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***WWFOR** seeks to replace violence, war, racism and economic injustice with nonviolence, equality, peace and justice. It links and strengthens FOR members and chapters throughout Western Washington in promoting activities consistent with the national FOR statement of purpose. WWFOR helps members and*

## Beyond Outrage to Outreach: Some Practical Solutions

This year's **Spring Assembly** will be held on Saturday, April 22, 2017 at Fautleroy United Church of Christ, 9140 California Ave SW in West Seattle. We will start at 9:00 am with socializing over coffee, tea, & juice. Program starts at 10:00 am and goes to 3:30 pm.. There will be a lunch. Come help us discuss together and discover healthy and helpful responses to our current troubling political, social, and economic situation.

For more information, contact us at 206-789-5565 or [wwfor@wwfor.org](mailto:wwfor@wwfor.org) after March 15



## Building Powerful Communities: Shattering Oppressive Systems with Love

Join over 200 activists of all ages at the 59th Annual Fellowship of Reconciliation Northwest Regional Conference in a beautiful setting on Hood Canal. It will be held from

Saturday, July 1, 2017 to Tuesday July 4 at the Seabeck Conference Center. There will be talks, workshops, music, boating, swimming, hiking, meals together, talent show, and programs for children and youth. Our keynote speakers:

**Nikkita Oliver**, of Seattle, an anti-racism activist, spoken word artist and lawyer, who has been active in the Black Lives Matter movement and has been a mentor for youth in middle school and in juvenile detention.

**Teresa Raiford**, of Portland, long-time police accountability activist who ran a serious write in campaign for Sheriff of Multnomah County last fall. Her interests include building sustainable movements.

Workshop facilitators will be announced soon. Workshop topics include courageous conversations about race; supporting immigrants in the community and in detention; community between housed and unhoused people; gay/straight, cis/trans community; global community vs. perpetual war; taking care of our activist selves; economic justice; white privilege; restorative justice; climate change and environmental justice; ending the new nuclear arms race; and more.

For more information, contact us at 206-789-5565 or [wwfor@wwfor.org](mailto:wwfor@wwfor.org). Our websites [www.wwfor.org](http://www.wwfor.org) and [www.forseabeck](http://www.forseabeck) will have full details in the coming months.

**The 4 (or 5) Worst Market Failures in Human History**

by Stan Sorscher, first published Sept 4, 2013 in Huffington Post

I'm a capitalist for one reason: to raise living standards in my community. A familiar mantra of capitalism guides me: Markets are powerful and efficient. I'm also a realist, so I temper that mantra: Markets are powerful and efficient. And markets fail. Market failure is an established, well-understood field of study in mainstream economics. Generations of economists accept the basics of market failure. However, American economists turn their heads away at the mention of it, because it sounds like heresy. Consider the four biggest market failures in human history:

- Climate change: \$40 trillion, so far**
- Health care in America: trillions per year, ongoing**
- The housing-financial asset bubble: at least \$8 trillion**
- Free trade: \$8 trillion, so far**

According to the chief economist for the World Bank, Nicholas Stern, **climate change** is the greatest market failure in human history. Greenhouse gas emissions are a classic externality, where everyone on earth subsidizes oil companies and consumers of fossil fuels. Fossil fuels are under-priced by \$40 trillion — a rough estimate of the cost that future generations will pay for damage we're doing to the Earth.

**Health care in America** wastes roughly \$1 trillion per year, compared to other wealthy countries, and the problem is steadily worsening. First, health care is not a market. A market involves buyers and sellers. In American health care, we're not really sure who is a buyer and a seller.

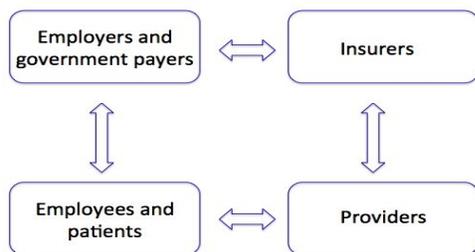


Figure 1: Find the buyer and the seller in American health care.

As a result, market incentives are badly misaligned. Very few patients shop around for deals. After the doctor says the word "cancer," most people lose their shopping instincts.

The **housing and financial asset bubble** is a classic market failure. Mortgage brokers misled home buyers into bad mortgages. Banks bundled unaffordable mortgages into bogus securities and sold them to investors. Rating agencies provided false security to investors. Herd mentality and massive group-think inflated the asset bubble. Losses in housing values alone exceeded \$8 trillion. We should add costs for the recession, millions of foreclosed homes, personal bankruptcies, lost

opportunities, millions of workers unemployed and careers damaged permanently. Markets rewarded bad behavior and punished millions who behaved responsibly.

**Free trade** is a market failure, but it is also an intellectual failure for the economics profession, and a policy failure on the part of elected officials. Our cumulative trade debt since NAFTA is well over \$8 trillion. Our economy is de-industrializing, with thousands of factories closed, millions of jobs lost, and no improvement in sight. Free trade has enjoyed inexplicably unassailable reverence since David Ricardo introduced it in 1817. It was unrealistic in 1817, and it is unrealistic today.

It starts with hopelessly idealized assumptions, applied blindly in the complex global economy, where trading partners and multinational companies exploit those assumptions for their own purposes. We were promised mutual gain, but we suffer huge deficits, concentration of wealth and power among trade's "winners" and loss of bargaining power, de-industrialization and stagnant wages for the rest of us.

If the study of free trade were moved from economics departments in universities to mathematics departments, it would be discredited on logical grounds by the end of the first day. Similarly, its half-life in a physics, astronomy, or chemistry department would be a week or two — the time it would take to send graduates students to the lab to collect data. It is worth noting that conventional free trade theory is considered largely irrelevant in business schools, where students learn the realities of how to move capital and production around the world.

Worse by far, our so-called free trade agreements are really designed to protect and enrich global companies. These agreements toss aside democratic checks and balances, weaken civil society and erode the middle class. Under the right conditions, markets will, in fact, produce broad-based well-being. In 1776, Adam Smith argued that beneficial market control occurred when merchants in the village were personally connected to the well-being of their neighbors, who lived and shopped in the village. Social and economic cohesion would prevent market failure. But globalization, as we've managed it, de-couples modern corporate decision-makers from any obligation or connection to communities anywhere.

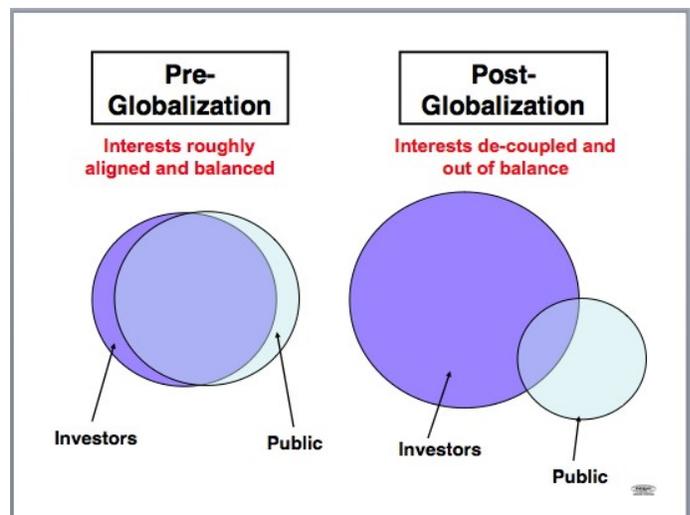


Figure 2. Globalization de-couples investor interests from public interests.

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The test of a market economy is whether it raises living standards. We fail that test when we look at growing inequality and reduced career prospects for the next generations of Americans. As a society, [we have stopped sharing the gains from productivity and trade](#). Almost [all new income goes to the top 1 percent](#) — more than \$1 trillion per year. Some economists object that inequality is beyond the narrow scope of economics, so it's not "really" a market failure. Granted, our looming inequality has broad dimensions — social, political and moral, as well as economic.

However, when economists duck responsibility for inequality, they are really acknowledging that free markets and free trade will predictably create inequality, without strong intervention in the form of public policy and social values. That sounds like market failure to me.

Here's the take-away message. The narrow orthodoxy of free markets and free trade says that markets will solve all our problems, and government intervention is bad. Look at politics in America, today. Unfortunately, the real world is a very large system with many interacting forces and interests. Markets fail. A legitimate purpose of public policy is to intervene in markets to prevent market failure. [Public policy has a necessary role](#) in protecting the environment, human rights, labor rights, education and public health, managing growth, regulating markets, and managing global trade. That's capitalism for realists.

**Stan Sorscher** Labor Representative, Society for Professional Engineering Employees in Aerospace

**Haiku on peace and justice** by Ruth Yarrow

Ruth Yarrow has been writing haiku for 40 years. As we know, she has also been an activist for peace and justice. Published below are several of her haiku poems related to justice and peace. The haiku reader is invited into the writer's world with only a few spare words, and is given the chance to resonate with the moment in their own way.

food bank line  
a pigeon picks up crumbs  
too small to see

candle light march  
the night before the war  
wax congeals on asphalt

against the wind  
we hold the peace banner  
our spines straighten

I send a fax  
protesting the bombing  
pages come out hot

**Protest Works; Resistance Works Better**

review of [Hell No: The Forgotten Power of the Vietnam Peace Movement](#) (2017) by Tom Hayden

by John M Repp

Tom Hayden was the primary author of the Port Huron Statement, the 1962 political manifesto of Students for a Democratic Society - SDS. He was one of the defendants in the Chicago 7 conspiracy trial of 1970 where anti-war activists were arrested and charged for what later was determined to be a "police riot" at the 1968 Democratic National Convention. Sadly, Hayden died in October 2016. We could use his wisdom now.

He wrote [Hell No](#) out of concern that the role Vietnam peace movement played in the history of our country was being forgotten, after having seen the timeline put up by the Pentagon on a website "commemorating" the Vietnam war. Considering the role played by Tom Hayden in the movement, the book should be considered almost like a primary source. Unfortunately, there are some factual errors. Why didn't Yale University Press do fact-checking? The book rambles and is not chronological, but Hayden reveals facts about the Vietnam era not widely known.

For example: "At least 29 young Americans were killed while protesting the war." (p.19) Eight Americans self-immolated. (pp. 37-38) "The FBI assigned 20,000 full-time agents to monitor the activities of protestors and....at least an equal number of informers" and "twenty federal agencies, including the U.S. army, gathered political dossiers on 18 million civilians." (p. 38) "...more than half the American soldiers killed in Vietnam were African American, Puerto Rican, Mexican American, Native American, or Asian American." (p.45) "...in August 1968, mostly black troops from the First Armored Division called an all-night protest against orders to move into Chicago with live ammunition to quell the demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention. Forty-three of them were court-martialed at Fort Hood." (p.48)

Hayden wants us to know that the movement made difference. Protest works. The fear of politicians and the Pentagon of using large numbers of ground troops in foreign intervention remains. Maybe the exception was George W. Bush's invasion of Iraq. But the dreaded by conservatives "Vietnam syndrome" has now morphed, post-Obama into a preference for air power, drones, and Special Forces, even with the all-volunteer force.

Unlike the civil rights movement or the feminist movement, today the Vietnam peace movement is not honored. Many of its activists and participants thought for years afterward that the movement was not successful. It was so split between factions, encouraged by infiltrators, it never was able to unify. I was active in the student phase which seemed to peter out in Seattle after May 1970. I thought "we lost". I did not know at the time what was happening inside the army (see below).

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For years, the Vietnam War seemed to be a stalemate. As American troop numbers increased, Vietnamese resistance increased. Hayden compares the effect of the Vietnam peace movement to the effect of the black slaves during the U.S. Civil War. In refusing to cooperate with the slave masters and many running away to join the Federal troops, the blacks turned the tide in the U.S. civil war.

The mainstream view is the war was stopped because Nixon and Kissinger decided to withdraw troops. But several official policy papers said the army and eventually the United States would “collapse” if the war continued. That forced the hand of the political elites. Hayden uses the idea of a “general strike” to explain what happened. It is not the usual idea of a general strike, when thousands of organized workers stop work at the same time. Hayden defines it as “rather a widespread refusal on the part of vast numbers of people to any longer take part in the usual habits of daily life, instead withdrawing their participation in the regnant political culture” (pp.23-24) manifested in many creative ways.

The movement started as a student movement with teach-ins in 1964. The movement asserted that the Vietnamese were “revolutionary nationalists” who wanted to be free first of French domination and later American domination. The movement broke with the idea that the war was about “a global communist threat” and “falling dominoes.”

In April 1965, SDS organized the largest peace march ever up to that time in Washington D.C. By today standards it was small, only about 25,000. But each spring and fall, ever larger marches were organized. In November 1969, 500,000 marched in D. C. Draft resistance started early. Thousands burned their draft cards. The total number of American citizens who moved to Canada due to their opposition to the war was estimated to range from 50,000 to 125,000. The government eventually imprisoned 3,250 draft resisters

The movement was mostly but not completely nonviolent. Before the Weather Underground was even formed, there were 84 antiwar bombings or arson attacks in just the first six months of 1969. That sabotage slowed down the momentum of the movement.

“Every time they burn another building,” said one Nixon administration official in 1970, “Republican registration goes up.” And many years later, the Weatherman leader Mark Rudd said about his organization’s role in destroying SDS “If I had been an FBI agent, I couldn’t have done it any better.” (<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/feb/12/hell-no-review-tom-hayden-vietnam-protests-trump-resistance> )

In May 1970, after Nixon’s invasion of Cambodia, 4 million high school and college students went on strike, shutting down 800 educational institutions, some for the rest of the year. In May 1971, 12,614 people were arrested in D.C. after thousands shut down the government by clogging the streets of Washington.

The movement had two “fronts”, the civilian/student

front and the army/military front. By 1970, the power of the movement was manifest in the breakdown of the army. During the whole era, 40,000 enlisted military personnel deserted. 500 officers were killed by fragmentation grenades thrown by one of their own soldiers. In Vietnam, the troops were not following orders, no longer wanted to engage the enemy, would rather go out into the bush, hide from their officers, and smoke weed. John Pilger reported in 1970 on the breakdown of army discipline in Vietnam in a 27 minute video called “The Quiet Mutiny”. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l-eVbJbgUpE>

“Truth, it is said, is war’s first casualty. Memory is its second.” Hayden wrote on page 17. As we search for ways to resist the **illegitimate**\* election of Trump and the Republican Congress, we can draw ideas and inspiration from the Vietnam peace movement. For that reason, at least the activists who are not of the “Vietnam generation, might consider reading Hell No .

\*I consider the election of Trump and the Republican Congress **illegitimate** because of the gerrymandering in Republican controlled states in 2010 as well as the various voter suppression efforts carried out in the Republican controlled states.

On the gerrymandering of 2010 and the Republican Congress: <http://billmoyers.com/story/real-way-2016-election-rigged/>

On the effect of voter suppression on the 2016 election: <https://thinkprogress.org/2016-a-case-study-in-voter-suppression-258b5f90ddcd#.l65y8hreh>



The logo of the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons

<http://www.icanw.org/>