as pursued by the WTO, could have damaging impacts on labor conditions. As more countries compete in international markets, demands for more competitiveness can lead to pressures to reduce labor costs of production. Second, the ILO supervises a number of widely ratified international conventions on basic worker rights regarding freedom of association, forced labor, equal opportunity, and child labor. These hold the same status in international law as international environmental agreements. Third, just as there are NGOs with well established interests in the environment, so are there trade unions, also considered NGOs, with well established interests in labor. Fourth, just as environmental interests demand that the WTO consider the impact of trade liberalization on the environment and sustainable development, so do trade unions and development NGOs want the WTO to take into consideration the impact of trade on labor conditions and standards. And fifth, developing countries are concerned both that these labor concerns not lead to trade restrictions and that Northern environmental standards not be used to discriminate against their products. They argue that levels of development predicate levels of labor standards, which cannot be raised without economic development. Restrictions of international trade opportunity would have negative impacts on this development.

QUNO recognizes that there are a lot of harsh dilemmas in this debate. On the one hand, if trade policy were formally linked in the WTO to labor conditions, as many Northern NGOs advocate in a "social clause," developing countries could face punitive sanctions that could seriously affect employment opportunities and, consequently, labor conditions. Further-more, developed countries could use labor conditions as a pretext for protectionism. On the other hand, there are some labor conditions in developing countries, such as forced labor and exploitation of children, which deeply offend human rights standards. Developed countries that would like to apply sanctions against products made under such labor conditions need to find ways of assuring that the sanctions do not lead to even more undesirable conditions such as forcing children out of factories and into the streets - or into worse exploitation.

The problem is how to formulate policies by responsible international institutions, namely the ILO and WTO, to deal effectively with the really negative impacts of trade without impairing the important economic benefits that trade can bring to

developing countries.

QUNO has been involved with this issue over the past three years and expects to emphasize it even more as international institutions continue to struggle with it in coming years. At a seminar in late 1994, representatives of trade delegations, ILO and WTO experts, trade unions and employer groups debated the broad range of difficult dilemmas and came to the realization that it was politically impossible to carry on formal policy discussion in the context of WTO work. Developing countries argued that any linkage of trade and labor standards would not only provide protectionist opportunities for developed countries. These would allow for, in effect, additional rights to developed countries to discriminate without providing additional obligations to market access for developing countries. Again, the question of equity was a key part in the debate.

The debate over whether the WTO should examine trade and labor linkages continues to rage in public and diplomatic fora, but not in the WTO itself. In November 1994, the ILO established a working party on "The Social Dimensions of the Liberalization of International Trade" that is mandated to study the impact of trade on labor and ways in which trade policies can be used to improve labor conditions. Similarly, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the industrialized economic policy coordinating body in Paris, has started to examine these linkages. Whether or not these parallel initiatives will eventually lead to formal WTO work on trade and labor linkages remains to be seen. Further debate is expected at the Singapore Ministerial Meeting in December 1996. As was the case with trade and environment in the first half of the 1990s, there is every indication that ultimately the WTO will have to address the impacts its trade liberalization policies are having on labor standards.

Meanwhile, QUNO has been monitoring both the ILO and OECD initiatives. We are also planning additional seminars in 1997 in anticipation that there will be even greater need to facilitate dialogue to find equitable solutions among the hard dilemmas.

SOME FUTURE OPTIONS

QUNO is learning a lot about the WTO in this work. We have also established a substantial credibility by remaining sufficiently non-partisan for developing countries to participate in our meetings while refusing to discuss the issues in the WTO. Although we do not plan more work on trade and environment, this credibility will be important in further work on trade and labor.

There are at least two ways we can proceed.

First, we can continue to facilitate NGO participation in the trade and labor debate. The WTO is getting used to meeting with NGOs. To the extent that we can bring development NGOs together with trade unions in informal dialogue with trade officials, we can expect broader understanding of how to resolve some of the basic dilemmas. At the same time, NGO/WTO dialogue would be enhanced.

Second, we can develop our emphasis on equity by stressing the need to find ways that linkages between trade and labor standards can build equity. The current developed country focus on a social clause, to the extent that it would or could be trade restrictive, should be expanded to look at ways trade and labor linkages could be beneficial to developing countries. The European Union is considering a social clause in bilateral relationships that would be based on incentives - i.e. more preferential treatment or market access for products made under increasingly higher labor standards. There is a need for discussion of building such incentive based agreements into the multilateral trading system of the WTO. The key objective would be to balance the rights and obligations by linking trade with improved labor standards and with improved market access.

This would not be an easy arrangement to negotiate multilaterally. But it would be a much more equitable arrangement than a mere social clause. Similar arrangements are being discussed between trade and environmental policies - arrangements that would serve the widely accepted principles of nondiscrimination and sustainable development.

A third and related area for future QUNO work would be to explore institutional linkages between the WTO and ILO. The latter is already mandated to examine the social dimensions of trade liberalization. The first question that should be asked is whether the WTO might not study, through its secretariat-based trade performance analysis and technical assistance, the positive trade benefits to be gained from higher labor standards. This would require coordination between the ILO and WTO.

All three of these areas could be subjects for QUNO seminars. But more importantly, they could be subjects for wider Quaker work, drawing on activities, experiences and knowledge of trade liberalization and labor issues in developing countries. To do so, however, we require a longer term commitment to work at both the grass roots and international level and to combine the strengths of both. Given the commitments Quaker agencies have to both levels, there is a way if there is a will.

Brewster Grace, Geneva , September 1996



10-60-24-34a : Nancy Johns



10-33-16-3 Credit: Roberta Foss
Philippines 10/86

Reflections on Alternative Development, drawn from AFSC's programs and documents on work in Latin America & the Caribbean

I. Defining Development - Alternative Development

Development has been defined as "a process through which people's vulnerability (economic, social, political, personal,) is reduced"¹ or "the process of expanding people's choices through their access to economic resources, [and their] ability to acquire knowledge and to live a healthy and long life".²

AFSC explicitly recognizes that people are the primary resource in their own development process. We need to work towards a process that is sustainable, environmentally and economically, moves towards justice and equity, is participative, is gender-conscious, is inclusive and values diversity.

Development cannot be seen as simply a local phenomenon. Our approach to development must be multi-level -- local, regional, national, global. It must include advocacy where the processes at higher levels impede the capacity for real development below.

When the term alternative development first came into play, it was used to distance the concept of development from mega-projects such as the large hydroelectric dams which were supposed to lead to the growth of industry, benefiting all through their "trickle down" effects. Instead they wiped out the livelihood of poor people, often indigenous whose lands were flooded in the process, and the promised "trickle down" never did arrive.

Today, though we cannot distance ourselves from a globalized economy, we do

want to develop an alternative to the capitalist model, which is restructuring production, creating greater concentrations of wealth and excluding more and more of the people with whom we work.

So, alternative development might include all the ways in which we can uphold and nourish the hope, and through concrete actions, build the capacity for human beings to live together, sharing and developing the earth's resources in ways that move towards a sustainable peace. We want our efforts to contribute to the overall goal of equity and justice in a world of careful and caring stewardship.

II. Selected AFSC Experiences - Critical moments in the Development Process

Let's look at certain moments in a few of the development programs with which AFSC is associated in Latin America and the Caribbean and see how they might illustrate aspects or focuses within this vision of alternative development.

1. Pre-Conditions to Development - Alternatives to violence
2. Building Citizen Participation
3. Constructing Economic Alternatives - Marketing with a community conscience
4. Working with the excluded
5. When dreams are shattered - holding onto hope
6. Moving out of the way - Devolvement
7. Nurturing Partnership

1. Pre-Conditions to Development - Conflict transformation, a pre-requisite to development.

In El Salvador in October 1992, there were 44 municipalities in what had been the conflict zones. Enormous division and distrust existed between the mayors and city councils, government supporters who had been living in exile in larger urban centers, and the local populations who were in general sympathetic to the guerrilla movement. Both groups were returning to their places of origin after bitter and often deadly conflict between them. AFSC, working closely with Salvadorans who

¹ Johnson, Corinne. *International Development: An AFSC perspective*, 1985. quoting a definition that emerged during the 1984 Institute on Disasters and Development sponsored by Harvard University School of Education.

² The U.N. Development Programme, *Human Development Report*, 1990.

later formed PROCAP, began a process to facilitate the work of the Municipal Commissions for Reconstruction and Development (MCRD). The MCRD was made up of Municipal authorities and an equal number of community people elected at large. Without outside facilitators, it seemed unlikely that these groups would be able to trust one another and collaborate in ways which would enable reconstruction to take place and the healing process to begin.

AFSC/PROCAP began work with 15 MCRD's. They began with a series of seminars which had as their objectives to enhance the self esteem of each participant, to facilitate better communication between them and to promote cooperation and solidarity. As these things were accomplished, it became possible for the group to look together at the root of their problems, the need for reconstruction and reconciliation. PROCAP worked with them on developing skills for resolving the conflicts and the development of joint decision-making processes. In organizing these seminars and meetings AFSC/PROCAP needed to play a role that was both transparent and neutral - to facilitate a process, the outcome of which was to be determined exclusively by the participants. Effectiveness in such work requires that the facilitator have no hidden agenda.

2. Building Citizen Participation - Alternative Education

EQUIP - Escola de Formação Quilombo dos Palmares, was established in 1988 in Northeast Brazil. Two Brazilians and an Italian volunteer told of a vision created by many working in the region -- a center which would use a participatory methodology, serving as a training-ground for union leaders, rural and urban, and the leaders of the grassroots organizations in the nine states of Brazil's Northeast. From what is considered the backlands of Brazil emerged a plan to reconstruct the history of the region from the perspective of those who inhabit it, to train a cadre of popular educators, who would gradually build a regional capacity for analysis, to develop in the local leadership the capacity to foster citizen participation, to develop and implement public policy, to build a community

conscious of its shared responsibility in and for the region.

3. Constructing Economic Alternatives - Marketing with a community conscience

AFSC has had a staff presence in Honduras for more than 10 years. During this time they have witnessed the harsh impact of "neoliberal" reforms or Structural Adjustment programs -- frustration, increases in poverty and dislocation. A two year preparatory consultation and research with partner organizations in the region, including a one year pilot project, led to a new project - COMAL -- Centro de Comercialización Comunitaria Alternativa (Alternative Community Training and Trade Project). The project will be carried out with organized groups in 30 communities in two departments of Honduras. Among the tasks laid out for the project are:

- gain the skills in ongoing analysis of social, political and economic trends which affect their families, communities and the region as a whole
- develop practical knowledge about the functioning of local, national and international markets
- attain access to and manage information that directly affects the economic well-being of the community
- build effective flexible leadership styles, democratic governance and transparent operations in their local and regional organizations
- improve their prospects for successful local and regional initiatives in the area of credit facilities and community markets which will allow consumers to buy directly from local producers at mutually beneficial prices
- network with other similar efforts on a national, regional and hemispheric level.

In this work, the AFSC and local partners have worked closely with a strong international network to stimulate mutual learning and cooperation across borders and regions. In this project, the participants will attempt to enter the game, yet maintain their community based value system. They must know the difficulty of the challenge that is

before them, if they are to have a reasonable chance of achieving what they have set out to do.

4. Working with the excluded - Access to Basic Services

CES - Centro de Educaçao para Saude is a small NGO-in-the-making. Its role has been to develop an appropriate methodology for training community people from marginal urban areas of Sao Paulo to address many of their health needs and develop the organizing skills so as to effectively obtain from government the services which they cannot provide. The program tries to reach those whom the health system does not reach. Over the past two years CES has begun working with men in an attempt to develop with them a process parallel to what women have experienced in the women's movement. The program has already had a significant impact on the men's prison. A major focus in these programs has been building self-esteem among people whom the society constantly belittles.

5. When dreams are shattered - holding onto hope

AFSC began work in the Grande Anse area of Haiti in 1989. For the first two years the program, with the assistance of local Haitian training centers, was able to respond to community expressed needs for training in "civic education", project development and administration, organizational development, appropriate technology, etc. When a military coup forced President Aristide into exile, the level of violence in the region required a suspension of group trainings. Two staff went into exile. The rest of the staff left temporarily and got training outside which would be useful once they could return. As soon as it was possible, the staff moved back into the communities. During this period, there was no formal program; staff quietly visited leaders to monitor what was happening and to offer words of encouragement. Some emergency funds supported families in hiding. After a number of months it was possible to begin the previously planned health program. People on all sides of the dispute recognized this need as so basic that it was assumed, correctly, that it could be begun, without unreasonable risk to

staff. More important than any program goals which might have been met during this period was the accompaniment which helped people hold onto hope. [Once the Constitutional government was restored in October 1994, the previous programs were able to quickly get underway and expand.]

6. Moving out of the way - Devolvement

If a program is projected to have relevance for a long time, it should, conditions permitting, do so as an independent local organization. Organizational development is a complex task requiring many different skills. At AFSC we assume that "devolvement", the term we use to describe the process through which a program becomes an independent local organization, will normally take three to five years.

7. Nurturing Partnerships

AFSC works in a complex world. Its programs are relatively small and few. If AFSC is to be an effective organization for social change, it must work in close partnership with other organizations, particularly those with which it shares a common vision. In March 1996, AFSC Latin American and Caribbean staff and partners had an unusual opportunity to gather, share analysis, program directions and discuss plans for collaboration over the next few years. In addition to continuing the south-south exchanges which have strengthened and enhanced all of our work, plans to implement two collaborative efforts were confirmed - a Latin American and Caribbean Youth Leadership Training School to begin in late 1997 and a conference to discuss the challenges to popular education, the methodology which has been common to AFSC's and its partners' work.

III. Suggestions for those who want to be involved in development or alternative development work.

- Reflect on how current work already contributes to development (e.g. building self-esteem, developing organizing skills, skills in critical analysis).
- Observe closely and well - Listen with the heart - don't make quick assumptions about who people are and what they need.

Listen to what they have to say. [Do not assume that people working in the garbage heaps must be removed. In some areas they have a steady and above average income. They may be among the best off among the poor.]

- Search for the wisdom of why people do what they do - [In the altiplano having small pieces of land in several distant locations may not be time efficient, but it assures survival when a hail storm totally wipes out a crop in one place.]
- Seek out good development work being done near-by, visit these places, talk to those involved, making sure that those whom you hope will be involved participate as well.
- Plan strategically. What does a community or group want to do and why? What is the problem they seek to address? On what levels must it be addressed so that movement forward is possible?
- Look at assumptions - spoken and unspoken - openly discuss them among participants. Will this plan move people into the mainstream, or keep them out? Is it a survival strategy? or moving towards real choices? Will everyone benefit?
- Start small with a very good chance of success; be clear about what is manageable. Even though it isn't possible to work on everything at once, it is important to be clear about how the proposed project fits into and contributes to the larger picture.
- Learn from wherever you can - there are pieces of the truth in many different places. Be alert to the assumptions underlying your information.
- Encourage peer learning. An exchange between campesinos developing alternatives to the use of pesticides or among health monitors teaching in their communities affirms what people have learned, assures that practical information is transmitted and builds a sense of being part of a larger movement. The closer the objectives and conditions in which a project is carried out, the more useful the exchange. Exchanges are particularly useful when a group is trying to determine

what to do, needs some fresh input, has experience/information that they want to share.

- Evaluate regularly - Evaluations should be seen as an opportunity to improve, learn, build on past experience.
- Remember that even small efforts offer hope. During a serious drought in Northeast Brazil, communities with which AFSC was working at the time, gave great importance to the small programs which our limited resources permitted. Though small in themselves, they allowed people to have some control over their lives at a time when they felt helpless.
- Make every effort to avoid failures. Poor people can't afford them. Nothing makes organized effort more difficult, than doing it and realizing it was a waste of time.
- Be careful about creating or accepting groups or individuals as "the enemy". Sometimes apparent enemies can become allies if one can be creative enough to show them that it is in their own interest. This doesn't mean backing away from denouncing injustice. But it does mean actively seeking to engage in dialogue to overcome the resistance. Skills in active listening, and an elicitive approach to conflict transformation³ can be invaluable.
- Trust that given opportunity to consider alternatives, local people will select what will work best for them. Some of the best work has been a careful blend of ideas from the north and the south.
- When there is a profound respect for what is particular to a people, it is easier for them to hear and adapt ideas and experiences from other situations without fear of losing what is unique and valued in their own.
- Be willing to let go of the control - even urge the group to move beyond you, but be sure that the group has had the preparation and training they need to be successful.

Barbara C. Smith

³ Lederach, John Paul. *Preparing for Peace - Conflict Transformation Across Cultures*, Syracuse University Press, ©1995.

Brush Strokes in a Portrait

Corinne, you have been team leader, mentor, colleague and friend. The relationship between two people is always a unique experience, enhanced and limited by the strengths and weaknesses of each party, and the desire to see the other with the eyes of the heart. Only you can judge whether the "brush strokes" ring true. Though these words reflect my personal interpretation of events, I suspect they echo other's experience of you as well. Barb

**You believe in people's ability
to grow and learn together,
So, you have called forth the ideas, concerns
and experiences of the group,
questioned, challenged, listened--
and then summarized the new synthesis,
collectively constructed,
and guided its implementation.**

**Principled - unshakeably principled,
you have stood firm when practicality,
or laziness, or fear of 'internal politics'
might have swayed us in another direction.**

**You have been fearless
in speaking out against injustice,
when it affected others;
often silent,
when the victim of injustice was yourself.**

**You have been a listener --
able to hear the dreams
and fears,
as well as the words.
able to hear the other's perspective,
even when expressed in angry words.**

**You have challenged us
to take on the hard issues,
and not be content with the easier
and less prophetic role.**

**Unmotivated to seek personal power,
You've used the power you've had
only to move forward
AFSC's work.**

You have been our Editor

*insisting that the message be clear
and grammatically correct.*

*Convinced of the power of the written word,
and our ability to become better writers,
you've carefully reviewed
each major proposal and manuscript.*

*You've asked for clarification,
suggested alternative wording,
sometimes proposed a more logical order.*

*Yet, you've always respected
the author's insights and interpretations.*

Fellow traveler,

*You've accompanied us on visits
to staff and those they serve
in refugee camps and disaster zones,
through areas torn by war and famine,
torture and disease,*

*In each place
you've experienced the people's pain
and celebrated their courage.*

*They have recognized your understanding,
and been grateful.*

*Together we've celebrated the beginnings of
newly founded organizations,
born out of AFSC's work,*

And accompanied the evaluation of long-standing ones.

In times of personal crisis,

*you would not be leaned upon,
but you would 'stand with'
until the experience,
shared,*

*was no longer unbearable
and strength and courage could emerge
enabling movement forward.*

You have been

*a sail, capturing the wind and harnessing its energy,
a rudder, holding a steady course, even in a turbulent sea,
a lighthouse welcoming us back from afar,
a friend.*

We will miss you.

(Barbara Cody Smith)



ID-57-26-3 Credit: Corinne Johnson
Asia Trip 9/92 Cambodia