



# Nebraska Report

*There is no Peace without Justice*

MARCH 2003

VOLUME 31, NUMBER 3

## Dr. Helen Caldicott Warns 2003 Annual Peace Conference of

# THE NEW NUCLEAR DANGER



In addition to delivering the keynote address at the Annual Peace Conference, Dr. Helen Caldicott spoke at the noon anti-war rally on the campus of Nebraska Wesleyan University in Lincoln on February 15.

by Bud Narveson

Legendary peace and environmental activist Dr. Helen Caldicott told the 2003 Annual Peace Conference that the world is in a more dangerous position today than it was 20 years ago when Ronald Reagan was in his first term as president and the Nuclear Freeze movement was at its height. Speaking from the very same pulpit at First United Methodist Church that she had spoken from the last time she was in Lincoln back in 1983, Dr. Caldicott delivered the keynote speech on the subject of her new book, "The New Nuclear Danger". The February 15 event was co-sponsored by Nebraskans for Peace, the UNO School of Social Work and Nebraska United Methodist congregations and institutions. A winter snowstorm unfortunately kept away many of the record 275 people who had registered in advance, but for those who could make it, it was a remarkable educational opportunity. The following summary touches on the main points of her address.

In the early '90s, Caldicott said, George Bush the First actually lessened the nuclear threat facing the planet by removing nukes from South Korea and from U.S. naval ships. But when President Clinton took office, she stated, his lack of military experience and Democratic Party label were a political liability that made him vulnerable and timid. Although he said the right things, he never had the courage carry through and repeatedly failed to stand up to his

Chiefs of Staff, who saw their opportunity to strengthen the already mighty U.S. military. This compulsion to make war, the Australian pediatrician asserted, is biologically embedded in the minds of men. Under Clinton, the Pentagon went through a "Nuclear Posture Review," but nothing changed. The architects of the U.S. military posture went ahead with their plans, which, she said, are the acting out of the childhood neuroses of clinically sick people, for whom civilian deaths are sanitized as "collateral damage".

Right-wing think tanks, funded by military contractors and defense corporations, are advertising agencies for the military-industrial complex, Caldicott explained. The Heritage Foundation, for example, drafts programs for the current Bush Administration, which has in its top echelons 32 members from the arms industry. President Bush Jr. talks of compassion, she said, but inside his velvet glove is the iron fist of the military machine led by people such as Vice President Dick Cheney and Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, who in her medical judgment fit the clinical definition of psychopaths.

War today, Caldicott stated, is not soldiers killing soldiers—but bombers killing civilians. These weapons are dropped from 40,000 feet, where the men dropping them are sanitized from witnessing the effects of what they are doing. The Pentagon is

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## Nebraska Report

The *Nebraska Report* is published nine times annually by Nebraskans for Peace. Opinions stated do not necessarily reflect the views of the directors or staff of Nebraskans for Peace.

*Newspaper Committee: Tim Rinne, Editor*

*Sarah Disbrow, Bud Narveson, Byron Peterson, Charlie Flowerday*

*Typesetting and Layout: Ben Knauss*

*Printing: Fremont Tribune*

*Circulation: 6,500*

Letters, articles, photographs and graphics are welcomed. Deadline is the first of the month for publication in the following month's issue. Submit to: *Nebraska Report*, c/o Nebraskans for Peace, 941 'O' Street, Suite 1026, Lincoln, NE 68508. E-mail: [nfpstate@aol.com](mailto:nfpstate@aol.com)

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# Tributes to the 2003 Peacemakers of the Year

## Peg Gallagher

For your unending hard work and dedication to Peace...  
for your help to everyone who needs it... family, friends, total strangers...  
for your support of all who engage in the hard work of Peace and justice...  
for standing on the corner in all weather with flag and peace sign...  
for tutoring inmates at the Douglas County jail...  
for being the first woman to own her own real estate agency in Nebraska...  
for organizing three Interfaith prayer services to oppose war...  
for your ability to find grace and to be graceful in joyous moments, in hardship, in strife...  
for your tenacity and determination...  
for the hours you have spent on the telephone and the letters you have written for peace...  
for your delight in the good and beautiful, and your outrage at evil...  
for your light, at this time of darkness, with gratitude and deep appreciation...  
We congratulate you, Peg Sheehan Fitzgerald Gallagher, on receiving a 2003 Peacemaking Award.

—Marylyn Felion

## Dwight Dell

Dwight Dell at 90 represents peace—with his God, with the environment and with all things living. At 90, he still does his daily farm chores, his face ruddy, his back straight and his eyes blue with determination.

Like his father who opposed World War I and refused to be silenced when his neighbors advised it, he has spoken out always. He has been the bridge between us in NFP and such peacemakers as Norris and Bryan of the early twentieth century. Surviving the poverty of the 30s with hard farm labor at home and on the farms where he was a hired farm worker, he became, during World War II, one with the Nebraska clergy who opposed that war. During Korea, he ran a statewide campaign for the U.S. Senate on an antiwar ticket. When Abraham Muste organized against Nebraska's—the nation's first—ICBMs, Dwight helped him to speak out. And when Vietnam came, he became a founding member of Nebraskans for Peace.

Dwight's peace work is a lifetime—from WWII until now. He has spoken out against every war, including the first Gulf War and now against the second. Indeed, Dwight's lifetime work includes a stance toward everything living. Peace for Dwight has meant reverence for all life and for the possibilities in all human beings. He furnished the executed Robert Williams his final resting place. At 88, he demonstrated at Whiteclay against the state's poisoning of the Lakota. His reverence for life, across the decades, enabled him—with his wife—to create a beautiful farm, rear strong children, and found important natural resource and watershed districts. He is, as Stephen Spender puts it, one of "those who are truly great": as Spender also says "Born of the sun (in this case the sun of Nebraska corn fields), he has traveled a short while toward the sun/And has signed the vivid air with his honour."

—Paul Olson

## Terry Werner

Terry, you have been a member of Nebraskans for Peace since the 1970s.

With this 2003 Peacemaker Award, we want to acknowledge that you, Terry Werner, have made a difference for Peace and Justice. You have addressed controversial issues straightforwardly, with courage, even when sharply criticized.

Only two years ago you began serving on the Lincoln City Council. During this time, you have been clear and consistent in your strong opposition to the proposed war on Iraq. You overcame the restrictive, traditional roles of the City Council by introducing a resolution for a moratorium on the death penalty which the council passed 4-3. When persons initiated a petition drive for your recall because of your stand on the death penalty, you did not compromise nor shrink away. You did what you thought was right. You stood with members of Nebraskans for Peace in front of the City County building to denounce the institutional violence that United States was inflicting on Afghanistan in the name of stopping terrorism.

Thank you, Terry.

—Don Tilley

# THE NEW NUCLEAR DANGER

## conclusion

even perfecting chemicals to cause them to forget the devastation of what they have done.

Included among the weapons used in the War in Afghanistan, she noted, were cluster bombs made up of hundreds of “bomblets” that shower deadly shrapnel over a vast area. Up to 30 percent of these bomblets fail to explode when dropped. The size of soft drink cans, they become landmines and lie about to tempt children to pick them up, at which time they explode with deadly effect.

Another of the weapons the U.S. military employed was the 15-thousand-pound “daisy cutter”. This bomb, she explained, disperses an aerosol solution through the atmosphere which is then ignited, creating a massive blast followed by a vacuum so powerful that at long distances away people’s lungs collapse and their eyeballs pop out of their heads.



*Dr. Helen Caldicott*

U.S. artillery shells, Caldicott continued, are now regularly made of depleted uranium that is 1.7 times denser than lead, and thus efficient for piercing armor and reinforced concrete. Depleted uranium, however, is radioactive. In southern Iraq, she noted, where this material was used during the 1991 Persian Gulf War, children are getting cancer at seven times the normal rate and there is a heightened incidence of congenital deformities of all kinds. Babies are being born with one eye, with no brains. U.S. veterans of that war have radioactive urine; their children will be deformed. U.S.

soldiers who were stationed in Kosovo, where many of these weapons were also employed, are developing cancer at abnormal rates.

As if these conventional weapons were not horrendous enough, the U.S., she said, is now contemplating the use of low-yield nuclear weapons, such as the “Robust Earth Penetrator”, designed to explode deep within the earth. Whereas past policy was to threaten use of nuclear weapons only against nations that also had nuclear arms, the new policy threatens “first use” even against nations without nuclear arms.

We, as human beings, Caldicott reminded the audience, are the curators of life on this earth. The \$400 billion the U.S. annually spends on its military machine could pay for a universal health care program for all its citizens. Instead, doggedly persisting in this self-destructive behavior, the United States remains the only industrialized nation in the world that does not provide universal coverage for its people.

This same distorted sense of priorities, she stated, is behind the Bush Administration’s obsession about war with Iraq. The U.S. is actively bribing nations to side with it in its stance toward the Iraqi government, but still most of the world, including China, Russia, and France, is against war. The U.S. case for war against Iraq, Caldicott said, is pure invention. Iraq has no weapons of mass destruction. The U.S. though has them in quantity—and is making more. Why should the U.S. insist on inspections in Iraq, she wanted to know, but itself be exempt from inspections? Although she acknowledged that war almost inevitable, a pre-emptive attack on Iraq by the U.S., she said, will be a flat-out breach of international law and effectively cast the United States as a rogue state in the world community. More than that, however, Caldicott said, the U.S.’s deliberate abrogation of rule of law will undermine the legitimacy and integrity of all international treaties, conventions and protocols governing the use of nuclear weapons—pushing the world to the nuclear brink.

What is it then, she asked, that is driving Bush—in alliance with advisors such as Paul Wolfowitz, Richard Perle and others in his inner circle—to want war with Iraq? It is a belief of right-wing, fundamentalist Christians that reestablishment of Jewish rule in the Holy Land is a prerequisite for the Second Coming of Christ and establishment of the Millennium. These Christians, of whom Bush is one, want to

hasten Armageddon by aiding the Israelis in their efforts to remove the Palestinians from all of the land west of the Jordan. Zionist Jews such as Wolfowitz and Perle, Caldicott said, are perfectly happy to exploit this fundamentalist Christian belief to shape the Bush policies toward Israel and against the Palestinians.

There is in fact, she stated, an ultimate religious issue related to the dangers of nuclear war: Will humans destroy creation? With several thousand nuclear weapons on hair-trigger alert in both the U.S. and Russia, we are always only three minutes away from a nuclear exchange. Accidents happen. In the 1990s, she reported, a U.S. missile fired off the coast of Norway triggered an alarm that brought the Russians within ten seconds of initiating a nuclear exchange. The hand on the Doomsday Clock to pointing closer and closer to midnight. And yet, she said, the Bush White House

continues to casually abrogate and violate the very international arms control agreements—created over decades—that have staved off this danger.

Because the media are silent about the risks of nuclear war, Caldicott has established the Nuclear Policy Research Institute, in hopes of countering the influence of the right-wing think tanks. Citizen activism, she reminded the audience, can still enable us to avert the nuclear danger. The massive demonstrations of the Nuclear Freeze movement persuaded Ronald Reagan to meet with Mikhail Gorbachev in Iceland, where—had their military advisors not intervened—they might have abolished nuclear weapons outright. Although that proposal unfortunately came to nothing, people in the U.S., she says, can rise up just as they did in the ’80s. Her goal is to end the nuclear age in five years.

*Contributions to the Nebraska Peace Foundation are tax-deductible & won't finance the upcoming War on Iraq*

# A Year of Atonement for Whiteclay



Four people participated in the panel discussion sponsored by UNL Department of Anthropology and Geography. Pictured from left to right are Col. Tom Nesbitt of the Nebraska State Patrol, Vernon Bellecourt of the American Indian Movement, Byron Peterson of Nebraskans for Peace and Frank LaMere of Earth Energy & Environment.

On Nebraska Statehood Day, March 1, at the state capital, the American Indian Movement (A.I.M.) and Nebraskans for Peace joined together to inaugurate “A Year of Atonement” for the abuse and exploitation the State of Nebraska is perpetuating against the Lakota people at Whiteclay. Returning to Lincoln for the first time since the Wounded Knee trials in 1975, A.I.M. leaders put state officials on notice that they had “one year” to permanently resolve the situation in Whiteclay. If at the end of that time, state government has failed to take action to address the problems there, A.I.M. leader Vernon Bellecourt promised that the American Indian Movement would return to Lincoln to stay and elevate the human rights violations in Whiteclay to the status of a national and international issue.

The day’s activities began with a panel discussion—hosted by the UNL Department of Anthropology and Geography and moderated by Professor Robert Hitchcock—on the subject of “What Should Be Done about Whiteclay?” at the UNL Student Union before an audience of 200 people. Following the two-hour discussion, Winnebago Tribe member Frank LaMere of Earth Energy & Environment led the crowd in a march to the Governor’s Mansion for a rally in front of the home of the person ultimately responsible for state government’s inaction—Governor Mike Johanns. The day-long event concluded with a special screening (courtesy of the Mary Riepma Ross Media Arts Center and its director Dan Ladely) of the movie “SKINS” and panel discussion by Indian representatives from around the region on the significance of this powerful film, which was shot in Whiteclay.



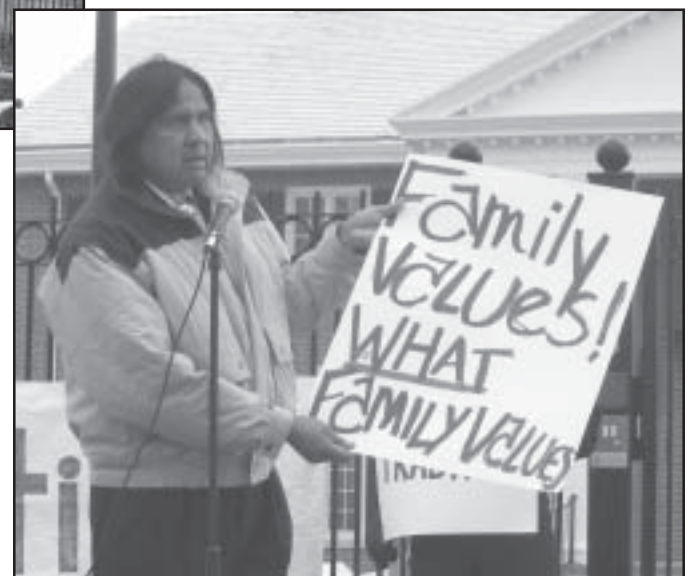
All of the Statehood Day activities inaugurating “The Year of Atonement” were timed to coincide with the start of legislative hearings on the three “Whiteclay-related bills” (LB 426, LB 523 and LB 691) held the first two weeks of March. The occasion not only provided *us* with the best opportunity we, in Nebraska, have ever had to draw attention to the appalling conditions in Whiteclay. It provided Governor Johanns and Nebraska Legislature an opportunity—during this session—to honorably resolve this shameful situation during this “Year of Atonement”. This photo essay documents some key moments of this remarkable event.



More than 150 people marched from the UNL Student Union through downtown to the Governor’s Mansion for a public rally on the Whiteclay issue. NFP President Carol McShane



restated for the record that the organization will not drop the Whiteclay issue until the State of Nebraska upholds its own laws. Vernon Bellecourt linked Whiteclay alcohol sales to chemical warfare against the Lakota people and spoke forcefully against the war in Iraq.



Winnebago Tribe member Frank LaMere served as the emcee at the rally and challenged Governor Johanns’ alleged commitment to “family values”, given the lawlessness in Whiteclay and the devastation that alcohol is wreaking on the families of the Pine Ridge Reservation.

# The Whiteclay Lawsuit

*Most Nebraskans, we imagine, are by now aware of the state's long-standing alcohol trade in Whiteclay. It is, as the sign on the accompanying page so sadly notes, "A Nebraska Tradition" stretching back 99 years to the turn of last century. And yet, we suspect, the overwhelming majority of the people of this state is unaware that, from 1882 to 1904, Whiteclay and a 50-square-mile area five miles to the east, five miles to the west and five miles to the south of the town were legally part of the Pine Ridge Reservation and even regarded as South Dakota territory.*

*The tradition of white Nebraskans exploiting Indians from the Pine Ridge Reservation through the sale of alcohol in Whiteclay goes back to the late 1870s when the Pine Ridge Agency was first established. Gun running and whiskey peddling by white "undesirables" had become so rampant that the Indian Agent of the time, Valentine McGillicuddy, prevailed upon President Chester Arthur in 1882 to issue an executive order creating a 50-square-mile 'buffer zone' around Whiteclay, in which the sale of alcohol was prohibited. This five-by-ten-mile strip of land immediately south of the reservation border was withdrawn from sale to the public in Nebraska and added to the Great Sioux Reservation. Seven years later, the legislative branch of government codified this new boundary into law with an 1889 Act of Congress. For 22 years, from 1882 to 1904, the Indian agents reported little or no trouble with intoxicating liquor on the reservation.*

*In January 1904, however, probably under pressure from white settlers and liquor interests, President Teddy Roosevelt issued an executive order returning the 50-square-mile buffer zone to public domain in Nebraska. The sale of alcohol was resumed in Whiteclay and has served as a source of affliction for the Lakota people ever since (not counting the Prohibition years of 1920-1933).*

*Later this month, former Oglala Sioux Tribal President and former South Dakota State Senator Johnson Holy Rock and co-plaintiff Frank Running Shield will file suit against the State of Nebraska in federal court in Omaha over what they affirm was an illegal transfer of this buffer zone back to the state. Arguing that a presidential executive order cannot override an Act of Congress, the two men believe that for 99 years the State of Nebraska has illegally held—and profited from—the land on which the unincorporated village of Whiteclay currently sits. The following statement, by Frank Running Shield and Dolores Collins-Running Shield, documents the legal basis for this case that could have far-reaching consequences for state government.*

The 50-square-mile addition to the Pine Ridge Reservation was created by Executive Order of President Chester A. Arthur on January 24, 1882. An Act of the 50<sup>th</sup> Congress, Session II, Chapter 405, 25 Statute 888-899, established the permanent boundary of the Pine Ridge Reservation and **included** in that land mass the 50-square-mile addition. Further, a Proclamation by President Benjamin J. Harrison, 26 Statute 1554, February 10, 1890, declared that the Act of the 50<sup>th</sup> Congress to be in full force and effect and again established the 50-square-mile addition as included within the boundary of the Pine Ridge Reservation.

In 1934, the Constitution and By-Laws for the Oglala Sioux Tribe were written by Fred Daiker, Office of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., and Felix Cohen, Assistant Solicitor for the Department of Interior, in which they state: "The jurisdiction of the Oglala Sioux Tribe of Indians shall extend to the territory of the original confines of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, as defined by the Act of March 02, 1889, 25 Statute 888-899. At that time, the United States government itself **DID NOT** refer to, or acknowledge, the two Executive Orders of President Theodore Roosevelt, and accepted as law of the land the two statutes enacted by Congress.

The two Executive Orders issued by President Theodore Roosevelt—January 26, 1904 and February 20, 1904—stating that the 50-square miles of land was returned to the public domain are unconstitutional and void. We cite the separation of powers in the Constitution of the United States. No president has the power to change any statute enacted by the Congress of the United States by issuing an Executive Order. Can you imagine the chaos in our government if this were possible? Only Congress has the power to change the existing border of the Pine Ridge Reservation and this has never been done. To this day, the 50 square miles of land is legally part of the Pine Ridge Reservation.

For the past century, the State of Nebraska has been running illegal operations on land that belongs to an Indian Reservation and subject to the protection of the United State government. Nebraska has opened itself up to a magnitude of tort claims on behalf of the Oglala Sioux Indian people. Nebraska continues to refuse to act honorably on this issue and peacefully withdraw from reservation land, and therefore will now be facing legal action in the United States Federal Courts.

Frank Running Shield  
Dolores Collins-Running Shield  
February 17, 2003

## Testimony in Support of the Indian Commission

*Earlier this session, as part of a 'cost-saving' measure, the Legislature's Appropriations Committee proposed that the four so-called "advocacy commissions"—the Equal Opportunity Commission, the Commission on the Status of Women, the Mexican-American Commission and the Indian Commission—be de-funded or eliminated outright. NFP State Board member Paul Olson testified at the February public hearing to voice his opposition to this short-sighted proposal. At press time, the fate of the commissions is still unclear, and the Appropriations Committee still needs to hear from the public. As Paul notes, "The budget of the Indian Commission is under \$200,000; the budget of all of the commissions is a pittance. The effort to take away their money is not a gesture to save money. It is a gesture to crush the poor and the oppressed of the state even more than they are crushed now. Were we to wish to save money, we would abolish LB 775 and collect taxes from some affluent sources. I would hope that everyone would call or write their member of the Appropriations Committee about the effort to abolish the commissions." The members of the Appropriations Committee are: Roger Wehrbein (chair), Dwite Pedersen (vice chair), Chris Beutler, Jim Cudaback, Pat Engel, Lowen Kruse, Marian Price, John Synowiecki and Nancy Thompson.*

In the early 1970s, I wrote the Indian Commission statute in nearly its present form at the request of Mr. Leonard Springer, vice chair of the Omaha tribe and national president of the Native American Church. Governor Tiemann had created the commission by executive order as part of his general effort to create a more just society in Nebraska. At the time that the commission was created, it was not uncommon to see restaurants and retail outlets with the sign "No Indians or dogs allowed," and Lakota people were dying at an average age of 37 in the west of our state while eastern Nebraska First People were dying in their 40s. White Nebraskans were living to about 70.

Neither Mr. Springer nor I nor the legislators that pushed the bill conceptualized the Indian Commission as an advocacy agency. It was to assist state government with negotiating the welter of overlapping and contradictory treaties, customary rights, service programs, policy jurisdictions and funding streams that affect Native American citizens of this state. It has done this consistently since and prevented problems that would have cost the State of Nebraska both money and reputation. For example, when many of the Wounded Knee trials were located in Nebraska, the Nebraska Indian Commission assisted in communicating between the groups claiming sovereign treaty rights and local and state officials. When anger was building in the Indian community about the desecration of Indian graves, the commission assisted the state in devising legislation that has been model legislation nationwide. When the University of Nebraska had lost credibility with the tribes because of its handling of certain burial issues, the commission assisted the university in setting up a task force to regain credibility. When the State of Nebraska needed the cooperation of the Otoe-Missouri Tribe for its Lewis and Clark celebration—one that will bring in millions to the state, commission personnel obtained that cooperation. The commission has never stood for special privilege for Indian people; it can hardly be accused of that, for though most of Nebraska was given by the several nineteenth-century Indian treaties to the local tribes, the Indian counties in this state are now among the poorest in the nation. No Native American sits in your body.

The Indian Commission has stood for enforcing of law, the negotiation of differences among sovereign powers and respect for human dignity. Such a stand is needed as we now stand at the threshold of another period of difficult times in Indian Country. I predict that you will spare this state much evil and much expense if you keep this structure intact. We are not so poor as a state government that we cannot attempt to keep the mechanisms of justice alive.

I could say the same thing for the Commission on the Status of Women and the Mexican American Commission.

# America's Purpose

## by U.S. Senator Chuck Hagel

*Nebraskans for Peace and Sen. Chuck Hagel have not always seen eye-to-eye on the issues since his election to the U.S. Senate in 1996. Early on we lauded his support for Senate ratification of the Chemical Weapons Convention in 1998, but were aghast at his opposition to the Kyoto Protocol to slow the impact of Global Warming. We have differed with him on Campaign Finance Reform and President Bush's budget priorities. But we have nothing but unqualified admiration for the courageous (and lonely) role he has taken over the need for war with Iraq. Time and again (when no Democrat has had the will to do it), the Nebraska Republican has bucked his own party leadership to challenge the Bush Administration's headlong and headstrong rush to war. His calls for diplomacy, for working in coalition, for time to let the inspections work, for an honest assessment of the economic and political consequences of waging this war in the Muslim world have set him apart from virtually all of his Senate colleagues. But it was the Alf Landon Lecture he delivered at Kansas State University this past February 20 that cogently laid out the diplomatic blueprint our government needs to be adhering to at this critical moment. Except for some minor excisions, we are reprinting the entire text, and sorely wish that it was required reading for everyone in government service.*

Allow me to begin my lecture by recalling a speech at a midwestern college at another critical time in our history. Almost 57 years ago, on March 5, 1946, at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri, not far from here, Winston Churchill, with President Harry Truman at his side, gave one of the greatest speeches of our time. The speech's power and majesty are not limited to time and place, although Churchill's warning of a Soviet "Iron Curtain" in Europe vividly captured the Communist threat of that era. That day in Fulton, Churchill also conveyed something unique and special about America's role in the world. He said:

"... The United States stands at this time at the pinnacle of world power. It is a solemn

moment for the American democracy. For with this primacy in power is also joined an awe-inspiring accountability to the future. As you look around you, you must feel not only the sense of duty done, but also you must feel anxiety lest you fall below the level of achievement. Opportunity is here now, clear and shining, for both our countries. To reject it or ignore it or fritter it away will bring upon us all the long reproaches of the aftertime."

With new eras come new challenges, and today America again stands at a pinnacle of power and again bears a heavy burden for securing a better tomorrow, for our citizens and for all the peoples of the world. At this critical juncture, the success of our actions will be determined not by the extent of our power, but by an appreciation of its limits. America must approach the world with a sense of purpose in world affairs that is anchored by our ideals, a principled realism that seeks not to re-make the world in our image, but to help make a better world.

We must avoid the traps of hubris and imperial temptation that comes with great power. Our foreign policy should reflect the hope and promise of America tempered with a mature wisdom that is the mark of our national character. In this new era of possibilities and responsibilities, America will require a wider lens view of how the world sees us, so that we can better understand the world, and our role in it.

Just as Churchill pointed out in 1946, when historic opportunities for leadership are before us, they cannot be rejected, ignored, or frittered away. There would have been grave consequences for the world if America had shrunk from her responsibilities in 1946, as there will be grave consequences if America shrinks from today's challenges. We stand today on the verge of military conflict in Iraq and a long-term engagement with the Middle East that

offers as much peril as promise. We also face an urgent threat from North Korea, and the potential for nuclear war between India and Pakistan. The AIDS epidemic in Africa, Russia and Asia poses one of the most deadly and urgent threats to all humanity. And we cannot overlook our own hemisphere, where Colombia and Venezuela face continued violence and instability.

The complexities of an interconnected world give us little margin for error in

wheels of history go around. It is the sort of enlightened selfishness that wins victories. Do you know why? Because we cannot live in the world alone, without friends and without allies."

Then as now, the serious obligations of world leadership come with a price. Bearing the burdens and costs of leadership in defeating global terrorism, countering proliferation by nations and terrorist networks, and ending poverty and hunger in the world are investments in our own security, as well as in the stability and security of the world. Security at home cannot be separated from dangers abroad.

The war against international terrorism and its sponsors is a war unlike any we have ever known. There is no battlefield, no clash of armies. It is a war fought in the shadows and recesses of the world. Terrorism breeds among the hopeless and the alienated, in societies where democracy and economic opportunity are out of reach for most people. Military power alone will not end this scourge of mankind. Victory will require extensive international cooperation in the intelligence, economic, diplomatic, law enforcement and humanitarian fields. It will require a seamless network of cooperation between America and her allies.

Terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction are the enemies of all peoples—not just Americans. We

must build relationships upon this common denominator of common interests. America cannot defeat terrorism alone.

America's ability to build lasting and flexible coalitions will be the measure of our success, the only assured means of long-term security for future generations. As we consider our next steps in Iraq, we cannot lose sight of the wider lens view of what is before us, that this is about much more than Iraq. We are setting the tone for America's role in the world for the next decade and beyond. At this critical time, our policies



# e in the World

# huck Hagel

and our rhetoric should not create distance between America and her allies. If that is the price of waging war in Iraq, then victory, in the long run, in the war on terrorism, in the Middle East, on the Korean peninsula, and against weapons of mass destruction, will not be ours. And as Churchill reminded us, the “aftertime,” the long run, is what measures victory.

America must remain on a steady course and turn the Saddam Hussein threat into an opportunity to empower alliances and institutions committed to disarmament in Iraq, North Korea, Iran and elsewhere. Today, America stands nearly alone in proclaiming the urgency of the use of force to disarm Saddam Hussein. In Europe and in many corners of the globe, America is perceived as determined to use force in Iraq to the exclusion of world opinion or the interests of our allies, even those allies who share our concerns about Saddam Hussein’s weapons programs. America must balance its determination with patience and not be seen as in a rush to war. As David Ignatius wrote in a recent *Washington Post* column, “A nation heading into war needs prudence and good judgment. America’s best generals, people such as Grant and Marshall and Eisenhower, were at once cautious and decisive. Their greatness lay in the fact that they never lost sight of the long-term interests of the United States.”

America must steer away from actions that could produce the unintended results of fracturing those very institutions that have helped keep peace since World War II. Allowing a rush to war in Iraq to create divisions in those institutions and alliances that will help sustain American security and world stability is a short-sighted and dangerous course of action.

In order for America to address the differences between ourselves and our allies, we must understand those differences. We don’t enhance our relationships and bridge differences by impugning the motives of our friends. Let us not forget, they too are democracies. They too are accountable to their people and respond to the judgment of their citizens. Isn’t that the essence of our noble purpose as democratic governments? We must listen and learn, then forge a coalition based upon our common interests.

The diplomatic challenges before us should not weaken our resolve to obtain a second UN resolution that threatens serious consequences for Iraq’s continued defiance of UN resolutions. While time may be short, the diplomatic option has not yet played out. It will take more hard work, and the military option should remain on the table. The world has additional time, and we should not short-circuit what has begun through legitimate United Nations channels. This responsible course will maximize the force of world opinion and bring it to our side.

American purpose requires more than the application of American power to rid Iraq of its weapons of mass destruction, although that will be our first priority. War, if it is necessary, should be a means, and not an end, to achieve a plan of action to encourage conflict resolution and peaceful change in Iraq and throughout the Middle East.

Iraq cannot be considered in a vacuum, detached from the politics and culture of both its region and the Muslim world. Using military force to disarm Saddam Hussein will bring change to Iraq and to the region, but we cannot foresee the nature of that change. What comes after Saddam Hussein? The uncertainties of a post-Saddam, post-conflict Middle East should give us pause, encourage prudence, and force us to recognize the necessity of coalitions in seeing it through.

America will need to remain in Iraq and the Middle East to help lead this post-Saddam transition. This will require adroit diplomacy, long-term commitment and dynamic coalition building. There is no other way. Regime change in Iraq will not alone be the endgame for a region devoid of democratic institutions, economic development, and effective regional organizations. It must be seen as only the beginning of a long transitional period toward stability, development and individual freedom for millions who have never known the hope and promise of an open and free society.

How do we meet these opportunities and challenges now before us? Allow me to suggest five priorities for U.S. policy toward Iraq which will be critical to helping support

and sustain stability and prosperity in the Middle East in the years ahead,

First, a post-Saddam transition in Iraq must focus on security, economic stability and creating the conditions for democratic change. We should put aside the mistaken delusion that democracy is just around the corner. Or that by force of arms we can remove Saddam and simultaneously place Iraq on the path to democracy by overlaying a blueprint for democracy on the region... a so-called “Democratic Domino Effect.” The spade work of building a free Iraq will take time. General Anthony Zinni, special adviser to the Secretary of State and former Commanding General, U.S. Central Command, reminded the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last week that, with regard to Iraq, “there will not be a spontaneous democracy so the reconstruction of the country will be a long, hard course regardless of whether a modest vision of the end state is sought or a more ambitious one is chosen.” The end of Saddam Hussein’s regime will be all to the good, but building nations and democracy in the Middle East or anywhere is complicated and difficult, and success is never assured. We can try to help create the conditions for democratic change. But we must assume that it will not come quickly or easily.

Second, the United States should place its operations in a post-Saddam Iraq under a United Nations umbrella as soon as possible. A conspicuous American occupation force in Iraq or in any Arab or Muslim country would only fuel anti-Americanism, nationalism and resentment. By working through the United Nations, America will neutralize the accusations that a war in Iraq is anti-Muslim or driven by oil or American imperialism.

Third, America should encourage the convening of a regional conference to deal with outstanding Iraqi and regional security issues. The Middle East has a lack of regional political institutions to deal with conflict prevention and resolution. The end of Saddam Hussein’s regime will not necessarily mean the end of long-standing

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# An Accountant Looks at LB 775

UNL Associate Professor of Accounting, Linda Ruchala, testified before the legislature's Revenue Committee February 12 on a bill requiring greater public disclosure regarding LB 775. Linda, who serves on the NFP State Board, is a founding member of the Association for Integrity in Accounting (A.I.A.), a newly formed Ralph Nader-inspired watchdog group.

She can be contacted at [ruchala@earthlink.net](mailto:ruchala@earthlink.net)

Senator Landis and members of the Revenue Committee, my name is Linda Ruchala and I come before you today in support of the greater disclosure that is put forward in LB 608, but with reservations that this bill does not act quickly enough to meet the needs for accountability and program evaluation.

Although I come here today as a private citizen, my professional expertise is in accounting. As an associate professor of accountancy at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln, I have followed the discussions of my profession related to the major accounting and corporate scandals of the past several years. Much discussion regarding these scandals involves issues of fair and substantive disclosure and reporting of

information. However, what I want to emphasize in my remarks today is that the root issue goes beyond disclosure rules to the concept of *accountability*. When I talk with my students about disclosure and these accounting/corporate scandals, one point I find important to share is that *the reason to disclose is to be accountable*.

In the case of the tax credits represented in LB 775, the issue of accountability is two-fold. First, when corporations receive money from stockholders, they become accountable to stockholders for their performance. Similarly, I would argue, when corporations receive money in the form of tax credits from the State of Nebraska these are analogous to the investments made by shareholders in a corporation. The investment made—either by shareholders or by the community via state tax credits—obligates the corporation to be held accountable for their performance to those investors. With regard to state tax credits, that investment is made with an expectation of performance in the creation of jobs and community growth. Each corporation receiving tax credits must be held accountable for their performance along these dimensions. Assessing the performance of LB 775 simply

on an aggregate or industry level is akin to assessing a particular corporation's profitability on the basis of industry-wide profitability and aggregate stockholder investments: I do not know of any stockholder whose need for accountability would be satisfied by such statistics.

Additionally, however, there is a second issue of accountability. That is accountability of the legislators to all taxpayers in the state. When the state gives state funds to corporations, the state is accountable for assuring that this money is effectively spent to meet the programmatic objectives for which it is given. Again, this cannot be done on an aggregate level: the money is given to each separate corporation with expectations of at least a minimum level of performance. This needs to be evaluated at the individual project level.

Despite the fact that LB 775 has provided over \$1.3 billion to corporations over the past 15 years and despite the fact that the current year's level of tax credits constitute over one-fifth of the estimated state revenue shortfall, the state has not been made to be accountable to its citizens about the benefits and effectiveness of LB 775. Corporations have not been accountable to those from

whom they have received credits with respect to LB 775.

If the objective of LB 775 was to transfer large sums of money back to corporations, then we can probably all agree that the law has been effective at doing so over time. However, if we go much beyond that, then we are left in the dark—unaccounted for and unaccountable.

• **What proportion of the claimed 71,460 "new" jobs created were in actuality new jobs? We don't know.**

The Department of Revenue estimates that about 70 percent of the jobs claimed to be created annually by LB 775 would have been created anyway. *Governing Magazine* reports in its latest issue (February 2003) that the legal council to the State's Revenue Committee sees an almost three-fold discrepancy in job benefits claimed over reports on aggregate increases in jobs from the private sector. (Quotation from *Governing Magazine*: " 'We know in aggregate that the private-industry groups had an increase of 25,060 full-time equivalent jobs in 2001, but claimed benefits for 71,460 jobs,' says George Kilpatrick, legal counsel to the legislature's Revenue Committee.") The extent of confusion about the jobs

actually created by LB 775 any attempt to look at even the most basic and highly aggregated assessments of the cost to generate each job impossible.

• **Are the jobs created quality jobs that benefit the communities in which they are located? Do they provide a living wage to those employed under the program, a wage that would not increase the burden to local social services? We don't know.**

The information provided under LB 775 is very aggregated data. The only information available involves the average wages paid on an industry-wide basis. That is of no help for accountability purposes since a small number of projects with well-paying positions can easily skew the average wage statistics (for example, the commonly told story about the increase in average income of a soup kitchen when Bill Gates stops for a visit). Even further, we currently don't hold participating corporations accountable for creating jobs that pay a living wage. Corporations are granted "credit" for new jobs even if those jobs represent an inadequate standard of living in

*conclusion on next page*



## LB 775 SUBJECT OF 'GORILLA [SIC] THEATER'

Nebraskans for Peace has been arguing for over a year now that LB 775 is the "800-pound gorilla" in the state budget crisis. Since 1998 alone, the corporate tax giveaway program has cost state government (and Nebraska taxpayers) over \$130 million a year in tax abatements, credits and refunds. And yet, it is the only program to have escaped the budget knife during three separate rounds of budget cuts. K-12 education has been cut. The university and higher ed have been cut (three times now). Social services and rural programs have all suffered cutbacks. But not LB 775. Nobody will lay a hand on Big Business's pet corporate welfare program.

Well, last month, Nebraskans for Peace decided it was high time the people of Nebraska got an opportunity to meet this gorilla up close and personal. Embarking on a massive effort to locate the gorilla in question, we traveled deep into the corporate jungle and the wilds of questionable accounting practices to discover the whereabouts of this creature who has been the source of so much heartache and fiscal woe. On February 11, in a major journalistic scoop before an exclusive audience of the Nebraska media, the *Nebraska Report* was proud to conduct a live interview with the gorilla in the State Capitol Rotunda.

And guess what. We were wrong. It's not, as Nebraskans for Peace has repeatedly claimed, an "800-pound gorilla" that's at the heart of the state's budget crisis. It's a **seven-hundred-and-seventy-five-pound gorilla**, which is why it's called "LB 775". For the future, the editorial staff of the *Nebraska Report* solemnly promises to make every effort not to resort to exaggeration and caricature when reporting the facts about LB 775. In the meantime, the total cost of this corporate sweetheart deal to Nebraska taxpayers is \$1.5 billion and growing. And as the gorilla so casually explained in the interview, he'll continue ripping off the people of the state until somebody stops him.



the local community, even if they provide no benefits to workers. The available evidence suggests that LB775 has had no impact on personal income growth in Nebraska (Dr. Ernie Goss, as reported in the *Omaha World-Herald*, December 28, 1997).

**• Is this incentive program applied in a fair manner so that all businesses working for the objective of economic development and job growth have the opportunity to participate in receiving the benefits from LB775? Unfortunately, again, the answer here is either we don't know or no, it does not.**

Since the decisions as to what corporations and projects are granted tax credits are made in secret, without oversight, and cannot be reviewed by citizens or even state lawmakers (*Lincoln Journal Star*, January 22, 2003), how can you, as legislators, be accountable for the way LB775 is used and its effectiveness without this disclosure?

Further, what we *do* know about the distribution of accepted projects is that the benefits are very heavily weighted to urban areas and rural areas have benefited hardly at all. We also know that the minimum project investment criteria under LB 775 makes even applying for benefits impossible except for larger corporations. Small businesses might even be adversely affected if they cannot reap the benefits of the credits, but lose trained workers to jobs in qualifying larger corporations that might pay workers marginally more. Since small businesses play a critical role in Nebraska's economy (a third of all jobs, a fifth of business payrolls, and nearly 90 percent of all business firms are those in businesses with fewer than 20 employees, according to Jon Bailey of the Center for Rural Affairs), the exclusion of participation of this sector of the economy is in itself an issue of accountability with regard to LB 775, separate from any other disclosure issues.

In summary, the secrecy and lack of disclosure in the selection and evaluation of applications, the lack of disclosure on the performance of the projects that are accepted, and the lack of reporting to the citizens on the

effectiveness of the tax credits relative to other priorities of state government all result in a serious lack of accountability both by the benefiting corporations and by the Legislature.

Accountability requires sufficient disclosure to develop answers to the questions I am posing in my testimony. While LB 608 is a good start in that direction, my major concern with LB608 is that enacting this measure puts off accountability for LB 775 for at least five to six years. I suggest that because, under this bill, beneficiaries of LB 775 will not be required to undertake disclosure **"until three years after the year in which the taxpayer qualifies for benefits under the act."** Given a start-up year, a three-year lag before any disclosure is provided, and then at least two years worth of data in hand before an evaluation or accounting of program can take place, this bill effectively makes LB775 unaccounted for and unaccountable for the next six years. At the current rate of annual tax credits, *an additional three-quarters of a billion dollars* will be further given out under LB775 before an accounting of the program could be performed. The legislature needs solid information on the viability of this program now—during the state's fiscal crisis—not six years from now when many of the critical decisions about pending priorities will have already been made.

Now, the Chamber of Commerce tells you that this lag time is necessary in order to prevent the release of strategically sensitive information on part of the projects. I seriously question just how sensitive the information asked for under LB608 really is, especially in comparison with the huge cost to the state in operating this program, the many questions that have been raised about the program's effectiveness and fairness, and the additional delay in accountability of those who would receive benefits. I ask that you demand accountability from those who benefit from LB775. As a taxpayer and citizen of Nebraska, I also ask for a serious and immediate accounting of the effectiveness of these tax credits. Given the severe current budget constraints and deficits, and the questions raised on many fronts about LB775, we can ill afford further delays in accountability.

# State Board of Education Adopts Anti-Bullying Policy

by Paul A. Olson

The Nebraska Board of Education at its February meeting passed a policy on bullying that should affect nearly every student in the state. The policy comes out of the Turn Off the Violence coalition in which Nebraskans for Peace is a major player. NFP has always advocated the construction of a social order in which the solution of internal problems in our culture is achieved nonviolently without sacrificing egregiously concerns for justice. The new policy should assist this goal, while making schools and the way to and from school safer and more productive for kids. Though the policy was opposed by many of the school administrators of the state, it was supported by the teachers of Nebraska through the Nebraska State Education Association, by anti-domestic violence groups, by many churches and church people, and by parents. The central figure in achieving passage was State Senator David Landis who stuck stubbornly to his position that we needed to do something about violence and bullying in Nebraska's schools. NFP members should write to Sen. Landis to thank him and to congratulate him. The State Commissioner of Education, Doug Christensen, and his staff had to remain neutral in the debate, but they provided good information, and were candid with the Board about the problems of violence and bullying in Nebraska's schools, when the subject was under discussion. In December, it appeared that the Nebraska school administrators had defeated the effort to achieve a policy by substituting a watered-down statement about distributing literature about every evil under the sun without undertaking serious action. Fortunately, some of the board members who were most opposed to doing anything serious were defeated in the last State Board of Education elections, and the new board acted immediately. It is notable that the policy mentions the teaching of nonviolence and that it contains extensive implementation language. The policy reads as follows:

## Board Policy: Anti-Bullying

*The State Board of Education believes that Nebraska schools should provide physically safe and emotionally secure environments for all students and staff. It is the goal of the State Board of Education, through this policy, to create such positive learning and teaching environments. For purposes of this policy, the State Board defines positive behaviors as those, which evoke nonviolence, cooperation, teamwork, understanding and acceptance toward all students and staff in the learning and teaching environment.*

*The State Board of Education encourages local school districts to establish policies and strategies to emphasize and recognize positive behaviors that promote a safe and secure learning environment for all students and staff. Local school policies should assist school personnel in identifying bullying, intimidation, and harassment; and provide a framework for an appropriate response that reinforces and encourages positive conduct.*

*The Department of Education will disseminate information in regard to model strategies and practices for assisting the implementation of local policies. The department will also disseminate programs that promote state level efforts to assist schools in achieving positive behavior environments, including anti-bullying programs. This assistance may include, but is not limited to, help with student, teacher and administrator in-service and pre-service courses.*

The Department of Education will design a plan and process for evaluating the effects of this policy:

The implementation policy calls for the development of elaborate information resources that will be made available to the schools, an alliance with the Nebraska School Boards Association to develop further policy, the development of grants, training modes and training practices that will work through the pre-service training of teachers and administrators, through the development of training resources that will be used by schools, ESUs and other teacher and administrator training groups, and through the incorporation of talk about violence and bullying into the Nebraska Department's own conferences and the annual Nebraska Conference for Preventing Youth Violence. There will be a development of coalitions with Health and Human Services and the Nebraska Crime Commission to teach another mode of acting. Several school systems are working hard already to develop school-system-wide implementation plans, and my hope is that NFP members will support teachers, administrators and school boards that act on this problem, even to the point of supporting an increase in school expenses and taxes. At another level, representatives of the Mediation Centers and teacher education institutions are working with people who know the lay of the land in education in state government to get resources for the development of anti-bullying work in teacher training institutions underway very soon. This is a triumph—a modest triumph, but still a triumph.

# The Books of the Omaha

*Susan La Flesche Picotte:  
Omaha Indian Leader and Reformer*  
By Benson Tong  
*University of Oklahoma Press, 2000*

*Betraying the Omaha Nation, 1790-1916*  
By Judith A. Boughter  
*University of Oklahoma Press, 1998*

*Imperfect Victories: The Legal Tenacity  
of the Omaha Tribe, 1945-1995*  
By Mark R. Scherer  
*University of Nebraska Press, 1999*

*Reviews by Kirk Zebolsky*

Benson Tong's book thoroughly documents complicated conflicts between cultures as it recounts the work of an intriguing cultural broker. Tong focuses on a woman, Susan La Flesche Picotte, with heroic virtues—the first American Indian woman college-trained to be a physician.

Picotte was born on the Omaha Reservation in 1865 or 1866, a time of armed conflict on the Great Plains, but she saw nothing of the Plains Indian Wars. As Tong writes, many Omahas, including Picotte's father, Chief Joseph La Flesche, "chose to journey toward acculturation and the selective adoption of Euro-American culture."

Descended from Native American grandmothers and from grandfathers with European roots, Picotte was educated by Presbyterians and Quakers on the Omaha Reservation, at the Elizabeth Institute For Young Ladies in New Jersey, at Hampton Institute in Virginia and at Woman's Medical College in Philadelphia. Her extended family included those who recommended adaptation and education for Indians, such as her father, and others who refused to speak English unless they had to, including her mother. Picotte missed out on the important Omaha ritual of the "naming ceremony" in childhood, and in her own words she came "from the tepee to civilization." Yet, as Tong writes in his final paragraph, "she never lost her Indianness."

As a "cultural mediator," Picotte advocated temperance, work, Christianity and the land rights she claimed for her family and other Omahas. She often represented the Omahas in their efforts to protect and manage their properties. "In this capacity, Susan's brokerage attempts were less on behalf of Euro-American 'civilization' and more in the interest of Indian rights," Tong writes. "Ironically, her efforts would promote the dispossession of the Omahas."

Her dilemma was similar to that of her father, who endorsed education by whites and was at times spurned by fellow Omahas. She called for Indian autonomy but also for federal protection from land-hungry capitalists. After Omahas were allotted land in the 1880s, they lost control of much of it in the following decades by selling or leasing it.

Picotte lobbied against government delays in paying Omahas for their land, land grafters maneuvering Indians into "fraudulent land transactions" through the use of alcohol and a syndicate's land-grabbing tactics.

As physician to the government boarding school, she talked to students about physiology and hygiene and gave lessons in English and math; she also sang hymns, made scrapbooks, told Euro-American folktales, and practiced marching skills with the students.

Tong shows how she used her connections to raise funds for a reservation hospital—her "life-long aspiration"—which was named for her.

Tong touches on Omaha history and cultural traditions before giving Picotte's family history. He recounts interactions that occurred after the arrival of Europeans in Omaha territory, including cross-cultural relations that shaped the lives of her parents and grandparents. In addressing the policy of assimilation and the doctrine of manifest destiny, Tong explains how they helped cause excessive alcohol use, the decreased practicing of traditional culture and poverty among the Omahas. Photographs depict Susan, her family and some of her contemporaries.

What—besides a hospital—did Picotte get for her activism? Surely she experienced frustration, seeing that "much of her work had been in vain." But society gained a lot from her example, which shows that a life lived between cultures can be difficult and exacting, yet valuable and important.

Judith Boughter writes in *Betraying the Omaha Nation, 1790-1916* about the depletion of Omahas' lands, injustices committed by whites and the tensions between traditional and progressive forces.

Boughter makes it clear who she thinks is to blame for the Omahas' dispossession. "White settlers and land speculators resented Indian ownership of fertile northeastern Nebraska lands and, beginning in the early 1850s, used every means at their disposal to separate the Indians from their real estate," she writes. "Unfortunately, Nebraska senators and congressmen worked closely with land speculators to promote

special legislation that—little by little, law by unfair law—encouraged Indians to lease, and eventually sell, most of their land."

Boughter, who was a graduate history student in Nebraska, calls this book "basically my master's thesis." In it she assaults the dominant culture's shortcomings in dealing with the Omahas. Sadly, she writes, the government's granting land forever to the Indians meant nothing.

Boughter addresses politics, trading, treaties, land sales, annuities and land allotment, followed by the leasing and selling of allotments. According to her accounts, the Omahas received pitifully little in return for lands they considered theirs. Tax breaks were one benefit, but white Nebraskans sometimes objected to Indians being off tax rolls. Such concerns of whites were sometimes placated.

She writes that the 1825 Fort Atkinson Treaty "marked a surrender of Indian rights and sovereignty and set a precedent by which the U.S. government took from the Indians and gave little in return. The Omahas had already lost so much. The buffalo were disappearing, many lives had been lost to enemy raids and disease and, thanks to the fur trade, Omaha values had changed and their culture was in disarray."

In 1854, Omahas agreed to a treaty that ceded much of their ancestral land; they also agreed to move to a reservation. Fears of the Sioux kept them from the reservation, however: "Once again, they became a wandering nation in search of a safe, permanent home. Their suffering at the hands of the government had only just begun."

By about 1880, the Omahas "no longer feared the Sioux, but they did fear the future," according to Boughter. "For nearly 30 years they had been cheated, lied to and forced to surrender many of their old ways. Promises had been made and broken, and their tribal government had been dismantled... they had been asked to farm without money or machinery." After allotment in severalty in the 1880s, "The door was open to white greed," according to Boughter. "The Omahas, who were now citizens without recourse to law and were owners of valuable agricultural lands, would be victimized in the 1890s by unscrupulous whites hovering about the reservation fringes." Yet the commissioner of Indian Affairs was sure the Omahas' allotment would be a model for other tribes to emulate.

The 1854 treaty made with the Omahas was invoked in court through the Indian Claims Commission and an award ensued. The Omahas' ICC claims were considered over 14 years—a legal process examined

by Mark R. Scherer in *Imperfect Victories*.

Scherer also describes the Omahas' legal battles to recover land now on the east side of the Missouri River and to survive Public Law 280, which temporarily gave the State of Nebraska civil and criminal jurisdiction on the Omaha Reservation.

Scherer accuses the federal government of using the Omahas as guinea pigs for new policies. He gives a great deal of detail in depicting the trials that resulted in some compensation for the ill effects of such policies. Without much focus on personalities, these accounts can be dry reading. But Scherer does give good introductions to them, as well as strategies, arguments and the outcomes.

According to Scherer, the government was headed in the right direction early in the 20th century when it issued the Merriam Report, which named allotment and strict acculturation as the major causes of deplorable conditions on reservations. The "Indian New Deal" called for the cessation of the allotment process and implementation of a new system of Indian sovereignty and self-government. That led to the ICC, through which Indians could collect money for lost land. But the ICC was "undermined... by the burgeoning terminationist ideology, as tribal claims became enmeshed with and co-opted by the assimilationist aims of the Truman and Eisenhower administrations," Scherer writes.

The ICC became an instrument of termination policy under which Indian nations lost federal support. Through PL 280 the federal government abandoned law enforcement in Thurston County, leading to deteriorating law-and-order conditions on the Omaha Reservation.

Scherer reports that the Omahas gained several million dollars through the ICC and, as one of the first nations to test the ICC, prompted the "Omaha Rule," used as a guideline for subsequent claims. The Omaha Rule required an open hearing, among other provisions.

Money from ICC claims was distributed to individual Omahas and for various projects. The Omahas also won land on the Iowa side of the Missouri River, on which they operate a casino.

Scherer, who calls the Omahas "legal warriors," writes in the introduction that they have achieved "a prominence in the annals of federal Indian relations." "...[I]t was the Omahas' perceived success on the reservation during the 1860s and 1870s that would lead to further government attempts to undermine their tribal identity through assimilationist 'reforms'.

*conclusion on next page*

# Nebraskans for Peace Annual Financial Report

INCOME	2002 Actual	2003 Budget
Memberships		
Basic Members	17,332.50	15,000.00
Covenant Members	4,871.70	5,000.00
Major Donations/Grants		
Direct Mail	10,935.75	10,000.00
Individuals (Unsolicited)	17,718.74	1,200.00
Nebraska Peace Foundation	32,000.00	42,000.00
Annual Peace Conf Donation	2,906.50	4,500.00
Churches/Organizations	1,364.02	900.00
AFSC	2,000.00	0.00
Cat Lovers Against the Bomb	22,202.65	25,000.00
Special Projects		
Annual Peace Conference	4,555.00	2,500.00
Chapter Fundraising	1,207.50	1,500.00
Anti-War	5,425.00	0.00
Other Income		
Miscellaneous Income	705.28	0.00
Memorial Donations	1,265.00	0.00
Nebraska Report	195.00	240.00
<b>TOTAL INCOME</b>	<b>124,684.64</b>	<b>107,840.00</b>
<b>Carryover from previous year</b>	<b>21,460.06</b>	<b>20,097.17</b>
<b>TOTAL AVAILABLE FUNDS</b>	<b>146,144.70</b>	<b>127,937.17</b>
EXPENSES	2002 Actual	2003 Budget
Personnel	56,308.85	59,316.00
Office		
Audit	3,841.10	7,000.00
Insurance	747.00	750.00
Rent	5,280.11	4,932.00
Telephone Service	3,320.54	2,640.00
Copiers	5,030.26	1,500.00
Equipment Maintenance	65.12	0.00
MasterCard Membership	227.83	360.00
Online Information Service	346.80	346.80
Postage	1,891.11	1,500.00
Printing & Copying	1,278.30	0.00
Staff Training	400.00	0.00
Staff Travel	548.25	1,500.00
Subscriptions/Materials	555.11	480.00
Supplies	1,678.79	1,200.00
Miscellaneous	2,756.60	2,500.00
Misc Program Expense		
Nebraska Report	17,110.20	17,400.00
CLAB Expense	8,147.79	8,000.00
Direct Mail	1,623.83	2,000.00
Annual Peace Conference	5,028.03	7,000.00
Lincoln Chapter	414.41	550.00
Other	7,797.87	1,500.00
Peace Matters	561.15	650.00
Peacemaking Covenant	1,088.48	1,485.00
<b>TOTAL EXPENSES</b>	<b>126,047.53</b>	<b>122,609.80</b>

## Sen. Hagel, conclusion

border disputes between Iraq and its neighbors—Turkey, Iran and Kuwait—disputes that predate Saddam Hussein. Stability in northern Iraq is not assured, given the potential for conflict between Turkey and Iraq's Kurdish parties. A regional conference, arranged under United Nations auspices, would play an important role in building confidence among the states of the region so that future conflicts can be prevented.

Fourth, America must act immediately to re-start the Israeli-Palestinian peace process. There will be no lasting peace between Israel and her Arab neighbors without America taking the lead to broker a settlement. As President George H.W. Bush did after the first Gulf War, any military action in Iraq should be accompanied by a renewed American initiative to help settle the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. The road to peace in the Middle East does not end in Baghdad. Long-term stability in the Middle East depends on progress toward Israeli-Palestinian peace. There is no other way. We must work with our Quartet partners—Russia, the European Union and the United Nations—as well as Israel, the Palestinians and our Arab allies, to put the peace effort back on track. Every day that passes without active American mediation contributes to the radicalization of Palestinian and Arab politics, and the likelihood of greater terrorism visited on Israel.

Fifth, America should create partnerships with the governments and peoples of the Arab world to take the necessary steps to help them open up their political systems and economies, such as the Middle East Partnership Initiative proposed by President Bush to encourage democratic, educational and economic reforms. Sen. Joseph Lieberman and I will soon introduce legislation to promote private sector development and educational reform in the Middle East. For too long the governments of this region have deferred or opposed governmental and societal reform.

Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, paraphrasing Bismarck, once said that, "Modern politics too often produces an orgy of self-righteousness amidst a cacophony of sounds." If we do not complement our disarmament efforts in Iraq with a program of peaceful change in the Middle

East, our policies may encourage the perception of a hard-edged American security doctrine that offers little more than self-righteous ideology. That would result in many in the Arab and Muslim worlds seeing their interests as being compromised to American power. Instead of contributing to stabilization and democratization in the Middle East, just the opposite could occur. A war in Iraq could intensify the radicalization of the region's politics.

America's purpose in the world requires a commitment to a kind of principled realism that promotes our values, strengthens international institutions, builds coalitions and recognizes what is possible. The opportunities for helping create a better world are as real today as any time in our history, just as they were when Churchill spoke at Westminster College 57 years ago.

Opportunities for moments of reflection during times of great decisions are fleeting, but they are crucial, in order to place the events of today in an important perspective. Churchill, Truman, Marshall and other world leaders understood the magnitude of challenges the world would face in the second half of the 20th century. We face comparable challenges today, and we can learn from history.

It was America's investment in international institutions such as the United Nations, The World Bank, The International Monetary Fund, NATO and other institutions which helped maintain world stability and prevent world wars. These and other multinational institutions have given structure and force to global consensus and commitment to face the challenges of our time. America has helped build and reinforce these institutions with a judicious use of its power. All nations and institutions are imperfect, but the world today is more hopeful and more just because America and our friends took this responsible and far-sighted course of coalitions of common interest and multilateral institutions.

What distinguishes America is not our power, for the world has known great power. It is America's purpose and our commitment to making a better life for all people. That is the America the world needs to see. A wise, thoughtful and steady nation, worthy of its power, generous of spirit, and humble in its purpose.

## Books of the Omaha, conclusion

"Beginning in the 1870s, and continuing virtually to this day, the Omahas have borne more than their fair share of the burden of shifting government policies. Indeed, since the establishment of the reservation in northeast Nebraska in 1854, the Omahas have served involuntarily as sociological guinea pigs in the laboratory of federal Indian policy, with each new program contributing, until recently, to a cumulatively disastrous effect on the tribe's culture and economy... [G]overnment bureaucrats and assimilationist advocates touted the Omaha experiment as a success, paving the way for the

landmark 1887 Dawes Severalty Act, which extended the allotment program nationwide."

Scherer includes an account of the Omahas' history as background for their 20th century legal struggles. He also gives helpful historical context when discussing the origins and widespread effect of federal policies.

*NFP supporter Kirk Zeblosky of Omaha has a journalism degree and a masters in English. This review originally appeared in the September 2002 Z Magazine.*

# CAN THE WORLD BE HEALED?

A Presentation by L. Robert Keck

May 1, 2003 • 7:00 p.m. • Nebraska Methodist College • 8501 W. Dodge Road in Omaha

L. Robert Keck, writer and lecturer, helps us understand and transform the causes of violence. Utilizing his own investigation of 35,000 years of spiritual evolution, Dr. Keck's lecture will consider the historical and causal context of violence. His research suggests that the value system that has given rise to violence is dying, and a new, more peaceful value system is emerging. Keck shows why he believes that there are solid and legitimate reasons for hope, and why we can anticipate a more peaceful future.

Keck has master's degree in theology and a doctorate in the philosophy of health. He has authored several books including *Sacred Quest: The Evolution and Future of The Human Soul*. About that book, Professor John B. Cobb, Jr. wrote: "Keck makes it possible to look to the future with an urgently needed hope that will express itself in a new maturity."

To register for this presentation or for more information, call Health Touch One at 402-331-1111 or 800-273-3737. A \$5.00 fee will be collected at the door.

Keck will also be leading other events at Methodist College and First United Methodist Church, May 1-4, on topics related to his latest book, *Healing As A Sacred Path: A Story of Personal, Medical and Spiritual Transformation*. For a brochure including registration information about these offerings, please contact Donald Bredthauer, 402-496-3211, [breddb@aol.com](mailto:breddb@aol.com).

## BULLETIN BOARD

March 24 Peace Tax Fund Presentation with Rev. Steve Ratzlaff, pastor of First Mennonite & Chair of the National Campaign for Peace Tax Fund. 7 p.m. to 8 p.m. at the Gere Branch Library in Lincoln.

April 5 Peace Festival 12:30 p.m. at Antelope Park in Lincoln

### Protests on the Day After Bombing Starts

Omaha - 5:30 p.m. at 18th & Douglas Streets

Lincoln - 5:30 p.m. at 15th & O Streets

Protests will be held on the day of the attack, if the attack is announced before noon, and on the day following of the attack if the attack is announced after noon.

Tri-City Area - 5:00 p.m. in Pioneer Park (2nd and Elm) in Grand Island on the day following the attack.

# Oh, Lysistrata

The other day I turned on Nebraska Public Radio, and I caught part of an interview with a woman who is asking people around the country to perform readings of the play *Lysistrata* on Monday, March 3. The Greek playwright Aristophanes wrote this high-spirited comedy more than two dozen centuries ago, but it has currency today, maybe more than ever.

The play is named after its heroine, an Athenian lady and the wife of a soldier. Lysistrata, lonesome for her husband and weary of continual warfare, calls together her neighbors as well as women from Sparta, Corinth and other towns, and lays out a bold plan. She proposes to go on strike; let every woman who is sick of war deny herself to her husband until peace is made. The plan can work if the wives of enemy armies, the Boeotians and Peloponnesians, join in.

I won't tell you what happens. Go read the play for yourself. It's funny and sexy and anti-war. You can find it online at

<http://eserver.org/drama/aristophanes/lysistrata.txt>

You won't be disappointed.

Better still, invite some friends over for the evening and read *Lysistrata* aloud.

Best of all, take *Lysistrata* to heart, think it through, and ask yourself how to apply its lessons in your own life.

You know who you are, Girlfriend. Do you sleep with a Republican? Is your beloved one of the majority of males 34-54 who listens to right of center talk radio and never votes? Either way, unless and until your man cuts the horse pucky, stands up in the voting booth and votes like a man, here's how it's going to be:

- George Bush, a man who cannot, as Nelson Mandela said, "think properly," will drive the world to war, GALVANIZING Islamic martyrs in untold numbers for years to come. And there will be that \$100 billion (at least) tax bill for the war, which the Saudi and Kuwait royal houses will not be reimbursing us. Not this time. As the second person in his family elected to the Presidency on the Petroleum Party ticket, he needs to deliver the world's

second largest oil field to U.S.- based companies. French companies already account for 25 percent of Iraq's oil fields, very many of which are completely undeveloped. As the son of the consummate CIA man, he will install an American military governor in the new Iraq for a few years. Because nothing can go wrong with THAT plan.

- George Bush will continue to blackmail the school system in this country into substituting Testing for Teaching. If you don't know what I mean, go ask a teenager.

- George Bush will fill the benches with judges so right wing, it will be a miracle if the Constitution itself can survive.

- George Bush will use his courts and Congress to roll back decades of progressive legislation, dismantling Social Security, environmental protections, civil rights and civil liberties, as fast as ever he can.

- George Bush will put the full court press on "free trade," as multinational corporate capitalism loves to call itself,

digging the US further and further into unsustainable treaties which are ruining our nation's working families by trading American jobs and farms for the chance to buy cheap goods squeezed out of even poorer working families at the ends of the earth.

- George Bush will feed your sons, at least if you are poor, as fodder to the beast of war unleashed by the greatest colonial power the world will ever know.

Girlfriend, you know I would not task you if it wasn't so important. You know Dr. Herrin is a lady and would not mention the subject, if things weren't terribly dire. But things have got to such an alarming pass, we have to act.

Girlfriend, it's up to you to save the world. Lysistrata recommends pretty dresses and little shoes, waxing or plucking, and using blush. To be blunt, make him wild for you, then drop your own bomb. On the one hand, you are a Do Right Woman who has got to have a Do Right Man. On the other hand, you have four fingers and a thumb.



**From the Bottom by Sally Herrin**

**The real political spectrum isn't right to left... it's top to bottom.**