

Feminist Activism Around the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

SHARON GROVES

C'est l'histoire de deux femmes juives et d'une Palestinienne engagées à fond pour en finir avec l'occupation en faisant la promotion des droits des Palestiniens, en publicisant partout les entorses aux droits humains et en amorçant un dialogue inclusif pour la paix.

What follows are three reports by Terry Greenblatt, director of the Israeli feminist peace organization, Bat Shalom; Amneh Badran, acting director of the Jerusalem Center for Women; and Penny Rosenwasser, Jewish American peace activist and recent participant in the International Solidarity Movement's "Freedom Summer" Campaign. Although these women reside in different locations, all share a deep commitment to ending the occupation, advocating for the rights of Palestinians, widely publicizing human rights abuses, and furthering an inclusive dialogue for peace. This is truly remarkable work, given the on-going escalation of violence inflicted daily on innocent people in the region. What these women understand, but what the media has failed to report (especially the mainstream press in the U.S.), is that women's groups are leading the way—some might argue inventing the way—for discussions of peace. As Terry Greenblatt points out, the April 2002 joint declaration from Bat Shalom and the Jerusalem Center for Women was the "the first joint anything in almost two years." Despite their courageous breakthrough, only women's and feminist magazines, journals, and e-mail publications have reported on such peace initiatives. Perhaps these reports will leave you feeling hopeful, as they did me, that the important contributions femi-

nist activists are making to peace under the most dire conditions can be effective even in these seemingly hopeless times.

Report on Bat Shalom and the Jerusalem Link

On May 7, 2002, Terry Greenblatt—long-time Israeli feminist, peace activist, and director of Bat Shalom (an Israeli feminist peace organization)—spoke to the United Nations (UN) Security Council. Her speech begins with a reminder to UN members of the mandate in the United Nations charter,

to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights to establish conditions under which justice and respect for international law can be maintained [and] to promote social progress and better standards of life.

To fulfill these mandates, Greenblatt argues that women must be at the center of all United Nations' deliberations. Among her justifications, she points to the historic role women's peace groups have already played in sustaining an alternative political dialogue between Palestinians and Israelis. As Greenblatt states,

I cannot help but be aware that the slim glimmers of hope in this terrible situation have consistently been provided by the grassroots women peace activists on both sides. Given this dismal history of past performance, it is unthinkable not to

include women, large numbers of women, in the upcoming peace process.... You need us [she continues] because we have developed a process and socio-political fluency that keeps authentic and productive dialogue moving forward, even as the violence escalates and both sides continue to terrorize one another.¹

When I asked Greenblatt about reactions to her speech, the news was disappointing. Regrettably, the meeting was not covered in the Israeli, U.S., or international media other than in women's magazines, journals, and e-news publications. Although they did get *CNN America* and *CNN International* interviews while they were in the U.S. and even met with the *New York Times* edito-

Women's groups are leading the way—some might argue inventing the way—for discussions of peace.

rial board, print media coverage to date, has consisted of a short article in *Ms.* 12 (Summer 2002), 17; the reprint of the speech in *Off Our Backs*; and a forthcoming story in *Ladies' Home Journal*. Although Israeli peace and women's movement constituencies were excited, supportive, and even encouraged, in light of the deteriorating situation on the ground, Greenblatt quips that the enthusiasm "lasted for all of us for about half an hour." Bat Shalom is following up

the presentation with a letter to the Security Council and to the negotiating quartet. They received tremendous support in this endeavor from the New York-based human rights organization, Equality Now.

The work being done collectively by Bat Shalom and the Jerusalem Center for Women (JCW) exemplifies precisely the kind of brave dialogue feminist peace activists in the region are struggling to sustain. Three weeks before Greenblatt's speech, Bat

"We believe that women can develop an alternative voice promoting effective peace initiatives and sound approaches."

Shalom and JCW published a joint declaration calling for an end to occupation and international protection and intervention in the region in both Israel and Palestine. Greenblatt read this declaration as part of her address to the UN Security Council. It is momentous, in Greenblatt's words, for being "the first joint anything in almost two years." It was acknowledged in liberal and progressive communities and received much positive feedback from those who appreciated the initiative, the risk taken for speaking out jointly at this time (particularly by the Palestinians), and the clarity of the joint political positions. The Israeli and U.S. right wing, however, inundated Bat Shalom, in particular, with e-mails, faxes, and telephone calls accusing them of being traitors to the Jewish people and threatening punishment. What follows is a reprint of the declaration in full:

Palestinian and Israeli Women
Demand Immediate End to
Occupation

Israel has launched a war against defenseless Palestinian communities. The terrorization of innocent ci-

vilians, the unlawful killings and arrests, the siege imposed upon President Arafat, and the destruction of property, infrastructures and institutions, can only lead to further escalation, prolonging the sufferings of both nations and destroying any prospects for peace. The climate of fear and the obsession with reprisals that grips our two peoples obscure the true cause of this cycle of violence—the continued and unlawful Israeli occupation of the Palestinian people and their land.

It is our role, women on both sides, to speak out loudly against the humanitarian crimes committed in order to permanently subjugate an entire nation. Right now, in the face of uncontrolled military turmoil, we jointly ask the international community of states to accept its duty and mandate by international humanitarian law to prevent abuses of an occupying power, by officially intervening to protect the Palestinian people.

Beyond the immediate crisis, we know that there is one future for us both. The deliberate harming of innocent civilians, Palestinian or Israeli, must not be condoned. By working together we improve our chances for a better future. We believe that women can develop an alternative voice promoting effective peace initiatives and sound approaches. We undertake to work for this goal together.

Women have already begun to give substance to the recognition that a just peace is a peace between equals. When we call for a Palestinian state (on the territories occupied on 4th of June 1967) alongside the state of Israel, we envision true sovereignty for each state, including control over land and natural resources. We envision a settlement based on international law, which would endorse sharing the whole city of Jerusalem, the dismantling of the settlements, and a just solution to the question of refugees according to relevant UN resolutions. In continuing our joint work together, we want not only to achieve

an end to the occupation; we want to help create the conditions for a life of security and dignity for both peoples.

We call upon all women and men, young and old, to join us in our sincere quest to preserve life, human dignity and freedom in our region. Dehumanization, hatred, revenge, and oppression contribute nothing to the resolution of a century of conflict. Mutual recognition and respect of each other's individual and collective rights will pave the way for peace making.

—April 2002, The Jerusalem Center for Women and Bat Shalom

Despite immense political obstacles, Bat Shalom and its partner, the JCW continue to find innovative ways to sustain joint initiatives. Greenblatt reported that they are currently maintaining a public correspondence in the national press whereby, on alternating months, one side publishes an open letter in the other side's national press. By so doing, they hope to ensure that an alternative and consistent voice for a just peace challenges the discourse asserting no partnership is possible. They are also convening public panels on relevant issues. These panels, Greenblatt suggests, will serve as forums for the civil society to discuss and explore the complex issues related to the conflict and the narratives from both Jews and Palestinians about sustaining on-going anti-occupation and humanitarian activities. As the situation deteriorates long-term planning is extremely difficult. According to Greenblatt, they are, nonetheless, trying to address the deterioration of democratic values and racist legislation in Israel, trying to provide as much humanitarian assistance as they can, and continuing to lobby for women's involvement and priorities in any and all peace planning and peace making initiatives.

In response to my question about how the international feminist community can assist Jerusalem Link,

Greenblatt answered that feminists committed to peace need to “speak up and out about what is happening in their own countries as well as in our region.” She finds that “authentic and legitimate voices of opposition are critical and unfortunately all too silent these days, which oftentimes make our [Palestinian and Israeli] voices sound shrill and radical when we think that what we are saying just makes common sense. The U.S. feminist community, except for too few courageous women, have proven to be particularly disappointing. There are, however, delegations of women who continue to come, on fact-finding and non-violent, action-oriented resistance campaigns, from all over Europe, Canada, and Africa (with the Italian women winning the prize). Those who cannot come can be examining and critiquing their own government’s complicity in perpetuating the current situation and lobbying their governments to pressure Israel to end the occupation and comply with international law.”

Report from the Jerusalem Center for Women

Amneh Badran is the acting director of the Jerusalem Center for Women (JCW), which has been at the forefront of establishing a Palestinian women’s movement for peace and justice. Badran also directs numerous activities concerning the struggle for peace and social equality. She describes the work of her organization:

“JCW is proud of the significant achievements we have made since the eruption of the Intifada. We continue with our planned projects, such as running the Young Women’s Democracy and Human Rights Education and Training Program, publishing a booklet on settler attacks in the Old City from women’s perspectives, and providing counseling and documenting stories of women who have been traumatized as a result of occupation and its measures through two projects: Voice Therapy: Linking

Suffering with Hope, and Voice Therapy: Sharing and Dealing with Loss. We are also continuing with our intra-Palestinian dialogue, which brings Palestinian women together across the Green Line.

“New forms of joint peace work and bi-national political dialogue were resumed in January 2002. JCW issued a call for peace on March 8, 2002, which reached the Israeli public and was published in the Israeli newspaper *Ha’aretz*; it emphasized a call for a true and just peace between equals. We also issued a joint declaration with Bat Shalom on April 15 that was published in Arabic, Hebrew, and English newspapers; it called for an immediate end to occupation and for peaceful co-existence. On June 5, Bat Shalom addressed the Palestinian public in Arabic through *Al-Quds* newspaper. The letter stressed that there is a partner on the other side who cares and is against occupation. In response, JCW replied, stressing the importance of such courageous letters in changing the atmosphere of total mistrust and denial of the others’ basic human rights. This tool for public political dialogue has proved to be successful in reaching the other. We plan to continue with this public correspondence program as part of our belief in our role in changing public opinion.

“Together, the JCW and Bat Shalom have conducted several joint initiatives such as our presentations to the Swedish parliament, Italian parliament, and European Union parliament; the U.N. Security Council; and on Capitol Hill, Washington D.C. We continue to articulate a unique and critical Israeli and Palestinian women’s voice that is unheard otherwise.

“Also, the JCW and Bat Shalom are planning for the establishment of Women’s International Peace Activist Network (WIPAN) through which we affirm our commitment to jointly work together, not only to achieve an end to the occupation and contribute to building a just peace, but also to help create the conditions for a life

of security and dignity for both peoples. The purpose of such a network is to link hands with women peace activists in other parts of the world. It is our intention to use our collective power, resources, and moral force to build a model of mutual trust and support in the face of the violence and ongoing harm to the lives of women and their families. WIPAN’s aim is to raise values of justice, respect for human rights, peace, and peaceful means to solve conflicts.”²

A Visitor’s View: Penny Rosenwasser’s Journals

Penny Rosenwasser, author of Voices from a Promised Land: Palestinian and Israeli Peace Activists Speak Their Hearts (Curbstone Press, 1992), is a Jewish American peace activist who has very recently returned from a trip to the Middle East where she was involved in an International Solidarity Movement “Freedom Summer” Campaign. She is currently completing her dissertation on internalized anti-Semitism. Below are journal excerpts describing a trip she took in July 2001, plus two sets of journal entries (first, those by Seth Schneider, to whom she spoke of her activities while traveling, and second, those

“It is our intention to use our collective power, resources, and moral force to build a model of mutual trust and support.”

told in her own voice). I have kept the informal tone of these journal entries, but because of space restrictions I have edited them for length.

July 2001. I journeyed back to Israel and Palestine, both to support actions by the Israeli peace movement, and to let my Palestinian friends know that neither I, nor the American people, had forgotten them. This trip was about leading with my heart, staying deeply connected to my Jew-

ish identity, and being an ally to Palestinians without pushing myself to formulate answers. Even now as I drive through the streets of Oakland, I see instead the dry terraced landscape of the West Bank, the bustling modern roadways and crooked neighborhood streets of (Jewish) West Jerusalem, the sandy decay of refugee camps, the crowded stalls and pungent scents of (Arab) East Jerusalem. The faces of my friends there, and those I met, will not leave my mind.

...I remember the bright spirit of Manal, 27 years old, who spent six years as a Palestinian political prisoner. She still has nightmares from being beaten with sticks by Israeli security guards. Although she is now "free," she said Gaza feels like one large prison. Yet, for three hours in the boiling sun, she kept me laughing as we waited in an endless line of cars to get through an Israeli checkpoint. In Rafah refugee camp, Manal showed me where, only hours before, Israeli tanks and bulldozers had demolished eighteen Palestinian homes, leaving over 100 children, women, and men without shelter in the middle of the night. In one remaining house, I saw eight fist-sized holes where artillery shells ripped through the cinder block walls of the children's bedroom. When I left, Manal slipped the bracelet off her wrist and pressed it into my hand. "Please don't forget me," she whispered.

I think of the joyful Shabbat evening I spent with my Orthodox friend Veronika who has organized Israeli-Palestinian dialogue groups; she shudders at the Israeli mantra, "Let the army win," while she also now gives her children extra fare for taxis, so they won't ride the buses and risk bombs. My friend Anna lives in Tel Aviv and believes in a just peace; yet her seven year-old son cries at night, fearful of being attacked in his bedroom by a Palestinian. Another Israeli activist friend, Relá, helps lead the Israeli feminist group, New Profile, which is trying to change what they call Israel's "war culture." Relá lost her own father in a 1948 car

crash "in the line of duty," and her two sons were in the army. "Children are taught to see military service as a natural rite of passage," she explained, a teaching she opposes. She said many Israelis believe that "there's no other choice; war is imminent, everyone does their part." Yet, Relá also spoke of a fast-growing trend among young Israelis to abstain from or object to military service. "I don't want to kill or be killed," she has heard many of them say. "The only way to stop the occupation," Relá sighed, "is if the U.S. stops it." And, there are more. Hava is a seventy-year-old Polish Holocaust survivor who advocates for Palestinian women prisoners; she has been physically attacked at peace vigils by Israeli counter-demonstrators. And on the plane home I met 16-year-old Inbal, whose classmate was injured in a Tel Aviv bombing—and who still advocates for peace.

I also remember Wafa, a Palestinian woman in Dheisheh refugee camp near Bethlehem, where 11,000 people live crowded together, half of whom are under the age of fifteen; their camp has been attacked repeatedly by the Israeli military and is surrounded by Israeli settlements. When a seventeen-year-old there told me, "Maybe it's easier to die than to live like this," Wafa added quietly: "I don't want to push the Israelis into the sea. All I want is a safe place for my children, a street without tanks, and food on the table."

And I was inspired by a young Israeli Russian, Adi, who I met protesting the tear-gassing of Palestinian children in their jail cells by Israeli guards; Adi emigrated with her family from St. Petersburg to escape anti-Semitism. When I asked her how she felt when the Russian Israeli teenagers were bombed at the discotheque, she confided "It was hard." She now works with the Israeli Coalition of Women for a Just Peace, explaining "When you get involved, you feel less afraid."

The open, inquisitive faces of the children I met at the Palestinian Counseling Center are etched in my

memory. Therapists help these children process the emotional trauma of losing a father or a brother to Israeli bullets. When I asked them what they wanted, they chorused "Peace!" "To not be occupied!" "No violence from Israel or America!" "To make a new future for the children." My friend Siham wrote that they still speak about my visit—because it is rare for them to have their voices heard by someone from the "outside."

And especially I think of 30-year-old Israeli activist Neta Golan, whose open-heartedness deeply touched me. She has been chaining herself to Palestinian farmers' olive trees in an effort to keep the Israeli army from uprooting them. These trees are like family to Palestinians and were planted by their grandparents; the trees take fifty years to mature and provide desperately needed income. The army and settlers have destroyed over 150,000 of these trees, and now 50 percent of Palestinians live under the poverty line. Neta herself lost a cousin to a suicide bombing in Tel Aviv. She told me, "I know that the only chance for Israelis to have peace and security is for the Palestinians to have peace and security." While carrying armloads of bread and milk powder to Palestinian children trapped in their homes when Israeli troops re-occupied the West Bank town of Beit Jalla, Neta walked past the guns of Israeli soldiers, quietly resisting their orders for her to stop. "Weren't you terrified?" I asked her later. "Sure," she replied. "But still, you do it." When I met Neta, her arm was in a cast after being broken by Israeli police during a nonviolent demonstration. As we walked home one night, after interrupting Ariel Sharon's speech at the Maccabiah Games to protest his policies, we confided how scared we had felt. "It's so good that you can feel the fear," she told me, "and then not let it stop you from doing what you think is right."

As American Jewish women, I believe we must stop turning our faces

away. Like the open hearts of both Israeli activists who put their bodies on the line trying to stop their government's human rights abuses and of Palestinians who hold a vision of peace despite the brutality, terror, and daily humiliation of Occupation, we also need to examine our fears. We need to move from discomfort to protest, and in the spirit of Neta's words, to do what is just and right. We must call on our government to bring an international peace-keeping force into this region immediately, to end the Occupation, and to pressure for a just peace that gives both peoples the land, resources, security, and dignity they deserve, including a sovereign Palestinian state next to Israel.

Rosenwasser regularly telephoned Seth Schneider from Occupied Territories this past summer while a participant in the International Solidarity Movement's "Freedom Summer" Campaign. Schneider then sent the following reports via e-mail to Rosenwasser's friends and supporters.

July 2, 2002. Penny joined up with an affinity group Ohana (Hawaiian for "leave no one behind"). She said that her Palestinian host in Gaza, Ali, was so moved that half of their group were Jews, that he introduced them to everyone: "these are Jews, and they are standing with us for peace." Penny's group met with the mayor of a town in central Gaza. One key aspect of occupation is that Israel controls the water resources—even though much of it comes from aquifers on Palestinian land—and will only sell a certain amount to Palestinians claiming that they need the rest for Israel. Central Gaza has two wells but there is too much salt in the water, which causes kidney problems, and the water also has nitrates that cause cancer. Ali told them about one man who didn't have water for washing for eight days and had to buy drinking water, and this in a region of blazing heat!

A major problem is that one of the

wells is broken, but when a Palestinian worker tries to repair the well, soldiers shoot at him because the well borders the Jewish settlement of Netzarim. The "internationals" (as international activists are called) decided to accompany workers to the well and to act as human shields, hoping by their presence to prevent the soldiers from shooting. Penny's group then walked up the road to the settlement, to inform the soldiers of their intentions by waving their passports and white flags. Penny says that this was a potentially scary situation because a few weeks earlier soldiers had shot over the heads of other internationals; they also knew that the area could be covered with landmines.

When the internationals reached the guard tower, the soldiers told them that they would have to get permission from the Israeli authorities to go to the well. When the group, upon returning, called Israel bureaucrats to get such permission they were given the runaround.

After Penny left, the group did accompany Palestinian workers who succeeded in repairing the well; but the following day the well was heavily damaged by Israeli soldiers.

July 4 2002. Penny and her affinity group traveled to Rafah in the southern portion of the Gaza strip. The next day, nine homes were demolished in Rafah, making a total of twenty homes that week that were destroyed along the Gaza/Israel border. When the group visited the site, they saw clothing, books, and olive trees in a large heap. They spoke with families in the homes left standing along the edges and saw bullet holes in the walls. They spoke with one mother who told them her two-year-old son is so terrified from the constant explosions, that he refuses to speak; all he does is cry. Penny's group had planned to organize an international presence, but the bulldozers would return.

The following was sent directly by

Penny Rosenwasser, after her return to the United States.

Getting out of the southern part of Gaza, Rafah, and Khan Younis, was an experience in itself. The two of us who were leaving that day arrived with our driver at the checkpoint at 7:30 A.M., but it was already closed. With our passports held high, we approached the soldiers who were up in the guard tower with guns pointed; they said the checkpoint would open in thirty minutes, but they didn't open it for two hours. Imagine a sea of cars—taxis, donkey carts, garbage trucks, trucks with chickens, individual cars—all swarming to cram through the two-lane dirt road. Finally, the gate lifts, and it's a mad dash, much honking, then boom! After only about forty cars are let through, the gate comes down again. Wait five to ten minutes, the gate goes up, cars cram through (maybe twenty this time), and then again the gate comes down. The cycle goes on and on. It is infuriating, humiliating, and degrading. And, though they say this is all for security, they never stop a car, never check any identification, never look inside a car or truck. It is clear that this is all about power and control, nothing about security. As our host Ali told us earlier, "This arouses hatred in people."

One of the most powerful experiences I had inside Israel was participating in an event organized by the Israeli group New Profile for young would-be refuseniks. There were about 50 of them (in Jerusalem) of high school age, including some who signed the letter last fall saying they would refuse to serve in an army of occupation (over 170 people signed this letter) and some who have already served prison time for refusing to serve. Since January, over 100 Israelis have served jail time for refusing to serve in the army. Apparently, they are writing a new letter for others to sign this September. I learned in much more depth what a commitment it is to refuse—an enormous expenditure of time, energy, anxiety,

and angst to go through this process. I was moved to see a few mothers at this event supporting their sons. There were young women there as well. My friend Rela had asked me to speak about my experiences at Gaza, and afterwards a young man came up to me dressed in his army uniform, gun slung over his back. "Thank you," he smiled. "Your talk was one of the most powerful of the evening. Now I really want to go to Gaza to see for myself." I was stunned; I knew he did not mean going there as a soldier.

Near the end of my trip my friend Zakaria drove me to Jenin refugee camp. He had helped me lead four women's peace delegations in the early 1990s. Even after hearing all the reports and seeing some of the photos of Jenin, I was completely unprepared for the devastation: mountains and mountains of rubble, reminding me of the 1989 San Francisco earthquake. I felt as if I were walking through a graveyard. Then through the sand I walked by part of a sewing machine, a video tape, a child's shoe, a smashed wheelchair. Above us, I saw half of a house that remained standing with a couch hanging out of it. As we walked on, we saw wires coming out of the ground, and the Palestinians with us said, "we are walking on the second story of a house." Unbelievable. There are no words. Prayers in Hebrew started going through my head. And then, from Babi Yar, "Let no one forget, let nothing be forgotten." And the graffiti on walls: "Liberty or death, we will not leave." We had tea in a house overlooking the center of the devastation where a family of fifteen had lost four members. We sat in a "living room," which only had two walls remaining—so as we sat, we looked out on the wreckage and rubble; there was no wall or window between us.

Over 800 homes were fully or partially destroyed, and tanks continue to roll in, people continue to be arrested, and continue to be shot. My friend Hanan, a Palestinian Israeli woman lawyer, spent many days here in April, interviewing people. She

has still not recovered from the experience and tells me, "I'll never forget this, I'll be telling my children, I lost three kilos of weight ... I am against the attacks on Israeli civilians—but all the media protests that—where is the media about all the Palestinians who are dying? Is the blood of Palestinians so cheap?"

Finally, I spent two days in Nablus with ISM where we were once again welcomed so warmly by Palestinians in the streets, who all wanted to speak with us and be listened to. A high point was following my Israeli friend Neta Golan, a co-leader of ISM, as she led us in "Free Palestine" chants at the beginning of our solidarity march with Palestinians to break the curfew, the third of these in three weeks. We were close to 100 total (half Palestinian and half internationals) marching through the Old City and into the rest of Nablus, with many signs, which read "two million under curfew, end the occupation," "women for peace, against occupation," "the whole world is watching" (my sign), and others in Arabic, such as, "We have a right to food, we have a right to education, we have a right to move freely, we have the right to work." As I was leaving Nablus, we heard reports that tanks and helicopters were descending on Al Farah refugee camp outside Jenin, and ISM delegates began the three-hour walk there to act as human shields—including a man and woman from the Michigan peace team who appeared to be in their late sixties or seventies. There is such an amazing diversity of people from around the world who are drawn to this work.

I cannot emphasize enough how strongly and how often I hear the message just how poor people are—it is worse than ever before. Because of the daily curfews, with tanks rolling through the streets, they cannot go to their jobs or harvest their crops. They have no money and so many do not have enough to eat. I remember Nablus as a city teeming with people and shops, similar to the Old City of East Jerusalem, Now under curfew it

is like a ghost town—very eerie—because most people are afraid to be out on the streets during curfew. I simply cannot imagine living like this, day after day.

And yet, every day around 4:00 p.m. in this mountainous town, the air cooled, the light turned amber, and almost magically children appeared on rooftops and even in the streets. The sky was full of kites. It was so beautiful—hopeful in a way—and indicative of a high-flying spirit of freedom and resistance that prevails here.

A final memory of hope for me is from the women. Through the hail of bullets and bombs and the obstacles of curfews and closures, the Israeli and Palestinian women are together building a joint women's movement for peace and justice. As my friend Terry Greenblatt of Bat Shalom says, despite our different narratives we come to the table as equals: "we will talk, we will not shoot."

The author is grateful to Lila Abu-Lughod, Donna Spiegelman, Henriette Dahan-Kalev, Donna Spiegelman for helping me make contact with Arab and Jewish peace activists.

A longer version of this article was originally published in Feminist Studies 28 (Summer 2002). Reprinted with permission.

Sharon Groves received her doctorate in English Literature in December 2000 from the University of Maryland. She is currently an editor and managing editor for the journal Feminist Studies and is active in the anti-war movement in the United States.

¹This powerful speech can be viewed in full at www.batshalom.org and is featured in *Off Our Backs* 32 (July-August 2002), 20-23.

²For more information on JCW visit their website at www.j-c-w.org.