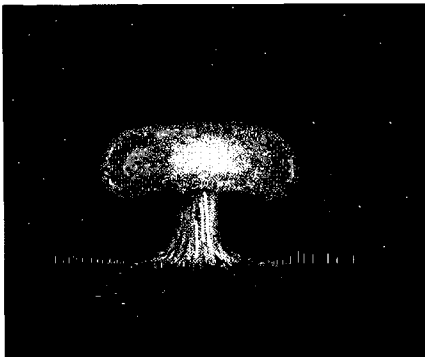


conventions show this, while their innate tendency to appeal to force renders them particularly unfit for the task of government. 2. Because no really manly man wants to settle any question otherwise than by fighting about it. 3. Because man's place is in the Army. 4. Because men will lose their charm if they step out of their natural sphere and interest themselves in other matters than feats of arms, uniforms and drums. 5. Because, if men should adopt peaceable methods, women will no longer look up to them.

This is more than just a clever repartee; it illuminates the symbolic and structural roots of the male domination women are exposing. Many leading advocates of women's rights were pacifists — such as Jane Adams, Sylvia Pankhurst or Clara Meyer-Weichmann. Conversely, men who were opposed to war were often very supportive of women's struggles for personhood and equality. And so it should be. To me the struggle for women's rights and the opposition to militarism in all its forms are two sides of the same coin. And that coin is the promise of a livable future, a future without "aye, aye, Sir, ready Sir," a future without sexist or jingoist stereotypes. If this future is to be realized it must be based on respect and not on domination, and its principles will hold for relations between individuals, between groups and between peoples. I am convinced that, if these goals can not be achieved, there will be no future. Ironically this may be the ultimate "or else."

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Early War Crimes of WWII

by Rosalie Bertell

After Hitler came to power in 1933, the Nazis made the city of Nurnberg the site of their annual party congresses and the capital of their anti-Semitic propaganda. It was here, in 1935, that the Nurnberg Laws were first promulgated, depriving German Jews of civic rights.

It was fitting, therefore, that after the Second World War, Nurnberg was chosen as the seat for the international tribunal on war crimes. At these famous trials the principle was established that the wanton destruction of civilians is a violation of international law, and that individuals may be held responsible for violations of this law even when they are following the orders of their government.

It is also fitting that in February, 1983, another Tribunal was convened in Nurnberg to gather scientific testimony regarding preparations for mass genocide in a nuclear war. Rosalie Bertell, Ph.D., G.N.S.H., was asked to give testimony at these hearings. Her testimony follows.

It is important in these Tribunal deliberations not only to look to the past with remorse and to the future with fear, but also to face the present with honesty, courage and compassion. World War II did not start suddenly with the 1939 outbreak of hostilities. It began for the Jews in 1933. Episodes such as forcing the Jews to clean the streets of Vienna with toothbrushes, an event with evoked laughter from the Viennese spectators, served to prepare the way for the concentration camps and gas chambers.

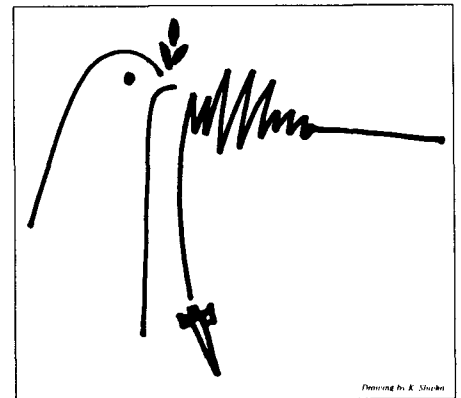
I wish today to publicly expose the brutalization process now taking place in preparation for World War III. Hopefully we will be able to abort the brutalization process, and prevent the further escalation of violence against the people of the earth and the life-supporting earth itself.

Unlimited National Sovereignty Challenged

It is an understatement to say that we live in a time of crisis. A crisis moves inevitably toward *breakdown* or a *breakthrough* to new understanding and behavior. We are at a point of termination of a primitive stage in human development, the stage of national sovereignty. This stage has been characterized by the nation's right over the life and death of its citizens. The right of nations to wage wars, demand military service, give out death sentences and produce weapons of mass destruction has been hardly challenged until recent times. Both war-making between nations and human rights violations within nations employ violence or force as a basis of human relations, and both are being rejected globally as suicidal and counterproductive modes of human behavior.

War-making needs to be relegated to the history books, along with castle-building, fortification of cities, duelling, cannibalism and slavery. The nation's right to destroy its own people or those of other nations for some political advantages is as outrageous today as was the old custom establishing a male's right over the life of his spouse and children.

The crisis caused by national sover-



Drawing by K. Shuckin

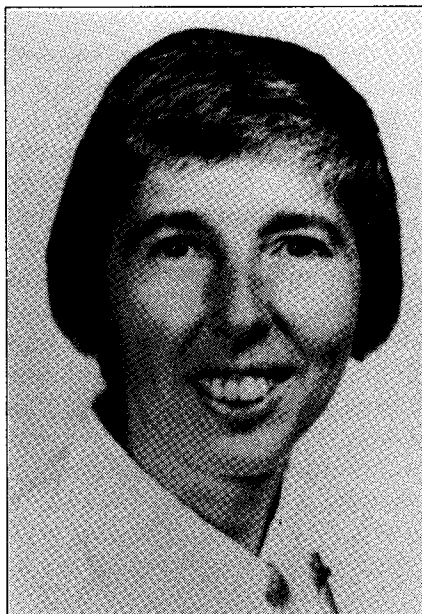
eignty must be resolved by a breakthrough to new modes of interpersonal relations, or a further social breakdown will take place with corresponding anarchistic challenges of authority. Some wish to avert social breakdown by action risking a clash of arms leading to nuclear holocaust, while simultaneously re-asserting the nation's sovereignty. This is hardly an acceptable handling of the situation. It serves merely to delay the crisis.

I would like to place before the Tribunal some examples of the gross violations against their own people perpetrated by nations now preparing for nuclear war. The cases involve French Polynesia, Kwajalein and Eniwetok in the Marshall Islands, and the area near Chelyabinsk, U.S.S.R., in the Ural Mountains. These stories expose some of the early victims of World War III. To ignore their plight is to cooperate with the brutalization process which prepares the world for nuclear holocaust. By so doing, one accepts and cooperates with the assumption that nations have life and death rights over subjects.

Gross Violations Cited

The French have been testing nuclear weapons in French Polynesia since 1966.¹ Last year, in the last of 96 nuclear detonations on the Island of Moruroa, the coral pedestal collapsed causing a major tidal wave, and the Island began to sink into the Pacific Ocean.² France has merely moved its testing program to another island, and is allowing the plutonium and other long-lived fission products to pollute the spawning ground for the Pacific fisheries. The people of Polynesia have never been informed of or protected against the dangers of fall-out from these nuclear tests. The French government has prosecuted Polynesian dissenters, jailing them in France, and three months prior to the beginning of testing they suspended the publication of Polynesian health statistics. Recently France has refused cooperation with the World Health Organization study of cancer in the Pacific Islands.³ It is clear that the human rights, and health, of Polynesians are being sacrificed for France's military program.

The Kwajalein atoll is the testing ground for U.S. missiles. Right now the MX missiles are being fired from the Vandenberg Air Force Base in California



Rosalie Bertell

Photo: NFB

to the atoll, 4,200 miles to the west, to test the accuracy of the system. About 8,000 people from Kwajalein are being forced to live on the 66 acre island called Ebeye. Almost all vegetation on that island has been destroyed and the people are forced to import 95% of their food. About 6,000 Micronesians are living in four-room cinder block apartments, with 30 to 40 per apartment, using one kitchen and bathroom. Another 2,000 Micronesians are homeless, living on the beach in shacks. The lagoon water has a bacteria count about 15,000 times above the World Health Organization's emergency level. There are serious epidemics of TB, malaria, dysentery and other infectious diseases.⁴ The health and life of Kwajalein Islanders is being sacrificed for the U.S. military aims.

Eniwetok is an island of the Marshalls more polluted with radioactive fallout than Bikini. It has been officially declared, by the U.S. Department of Energy, uninhabitable due to radioactive contamination from U.S. weapon testing.⁵ Last summer the people of Eniwetok returned to their island in spite of this prohibition. They had decided that, because of their own experienced ill health, and the birth defects they saw in their children, they were dying off as a people. They wanted to die on their own home island. One woman described the babies as "a bunch of grapes" — no faces and only buds where arms and legs should be. The culture, health and future of these Islanders has been sacrificed for U.S. military aims.

The Soviet Union experienced a major nuclear accident in 1957-58, at its nuclear weapon production facility near Chelyabinsk.⁶ Thousands of people were seriously injured and many died. The victims have not been allowed to contact other radiation victims so that they would have at least this small shred of human comfort in their suffering. Soviet military policy keeps outside concerned persons from assisting these people, from sharing with them the experience of other victims and learning from their tragic experience.

I would like to recruit nurses, doctors, and radiobiologists to go to these places and assist all of these victims. I believe that we must make their plight visible to the people of the world to begin to heal these open sores on the face of the planet, as a prerequisite for peace. I am willing to begin to organize such an effort, but need money and personnel.

More than 1,200 nuclear bombs have already been detonated, and the numbers of victims globally must already be in the range of 17 million. The British have set off bombs in the Christmas Islands and Maralinga, South Australia; China and India have exposed their own citizens to radioactive fallout; and the United States has endangered the whole northern hemisphere with more than 600 nuclear blasts in Nevada. Soviet tests at Novaya Zemlya have endangered the people and fragile life support system of the Arctic region. The Lapps, for example, are estimated to have more nuclear material in their bodies than any other people of the world, with the possible exception of the Pacific people of Bikini and Eniwetok.

Early Victims of WWII

Let me attempt to estimate the numbers of early victims of World War III, beginning with Hiroshima and Nagasaki⁷: 155,521 immediate civilian fatalities; 2,140 pregnant women with their children killed; 400 aborted embryos and fetuses; 147,033 civilians who died between September 1945 and January 1950 from bomb injuries; 1,523 children born with severe congenital malformations; 200 microcephalic and severely mentally retarded children; 1,384 children with milder congenital malformations; 3,500 to 13,500 cancer victims among survivors; 1,000 to 21,600 genetically damaged offspring each generation (after

equilibrium) until death of the family line.

The Hiroshima and Nagasaki victims number about 328,000. Genetically damaged children will continue to be born and in their turn produce damaged offspring for generations to come.

The production and testing of nuclear weapons since 1945⁸ resulted globally in even more deaths and casualties⁹: 1,680,000 to 3,600,000 embryonic, fetal and infant deaths; 1,140,000 to 8,730,000 cancer victims (some of whom die in precancer states); 10,000 to 320,000 children with severe congenital malformations; 2,870,000 to 5,750,000 children with milder congenital malformations; 170,000 to 7,120,000 genetically damaged children each generation (after equilibrium) until death of the family line.

The global victims of fall-out from nuclear testing are estimated to be almost 16 million, with genetic damage being passed on from generation to generation until the family line dies out.

Between 36,700 and 78,300 new victims are generated each year by nuclear weapon production, by the "routine" pollution of the uranium mining and refining, enrichment, nuclear power plants, re-processing, transportation and waste disposal activities.¹⁰ If one posits a gradual increase in level of weapon production from none in 1943 to today's level, this means that the past 40 years of weapon production have caused some 2.3 million radiation victims. This estimate includes the miners and nuclear workers whose radiation related illnesses have never been acknowledged by either governments or industry. Most victims were unaware of the killing substances added to their air, water or food.

Even this list of close to 20 million victims fails to include the hundreds of thousands of people killed in recent wars supported by super-powers desirous of buffer nations or spheres of influence. Hundreds of thousands of others die of hunger and malnutrition because of the inordinate global spending on weapons. Millions are homeless or in need of medical care, education and jobs because of the distorted national preoccupations with war-making.

The prognosis for the world, given this self-destructive and earth-destructive behavior, is poor. As nuclear powers increase their own pollution because of distorted military short-term thinking, the

people of their nations give birth to more physically damaged offspring. These offspring will be less able to cope with the increasingly hazardous environment. Thus a death process is underway, even if there is no catastrophic accident or nuclear holocaust. Just like individual reactions to personal death, so society reacts to species death with the typical stages of: denial, anger, barter and finally, hopefully, realism. For those who have reached the fourth stage there is no more pretense that "things are normal," "the world is enjoying peace," or "one must trust the experts." The stance is to attempt to heal the possibly mortal wounds, or to sit with the dying earth. Honesty is the fundamental medicinal approach.

Healing Actions

Let me suggest a few healing actions which we might promote to relieve the crisis of our time and allow for recovery of the planet and political/social reorganization in non-suicidal directions:

1. We must no longer cooperate with war-making, threats of war and fear of war. Nations must be held accountable to international law, and not allowed to silence internal peaceful dissent or randomly kill their own or other people in the name of "military security."
2. Scientists must be supported economically and humanly, to enable them to reveal the lies and disinformation being publicly condoned to support "military superiority."
3. We must explore the possibility of a new permanent United Nations Non-Governmental Assembly, initially composed of those Non-Governmental Organizations already affiliated with the U.N., and a gradual phase-out of the U.N. Security Council.
4. We must demand that the Statutes of the International Court of Law be amended to recognize international Churches and professional organizations, Non-Governmental Organizations of the United Nations and International Labour Unions as legal persons able to bring suit or be brought to suit before the court, so that we may begin building the infrastructure of a peaceful world.

5. We must begin to creatively build a peaceful, decentralized economy with international rules to govern movement of people, trade and commerce, global currency, environmental protection and peacemaking.

6. We must call upon the United Nations to establish a global public sector or to recognize neutral nations willing to take an oath to work for global good rather than their narrow national advantage. These bodies must supervise the disarmament of the five nuclear nations so that it will proceed swiftly, credibly and reasonably.

7. We must consciously develop feminist principles of consensus decision-making, cooperative interpersonal relations and avoidance of confrontational stances at all political and social levels. This implies national social and political reorganization against lying, social injustice, economic tyranny, human rights violations, and reckless pollution of air, water and land.

8. We can understand the crisis of our time as a death of exaggerated nationalism and the birth of a global community. We can reject fear and choose life!

'Moruroa Mon Amour, by Bengt and Marie-Therese Danielson. Penguin Books. Revised English edition, 1977.

²"Moruroa: the Sore that will not Heal," by Michael Hamel-Green, *Pacific Bulletin*, vol 3, No. 1, January 1983, pp. 7-8.

³"France refuses to provide data on cancer." *The Times*, Tuesday 7 September 1982, Papua New Guinea (p. 5) and "French refuse data on cancer in Pacific," by Stephen Foley. *The Age*, September 2, 1982, Melbourne, Australia (p. 1).

⁴"Kwajalein; Key to First Strike," by Robert Aldridge. *Pacific Bulletin*, Vol. 3, No. 1, January 1983 (pp. 3-6) and "Ebeye: The U.S. Army's Island Ghetto in the Pacific." *Micronesian Support Committee Bulletin*, Vol. 7, No. 1 and 2. Spring/Summer 1982 (pp. 32-33).

⁵"Paradise Lost," by Giff Johnson. *The Bulletin of Atomic Scientist*, December 1980 (pp. 24-29).

⁶*Nuclear Disaster in the Urals*, by Zhores A. Medvedev. Vintage Books, Random House, 1980.

⁷*Hiroshima and Nagasaki: The Physical, Medical and Social Effects of Atomic Bombings*, by the Committee for the Compilation of Materials on Damage Caused by the Atomic Bombs.

⁸A global collective dose of 8×10^8 to 16×10^8 (including carbon 14) has been estimated by UNSCEAR 1977 (9) for the world population from nuclear weapon testing between 1945 and 1976; and *Sources and Effects of Ionizing Radiation*, United Nations Scientific Committee on the Effects of Atomic Radiation, 1977 Report to the General Assembly, with annexes. United Nations, New York, 1977. N.B. This report gives estimates of global nuclear pollution for commercial nuclear industries.

⁹*Risikoorientierte Analyse zum SNR-300*, C.IV, Institute für Energie und Umweltforschung, Heidelberg e.v., August 1982, Table 2-4, Page 2-34, R. Bertell et al. and supporting text (basis of cancer estimates); and Genetic and Teratogenic Effects of Ionizing Radiation, R. Bertell, for: Forschungs- und Entwicklungsvertrag der Zuwendungsempfänger und Auftragnehmer des Bundesministers für Forschung und Technologie. Oko Institute, Freiburg, F.D.R. In Press (Basis for genetics and teratogenic disease estimates).

¹⁰*Sources and Effects of Ionizing Radiation*.

Dr. Rosalie Bertell has done research on the effects of low levels of radiation at the Roswell Park Memorial Cancer Institute in Buffalo, New York. She is a consultant to the U.S. Nuclear Regulatory Commission. She has also done radiation impact studies for the State of Wisconsin and for the Tri-State project related to radioactive waste problems in West Valley, New York. Currently she is involved in research on the health impact of uranium mining and mill tailings on native Americans, and is Director of Research at the International Institute of Concern for Public Health in Toronto. She is the author of *No Immediate Danger? Prognosis for a Radioactive Earth*.

Making Peace with the Environment: Why Ecology Needs Feminism

by Patsy Hallen

*The 'control of nature' is a phrase conceived in arrogance, born of the Neanderthal age of biology and philosophy, when it was supposed that nature exists for the convenience of man. The concepts and practices of applied entomology for the most part date from that Stone Age of science. It is our alarming misfortune that so primitive a science has armed itself with the most modern and terrible weapons, and that in turning them against the insects, it has also turned them against the earth. —Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring**

This paper aspires to illuminate pathways of making peace with the environment. This is not an easy task since everywhere we are so much at war with the earth, from DDT to deforestation, from acid rain to radioactive fallout.

My central thesis is that the current ecological crisis has psychosexual roots. The ecological crisis has many other causes as well (economic and political), but we have underplayed, even ignored

the psychosexual causes until feminist theory invited us to investigate this dimension.¹

The Domination of Nature Spells Destruction. Following feminist writers I will argue that sexism is the expression of a basic psychology of domination and repression. Ecological imbalance is, in part, due to our mistaken belief that we can successfully dominate nature.² So sexism (mind and body pollution) is fundamentally linked to ecological destructiveness (environmental pollution).

I will argue that ecology as a *science* needs feminism to balance a myopic, mechanical world-view which has fundamentally influenced scientific development; ecology as a *life science* needs feminism to reveal how patriarchal thinking contributes to environmental destruction; ecology as a *practice* needs feminism to ensure that shallow ecology is transformed into a deep ecological perspective. The shallow/deep distinction was coined by the Norwegian philoso-



Illustration by Gareth Davies, 15; from *Psychologists for Peace Newsletter*, England