



Listen to Women for A CHANGE

Women's International League for Peace and Freedom,
Minnesota Metro Branch
P. O. Box 14752, Minneapolis, MN 55414, 651-458-7090
<http://www.wilpfn.org>, wilpf@earthlink.net

January - February 2008

Upcoming MN Metro Coffee With's
10 am - noon, Van Cleve Community Center, 901 15th
Ave. SE, Minneapolis. Free, all welcome!

Letter forwarded to WILPF branches by
Linda Belle, Director, Jane Addams Peace
Association

Saturday, February 9, 2008

Dear Sir/Madam.

FOCUS ON 2008 REPUBLICAN

NATIONAL CONVENTION

Coming all too soon—Sept. 2008—to a city near
you! Are we ready? Informational meeting led by
Karen Redleaf and others from groups planning
demonstrations on peace and justice issues at the
Republican Convention in St. Paul Sept. 1-4, 2008.

Saturday, March 8 (Please note change of date from
last newsletter)

RECOVERING THE COMMONS

Speaker: Julie Ristau, Managing Fellow and
Publisher, Tomales Bay Institute

- * the work of the Tomales Bay Institute
- * the state of six important commons
- * basic principles for managing our common
assets
- * ways to protect what we've got and leave it
in better condition for future generations

I am a director of 'Dreams+Hopes' Art
Project in New York City. I exhibit 'A Place
Where Sun-flowers Grow' with NYC
children art works at Kamida Elementary
School in Niyagawa City, Osaka, Japan. I
introduced Jane Addams Peace Association.
Many children in the public school learn
War & Peace through the book. I attach the
pictures, and please freely use this photo-
graphs for peace.

Saturday, April 12

**KATRINA RECOVERY EFFORTS IN
MISSISSIPPI**
Details to be announced

YUYA HONDA
IT & Art Director, Jardin Galerie Ltd, New
York, NY

Saturday, May 10

**THE 2007 JANE ADDAMS
CHILDREN'S BOOK AWARD BOOKS
Speaker: Jo Montie, Learning Consultant and
Jane Addams Children's Book Award
Committee Member (see opposite)**



Welcome to Peace Island

From MN Metro Member Susu Jeffrey, susujeffrey@msn.com

Hope in a Time of Crisis—PEACE ISLAND—A Solutions-Driven Conference will be held during the
middle two days of the Republican National Convention (RNC), September 2-3, in St. Paul. Rather than
rehash what's wrong in America and listen to GOP promises or watch demonstrators get abused on TV,
we choose to focus on some of the plethora of solutions in the areas of Global Peace and Nonviolence,
Justice and Human Rights, and Energy and the Environment.

Speakers responding positively to our invitations include: Antonio Juhasz (*The Bush Agenda*),
Kathy Kelly (Voices for Creative Nonviolence), Ann Hastings (micro credit Haiti, economic justice), Bill
Quigley (School of the Americas), Colleen Rowley (FBI whistleblower), Starhawk (author, activist, eco-
visionary). We plan to charge attendees about \$20 for the 2-day event.

From my WILPF sisters I ask for your attendance at the conference and also for volunteer support.
What do we need?—all kinds of hosting: picking up speakers at the airport, housing out-of-town
speakers, help with registration and keeping the conference running smoothly, and efforts we have not
yet identified. For now we ask that you mark your calendars for Peace Island and tell friends.

NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL SECTION NEWS

As many members of WILPF have read on the WILPF e-mail listserv, financial shortages at the national office have compelled the National Board to cut back on expenses. The largest expense of the organization is of course its wonderful staff, and all staff members have now been laid off. The Board is making a brave attempt to cover staffing responsibilities until the organization is again on solid ground.

For members who might be able to pledge a monthly amount to national, to help the organization determine its income, rather than paying dues annually, an easy way to do so is to log onto <http://www.wilpf.org/pledge> and look for instructions under "Donate."



Letter from Felicity Hill, WILPF's International office in Geneva

Dear WILPF Members--

Since 1984, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) has worked with other NGOs to organise a seminar linking 8 March – International Women's Day – with disarmament, peace and security issues. Each year, a report and statement from the NGO conference has been read into the record of the Conference on Disarmament (CD), the only official oral statement from NGOs to this body.

The 2008 International Women's Day seminar will bring women together to discuss the next phase of activity in putting resolution 1325 to work so that it does more than add a few sentences to speeches, more than add a few women to UN departments and peacekeeping operations.

At What Cost?: Women, Wars, Weapons and Conflict Prevention

2008 International Women's Day Seminar, Geneva, Switzerland

Wed. 5 March – NGO conference, International Conference Centre, Geneva
Thur. 6 March – Dialogue among NGOs, governments and UN officials – U.N., Geneva

March 5 – NGO conference – opportunity for activists and advocates to share information in a series of briefings, discussion and strategising on gender, security and preventing conflict.

Co-sponsored by WILPF, NGO Committee on Status of Women, and NGO Committee on Disarmament. The day will start with a panel reflecting on the rewards and limits of Security Council resolution 1325. Speakers include Catalina Perdomo, Stockholm Institute for Peace Research; Rebecca Johnson, Actornym Institute; Cora Weiss, Hague Appeal for Peace; Rebecca Peters, International Action Network on Small Arms.

March 6 – Dialogue among NGOs, governments and UN officials. Co-sponsored by WILPF and Geneva Forum, invited panelists include Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, Kofi Annan, Mary Robinson, Wangari Mathai, Naomi Klein.

Today military budgets are soaring, new weapons for killing and mutilating are under development, and

27,000 nuclear weapons remain threatening our very survival. Outdated military security doctrines and budgets of the Cold War prevail, and while they remain, the vision of Security Council resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security cannot be fulfilled.

Today it is clear is that in scales that matter, commitments to gender equality are not yet real. Without women's participation and empowerment and without gender equality, sustainable peace, sustainable development and true human security are unattainable. The failure to finance gender equality is the failure to finance development and human security.

Consider the following facts:

- The combined budgets of the UN agencies and programmes devoted to women is only \$65 million - this is 0.005% of a world military expenditure of \$1204 billion in 2006;
- More than two-thirds of the world's unpaid work is done by women – the equivalent of \$11 trillion (approximately half of the world's GDP);
- Women make up 70% of the world's poor and 67% of the world's illiterate people – women still own just 1% of assets worldwide.

See our website for details of the sponsorship, conference registration form and list of a range of accommodation options in Geneva on our website <http://www.wilpf.int.ch/events/2008IWDSeminar.html> A finalised agenda will be posted at this link in the coming week.

♣ ♣

Some facts from January's Coffee With program, "Water Issues in the Middle East," presented by Prof. D. J. Mulla

U.S. average use of water is 100 g/day; Israel 74; West Bank and Jordan 20, Gaza 26.
30% of water used by Israel originates in Lebanon and Syria; 40% originates in West Bank. Although the Jordan River runs through Palestine, and Israel gets 1/4 of its water from the river, Palestinians must purchase 63% of their water from Israel. The rest is groundwater but they are not permitted to drill new wells.

Many of the "wars" of Israel have been over access to water. Jordan's expulsion of Palestinian activists in 1979 was because of Israel's taking of water. Israel has broken terms of the 1994 peace treaty with Jordan over use of water, leaving Jordan with serious deficit. The separation wall gives Israel control of 95% of the western Acquirer in the West Bank.

♣ ♣

MN Metro News

Steering Committee member Elizabeth Shippee recently participated in a conference call initiated by WILLPF members in the Midwest. On the call were members from Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Ohio, and Wisconsin.

1. Madison, Cleveland, and MN Metro have the most programming. Cleveland, Madison, and MN Metro publish newsletters; Des Moines members contribute to a newsletter with other organizations.
2. Mary from Des Moines led a discussion about the national Congress that will be held June 25-28 at Simpson College in Indianola, Iowa. A major theme: How to rebuild leadership? the planners are not seeking big name plenary speakers; rather they want to encourage broad participation by all attendees through smaller group discussions. Boone, Iowa, is celebrating the 100th anniversary of the first suffragist march in the state. They will participate in the opening of the Congress. Mary is looking for someone to be Jane Addams. (Any ideas?)

3. Re the current financial crisis at national: We should understand that JAPA owns the building. Staffing costs were \$50,00 a month, and membership and contributions have fallen.

4. Other suggestions and comments:

* It would be good to share information about speakers who are coming to a branch so that others might schedule the same speaker and share expenses.

* Exchange newsletters on a regular basis.

* There should be a Midwest Cluster meeting at the Congress.



Dear MN Metro WILLPF members and friends:

MN Metro would love to have your energy and ideas in deciding on programs and actions for our branch. We have a very active Arts Committee and would like to have many more committees working on all sorts of pressing issues, including WILLPF's national campaigns--Save the Water and Women Demanding Peace in the Middle East.

WILLPF was created during the First World War to address the use of violence to solve world problems. It has always had a focus on arms control, disarmament, and antinuclear activity. Unfortunately this emphasis is needed today more than ever, as new weapons are devised, new U.S. bases and so-called missile defense sites proliferate, and space becomes a theater of war.

To increase our impact on the world, we need active involved people. Please consider joining an issue committee or the steering committee (the latter meets every other month). We all know there is much to be done at this time in our history.

Call our phone line, 651-458-7090, or e-mail us at wilpfe@earthlink.net.

New Newsletter Editor Wanted

The current editor of Listen to Women for a Change is stepping down after this issue, after producing the newsletter for about six years. MN Metro is hopeful that someone out there, who loves to work with information and write and lay out articles, will volunteer. The newsletter in its current iteration is being published bimonthly, but a new editor can change whatever she (or he) chooses.

Please call 651-633-4410 or e-mail alteravista@usfamily.net if you are interested.

MN Metro Invites You to an April "Tea with Humphrey Institute International Fellows"

A festive occasion this spring with Humphrey Institute Fellows will offer our members and friends the opportunity to meet interesting women and support international understanding. On April 24, MN Metro will host a tea with several women Humphrey International Fellows as honored guests. Each will bring us unique insights from her country and her experiences during her year in Minnesota.

The Hubert H. Humphrey International Fellowship Program at the U of M was established 25 years ago to honor the late Sen. Humphrey and "his lifelong commitment to international cooperation and public service." Mid-career professionals come from developing countries for a year of personal and professional growth, including study, exchange of information among fellows, learning about the United States, and developing "a fuller sense of the global context in which they and their countries operate."

The April 24 tea will be held at the home of Steering Committee member Zehra Avsar Keye. Besides providing enriching information and informal socializing with our guests, the affair is being planned as a gentle (non-obligatory) fundraiser. We are seeking to build sufficient funds to sponsor a major event around themes of international peacekeeping for the fall of 2008.

Watch for further details on our Web page (www.wilpfm.org), and in the meanwhile, save tea time (specifics later) on Thursday, April 24, 2008.

Headwaters Walk for Justice Ends

For years MN Metro has participated in the annual Headwaters Walk for Justice, held as a fundraiser for organizations and for Headwaters. In December the Board of Directors of Headwaters decided to end the Walk. Headwaters will, however, continue its work with social change groups, helping them take advantage of new tools available for fund-raising and for increasing their organization's visibility.

Editorial: For some years I've been confused by many events. Some have seemed to make no sense, others to have such foreseeable bad consequences that the policies provoking them seem obviously wrong. For example, I've wondered how Israel can be allowed by the rest of the world, and especially by the U.S., to treat the whole Palestinian people as non-people, to use torture and deprivation on a captive people for decades. I've wondered why no one stepped in to stop the 10-year-long sanctions on Iraq, that had such terrible consequences for innocent people. I've wondered why governments allow instant movements of capital all over the world in search of instant profits, and recently the invention and trading of derivatives and packaging of subprime mortgage debt to be sold as top-rated investments. I've wondered why Blackwater employees were in New Orleans threatening survivors of Katrina and the flood, while desperately needed aid was callously turned away.

Naomi Klein's recent book, *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism*, has answered many of my questions. She has researched and now put into words for all to read the cruel, inhuman policies now shaping the world. Her research and book make clear that pure capitalism as an economic system is coming to an end, as the wealthy steal the last remaining resources while all the others and the environment pay. Get this book, read it twice, and prepare for an increasingly ugly and unrecognizable world if we don't stop enabling it.

The shock doctrine

by Naomi Klein

Edited extract from *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism* by Naomi Klein, 2007
(From *The Guardian* - Sep 8, 2007)

I met Jamar Perry in September 2005, at the big Red Cross shelter in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. I had just been busted for talking to evacuees without a media escort and was now doing my best to blend in, a white Canadian in a sea of African-American southerners. Born and raised in New Orleans, Perry had been out of the flooded city for a week. He and his family had waited forever for the evacuation buses; when they didn't arrive, they had walked out in the baking sun. Finally they ended up here, a sprawling convention centre now jammed with 2,000 cots and a mess of angry, exhausted people being patrolled by edgy National Guard soldiers just back from Iraq.

The news racing around the shelter that day was that the Republican Congressman Richard Baker had told a group of lobbyists, "We finally cleaned up public housing in New Orleans. We couldn't do it, but God did." Joseph Canizaro, one of New Orleans' wealthiest developers, had just expressed a similar sentiment: "I think we have a clean sheet to start again. And with that clean sheet we have some very big opportunities."

All that week Baton Rouge had been crawling with corporate lobbyists helping to lock in those big opportunities: lower taxes, fewer regulations, cheaper workers and a "smaller, safer city" - which in practice meant plans to level the public housing projects. ...

One of those who saw opportunity in the floodwaters of New Orleans was the late Milton Friedman, grand guru of unfettered capitalism and credited with writing the rulebook for the contemporary, hyper-mobile global economy. 93 years old and in failing health, "Uncle Milite", as he was known to his followers, found the strength to write an op-ed for the *Wall Street Journal* three months after the levees broke. "Most New Orleans schools are in ruins," Friedman observed, "as are the homes of the children who have attended them. The children are now scattered all over the country. This is a tragedy. It is also an opportunity."

Friedman's radical idea was that instead of spending a portion of the billions of dollars in reconstruction money on rebuilding and improving New Orleans' existing public school system, the government should provide families with vouchers, which they could spend at private institutions. ... Within 19 months, with most of the city's poor residents still in exile, New Orleans' public school system had been almost completely replaced by privately run charter schools.

The Friedmanite American Enterprise Institute enthused that "Katrina accomplished in a day ... what Louisiana school reformers couldn't do after years of

trying". Public school teachers, meanwhile, were calling Friedman's plan "an educational land grab". I call these orchestrated raids on the public sphere in the wake of catastrophic events, combined with the treatment of disasters as exciting market opportunities, "disaster capitalism".

In one of his most influential essays, Friedman articulated contemporary capitalism's core tactical nostrum, what I have come to understand as "the shock doctrine". He observed that "only a crisis - actual or perceived - produces real change". When that crisis occurs, the actions taken depend on the ideas that are lying around. Some people stockpile canned goods and water in preparation for major disasters; Friedmanites stockpile free-market ideas. And once a crisis has struck, the University of Chicago professor was convinced that it was crucial to act swiftly, to impose rapid and irreversible change before the crisis-racked society slipped back into the "tyranny of the status quo". A variation on Machiavelli's advice that "injuries" should be inflicted "all at once", this is one of Friedman's most lasting legacies. ...

I started researching the free market's dependence on the power of shock four years ago, during the early days of the occupation of Iraq. I reported from Baghdad on Washington's failed attempts to follow "shock and awe" with shock therapy -- mass privatisation, complete free trade, a 15% flat tax, a dramatically downsized government. Afterwards I travelled to Sri Lanka, several months after the devastating 2004 tsunami, and witnessed another version of the same manoeuvre: foreign investors and international lenders had teamed up to use the atmosphere of panic to hand the entire beautiful coastline over to entrepreneurs, who quickly built large resorts, blocking hundreds of thousands of fishing people from rebuilding their villages. By the time Hurricane Katrina hit New Orleans, it was clear that this was now the preferred method of advancing corporate goals: using moments of collective trauma to engage in radical social and economic engineering.

... Disaster capitalists have no interest in repairing what once was. In Iraq, Sri Lanka and New Orleans, the process deceptively called "reconstruction" began with finishing the job of the original disaster by erasing what was left of the public sphere.

When I began this research into the intersection between super-profits and mega-disasters, I thought I

Continued on p. 5

Shock Doctrine *continued from page 4*

was witnessing a fundamental change in the way the drive to "liberate" markets was advancing around the world. ... As I dug deeper into the history of how this market model had swept the globe, I discovered that the idea of exploiting crisis and disaster has been the modus operandi of Friedman's movement from the very beginning - this fundamentalist form of capitalism has always needed disasters to advance.

Seen through the lens of this doctrine, the past 35 years look very different. Some of the most infamous human rights violations of this era, which have tended to be viewed as sadistic acts carried out by anti-democratic regimes, were in fact either committed with the intent of terrorising the public or actively harnessed to prepare the ground for radical free-market "reforms". In China in 1989, it was the shock of the Tiananmen Square massacre and the arrest of tens of thousands that freed the Communist party to convert much of the country into a sprawling export zone, staffed with workers too terrified to demand heir rights. The Falklands war in 1982 served a similar purpose for Margaret Thatcher: the disorder resulting from the war allowed her to crush the striking miners and to launch the first privatisation frenzy in a western democracy.

...Friedman's economic model is capable of being partially imposed under democracy - the US under Reagan being the best example - but for the vision to be implemented in its complete form, authoritarian or quasi-authoritarian conditions are required. Until recently, these conditions did not exist in the US. What happened on September 11 2001 is that an ideology hatched in American universities and fortified in Washington institutions finally had its chance to come home. The Bush administration, packed with Friedman's disciples, including his close friend Donald Rumsfeld, seized upon the fear generated to launch the "war on terror" and to ensure that it is an almost completely for-profit venture, a booming new industry that has breathed new life into the faltering US economy. Best understood as "disaster capitalism complex", it is a global war fought on every level by private companies whose involvement is paid for with public money, with the unending mandate of protecting the US homeland in perpetuity while eliminating all "evil" abroad.

In a few short years, the complex has already expanded its market reach from fighting terrorism to international peacekeeping, to municipal policing, to responding to increasingly frequent natural disasters. The ultimate goal for the corporations at the centre of the complex is to bring the model of for-profit government, which advances so rapidly in extraordinary cir-

cumstances, into the ordinary functioning of the state-- in effect, to privatise the government.

In scale, the disaster capitalism complex is on a par with the "emerging market" and IT booms of the 90s. It is dominated by US firms, but is global....

It is time for this to change. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, there has been a powerful reckoning with the crimes committed in the name of communism. What of the crusade to liberate world markets?

I am not arguing that all forms of market systems require large-scale violence. It is eminently possible to have a market-based economy that demands no such brutality or ideological purity. A free market in consumer products can coexist with free public health care, with public schools, with a large segment of the economy - such as a national oil company - held in state hands. It's equally possible to require corporations to pay decent wages, to respect the right of workers to form unions, and for governments to tax and redistribute wealth so that the sharp inequalities that mark the corporatist state are reduced. Markets need not be fundamentalist.

John Maynard Keynes proposed just that kind of mixed, regulated economy after the Great Depression. It was that system of compromises, checks and balances that Friedman's counter-revolution was launched to dismantle in country after country. ...

Torture: the other shock treatment

From Chile to China to Iraq, torture has been a silent partner in the global free-market crusade. Chile's coup featured three distinct forms of shock, a recipe that would re-emerge three decades later in Iraq. The shock of the coup prepared the ground for economic shock therapy; the shock of the torture chamber terrorized anyone thinking of standing in the way of the economic shocks.

But torture is more than a tool used to enforce unwanted policies on rebellious peoples; it is also a metaphor of the shock doctrine's underlying logic. Torture, or in CIA parlance, "coercive interrogation", is a set of techniques developed by scientists and designed to put prisoners into a state of deep disorientation. ...

The shock doctrine mimics this process precisely. The original disaster -- the coup, the terrorist attack, the market meltdown -- puts the entire population into a state of collective shock. The falling bombs, the bursts of terror, the pounding winds serve to soften up whole societies. Like the terrorised prisoner who gives up the names of comrades and renounces his faith, shocked societies often give up things they would otherwise fiercely protect.

Minnesota Metro WILPF, P.O. Box 14752, Minneapolis, MN 55414, 651-458-7090,
www.wilpfn.org

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Subscription to WILPF International \$15 (Make check payable to WILPF, mail to MN Metro) _____

Calendar

Rest of Jan-Feb. 15: "The Meeting" by Jeffrey Stetsor: Thurs. Jan. 31, Feb. 7, 7-30 pm; Fri. Feb. 1, 8 pm; Sun. Feb. 3, 2pm; 10 am performances Jan. 30, Feb. 1, 5-8, 12-15. History Theatre, 30 E Tenth St., St. Paul. \$15 all performances. Reservations 651-292-4323 or www.historytheatre.com. About the Play: 1965. February 14. Evening. A room in the Hotel Theresa, Harlem. Two men--Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr.--share a cause, but not a movement. One hundred years after Emancipation, Black Americans struggle under the yoke of racial oppression; America's streets burn with their rebellion. Malcolm X believes there will never be peace without justice. Dr. King believes there will never be justice without peace. They know they are marked men, still they continue their quest for freedom. They grapple with a question: Are revolutions won by hands clenched into fists or joined in prayer?

Sat. Feb. 9, 10 am-noon: WILPF Coffee With. See announcement page 1.

Wed. Feb. 13, 5 pm: Angela Davis: A Socially Conscious Conversation. First speaker in a new Leatrad-Suzuki Center initiative entitled "SPEAK! A Series of Conscious Conversations." Macalester College, Alexander G. Hill Ballroom. Free, tickets required, available for pick up at Macalester Campus Center Information Desk beginning Feb. 6. FFI Littlelgivenfdn@aol.com.

Feb. 21-Mar. 9: "Peace Crimes: The Minnesota Fight vs. the War." The story of 8 young men who raided draft boards across Minnesota during the Vietnam War and went to prison for their acts. Rarig Center, U of M Campus. All tickets \$20. Co-production of History Theater and U of MN Theater Department. FFI Jill, 651-292-4320, jvaughn@historytheatre.com.

Sat. Mar. 15, 8am - 4pm: ~~13th~~ 14th Annual International Women's Day Celebration: Women Leading for Gender Justice. Keynote: Robin Morgan. Plenary panel on indigenous rights, workshops on women's human rights, film, performance by Maria Isa. Sponsored by Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights and Human Rights Program, U of M. 65 co-sponsoring organizations present resources for activism. Coffman Union, Washington Ave. at U of M. Parking \$5 at garage below union, enter from River Road. FFI www.mnadvocates.org.

Thurs. Apr. 24, afternoon: "WILPF Tea with Humphrey Fellows." See announcement page 3.

June 25-28: WILPF Triennial National Congress. Simpson College, Indianola, Iowa. Watch for details.

SHORT TAKES

"And So It Begins"
By Catherine Graham, December 26, 2007

In September of this year, the United Nations passed a non-binding Resolution on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Naturally, Canada, the United States and Australia refused to sign, but this resolution paved the way for a move that has been waiting in the wings, so to speak, since the 1970s. ...

On Wednesday of this week, Russell Means (part of the siege at Wounded Knee in the 1970s; Leonard Peltier is serving life in prison on FBI-concocted evidence) led a delegation of the Lakota Sioux people to the U.S. State Department and the embassies of Bolivia, Chile, South Africa and Venezuela, declaring their secession from the United States of America.

Means stated, "We are no longer citizens of the United States of America and all those who live in the five-state area that encompasses our country are free to join us." The lands of the Lakota Sioux encompass portions of Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Wyoming and Montana. In the coming weeks, they will take their diplomatic mission overseas to seek further support.

Means also stated that anyone willing to renounce their U.S. citizenship would live on Lakota land tax free, and that the Lakota would issue their own passports and driving licenses. Since a large group of libertarians have recently moved to Wyoming, this opens up some interesting possibilities for a free society growing up in our midst.

"Latin American Financial Independence"
By Nestor Núñez, AIN Special Service

Eight years after Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez's proposal, finally the Bank of the South has been born in Buenos Aires, Argentina, created with the participation of Argentina, Paraguay, Brazil, Uruguay, Bolivia, Ecuador and Venezuela. If the entity is consolidated, as is expected, South America and the entire hemisphere south of the Rio Bravo will have gained an important degree of independence [from the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the U.S. financial industry].

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