

Winter 2005

yes!
a journal of positive futures

**Hope for Iraq war vets
Pranksters sink the WTO
Puppets, theater & resistance**

healing & resistance

Van Jones

**on how to take
America forward**

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Issue #32



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Periodicals





Dear Reader,

I write to you on November 3. We here at *YES!* gathered this morning to share our grief about the election results and to struggle to understand what it means.

Here are a few thoughts: It seems to me the attacks of September 11 crystallized for Americans the insecurity many were already feeling. The decades of expectations that our sons and daughters would have better lives than our own had already ended. Susan Faludi's book *Stiffed* describes the ways that this lowered expectation is taking a devastating toll on the lives of American men (especially middle-class European-American men), whose jobs and social status are suffering from downsizing, whose marriages are failing, and whose self-image is badly frayed.

President Bush promised to stand up for these Americans. It was a simple but attractive sell: *Your problems are caused by people "out there" who are jealous of your freedom—people less deserving who don't share your religion or nationality. I will be unwavering in defending you against "them."*

The more complex reality, which John Kerry partially described, is less satisfying. We are a nation that is over-extended. Corporations travel the globe, leaving people at home suffering from job loss and people worldwide suffering from economic dislocation. The U.S. invasion of Iraq is straining our military and our national budget and causing tremendous suffering—and we are less secure with fewer allies and more enemies. Oil prices are at record heights, and world oil production will soon peak, if it hasn't already. The planet is heating up, species are going extinct, our health is compromised, and the gap between rich and poor grows wider.

People know in their bones that we can't continue as we are, but our political divide is rooted in vastly different stories about what is happening, why, and what we should do about it.

In our next issue we'll explore the role of the media in explaining, and failing to explain, the stories of our time. But in this issue, we consider the wounds that are fracturing our social and political landscape—and the sources of healing.

- War: veteran war correspondent Chris Hedges reflects on the traumas of past wars as they echo across generations and how the trauma experienced by young men and women now fighting in Iraq can be healed (see page 17).
- Peacemaking: *YES!* contributing editor John Mohawk describes the 1,000-year-old art of peacemaking that helped the five nations of the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Confederacy end devastating warfare (see page 24).
- Intimate violence and political repression: author Riane Eisler explores the interweaving of intimate violence, political repression, and religious fundamentalism (page 30).
- Humor: the Yes Men (no relation) tell of their astonishment when corporate accountants applaud the dismantling of the world economy as we know it (page 37).



What will come out of this troubling election? So many of you worked hard, hoped, prayed, and devoted yourselves to producing an election outcome that could move us forward as a nation. It was unforgettable to see people come together with such passion and commitment for a common purpose.

Activist Van Jones says in his cover story that we can build on that energy to form a political force more vibrant, more diverse, and more powerful than any we might have imagined, and doing so will change our world (page 13).

I believe he's right—although we may have some dark days ahead. I wish you the courage to continue speaking from your heart, and I hope this issue will nourish you and give you gifts of hope and resistance to take into the next stage of our common work. Tell us what you're doing, and we'll include your story in *YES!* or online (editors@yesmagazine).

Sarah Ruth van Gelder
Executive Editor





Ronald T. Simon, see page 48

to heal is to live in the truth

Bert Sacks

yes! Winter 2005 Issue #32

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YES! is published by the Positive Futures Network, an independent, nonprofit organization that supports people's active engagement in creating a more just, sustainable, and compassionate world



readersforum



Did an article leave you delighted? Infuriated? Inspired to action?

Tell us what you think of the ideas you find in *YES!* and what you're doing to create a better world

Envisioning a Better World

As I read each article in "Can We Live Without Oil?" I was struck by the many stories featuring news I hadn't, and probably wouldn't, come upon anywhere else. I look forward to the next issues of *YES!*—trusting that you will continue to send out the good news we would be hard pressed to find elsewhere. Keep giving us the kinds of articles that make us think, this is the world I want to live in!

Karen Anderson
Macdoel, California

to join *YES!* by committing not to fly at all for a year.

Going to conferences and speaking engagements is vital work, but maybe decisive conservation action would be even more vital. The integrity of action is the most valuable currency for change we have. The freed-up travel money could be distributed for modest, very local conservation-related gatherings or initiatives.

Will Braun
Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada

fect reversed: rather than saying things are screwed up because we don't vote, maybe it would be more accurate to say that many fail to vote because the system is so corrupt that voting has been reduced to a meaningless act.

Urging people to vote, as if that in itself were the answer, obscures the frighteningly deep roots of our problems. At least if you want to urge them to vote, acknowledge some of the points above. In my mind, not to do so is a subtle form of denial that only helps to perpetuate the disorientation of the average citizen.

Jim Ludwig
via e-mail

Stop Flying

I quit my job on climate and energy issues partially because it involved a whole lot of jumping on fuel-thirsty planes to go to conferences to convince people to conserve energy. The duplicity got to me.

In the 18 months since, I have commuted over 10,000 fabulous miles on my bicycle. In the process, climate, and energy issues have taken deeper root in my spirit, that place where calm, freeing action is born. I am still involved in addressing systemic change, but I do so from a great depth and with greater integrity.

In follow-up to the great fall edition of *YES!*, "Can We Live Without Oil?" and arising out of my experience, I encourage *YES!* to reduce staff travel over the next year by whatever percentage you deem greenhouse gas emissions need to drop in order to stabilize the atmosphere (Sierra Club of Canada suggest "at least 50 percent below 1990 levels"). I would offer to be the first

Voting Is Not the Whole Answer

Thank you for your "Countdown to Election 2004" [special *YES!* web-only coverage]. Though I hold this generally to be useful, I think it is important to add explicitly that simply urging everyone to vote *will not* solve our very serious problems. After all, we had only two viable candidates, and *both* are corporatists and militarists. Is Kerry better than Bush? Maybe so, given that Bush is Frankenstein.

But we need only look to the Clinton record, at what actually went down during his administration, to realize that the Democratic Party is just another face of the corporate system, that it will continue the destructive ways of big business, albeit a bit more discreetly than the Republicans.

I know your magazine likes to put a positive face on things, but the truth is that our nation's problems are severe, too much so to be solved simply by everyone voting. Perhaps we have the cause and ef-

A Better Garage Sale

In January 2004, I decided I would follow a dream I had entertained for several years and travel around the country by bicycle for a year.

Doing so required that I get rid of most of the stuff I had accumulated. I looked around on the Internet but was unable to find an online sale site that met my needs: I wanted to sell things primarily to friends and neighbors, not to strangers in distant places. I also wanted the option of loaning some of my things during my absence rather than parting with them forever.

What I came up with was my own website, www.Buy.WorksCited.net. Unlike other free classified-ad services, it balances confidentiality (both seller's and buyer's) with the ability to restrict sales of sentimental-valued items to a list of

specific people. I got great satisfaction out of seeing which of my possessions my friends wanted to buy or borrow, and I met a number of neighbors (by putting up signs at the local co-op) whom I wouldn't have met through an ordinary yard sale. And it's effective: I sold more than \$1,300 worth of stuff in three weeks, compared to \$70 at the yard sale I eventually held at a neighbor's place.

The flip side of the site is www.Borrow.WorksCited.Net, which allows you to set up a lending library for your friends or neighbors. It would be ideal for an intentional community or block club that wants to have a library but doesn't have shared space. It's not just for books, either; you could share a lawn mower or even a camper via the site. For me its great advantage is that I don't have to remember who's borrowing what while I'm gone, since the site keeps track of that for me.

Both sites are entirely free of charge and free of advertising, and I'd be thrilled to have fellow YES! readers using them. I think they are primarily tools for building community, with stuff-redistribution as the means rather than the end.

Ben Stallings
Writing from the road

Slowing Down in Japan

I was just in Japan for a week of lectures and learned that there is a sharp upturn in a movement called "Slow Society"—it's the natural progression from Slow Food and Slow Cities. Whole prefectures have declared themselves "Slow," and even prominent business associations have embraced the concept.

Your issue on the good life (Summer 2004) struck the same chord, and in addition to the theoretical reasons for why slowing

down is good for sustainability, as a father and husband with two small kids, I'm wishing the whole world would slow down a bit, or a lot, so that I can slow down.

The question raised by this issue is an urgent one. My mantra is "Speed up sustainable development innovation." And yet, "The thing we really need to speed up," I ended up telling my Japanese audiences, "is the adoption of Slow Society."

Alan AtKisson
Saltsjö-Boo, Sweden

Making a Difference in Guatemala

At every meal of every day, it was the same. Somewhere between the beans for breakfast and tortillas for dinner, I found it hard not to let the mundane routines of humanitarian aid in the rainforests of Guatemala distract me from their larger implications. But what grassroots development lacks in pizzazz and headlines, it makes up for in providing meaningful and sustainable solutions.

Not long ago, I spent several months working in the relatively unknown jungles off the Caribbean coast of Guatemala for the Mayan-run Asociación Ak' Tenamit. Here, the Third World challenges facing the indigenous Mayan population are at their most acute: economic opportunities are insufficient; infrastructure is generally nonexistent; and social services like health care and education are inadequate.

Founded in 1992, Ak' Tenamit operates schools from elementary to high school level, with locally designed curriculums; manages a health clinic and floating dental boat; facilitates community organizing; and provides income-generation projects for local communities, including exotic fruit orchards, eco-tourism, and craft cooperatives. Many of the

income-generation projects revive traditional Mayan practices and use only local materials. The group focuses its infrastructure work on areas that especially affect women, such as tortilla making and collecting water.

In short, the Association is working to raise the quality of life without sacrificing Mayan culture or the environment. My efforts to help with grant work, translation, and general organization turned out to be only a small, but important piece in what is a community-wide effort for sustainable growth. Don't let the beans fool you—we're making a difference.

—Jeff Brand, former
communications officer, Ak' Tenamit
Henderson, North Carolina



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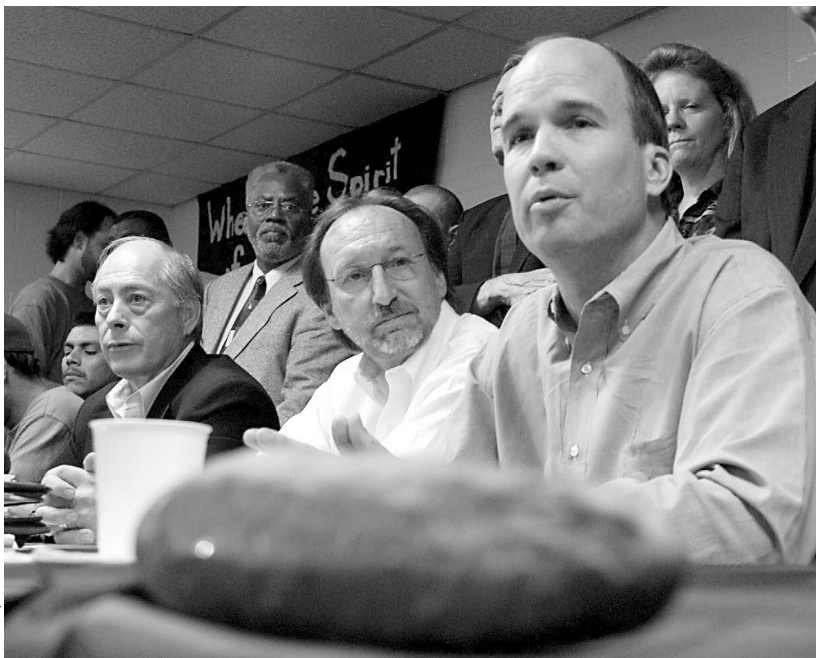
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indicators

Farmworkers Win International Protection



AP Photo/Karen Tarn

Bill Bryan, president of the Mount Olive Pickle Company, right; Baldemar Velasquez, president of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee, left; and Stan Eury, executive director of the North Carolina Growers Association, center, sign a historic labor agreement

Guest workers who come from Mexico to work in the U.S. won a historic victory this fall: their first-ever union contract. It is also the largest union agreement in North Carolina history, covering 8,000 workers on 1,000 farms, and it breaks new ground in cross-border worker protection by allowing the union to monitor the recruiting process in Mexico.

The agreement, signed in September with growers and the pickle company that buys their produce, will give the farmworkers a 10 percent wage increase over three years, paid time off for doctor visits, a seniority hiring system, and a three-step grievance process. It also allows union monitoring of living and working conditions.

The agreement came after an intensive five-year effort by the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC), which sent organizers out to isolated fields to sign up members and combat the workers' fear of speaking out. The organizing drive owes a large part of its success to a consumer boycott of Mount Olive Pickle Company products supported by church groups and international organizations, according to Jerome Ceilli, secretary/treasurer of FLOC.

FLOC had received complaints from migrant workers about attempts to force workers to sign resignations after getting sick from pesticide exposure; refusal to pay minimum wage; denial of work breaks, kitchen facili-

ties, and outside visits; cramped housing; and inadequate transportation to and from the work camps. Three years ago, the push for a union contract intensified after farmworker Urbano Ramirez died in the fields of heat stroke and dehydration.

Under the agreement signed between the North Carolina Growers Association, Mount Olive, and FLOC, the union and the growers' association will work together to combat high recruitment fees.

Migrant workers come from Mexico to work in the fields of the United States under the H2A visa program, which allows U.S. farmers to bring in workers temporarily. The workers are not protected by most U.S. labor laws and are dependent on employers for their legal presence in the U.S. The agreement will establish a union-run office in Mexico to prevent recruiters from charging workers exorbitant fees and will eliminate what union officials have called a blacklist of employees who speak out against unfair conditions.

Many of the workers are farmers burdened by debt who see work in the U.S. as their only way out of poverty. Before the agreement, they often had to pay recruiters in Mexico up to \$500 to be hired, putting them further into debt.

Under the agreement, recruitment fees will be capped at \$340 and growers will be required to keep records of all fees paid. Farmers will receive higher prices from Mount Olive to offset the wage increases, and will receive a further bonus if they provide workers compensation coverage.

—Lisa Garrigues

For more information, go to www.floc.com.

Lisa Garrigues is a YES! contributing editor.



A Backdoor Draft?

With U.S. forces stretched thin in Iraq, Afghanistan, and elsewhere, the military is resorting to coercive measures to compensate for a shortage of troops. In June, the Pentagon issued its most recent "stop loss" orders, which forced an estimated 10,000 military personnel to stay in the military after their service expired. Thousands of active duty soldiers have been forced to serve in Iraq for an extra three months past their one-year tour of duty, while other soldiers prepare for back-to-back deployment into combat zones.

"People don't know what they're getting into when they sign up," said Chris White, an ex-Marine sergeant and member of Veterans for Peace. "It's in the fine print on the contract, but when you ask your recruiter what it means, he says, 'Oh, that's just for emergencies.'"

A California guardsman is suing the Defense Department for the stop-loss order that could require him to serve in Iraq for an additional 18 months past his contract. He has already served in the military for nine years, in both Somalia and Iraq, and his contract was due to expire in December. The lawsuit claims that the stop-loss order is illegal because Congress never officially declared war against Iraq.

The military has stepped up its reliance on National Guard and reservists

to relieve and support active duty troops; the National Guard and Reserves make up 40 percent of the 125,000 troops in Iraq. The Pentagon also recently recalled 5,600 members of the Individual Ready Reserve (IRR), made up of soldiers who have completed their active duty but are still on reserve status. Fewer than two-thirds of those called up reported to duty on time.

National Guard units, who are used as first-responders to natural disasters such as hurricanes and floods, are feeling the strain across the country. For example, the Idaho National Guard's ability to respond to forest fires this summer was hindered by the fact that 62 percent of the Idaho Guard was deployed to Iraq.

At least 180 National Guardsmen and reservists have been killed in Iraq since the war began. For the first time in 10 years, the National Guard fell short of its recruitment goal, by 5,000 soldiers in September.

The military is stepping up its aggressive recruitment tactics, which include high school visits, sleek recruiting vans equipped with weapons simulators and DVD players, and generous sign-on bonuses.

Representative Diane Degette (D-Colorado) is seeking a congressional investigation into allegations that soldiers nearing the end of their

tour of duty in Iraq have been given ultimatums to re-enlist or be sent back to Iraq. Degette cites reports that soldiers in the Third Brigade Combat Team were pressured into re-enlisting.

—Megan Tady

Megan Tady is a former YES! intern.

States Tackle E-Waste

Faced with a mounting disposal problem for discarded electronics, California Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger has signed a bill aimed at reducing the amount of electronic waste entering state landfills. Earlier this year, Maine passed a stronger law making electronics manufacturers responsible for recycling their products.

Beginning January 1, 2005, consumers in California will pay between \$6 and \$10 in state fees when they purchase a computer monitor or television. The state will use the money to pay recyclers who re-process the equipment at the end of its life.

E-waste is the fastest growing component of U.S. municipal waste streams. By 2006, an estimated 163,000 computers and televisions will become obsolete every day in the United States, amounting to almost 3,513 tons of waste. Electronics are laden with toxic substances, including brominated fire retardants, cadmium, lead, and mercury. The United States ships 50 to 80 percent of its e-waste to the developing world, where regulations are lax, and workers and the environment are often exposed to toxins.

It is unclear if the California law will reduce the cost to the state and municipalities of recycling electronics, or if it will be an effective model for the nation. There is no money in the state budget to implement the program. It costs roughly \$10 to \$30 to recycle a computer monitor—about twice what will be collected from consumers.

The advocacy group Silicon Valley Toxics Coalition and computer maker Hewlett Packard criticize the law, saying it lets manufacturers off the hook.



U.S. National Guardsmen stand at attention during a deployment ceremony.
Photo by Darren McColester/
Getty Images



Both groups support legislation adopted in Maine in April 2004, which goes into effect in 2006, making manufacturers responsible for recycling. If electronics manufacturers have to recycle their own products, lawmakers and advocates hope companies will design their equipment to be easily recycled or find ways to eliminate the use of toxic chemicals altogether.

The Maine law resembles the European Union policy adopted in 2002, which requires all computer makers to recycle their machines at no cost to the public and to phase out the use of lead, mercury, cadmium, hexavalent chromium, and two types of flame-retardants (see *YES!* Spring 2003 and Spring 2004).

Hewlett Packard is taking the lead among American computer makers in recycling e-waste. HP and Office Depot created a partnership to collect and recycle computers and all their external components, as well as digital cameras, fax machines, desktop copiers, televisions, and cell phones, regardless of brand, between July 18 and September 6. Midway through the initiative, HP and Office Depot had collected 4 million pounds of equipment. HP has set a goal of recycling 1 billion pounds of e-waste by 2007.

—Krista Camenzind

Krista Camenzind is a former YES! intern.

Church Divests from Israeli Occupation

The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church USA recently voted to initiate a process to divest from companies that profit from Israel's occupation of Palestine. PCUSA is the first Christian denomination to divest from the occupation and, with 2.5 million members and a stock portfolio of \$7 billion, it is likely the largest organization to do so.

The church is not divesting from the country of Israel in general, but only from particular companies "whose behaviors cause oppression," said the Reverend Clifton Kirkpatrick, the clerk

of the PCUSA. He also said the church plans to use divestment as a last resort if shareholder resolutions, dialogue, and public pressure fail to persuade companies to change practices that harm the Palestinians. The church's Mission Responsibility Through Investment Committee plans to begin with companies that profit from settlement construction, destruction of homes and orchards, and construction of the separation wall—all of which violate international law.

The decision has led to high emotions in both Jewish and Christian communities. Kirkpatrick said one-third of the letters to the church on the issue have been critical. Critics have charged that the decision is anti-Semitic, that it may fracture interfaith relations, or that it violates U.S. laws against boycotting of Israel. Kirkpatrick says that the church is not engaging in a boycott, but only making choices about where it invests.

Fourteen members of the House of Representatives have sent a letter to Kirkpatrick urging the church to repeal its decision and arguing that the church's divestment policy penalizes Israel for acting in self-defense.

The group Jewish Voice for Peace applauded the church's decision, saying that Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories is harmful for all parties and that ending the occupation is the best way to help the Jewish people create a future free of terror and anti-Semitism.

Other Protestant denominations, including the Anglican Church, are considering similar divestment options.

—Michelle Burkhart

Medical Incinerators Close Down

Environmental and health activists celebrated a surprise victory in September when Illinois Gov. Rob Blagojevich held an unexpected press conference on September 14 to urge the state's hospitals to close down their waste incinerators.

On the same day, the city of Evanston, Illinois, responded to citizen demands by ordering Evanston Hospital to close its incinerator within one month.

Blagojevich vowed to introduce legislation forcing closure of incinerators if hospitals don't voluntarily comply.

In 1994, the U.S. EPA named medical waste incinerators the leading source of dioxin, "the most carcinogenic substance ever studied," according to the agency. In the mid-1990s, there were more than 5,000 medical waste incinerators operating in the U.S.; today there are fewer than 100.

The closures are credited to a mix of stringent EPA pollution regulations, the availability of safer alternatives for waste disposal, and relentless community activism. Such was the case in Evanston, where concerned residents used a variety of tactics—including community and political organizing—to pressure the well-financed Evanston Hospital to close an incinerator that has been burning waste less than a block away from an elementary school.

A dozen hospital incinerators remain open in Illinois; only Florida has more. Some U.S. states, including California and Michigan, no longer permit medical waste incineration. Many hospitals have switched to non-burn technologies, such as autoclaves, to disinfect medical waste without producing dioxin.

The trend is global: Ireland and Ontario, Canada, have stopped incinerating medical waste, Poland has banned the burning of vinyl (a chief source of dioxin in medical waste incineration), and the Philippines has banned incineration entirely.

—Stacy Malkan

Stacy Malkan is communications director of Healthcare Without Harm, www.noharm.org.

Surveillance Fee Ruled Discriminatory

A fee levied by the University of Massachusetts-Amherst on international students to cover the cost of their

own surveillance was struck down by an arbitrator, who determined the fee was discriminatory. Student activists hailed the decision as a victory against the PATRIOT Act, which expanded the Student and Exchange Visitor Information System (SEVIS) to monitor international students.

In December 2003, the university instituted a \$65 fee on international students in part to fund the costs of participating in SEVIS. While colleges that admit international students are required to participate in SEVIS, it is up to the colleges how they fund it.

An arbitrator from the American Arbitration Association made the ruling in August after the university's Graduate Employees Organization (GEO), a union affiliated with the United Auto Workers, filed a grievance against the administration for imposing the fee. The fee targeted 1,600 international students, 1,000 of whom are GEO members.

GEO launched a campaign against the fee last spring, saying the fee forced international students to pay for their own racial profiling. The union staged several protests and a 48-hour hunger strike, and more than 200 international students refused to pay the fee, facing expulsion from the university and deportation from the country. Several U.S. students withheld a \$65 payment of their tuition bill in solidarity with the international students.

As a result of the decision, the administration will rescind the fee, give refunds to international students who have already paid it, and find another way to fund SEVIS, perhaps through a fee charged equally on all students.

Similar battles over funding SEVIS through fees on international students are being fought at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, the University of Chicago, SUNY-Binghamton, the University of Florida, and the University of South Florida, among others.

—Megan Tady

Megan Tady is a former YES! intern.



Tim Boyle/Getty Images

Junk Food Removed From Schools

An emerging national movement to get junk food out of schools scored a victory in September when the Seattle School Board unanimously voted to ban the sale of foods high in sugar and fat and prohibit exclusive contracts with beverage vendors such as Coca-Cola. The policy also encourages school food providers to offer food that is fresh, local, organic, non-genetically-modified, and unprocessed.

The Citizens' Campaign for Commercial-Free Schools, a Washington state non-profit, pushed for the junk food ban to combat childhood obesity. When CCCFS executive director Brita Butler-Wall was elected to the school board this year, she appointed a nutrition sub-committee to study children and nutrition. Their recommendations resulted in one of the strongest policies in the nation.

Due to financial pressures, many schools accept fees in return for allowing companies to sell and advertise junk food and soda via vending machines and student stores. A study by the Center for Science in the Public Interest found that 75 percent of beverages and 85 percent of snacks sold in

school vending machines were of poor nutritional quality. Reports from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention show that poor diet, often established in childhood, contributes to heart disease, cancer, stroke, and diabetes.

South of Seattle, the Olympia School District is turning to organic food. Lincoln Elementary began offering organic produce at their salad bar several years ago. Most of the food they offer is now organic, and lunch participation has increased by 16 percent. Servings of fruits and vegetables have also gone up, and costs per meal have decreased, mainly because desserts were eliminated. All schools in the district will offer local, organic produce by the end of 2004.

In Montana, when Whitefish Middle School switched from soda and candy to fruit juice, water, and healthy snacks, disciplinary actions immediately following lunch dropped from an average six to eight daily to one to two per week. Philadelphia recently passed a beverage policy that prohibits the sale of soda and juices with high sugar content and limits the sale of sports drinks to vending machines near athletic facilities.

—Michelle Burkhart

Union Opens Membership to All

In a bid to reinvigorate the U.S. labor movement, the United Steelworkers have launched an associate member program, opening their union to any American who wishes to join. A \$40-a-year membership fee (\$20 for students or those who are unemployed) brings access to the clout of the 500,000-member union, advice about workplace rights, healthcare discounts, job training, and the right to elect representation to local labor councils.

Union membership has been in a nosedive in recent decades, declining from 20 percent of American workers in 1983, the year the statistic was first recorded, to 13 percent in 2003. Hardest hit have been traditional manufacturing unions like the Steelworkers, faced with steel mills closed by global competition.

Yet polls show Americans are deeply concerned about their workplace rights, says David Foster, director of the Steelworkers' District 11, who conceived the associate member program. Foster, who was a force behind the labor-environmentalist alliance visible in the 1999 World Trade Organization protests in Seattle, says he has long been searching for ways to make the labor movement relevant to today's workers and effective in the global economy.

Other groups have recently started programs to broaden the reach of union membership, including the Service Employees Union's Purple Ocean and the AFL-CIO's Working America, but these are largely online political action networks, not efforts to reconceive union membership itself.

Steelworkers associate member program director Josh Syrjamaki explains that while associate members don't share workplaces, which are the traditional site of union organizing, the program is doing face-to-face organizing through local membership meetings and alliances with environ-

mental groups and other organizations, including Rescue American Jobs, an organization that opposes corporate outsourcing.

—Carolyn McConnell

For more information, see www.uswa.org/uswa/program/content/1261.php. Carolyn McConnell, senior editor of YES! magazine, recently became an associate member of the Steelworkers.

Military Moves Toward DU Substitute

The Pentagon is quietly pursuing an alternative to depleted uranium (DU) ammunition, after years of rejecting claims that it leaves a legacy of death and contamination. A series of multi-million dollar contracts has been awarded to Liquid Metal Technologies to develop a replacement for DU using tungsten alloy.

Since first using DU in the 1991 Gulf War, the U.S. has dropped thousands of tons on Kosovo, Afghanistan, and again in Iraq. DU is a radioactive metal with twice the density of lead, used to coat bullets and shells that pierce heavily armored tanks and bunkers. These rounds burst into radioactive fireballs that bore through several inches of steel.

On impact, DU rounds turn into a dust that coats equipment and settles into topsoil and ground water. Some studies have found that when DU is inhaled or ingested, it remains in the lungs and blood stream for years. Some researchers link DU to the high rates of chronic fatigue, respiratory problems, disequilibrium, and leukemia in Gulf War veterans and birth defects in their children.

United Nations researchers discovered that 8 sites in Kosovo hit with DU shells remain radioactive, and the death by leukemia of several European soldiers occupying Bosnia and Kosovo prompted public outcry.

In 2002, the UN declared DU weapons illegal. Iraqi doctors, backed by Western observers, have reported

sharp rises in cancer deaths and birth defects since the first Gulf War.

Tungsten, which is non-radioactive, is currently used by Germany, which has proposed a NATO moratorium on the use of DU.

—Darrin Burgess

Inequality Censored

Growing inequality of wealth is the number-one under-reported story of this year, according to Project Censored's annual list. Inequality threatens both democracy and the world economy, and some world economists conclude that it could bring enough of the world's nations to a point of economic failure to collapse the entire global economy. Yet the mainstream press hardly covered the issue.

Twenty-five other stories also made the list, including the Bush administration's censorship of government scientists and a lawsuit brought against the U.S. government by a widow of a 9/11 victim.

Also on the list of censored stories is Attorney General John Ashcroft's attempt to strike down the Alien Torts Claim Act (ATCA), which holds government leaders, corporations, and senior military officials liable in U.S. courts for human rights abuses in foreign countries. Human Rights Watch calls the law one of the few legal defenses victims of human rights violations have against powerful governments and multinational corporations.

The Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals recently ruled that Unocal Corporation could be sued under the ATCA for human rights abuses committed against peasants in connection with construction of a pipeline the company was building in Burma.

—Rik Langendoen

See www.projectcensored.org/publications/2005/ for more information. YES! won a Project Censored award in 2002 for covering the collapse of Argentina's economy and efforts to rebuild it democratically (see YES!, Fall 2002).



the page that counts

Percent of female representatives in the national legislature in Rwanda: 48.8
Percent in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan: 21.6
Percent in the U.S.: 14.3¹
Percent by which Abbott Labs increased the price of a month's supply of the AIDS drug Norvir in December 2003: 500 (to \$250)
Percent Abbott CEO's bonus increased weeks later: 40 (to \$1.75 million)²
Percent of Latin American immigrants' earnings that stay in their adopted communities in the U.S.: 93³
Percent of U.S. adult population who read one or more books in 2002: 56.6⁴
Tax bill for oil and gas drilling company Nabors Industries in 2001: \$83.7 million
Tax bill in 2003 after Nabors reincorporated in Bermuda: \$8.5 million
Number of U.S. oil and gas company subsidiaries incorporated in Bermuda: 126⁵
Number of Rainier beers a bear drank from a Washington state campground before passing out: 36
Number of Busch beers the bear drank before it switched to the local Rainier brand: 1⁶
Number of states that do not use the word "evolution" in their school science standards: 6⁷
Jail sentence Staff Sergeant Camilo Mejia received for refusing to return to fight in Iraq: 1 year⁸
Jail sentence Specialist Armin J. Cruz received for abusing Abu Ghraib inmates: 8 months⁹
Number of beauty products, out of 72 studied, found to contain phthalates (toxic chemicals): 52
Number of these products that list the offending chemicals on the label: 0¹⁰
Amount American Airlines saved in 1987 by eliminating one olive from each salad in first-class: \$40,000¹¹
Percent of the nation's poor who live in the suburbs: 38.5
Percent who live in central cities: 40.6¹²
Salary and bonus that Fog Cutter Capital CEO Andrew Wiederhorn will draw while serving an 18-month federal prison sentence for two felonies: \$2.5 million¹³
Amount that federal prison inmates earn per hour working at mandatory institution jobs: 12 to 40 cents¹⁴
Number of times the average person passes intestinal gas each day: 14 to 23
Amount of intestinal gas produced per person each day: 1 to 3 pints¹⁵
Number of drivers, out of 24, in a driving simulation who missed their exit while using a cell phone with headset: 12
Number out of 24 drivers who missed their exit while talking to a passenger : 3
Number out of 48 drivers who missed their exit while driving only: 2¹⁶
Amount Iraq is paying Toys R Us in reparations resulting from Iraq's invasion of Kuwait: \$189,449
Amount Iraq is paying Phillip Morris: \$1.3 million
Amount Iraq is paying Halliburton: \$18 million¹⁷
Number of Iraqi civilian deaths attributed to the 2003 invasion (through September 2004): 100,000¹⁸

1. Inter-Parliamentary Union, "Women in National Parliaments," June 30, 2004, www.ipu.org/wmn-e/classif.htm. 2. Stephen Smith, "AIDS Drug's High Cost Spurs Doctor's Boycott," *The Boston Globe*, March 19, 2004. 3. Inter-American Development Bank, "Sending Money Home: Remittances to Latin America from the U.S., 2004," January/April, 2004, www.iadb.org/mif/v2/remittancesstudies.html as cited by Joel Millman, "Immigrants Spend Earnings in U.S.," *Wall Street Journal*, May 17, 2004. 4. U.S. Census Bureau and the National Endowment for the Arts, "2002 Survey of Public Participation in the Arts," July, 2003, www.nea.gov/pub/Notes/81.pdf. 5. Center for Public Integrity, "Gimme Shelter (from Texas)," July 16, 2004, www.publicintegrity.org. 6. "Bear Downs 36 Beers, Passes Out at Campground," *The Associated Press*, August 19, 2004. 7. National Center for Science Education, "Georgia Regresses: Drops E-word," February 1, 2004, www.ncseweb.org/resources/news/2004/GA/329_georgia_regresses_drops_ewor_2_1_2004.asp and National Center for Science Education Deputy Director Glenn Branch via personal communication. 8. "Deserter GI Gets Year in Jail," *The Associated Press*, May 21, 2004, www.cbsnews.com/stories/2004/03/16/national/main606703.shtml. 9. Norimitsu Onishi, "Military Specialist Pleads Guilty to Abuse and Is Jailed," *The New York Times*, September 12, 2004, www.nytimes.com/2004/09/12/international/middleeast/12iraq.html?ex=1095825600&en=7f6848f0c184f48&ei=5070&8br. 10. Jane Houlihan, Charlotte Brody, and Bryony Schwan, "Not Too Pretty: Phthalates, Beauty Products & the FDA," Environmental Working Group, Coming Clean, and Health Care without Harm, July 8, 2002, www.nottoopretty.org/report.htm. 11. American Airlines Spokesman Tim Wagner via personal communication. 12. U.S. Census Bureau, "Income, Poverty and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States: 2003," August 26, 2004, www.census.gov/hhes/www/poverty03.html. 13. "Fog Cutter Replaces Auditor," *The Business Journal: Portland*, September 8, 2004, <http://portland.bizjournals.com/portland/stories/2004/09/06/daily17.html>. 14. Federal Bureau of Prisons, "Inmate Programs and Services," www.bop.gov. 15. National Institutes of Health, "Gas in the Digestive Tract," March 2004, <http://digestive.niddk.nih.gov/ddiseases/pubs/gas/>. 16. Frank A. Drews, Monisha Pasupathi, and David L. Strayer, University of Utah, "Passenger and Cell-Phone Conversations in Simulated Driving," *Proceedings of the Human Factors and Ergonomics Society 48th Annual Meeting - 2004*, September, 2004, www.psych.utah.edu/AppliedCognitionLab/. 17. Naomi Klein, "Now Here's a Good Reason for Invading Iraq," *Guardian Unlimited*, October 16, 2004, www.guardian.co.uk/comment/story/0,3604,1328664,00.html. 18. Les Roberts, Riyadh Lafta, Richard Garfield, Jamal Khudhairi, and Gilbert Burnham, "Mortality Before and After the 2003 Invasion of Iraq: Cluster Sample Survey," *The Lancet*, November 6, 2004.

A large, high-contrast black and white close-up portrait of a man's face, showing his eye, nose, and mustache. The image is framed by a thick black border.

a phoenix from





healing & resistance

The hopes of the world were dashed on November 2, 2004. An indescribably beautiful, vibrant, and diverse people's movement had formed inside the United States, aiming to free the planet from the administration of George W. Bush ...

Ordinary people of every class and color had come together: donating, volunteering, phone banking, poll monitoring, dancing, praying—all to end the regime of Bush, Cheney, Rumsfeld, and Ashcroft.

On Tuesday morning, TV news showed urban voters, youth and students flooding the polling stations. By Tuesday afternoon, exit polls were predicting a Bush defeat in Florida and Ohio. Even the most jaded, cynical leftists were starting to get a little excited. A delicious upset victory seemed to be in the works.

Then came Wednesday morning and the awful

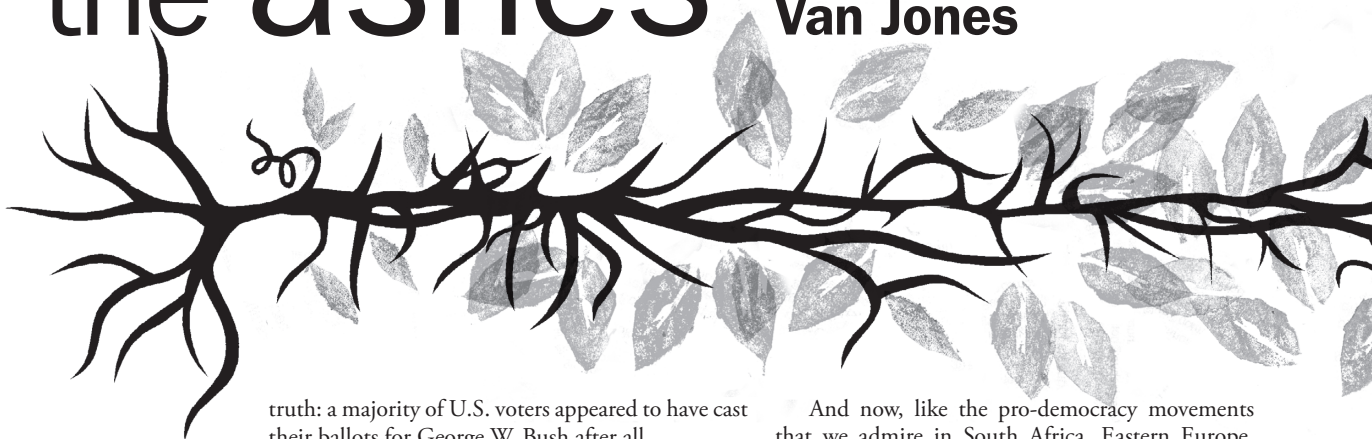
Let's stick with it. Because, without anyone consciously trying to do it, we have already created something without precedent in our nation's history.

It was *not* the Kerry Campaign or the Democratic Party that almost unseated Bush. It was a wildly decentralized people's movement. No one designed it. But somehow we have hatched what looks like a genuine, cross-class, multi-racial, pro-democracy movement, standing up to an increasingly authoritarian regime.

And we did it all in about 18 months. We should be damned proud.

the ashes

Van Jones



truth: a majority of U.S. voters appeared to have cast their ballots for George W. Bush after all.

Across the country, people of conscience were stunned: "Can you believe it?" ... "I'm just numb." ... "I would leave the country. But where can I go that Bush wouldn't bomb?" ... "I'm so sad that I can't even cry about it."

What happens now? What will happen to all this energy, creativity, and momentum?

The good news is it's entirely up to us. We can let Bush's victory shatter all our new coalitions and efforts. Or we can use the pain to deepen our commitment to transforming America.

And now, like the pro-democracy movements that we admire in South Africa, Eastern Europe, Latin America and elsewhere, our fledgling movement must struggle. It will be years and decades before our dreams are realized. But if we choose to fight on, ultimately, we will prevail.

Fortunately, the initial steps to preserve and strengthen our movement are straightforward. First, we must comprehend the true magnitude of this defeat—and grieve. Second, we must acknowledge the breadth of our accomplishments—and celebrate. And lastly, we must identify promising areas of collaboration—and act.





healing & resistance

We have already created something without precedent in our nation's history. ... We have hatched a genuine cross-class, multi-racial, pro-democracy movement, standing up to an authoritarian regime

It's bad ...

In trying to comprehend the Right's triumph, one is tempted to minimize it. But denial is a poor basis for good strategy. We must come to terms with the dire implications of the GOP's sweeping victory. And weep.

Bush appears to have won an outright majority of the popular vote and to have racked up more votes than any U.S. president, including Reagan.

The damage was not limited to the presidential election. The GOP enjoyed gains in the Senate and House and evicted Senator Tom Daschle, who was holding back a flood of right-wing judicial appoint-

Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger to kill the much-needed reform.)

The bottom line: the GOP totally dominates the federal executive, legislative, and judicial branches. And its ideology carries weight, even in places where its elected officials do not.

What will Bush do now? That's obvious: Dubya is the living, breathing embodiment of an unholy union between the military-petroleum complex and the religious right. Now he will reward that power base.

1. Bush will work to intensify the borrow-and-spend tax policies, drill-and-burn energy policies, and lie-and-die military misadventure in Iraq. A draft is a real possibility.
2. The GOP will unleash a fearsome assault on civil liberties, especially targeting Arabs. And Team Bush will carry out its own 21st century Christian jihad, persecuting Muslims, feminists, and "sexual deviants" wherever it can. Bush will try to stack the courts, including the Supreme Court, with right-wingers.
3. He will try to reward big business by privatizing social security and ramming through "tort reform" to shield corporations from lawsuits.



ments. Meanwhile, freedom-to-marry advocates got hammered, with measures banning gay marriage passing even in Oregon. Arizona passed a truly disgusting anti-immigrant measure, despite Republican Senator John McCain and the Chamber of Commerce begging voters to reject it.

And don't think the red states are the only places affected. Californians passed a measure to allow police to collect DNA samples from arrestees, even those who haven't been convicted or charged. Californians also voted down a mild modification to our ultra-draconian "three strikes and you're out" law. (Former liberal Jerry Brown joined hands with

Bottom line: the agenda of right-wing Christian fundamentalists, the Pentagon, corporate war profiteers, and the U.S. petroleum industry will reign supreme. And there will be no change in that balance of power until at least 2008 and (probably) much later.

Taking time to mourn & to honor our fears

Which means at least four more years of hell, aggravation, and heartbreak. We will win some battles, surely. But we will lose some dear fights, too.

So there is a temptation to succumb to despair and give up trying. And there is the opposite im-





healing & resistance

pulse—to skip the tears and dive into a righteous pulse of activity.

Instead, let us take a moment to honor our fears and sorrow. The pain has something to teach us. Let us see what wisdom rises up, when the sobs have ebbed away. Later on, we will need those precious insights. But for now: Cry. Blubber. Scream. The universe will need our sweat and blood again soon enough. For right now it needs our tears.

Reasons for hope

But grieving is not our only work. We also have much to celebrate. Let us never forget that Bush's win was not the result of a single campaign season. Rather, the GOP is inheriting these gains as the result of 40 years of consistent right-wing organizing, institution-building, and propagandizing. The clarity of the right's policy agenda and the maturity of its political apparatus remains unparalleled and unrivaled on the left.

We faced an experienced adversary in GOP mas-
termind Karl Rove. In the post-9/11 environment, we could not rely on our familiar themes. We didn't even have a compelling candidate. And yet our new-born, little movement still came within striking dis-

challenges. But it was significant. A wellspring of talent is presently locked within 501(c)3 and non-electoral groups. Tapping that energy will be key to a winning, progressive electoral strategy.

For too long, progressives have been divided into lots of fragmented, single-issue groups. We have lots of leaders and groups. But we don't know how to work together. Fortunately, that is beginning to change. Serious progressives don't ask *whether* we should now work across lines of race, class, gender or issue. They ask *how* to do it effectively. This is immensely promising. Combining into relevant, effective coalitions could instantly multiply progressive power a thousand-fold.

We Rock: cool technology is cheap & powerful

Communications technology has become reliable, ubiquitous, and cheap. We can network tens of thousands of people, record and share high-quality independent music, and create professional quality DVDs—all on a few desktop computers. MoveOn.org, Howard Dean's Democracy for America, and Indivoter.org are just the tip of the iceberg. We are really just starting to leverage online communities and digital technologies. (Luckily, the Right is too top-down to use these liberating tools appropriately. So we have an advantage in this domain, for now.)

We Rock: we got youth, culture, energy

Thousands of youth got involved in electoral politics for the first time. They made voting seem hip and slick. A miracle! The League of Independent Voters, Slam Bush, and the Hip Hop Political Convention were especially effective. Role models from the corporate hip-hop world also plunged into presidential politics. Everybody from Russell Simmons to P. Diddy to Eminem sounded off. Urban youth were told that their voices—and votes—really mattered. And the youth responded.

The media are trying to poo-poo the youth vote. But they aren't fooling anyone. The turnout was phenomenal. And the youth activists and organizations that emerged during the War of 2004 will be supplying leadership for decades to come.

We Rock: we got new heroes & she-ros

Plus, we have an abundance of new leaders and smart organizations. They include Code Pink. The Hip Hop Summit Action Network. Barack Obama. America Coming Together. Medea Benjamin and Jodie Evans. MoveOn.org. Progressive Majority. Michael Moore. Rock The Vote. Michael Franti.

tance of unseating a “war-time president.” And we can already identify many exciting, positive trends.

We Rock: together at last

The campaign broke down ancient divides between anti-electoral “outsiders” and election-friendly “insiders.” For years, many progressives (including me) refused to get involved in electoral politics. But this year, many rabble rousers walked precincts, patrolled polling stations and voted. In the process, they brought new color and energy to the staid world of get-out-the-vote. This motion toward more inside-outside collaboration was not universal, nor without





healing & resistance

The bright promise we all felt at dawn on election day is the candle that will someday be a great flame

The list goes on and on. All this new and renewed activist energy is barely standing up on little fawn's legs. And yet we almost defeated the right-wing's fearsome dragon. Just *imagine* what we will be able to do in four years, or 10.

We Rock: coz god don't like ugly

November 2, 2004, actually could turn out to be a high-water mark for conservatives. For one thing, Bush will try to reward the social conservatives, especially on issues like gay marriage and abortion. That effort will strain the GOP, as Republican moderates and libertarians drag their feet or push back.

The neo-conservatives are already fighting among themselves over the mess in Iraq. Paleo-conservative Pat Buchanan hates them all. Colin Powell will surely bolt, leaving the moderates with even less influence or reason to play along. Senator John McCain is always a wild card. The lesbian and gay Log Cabin Republicans refused to back Bush in 2004. And eventually, there will be a succession fight to replace Bush, now a lame duck. Any of these factors could undermine Republican unity.

The GOP looks all-powerful now. But hubris catches up to everybody. We can help peel away groups and deepen splits. Then when the Bushies start reaping all the dirt they have sown, we'll be ready.

We Rock: collective action Local activists can find each other and hatch schemes. We don't have to wait for 2008 to start promoting local ballot measures or candidates. Besides, as strategy gurus Joel Rogers and Dan Carroll keep stressing, we must build state-based, election-oriented networks before we can win nationally.

At the federal level, we can prepare now to fight Bush hard on abortion, privatizing social security, Patriot Act II, drilling for oil in Alaska, escalation in Iraq, and the federal judgeships (especially the Supreme Court).

Plus we can play offense. Bush has been totally MIA on energy independence and nuclear proliferation—two mainstream issues where progressives can

lead. The new Apollo Project is smart to demand clean energy jobs for U.S. workers. And there are thousands of other great ideas gurgling out there.

Our pro-democracy movement will prevail

As we find and elevate those ideas, I hope we will not let Wednesday morning's pain wipe out Tuesday morning's pride. The bright promise we all felt at dawn on election day deserves to be cherished, nurtured, protected, honored, and cultivated. It is the candle that will someday be a great flame.

And in the light of that flame, we will lift the sword of war from over the heads of our sisters and brothers around the world. We will set this country on the path of partnership with, not domination over, the world community. We will retrieve the Bill of Rights from John Ashcroft's garbage bin. We will use our genius to heal the Earth, not pave it. We will deepen our nation's commitment to human rights for people of all races, religions, genders, and birthplaces.

These are our sacred duties. And we will meet them. When we do, the United States will once again be the leader of the whole world. But this time, not in war. Not in pollution. Not in incarceration rates.

Instead, we will lead the world in human rights and in social justice, in world-saving technologies and sustainable job creation. We will lead by showing the world how a strong, multi-racial nation can unite itself to solve its toughest problems. That's where our new movement has the potential to take us all.

Our moment of truth did not come on November 2. Our moment of truth is today, now, in the aftermath, and in the choices we make going forward. And I know that we will choose wisely.

I know because I saw those long, snaking lines of disenfranchised people, standing for hours in Ohio rainstorms, waiting to vote. I saw those students sleeping on the ground. I saw those Haitian grandmothers in Florida, black hands gripping steel walkers, asserting their dignity and humanity before the whole world. And in seeing that, I looked into the very heart and soul of this amazing movement we are building.

You saw it, too. So did millions of others. And that's why I am confident that the hopes of the world are absolutely safe with us. Still.

Van Jones is the executive director of the Ella Baker Center for Human Rights (EllaBakerCenter.org). He is also a board member of the California Apollo Project, Bioneers, and the Rainforest Action Network. Illustrations by Lynn Brofsky.





healing & resistance

"I have been in ambushes on desolate stretches of Central American roads, shot at in the marshes of southern Iraq, imprisoned in the Sudan, beaten by Saudi military police, deported from Libya and Iran, captured and held for a week by the Iraqi Republican Guard during the Shiite rebellion following the Gulf War, strafed by Russian Mig-21s in Bosnia, fired upon by Serb snipers, and shelled for days in Sarajevo with deafening rounds of heavy artillery that threw out thousands of deadly bits of iron fragments."

From *War is a Force that Gives Us Meaning*,
by Chris Hedges

love and resistance in wartime

Sarah Ruth van Gelder interviews Chris Hedges



YES! editor Sarah Ruth van Gelder asked Chris Hedges to draw on his years spent in war zones to reflect on the experiences of young Americans now fighting in Iraq.

CHRIS HEDGES: Iraq is a particularly bad situation for combat soldiers and Marines because it is classic insurgency warfare. It's very similar to what soldiers and Marines experienced in Vietnam, what Israeli soldiers experience in Gaza and on the West Bank, and what the French experienced in Algeria.

You have an elusive enemy. You're not fighting a set organized force, the way we were, for example, in the first Persian Gulf War. So you very rarely see your attacker, and this builds up a great deal of frustration. This frustration is compounded by the fact that you live in an environment where you are almost universally despised. Everyone becomes the enemy. And after your unit suffers—after, for instance, somebody in your unit is killed by a sniper who melts back into the slums where the shot was fired from—it becomes easy to carry out acts of revenge against people who are essentially innocent, but who you view as culpable in some way for the death of your comrades.

Robert J. Lifton, who did a lot of studies on the Vietnam War, called these "atrocious-producing situations." It became very easy in Vietnam to shoot down a woman in a rice field as revenge for a comrade who may have stepped on a mine a few hours before.





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One of the disturbing things about this war is that, because they are so short on numbers, they are treating people for Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder and then sending them back into combat situations

War always creates trauma. But in counter-insurgency wars, you are constantly on edge. Going down to a corner store to buy a Coca-Cola creates tremendous amounts of anxiety because somebody could come up behind you and put a gun to the back of your head and kill you.

That's what we're seeing in Iraq. The psychological cost—the emotional cost—that we're inflicting on our soldiers and Marines is devastating.

One of the disturbing things about this war is that, because they are so short on numbers, they are treating people for Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder and then sending them back into combat situations.

So I'm worried about what we're going to see over the long term as these young men and women are re-integrated into the society.

SARAH: We tend to think of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder as a medical or psychological condition. But your book suggests that there are also issues of morality and identity involved.

CHRIS: I think you raise a good point. Morality does play deeply into that sense of trauma, because when you're in a combat situation (and I think you have to go there to understand), your reactions have to be instantaneous. If you hear a sound behind a door, you don't have time to ask questions, so often you shoot first and ask questions later. And this we have seen in Iraq, where soldiers and Marines at road blocks have fired on cars filled with children and families that they initially feared were hostile.

When you are in a combat situation like that, you realize how easy it is to commit murder, how easy it is to commit atrocity, because you are so deathly afraid—and with good reason. But the consequences are devastating, because what you have done is to shed innocent blood, and often the blood of children. So you bring back not only the trauma of the violence, but that deep darkness that you must carry within you for the rest of your life—that you have been responsible for the death of innocents.

So it isn't just an issue of trauma; it is, as well, an issue of morality. This is a horrible burden to inflict, especially on a young life. It's why war should always be waged as a last resort, because the costs are so tremendous, not only to families who lose loved ones and will spend the rest of their lives grieving, but for those who return and for the rest of their lives bear these emotional and psychological burdens.

People cope with that in different ways. Some of course deny it. Some, even combat veterans, will try to perpetuate the mythology of glory and honor and heroism and patriotism. Others, who have more courage and more honesty will confront what they did by trying to live a life of atonement, by seeking a kind of redemption for the acts they carried out. I think that leads them to a much healthier response, and hopefully sets many on the road to recovery. I think we saw this with the conflict in Vietnam, although not exclusively with Vietnam, because my father and all my uncles fought in World War II—the supposedly “good” war—and they hated war when they came back.

SARAH: What do well-publicized incidents, such as those at Abu Ghraib, contribute to the burden of the people returning from war, who may feel associated with acts that they did not participate in and would not have condoned?

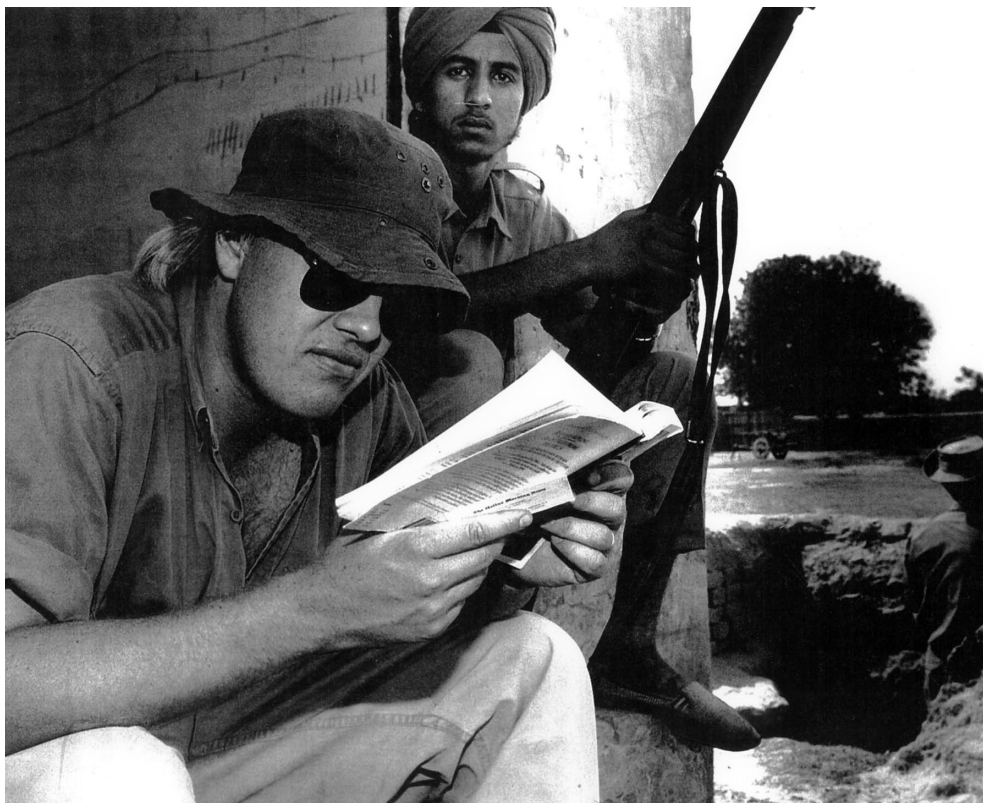
CHRIS: Abu Ghraib is the natural consequence of war and has happened in every single war that has ever been fought. What you are doing in war is turning human beings into objects either to provide gratification or to be destroyed, or both. And almost no one is immune from that—the contagion of the crowd sees to that.

In wartime, perversion and hedonism spiral out of control. The comradeship of soldiering seeks to turn the very act of love into something akin to defecation. This is because the great “that which cannot be subsumed into communal life” is love. So much of the psychosis of war involves an active effort to destroy feelings of tenderness and compassionate love.

In a wartime society, the moral order is flipped upside down; prostitution, rape, and abuse all rise



healing & resistance



as the levels of violence rises. That happened in every conflict I was in. In Serbia, for instance, as the violence proliferated you also had a proliferation of pornography and snuff films. It always goes hand in hand, because what you are destroying is the humanity of the other; you are turning the other into an object, which is precisely what torture or pornography does.

So what we saw in Abu Ghraib was a window into the kind of perversion that is always the case in war. This flies in the face of the image that we are given of war by the entertainment industry, or even quasi-historians like Stephen Ambrose who want to ennoble war.

War is not a noble enterprise. I'm not a pacifist; I think there are times when war is a sad inevitability. But it is certainly not noble.

SARAH: Given the burdens that these young people in Iraq will be coming back with, what can help them work through their traumas and heal?

CHRIS: Well, they need therapy. They need to learn that it's not them; that there's nothing wrong with them, but there was something wrong with the world that they were thrust into. That's a hard hurdle. They tend to blame themselves. They feel disconnected from a society that has not undergone that experience, so they tend to self-medicate, either through alcohol or drugs. Unpacking their experience and their trauma is something that requires professional help over the long term. We certainly learned this with Vietnam. I hope and pray that help is there, because if not, their lives may well be shattered.

I had an uncle who fought in the South Pacific in World War II until 1944, when he was badly wounded. He came back to the small town where he grew up an emotional and a physical basket-case, and he never adjusted. He essentially drank himself to death in his trailer.

I think that the burden that my family carried was one that probably tens of thousands of families were carrying after the war. But those burdens





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were hidden from public view—they were never discussed. In many ways the victim (who was my uncle) was blamed for his own distress. And that's the kind of pattern that we don't want to repeat.

SARAH: How can the larger community be supportive? Whether or not it's true, I think a lot of people blamed those who had opposed the Vietnam War for increasing the trauma of returning veterans.

CHRIS: One of the frustrating things for those of us who have spent so much time in war zones is to come back and see how those who are guiltiest—those who pushed the country into war, who told the lies that perpetuated the war—are never held accountable. And those who suffer the most, those who endure the trauma and have to live with the memories for the rest of their lives, are blamed unjustly.

The only force that is powerful enough to subvert the force of war is love. Love is never organized. Love is always individual love. Love is a force that is built between two human beings. In wartime, everything is done to subvert that force

I think that part of the tragedy of Vietnam is that we blame the wrong people for the war. It's not the fault of the 19-year-old kids who were sent there. It's the fault of the politicians who sent them. And years after the war, people who should be culpable—the Henry Kissingers, the Robert McNamaras—are our elder statesmen writing big thick tomes about diplomacy or their years of government service.

I grew up in a farm town where almost everyone went to the service, including almost all my relatives. They're good, decent, hard-working people who believe what they're told—who believe in patriotism, who believe in the country, who believe in the goodness of the state. When they get into a situation like Vietnam or Iraq, they suddenly realize how they have been manipulated and used. When they come

back and try to speak out about that, the message is so painful and unpalatable to those who prefer the myth that many people not only don't want to hear them, but shunt them aside.

So on the one hand, I think we need to listen closely to what they say, and on the other hand, we need to remember who is ultimately accountable for these wars; it's not the kids that are over there, it's the people who sent them.

SARAH: In this fall's election, it seemed to me we were still fighting over how to interpret the experience of Vietnam.

CHRIS: My problem with the way the election was run is that we pandered to the lie and not the truth.

If you read what John Kerry said immediately after the war, he understood what Vietnam was about. But the election became about war as glorious enterprise—war as reporting for duty, war as noble, war as a test of manhood and courage. And while physical courage is often on very impressive display in war, you almost never see moral courage, which is very different, because it requires standing up to the crowd—often opposing those around you—and in that opposition being shunted aside. So I think that the problem with revisiting the Vietnam experience is that we've forgotten all the lessons of Vietnam.

SARAH: Like the returning veterans, you've also had the experience of transitioning between areas of horrific violence and danger, back into relative peacetime society. What has that been like for you?

CHRIS: It's very hard.

I was a war correspondent for almost 20 years, and it probably took me two or three years to adjust to living in a world not at war. I felt very, very alienated. Very alone. Very misunderstood. Fortunately, I have a great marriage and a woman who loves me very much, and I think it's essentially through that relationship that I was able to be healed. I think that how we always are healed finally is through love. And love is a powerful force. It's palpable and it's real. And I think that those who carry these demons and are left alone, probably don't recover.

SARAH: In your book, you say, "Lurking beneath the surface of every society, including ours, is the passionate yearning for a nationalist cause that exalts us ... the kind that war alone is able to deliver." That



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yearning suggest that we're always going to be either at war or on the brink of war. Do you see any forces can temper that tendency?

CHRIS: The only force that is powerful enough to subvert the force of war is love. Love is never organized. Love is always individual love. Love is a force that is built between two human beings. In wartime, everything is done to subvert that force.

I don't know that there's an organized force that can stand up to the allure of war, which gives us a sense of empowerment—allows us to be part of a cause, to ennoble ourselves, to rise above our small stations in life.

The need to find meaning like that, I think, is an indication of the huge deficit of our emotional life. In conflict after conflict, those who are able to remain sane, who were never able to hate the perfidious enemy (who, in places like the Balkans, were often their neighbors), were those who had good relationships, those who were in love.

I think particularly, in the war in Bosnia, of a Serb woman and her husband who took in two Muslim children and cared for them during the conflict, although they were ridiculed for it by everyone else in the town.

In the grand scheme of things, those small acts of resistance end up being more powerful than we suspect at the time, if nothing else, because they remind us what moral behavior is. When you live in the midst of war, when incredibly powerful weapons are being deployed to kill you, these acts often appear futile, even absurd. Ultimately, I think they are not.

SARAH: Many of the people who read *YES!* opposed the war—we were out on the street demonstrating, trying to persuade our government not to take us to war. I think many of us feel powerless and frustrated, and a great deal of grief about what has happened in Iraq.

CHRIS: First, remember that the opposition to the Vietnam War took 10 years to build. It's a long, slow process.

Second, we can't be saved by what we can accomplish, because if we did, we'd fall into despair. I had a great theology professor who used to tell me that, for intellectuals, faith is an embarrassment. Focus on what you do this day: don't give in to cynicism, because then you are defeated. To get up and carry out an act that may seem not only insig-

When they come back and try to speak out, the message is so painful and unpalatable to those who prefer the myth that many people not only don't want to hear them, but shunt them aside

nificant but absurd gives you a sense of worth and meaning, and allows you to participate in an act (however small) of resistance.

When I covered the war in Kosovo, the Serbs would go into villages and gun down innocent people, families—line them up against the wall and kill them. Then they would block the roads into the village so that we reporters couldn't get in. We would have to walk in, often for hours and hours, chronicle what happened, at great danger to ourselves, and then get the news out and publish it.

That didn't stop the Serbs from getting up the next morning and killing again. But we found that our activity sustained us, because it was an act of resistance. It made it harder for the Serb forces to deny that the killing had taken place. It chronicled yet one more atrocity against innocent civilians, innocent Kosovar Albanians.

I think the cumulative effect of taking a moral stance, over time, is slow and hard and frustrating. If you go back and read Martin Luther King's autobiography, you see what kind of despair he faced in the early years of the Civil Rights movement.

Sustain yourself through community and try not to become too focused on what you can accomplish, because it may very well be that, by the time we're gone, the world will be a worse place. But we have to validate our own existence, our own morality, our own life. And that comes by taking a stance, by standing up and remaining human. And there are times when remaining human is the only resistance possible.

Chris Hedges has written for *The Dallas Morning News*, *The Christian Science Monitor*, National Public Radio, and *The New York Times*. Hedges was part of *The New York Times* team that won a Pulitzer Prize in 2002 for coverage of global terrorism, and he received the 2002 Amnesty International Global Award for Human Rights Journalism.





healing & resistance

finding a way home

Carolyn McConnell



Larry W. Smith/Getty Images

Nick Hughes hugs his fiancée, Regina Reeves, on his return to Fort Riley, Kansas, after over a year in Iraq

Former Marine Staff Sergeant

Jimmy Massey tells his story in an unbroken rush. A red Kia failed to stop at a checkpoint near Baghdad. Massey's platoon followed orders and fired at the car. When the car rolled to a stop, they pulled three dying men from the car. A fourth man was miraculously unscathed. As the three men bled to death next to the road, the fourth sobbed and screamed again and again at Massey, "Why did you kill my brother?"

Massey and his platoon found no weapons in the car, nor did they find any in the other cars they shot at checkpoints early in the war. He believes they killed more than 30 civilians, many of them women and children. After 12 years in the Marines as an infantry instructor and recruiter, he is now home in the U.S., discharged and diagnosed with Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD). And he's speaking out about what he saw in Iraq and what it did to him.

There are many soldiers like Massey. A recent study in the *New England Journal of Medicine* found that 17 percent of soldiers returning from Iraq had signs of PTSD. That compares to only 6 percent in the first Gulf War.

The reaction of soldiers to the horrors of war has been called many things—shell shock, battle fatigue, and now the medicalized term PTSD—but Rachel MacNair, who researched the experience of returning Vietnam veterans, says there is a gaping hole in discussions of war trauma. MacNair, author of *Perpetration-Induced Traumatic Stress: the Psychological Consequences of Killing*, compared rates of PTSD among Vietnam veterans, and she found that soldiers who were in low-intensity battles but had killed someone suffered higher rates of PTSD than soldiers who experienced high-intensity bat-



Thousands of American men and women sent to fight in Iraq saw all the horrors of a brutal guerrilla war. Now they're beginning to return home. How have they been changed by what they experienced?

tles but did not kill anyone. As traumatic as it is to witness a buddy lose his life or to see a civilian killed, it is more traumatic to kill someone yourself, she says.

Charles Sheehan-Miles, a veteran of the first Gulf War, recalls the aftermath of that war, in which a member of his unit died and he himself killed people. "I went through tremendous self-doubt and remorse, through several tough years, and some heavy drinking," he says.

Sheehan-Miles co-founded the Gulf War Resource Center and later Veterans for Common Sense, which he now runs, and he describes his activism as part of his own healing. "It never goes away completely, but it feels to me that I'm working in some way to balance the scales."

Stan Goff, a former Special Forces officer agrees. "My experience is that organizations like Veterans for Peace and now Iraq Vets Against the War are at least as therapeutic as any formal psychiatric protocol," he wrote in an email. Goff, who served in Vietnam and other conflicts, is a member of the coordinating committee of Bring Them Home Now, an organization of military families, veterans, and soldiers that opposes the Iraq war. "Fighting back against the system has a tendency to de-fragment one's personality," he says.

Bert Sacks, a peace activist who has traveled repeatedly to Iraq, believes honesty is the key to healing from the Iraq war for both the soldiers and the U.S. as a whole. "There are truths that are hard to confront, and when we push them away we are at odds with the way things are," he said. "To heal is to live in the truth."

Massey, who is a member of Iraq Veterans Against the War, which was formed in July, echoes Sacks: "Truth is healing. Every time I speak about it,

it's healing." But he also says, "I shed a couple tears each time I talk about the details," and it's clear he's understating. After a long flood of talk, he abruptly says goodbye and hangs up the phone.

Massey and other Iraq veterans emphasize how important the support of Vietnam veterans has been to them. Wes Hamilton, a Vietnam veteran and member of Veterans for Peace, says that contrary to stories of peace activists spitting on veterans, when he returned from Vietnam he found peace activists supportive, but veterans from previous wars were hostile. He was once thrown out of an American Legion hall. Now he and other Vietnam vets are determined to give Iraq veterans the help they need.

Veterans groups and peace organizations have created the GI Rights Hotline, to provide advice to soldiers and veterans about discharges, complaints, and civil rights. Gerri Haynes, a nurse and Middle East chair of Washington Physicians for Social Responsibility, is organizing support groups for returning soldiers. Haynes, who has facilitated support programs for paramedics and mothers grieving the death of children, plans to start the groups in Washington state, where she lives, but hopes to spread the program nationally.

MacNair says her research, although it is focused on extreme trauma, offers a heartening lesson. "Despite all the killing we've done, the human mind is not designed to kill," she says. "Portions of us get sick when we kill. Killing is against our nature."

See www.veteransforcommonsense.org for lists of resources for returning soldiers, including how to get counseling for PTSD and help for reservists who have lost jobs due to being called up. The GI Rights Hotline is 800/394-9544. Information on Iraq Veterans Against the War can be found at www.ivaw.net.





healing & resistance

the warriors who turned to peace

John Mohawk

It was a time of blood feuding. Revenge killings led to more killings, civilians dying along with fighters. The people were exhausted, but those who were skilled at bringing on violence knew little about how to bring peace

Before the formation of the confederacy now called the Iroquois or, more traditionally, the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, there were no states. In the prehistoric Northeast woodlands, internecine warfare and blood feuds were going on everywhere. The people had been at war for so long that some were born knowing they had enemies and not knowing why they had enemies. It was led by what we would call today warlords, although they were actually warrior chieftains.

What was peculiar about it was that the people who had the capacity to make war did not have the capacity to make peace. This is the case with warlords also. A warlord can initiate violence, but can't guarantee the cessation of violence.

I propose to you that there will always be people who work outside of a framework of states, who do violence and adhere to no coherent rules about when

to end the violence. In other words, this condition of pre-state violence has always existed, and is taking place now, and will take place in the future in cultures that find the idea of revenge to be attractive.

In the Haudenosaunee culture, they found revenge to be very attractive. Many of the old Haudenosaunee stories tell of people who lived only for the purpose of revenge.

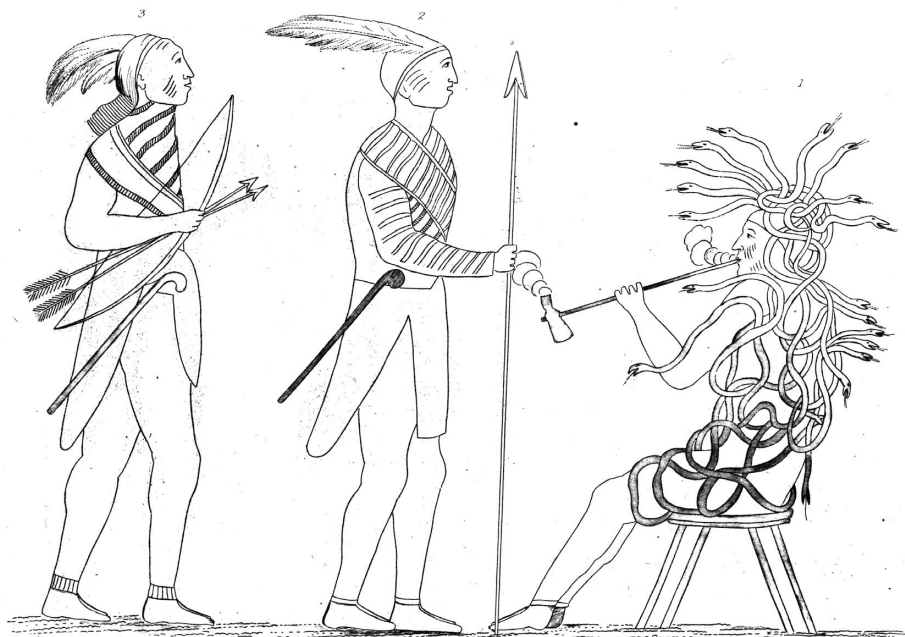
At some point, though, people began discussing how you stop warfare, and over time, they began developing a way of thinking about war and peace that turns out to be relevant to our time.

The complex art of peacemaking

According to Haudenosaunee stories, a male child was born whose destiny was to address the condition of continuous warfare. The story of this man, who would come to be called the Peacemaker,



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gave form and substance to a kind of revolution in thinking.

In that time, people fought wars with clubs, traps, and bows and arrows. These were not what we today call weapons of mass destruction, but a solid club wielded by a skilled warrior was a terrifying weapon.

Any effort to seek peace had to be practical. In the days prior to the invention of states—just like in this current so-called age of terrorism—no one had the power to assure that everyone would stop the violence. There was an attention to practice, to how to make promises to one another that would be kept.

Under the Peacemaker's guidance, the Haudenosaunee people developed a protocol to be followed when enemies first come together under a temporary truce. The protocol begins with a "condolence," a short ceremony in which the two parties acknowledge each other's humanity and the losses and sacrifices that each had suffered. The two parties would meet in the middle of the forest, and one side would say to the other something like this:

"We've been engaged in combat, and you've come out of the forest, and you're covered in the bracken of the forest; we see that on your clothing."

"So the first thing we do is we brush your clothing off, and clean off all the stuff that shows that you've been in a war."

The next thing they do is they brush off the bench that the man is going to sit on, and make it clean and ready.

One side passes strings of wampum to the other, each string carrying a pre-set message. Your enemy then acknowledges these messages by repeating them back to you. They say things like this:

"With this wampum, I release the pressure in your chest. You're feeling tight in your body from the struggle, so I release you from that."

"With this one, I remove the tears from your eyes that you've been crying because of the people you lost in war."

"And with this one, I release your vocal cords. I release your voice so you can speak strongly."

They are addressing the conditions that can extend the truce. The first goal is to stop the fighting; a truce is not peace, but it is a small step in that direction.

The peacemaking process begins with some principles, one of which is symbolized by images of people casting weapons beneath a tree and burying them. This is, of course, entirely symbolic, just like modern disarmament is entirely symbolic, since you can always go out and buy more weapons. Likewise, the Indians could always go home and whittle more

Atotarho, an Onondaga sorcerer, who, according to Haudenosaunee tradition had a twisted body and snakes for hair, refused to allow an end to the conflict among the five nations. The Peacemaker and his companion, Hiawatha, approach Atotarho to ask him to allow peace. Hulton Archive/Getty Images





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You have the power to make peace with an enemy only if you acknowledge that the enemy is a rational being who wants to live and who wants his children to live

weapons, and in any case, they couldn't give up weapons entirely because they depended on them for hunting and food gathering. So when they say they are putting the weapons of war under the tree, this is symbolic language meaning that they are not going to use them on each other anymore.

The second principle can be summarized in this statement: We are now going to put our minds together to create peace. The focus is on a desirable outcome that benefits everyone. One of the most famous quotations from Indians is from Sitting Bull: "Now let us put our minds together to see what kind of world we can leave for our children." And another is out of the Haudenosaunee tradition now known as The Great Law of Peace: "Now we put our minds together to see what kind of world we can create for the seventh generation yet unborn." Both of these are pragmatic constructions; both are about envisioning a desirable outcome and then negotiating the steps to go from here to the outcome that you want.

The power to make peace

According to the Great Law, peace is arrived at through the exercise of righteousness, reason, and power.

You have the power to make peace with an enemy only if you acknowledge that the enemy is human. To acknowledge that they are rational beings who want to live and who want their children to live enhances your power by giving you the capacity to speak to them. If you think they are not human, you won't have that capacity; you will have destroyed your own power to communicate with the very people you *must* communicate with if you are going to bring about peace.

To bring this into contemporary thinking, if you say, "We don't negotiate with terrorists," you have taken away your own power. You have to negotiate with them; they are the people who are trying to kill you! But to negotiate with them, you have to

acknowledge that they're human. Acknowledging that they are human means acknowledging that they have failings, but you don't concentrate on the failings. You concentrate on their humanity. You have to address their humanity if you're going to have any hope of stopping the blood feud. Thus, the first meeting, and subsequent meetings, begin with an acknowledgement that people on all sides have suffered loss and that their losses are traumatic ones.

Remember, we're trying to make peace in a situation in which there is no state, no government, nobody on the other side who can surrender or guarantee anything by law. We're trying to make peace between peoples in which the foundation of the peace is the tradition which they embrace, and it's held up by their honor and nothing else. This is important because the people who are at war now are not states, and there is no way to stop them unless they agree to stop.

Righteousness and reason

Righteousness is a very dangerous word in English and in European history. But here's how it was used by the Haudenosaunee. Righteousness means that almost all of us agree that some things are right, correct, and positive. The list that we all agree on might not be long, but those are the things to build on.

That takes us to the next element, which is reason. Reason means that you're going to work on the rock-hard issues up to a point. You're not going to settle them, but you're going to move them as far forward on as many points as possible.

The Haudenosaunee Law of Peace assumes that peace is not achievable as a static condition, just as relationships between human beings are not static but are always unfinished.

What you can do is reach a place where you can work on resolving conflicts. You can find out why the two parties continue to have conflict and try to remove those irritants that have caused violence. You can reach enough of an agreement to take the conflict from warfare to a place where, as they used to say, thinking can replace violence, and where the conversation about peace is ongoing.

Blood feuding is often built on injuries that happened to people in previous generations. Those sitting at the negotiating table bring that injury with them as a real injury, an inherited injury.

I propose to you that the world is full of inherited injuries. In the modern world, there is a dismissal of those types of injuries. We say, "Wow, sure, but that





happened in 1952, you were only two years old in 1952.” The pragmatic people say you still have to address those inherited injuries. If you can’t undo them, at least you can address them. So negotiations must address old injuries as well as new ones.

Combing hair

The story of the Great Laws is the story of the Great Peacemaker, who travels among the people and “combs their hair.” In other words, he speaks to them and works on untangling old traumas that stand in the way of peace.

In this story, there is a relentless conversation going on about righteousness, about what does and doesn’t work and what might work if we tried it. It’s a long conversation, but the point is the process, not the end of the process, because it is assumed that there will never be an end. Instead, they are working to set the stage for peace. They are working to make it possible for the next generations to be involved in talking and thinking instead of shooting and blowing each other up.

The Great Law formed a type of early international law. Since one of the founding principles is that talking is superior to fighting, the Haudenosaunee guaranteed the safety of those attending the talks. Other nations were offered the opportunity to “join” under the Great Tree of Peace, and those who joined were under the protection of the confederacy.

The hope is that the process of thinking and talking continues until it becomes normal that we don’t kill each other. But we have to remember that there is never an end to it.

Which gets me to my final point. People talk about a “war on terrorism.” Some cultures haven’t realized that there has always been a war on terrorism. As long as human memory, there have been assassinations and harm done from group to group, on and on, endlessly. Sometimes there was a claim to a religious foundation, sometimes these were just things that happened in battles.

I’m afraid the principles of today’s “war on terrorism” are the same principles as those of the game of chess, which are built on the idea that if you could capture the head of the other side or kill him, you win and then you can go off and think about something else. Evidently, somebody thinks that someday there will be an endgame in the war on terrorism. But there will never be an endgame in the war on terrorism. What we need is a *beginning game* for the process of peacemaking. As far as I can see, we haven’t begun that yet.

They are working to make it possible for the next generations to be involved in talking and thinking instead of shooting and blowing each other up

North America has given only one philosophical tradition to the world, and that single philosophical tradition is pragmatism. For it to follow the principles of the Haudenosaunee Great Law, it has to be progressive pragmatism.

Progressive pragmatism seeks ends that are universal and that have the quality of win-win negotiations. Both idealism—the idea that God is on someone’s side—and vilification—the idea that one side is evil or fundamentally in the wrong—are barred from this process. Instead, this process lays out desirable outcomes that all sides can agree upon, and these must be adhered to through a set of protocols, because it is not possible to create peace by force and because peace requires rules that both sides embrace and honor.

It would have been interesting if the contemporary war on terrorism had been built on principles of pragmatism. Instead, the model most often heard is the crusader model, which assumes that the other side is wrong and evil. Both sides invoke God, and whatever victories are achieved, however pyrrhic, are attributed to God. The characteristic of such holy war is that it has no endgame until the warriors of one side eliminate the warriors of the other side. That never happened during the Crusades, and it won’t happen now. Wishing it so is not practical.

Progressive pragmatism ultimately is the most complex process devised so far by people who play politics. It would be a good thing if we could bring progressive pragmatism back, and abandon holy war by other names.

John Mohawk was for many years editor of *Akwesasne Notes*.

A member of the Seneca Tribe and strong voice for the Haudenosaunee peoples, he is an associate professor of American studies at the State University of New York in Buffalo.

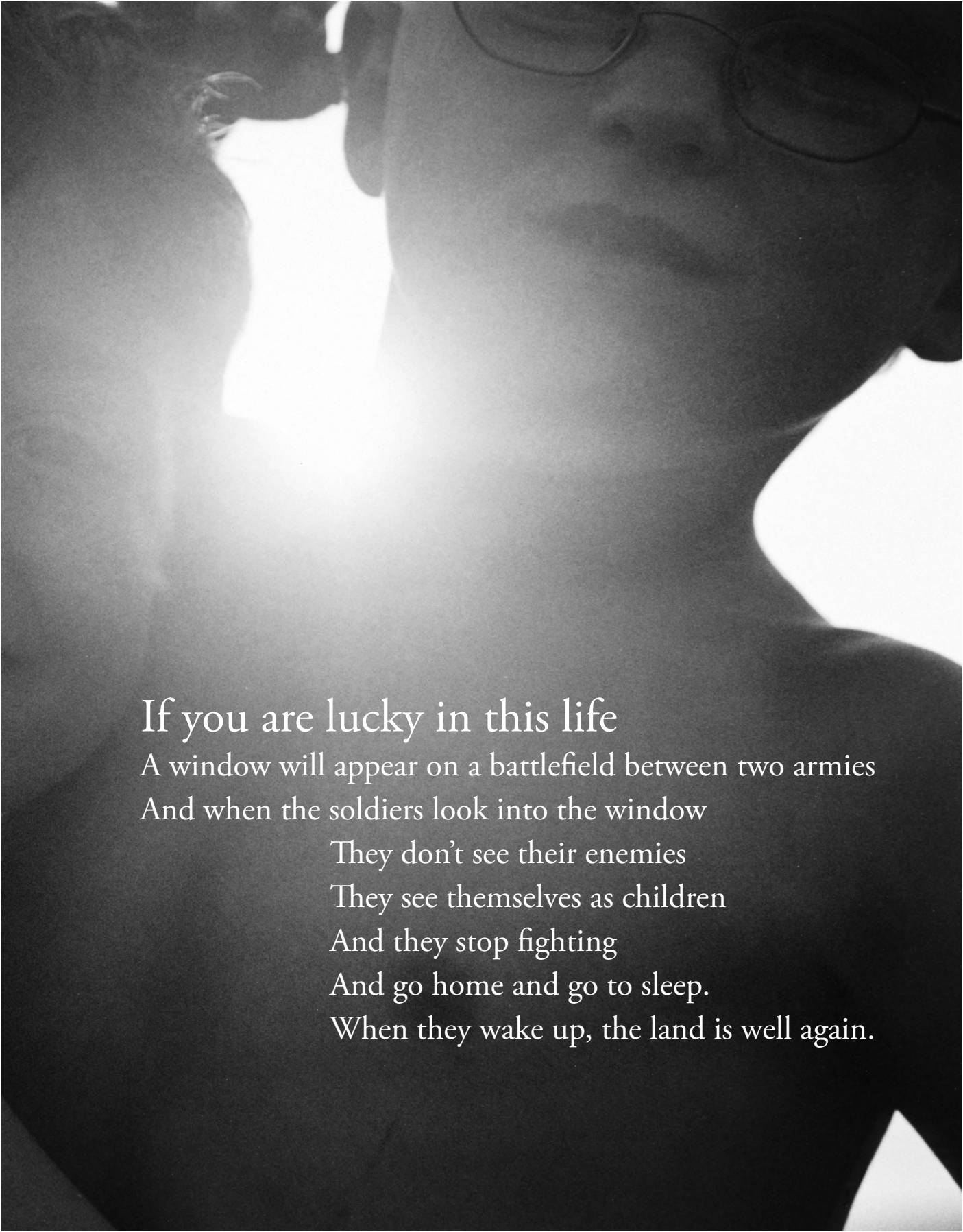
This article is adapted and updated from a talk he gave at a conference on American Spirit and Values, organized by the New York Open Center and City University Graduate Center. Special thanks to *Lapis* magazine, www.lapismagazine.org, for the transcript.





By Cameron Penny, Fourth Grade, Michigan
From Poetry In Wartime www.voicesinwartime.org.





If you are lucky in this life
A window will appear on a battlefield between two armies
And when the soldiers look into the window
They don't see their enemies
They see themselves as children
And they stop fighting
And go home and go to sleep.
When they wake up, the land is well again.





healing & resistance



What is the link between intimate violence and war? Why do societies that treat women with respect fare better? A movement challenges traditions of violence in the family

every day, the headlines assault us with death and destruction. We read of brutal attacks that maim and kill civilians and even target children. The torture of prisoners and beheading of hostages in Iraq. The carnage in Sudan and the Congo. Despite anti-war protests by millions of people, despite promises by politicians that preemptive wars will bring security, despite a global peace movement teaching nonviolent conflict resolution, war and terrorism continue unabated. What fuels this firestorm of violence—and how can we stop it?

We're sometimes told violence is "human nature." But findings from sociology, psychology, and

neuroscience show that a major factor in whether people commit violence is what happens during a child's early formative years. As research from Harvard University and Maclean Hospital shows, the brain neurochemistry of abused children tends to become programmed for fight-or-flight, and thus for violence.

When children experience violence, or observe violence against their mothers, they learn it's acceptable—even moral—to use force to impose one's will on others. Indeed, the only way they can make sense of violence coming from those who are supposed to love them is that it must be moral.



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Terrorism and chronic warfare are responses to life in societies in which the only perceived choices are dominating or being dominated. These violent responses are characteristic of cultures where this view of relations is learned early on through traditions of coercion, abuse, and violence in parent-child and gender relations.

It's not coincidental that throughout history the most violently despotic and warlike societies have been those in which violence, or the threat of violence, is used to maintain domination of parent over child and man over woman. It's not coincidental that the 9/11 terrorists came from cultures where women and children are terrorized into submission. Nor is it coincidental that Afghanistan under the Taliban in many ways resembled the European Middle Ages—when witchburnings, public drawings and quarterings, despotic rulers, brutal violence against children, and male violence against women were considered moral and normal. Neither is it coincidental that, in the U.S. today, those pushing “crusades” against “evil enemies” oppose equal rights for women and advocate harshly punitive childrearing.

For much of recorded history, religion has been used to justify, even command, violence against women and children. The subjugation of women and children is still the central message of many fundamentalist religious leaders today—leaders who, not coincidentally, also advocate “holy wars.”

Many religious and secular leaders have spoken out against international terrorism and wars of aggression. But we urgently need to hear their voices raised also against the intimate violence that sparks, fuels, and refuels international violence. Far too many customs and public policies still accept, condone, and even promote violence against women and children.

I'm passionately involved in an initiative to change this. The Spiritual Alliance to Stop Intimate Violence (SAIV) aims to end violence against women and children by engaging the moral authority of spiritual and religious leaders. More than 80 percent of the world's people identify with a religious faith and look to religious leaders for guidance. SAIV was formed to encourage enlightened spiritual and religious leaders to speak out against intimate violence as strongly as they do against terrorism and war. This is essential, not only for the many millions whose lives are taken or blighted by terror in the home, but for us all, because intimate violence teaches that it is acceptable to use force to impose one's will on others.

SAIV has gathered a council of leaders who are prepared to break the silence on this pivotal issue.

Among them are Prince El Hassan bin Talal of Jordan; A.T. Ariyaratne, the leader of the Sarvodaya peace movement of Sri Lanka; Ela Gandhi, granddaughter of Mohandas Gandhi; Betty Williams, Irish Nobel Peace Laureate; Bill Schulz, director of Amnesty International; Janet Chisholm, chair of the Episcopal Peace Fellowship; Irfan Ahmad Khan, president of the World Council of Muslims for Interfaith Relations; Kalon Rinchen Khando, Tibetan Minister of Education for the Dalai Lama; Harvey Cox, professor at the Harvard Divinity School; Jane Goodall; and Deepak Chopra. Under the direction of Jim Kenney, former director of the Council for a Parliament of the World's Religions, SAIV is reaching out to religious and spiritual leaders, health professionals, policy makers, teachers, and parents to discuss the link between intimate and international violence.

Cultures of war or peace

Surprisingly, none of our conventional social categories takes the relationship of intimate violence and international violence into account. Indeed, classifications such as religious versus secular, right versus left, East versus West, and developed versus developing do not tell us whether a culture's beliefs and institutions—from the family, education, and religion to politics and economics—support relations based on nonviolence and mutual respect, or rigid rankings backed up by fear and force.

In studying societies across cultures and epochs, looking at both the public and personal spheres, I discovered configurations that transcend conventional categories. Since there were no names for these configurations, I coined the terms *partnership model* and *dominator or domination model*.

Hitler's Germany (a technologically advanced, Western, rightist society), Stalin's USSR (a secular leftist society), fundamentalist Iran (an Eastern religious society), and Idi Amin's Uganda (a tribalist society) were all violent and repressive. There are obvious differences between them. But they all share the core configuration of the domination model. They are characterized by top-down rankings in the family and state or tribe maintained through physical, psychological, and economic control; the rigid ranking of the male half of humanity over the female half; and a high degree of culturally accepted abuse and violence—from child- and wife-beating to chronic warfare.

The partnership model, on the other hand, is based on a democratic and egalitarian structure in both family and state or tribe and on equal partner-





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How a society structures the primary human relations—between the female and male halves of humanity, and between them and their children—is central to whether it is violent and inequitable or peaceful and equitable

ship between women and men. There is little violence, because rigid rankings of domination, which can be maintained only through violence, are not part of the culture. Because women have higher status, stereotypically feminine values have social priority.

(When I say stereotypically, I mean traits stereotypically classified by gender to fit the domination model. In this model, “masculine” traits and activities, such as toughness and “heroic” violence, are more valued than nonviolence and caregiving, which are associated with the half of humanity barred from power.)

Prosperity and rights

Where the rights of women and children are protected, nations thrive. In fact, a study of 89 nations by the organization I direct, the Center for Partnership Studies, shows that the status of women can be a better predictor of the general quality of life than a nation’s financial wealth. Kuwait and France, for example, had identical GDPs (Gross Domestic Product). But quality of life indicators are much higher in France, where the status of women is higher, while infant mortality was twice as high in Kuwait.

The social investment in caring for children characteristic of the partnership model actually contributes to prosperity. Finland is a good example. Like other Nordic nations, Finland’s economy is a mix of central planning and free enterprise. In the early 20th century, Finland was very poor. That changed as the country invested in its human capital through childcare (both daycare and allowances for families), healthcare, family planning, and paid parental leave. Like other Nordic nations, Finland ranks near the top in United Nations Human Development Reports—far ahead of the United States, Saudi Arabia, and other wealthier nations. In all the Nordic nations, a much higher than average percentage of legislative seats are filled by women (35 to 40 percent), strong men’s movements disentangle “masculinity” from violence, and governments discourage or legally prohibit physical discipline of children in families. These nations also pioneered education for peace, have low crime rates, mediate international

disputes, and invest heavily in aid to developing nations.

We see similar patterns of nonviolence coupled with respect for women and children among the Minangkabau, an agrarian culture of 2.5 million people in Sumatra, where, anthropologist Peggy Sanday reports, violence isn’t part of childrearing, women aren’t subordinate to men, and nurturance is part of both the female and male roles. The Teduray, a tribal culture in the Philippines, also don’t discipline children through violence, nor is violence integral to male socialization. As anthropologist Stuart Schlegel writes in *Wisdom from a Rain Forest*, the Teduray value women and men equally, and elders—both female and male—mediate disputes.

An important lesson from these cultures is this: How a society structures the primary human relations—between the female and male halves of humanity, and between them and their children—is central to whether it is violent and inequitable or peaceful and equitable.

Countering domination and violence

The “culture wars” launched in the U.S. by the fundamentalist right give special attention to relations between women and men and parents and children. Their fully integrated political agenda centers on re-imposing a male-headed family where women must render unpaid services (with no independent access to income) and children learn that orders must be strictly obeyed on pain of severe punishment.

Progressives urgently need a social and political agenda that takes into account both the public sphere of politics and economics, and the personal sphere of family and other intimate relations. Only through an integrated progressive agenda that takes into account both the personal and public spheres can we build foundations for cultures of peace rather than war.

Riane Eisler is author of the international bestseller *The Chalice and The Blade*. Her newest book, *The Power of Partnership*, won the Nautilus Award in 2003. She is president of the Center for Partnership Studies (www.partnershipway.org) and co-founder of the Spiritual Alliance to Stop Intimate Violence (www.saiv.net).





healing & resistance



a life well lived

Parker Palmer

“There is in all things ... a hidden wholeness.”

Thomas Merton, the Trappist monk and mystic who wrote these words, was speaking of the human world as well as the world of nature. But in our everyday lives, Merton's words can sound like wishful thinking. Afraid that our inner light will be extinguished, or our inner darkness exposed, we hide our true identities and become separated from our own souls. We end up leading divided lives, far removed from our birthright wholeness.

The divided life comes in many and varied forms. To cite just a few examples, it is the life we lead when:

- We refuse to invest ourselves in our work, diminishing its quality and distancing ourselves from those it is meant to serve





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The divided life is a wounded life, and the soul keeps calling us to heal the wound. Ignore that call, and we find ourselves trying to numb our pain with an anesthetic of choice, be it substance abuse, overwork, consumerism, or mindless media

- We make our living at jobs that violate our basic values, even when survival does not absolutely demand it
- We remain in settings or relationships that steadily kill off our spirit
- We harbor secrets to achieve personal gain at the expense of other people
- We hide our beliefs from those who disagree with us to avoid conflict, challenge, and change
- We conceal our true identities for fear of being criticized, shunned, or attacked

My knowledge of the divided life comes first from personal experience. A “still, small voice” speaks the truth about me, my work, or the world. I hear it and yet act as if I did not. I withhold a personal gift that might serve a good end or commit myself to a project that I do not really believe in. I keep silent on an issue I should address or actively break faith with one of my own convictions. I deny my inner darkness, giving it more power over me, or I project it onto other people, creating “enemies” where none exist.

I pay a steep price when I live a divided life, feeling fraudulent, anxious about being found out, and depressed by the fact that I am denying my own selfhood. The people around me pay a price as well, for now they walk on ground made unstable by my dividedness. How can I affirm another’s integrity when I defy my own? A fault line runs down the middle of my life, and whenever it cracks open—divorcing my words and actions from the truth I hold within—things around me get shaky and start to fall apart.

Real people, real relationships

The more dividedness we perceive in each other, the less safe and sane we feel. Every day as we interact with family, friends, acquaintances, and strangers, we ask ourselves, “Is this person the same on the inside as he or she seems to be on the outside?” Children ask this about their parents, students about their teachers, employees about their supervisors,

patients about their physicians, and citizens about their political leaders. When the answer is yes, we relax, believing that we are in the presence of integrity and feeling secure enough to invest ourselves in the relationship and all that surrounds it.

But when the answer is no, we go on high alert. If our roles were more deeply informed by the truth that is in our souls, the general level of sanity and safety would rise dramatically. A teacher who shares his or her identity with students is more effective than one who lobs factoids at them from behind a wall. A supervisor who leads from personal authenticity gets better work out of people than one who leads from a script. A doctor who invests selfhood in his or her practice is a better healer than one who treats patients at arm’s length. A politician who brings personal integrity into leadership helps us reclaim the popular trust that distinguishes true democracy from its cheap imitations.

The media are filled with stories of people whose dividedness is now infamous. They worked at such places as Enron, Arthur Andersen, Merrill Lynch, WorldCom, and the Roman Catholic Church. Surely these people heard an inner call to wholeness. But they became separated from their own souls, betraying the trust of citizens, stockholders, and the faithful—and making our democracy, our economy, and our religious institutions less trustworthy in the process.

These particular stories will soon fade from the front pages, but the story of the divided life is perennial, and its social costs are immense. As the poet Rumi said 800 years ago:

*If you are here unfaithfully with us
you are causing terrible damage.*

How shall we understand the pathology of the divided life? If we approach it as a problem to be solved by “raising the ethical bar”—exhorting each other to jump higher and meting out tougher penalties to those who fall short—we may feel more virtuous for a while, but we will not address the problem at its source.

The divided life, at bottom, is not a failure of ethics; it is a failure of human wholeness. Doctors





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who are dismissive of patients, politicians who lie to voters, executives who cheat retirees out of their savings, clerics who rob children of their well-being—these people, for the most part, do not lack ethical knowledge or convictions. But they have a well-rehearsed habit of holding their own knowledge and beliefs at great remove from the living of their lives.

That habit is vividly illustrated by a story in the news as I write. The former CEO of a biotechnology firm was convicted of insider trading and sentenced to seven years in prison after putting his daughter and elderly father in legal jeopardy by having them cover for him. Asked what was on his mind as he committed his crimes, he said, “I could sit there ... thinking I was the most honest CEO that ever lived [and] at the same time ... glibly do something [wrong] and rationalize it.”

Becoming whole

The divided life may be endemic, but wholeness is always a choice. “Being whole” is a self-evident good, and yet time after time we choose against wholeness by slipping into a familiar pattern of evasion:

- First comes denial: surely what I have seen about myself cannot be true!
- Next comes equivocation: the inner voice speaks softly, and truth is a subtle, slippery thing, so how can I be sure of what my soul is saying?
- Then fear: if I let that inner voice dictate the shape of my life, what price might I have to pay in a world that sometimes punishes authenticity?
- Next comes cowardice: the divided life may be destructive, but at least I know the territory, while what lies beyond it is terra incognita.
- Then comes avarice: in some situations, I am rewarded for being willing to stifle my soul.

This pattern of self-evasion is powerful and persistent. But here is a real-world story about someone who found the courage to break out of it and embrace his own truth.

It happened at a retreat I facilitated for some 20 elected and appointed officials from Washington, D.C. All of them had gone into government animated by an ethic of public service, all were experiencing painful conflicts between their values and power politics, and all sought support for the journey toward living “divided no more.”

One participant had worked for a decade in the U.S. Department of Agriculture, after farming for 25 years in northeastern Iowa. On his desk at that moment was a proposal related to the preservation of Midwestern topsoil, which is being depleted at a rapid rate by agribusiness practices that value short-term profits over the well-being of the earth. His “farmer’s heart,” he kept saying, knew how the proposal should be handled. But his political instincts warned him that following his heart would result in serious trouble, not least with his immediate superior.

On the last morning of our gathering, the man from Agriculture, looking bleary-eyed, told us that it had become clear to him during a sleepless night that he needed to return to his office and follow his farmer’s heart.

After a thoughtful silence, someone asked him, “How will you deal with your boss, given his opposition to what you intend to do?”

“It won’t be easy,” replied this farmer-turned-bureaucrat. “But during this retreat, I’ve remembered something important: I don’t report to my boss. I report to the land.”

Because this story is true, I cannot give it a fairy-tale ending. I do not know if this man returned to work and did exactly what he said he would do. But this I can claim: every time we get in touch with the truth source we carry within, there is net moral gain for all concerned. Even if we fail to follow its guidance fully, we are nudged a bit further in that direction. And the next time we are conflicted between inner truth and outer reality, it becomes harder to forget or deny that we have an inner teacher who wants to lay a claim on our lives.

Struck by the force of truth

As that awareness grows within us, we join in the potential for personal and social change that, in the words of Václav Havel—architect of the Velvet Revolution, former president of Czechoslovakia, and seeker of political integrity—is “hidden throughout the whole of society.” This potential, Havel writes, is found in “everyone who is living within the lie and who may be struck at any moment by the force of truth.”

The divided life is a wounded life, and the soul keeps calling us to heal the wound. Ignore that call, and we find ourselves trying to numb our pain with an anesthetic of choice, be it substance abuse, overwork, consumerism, or mindless media noise. Such anesthetics are easy to come by in a society that wants to keep us divided and unaware of our pain—for the





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When we rejoin soul and role, the institutions in which we work find it just a little bit harder to ransack another ecosystem to satisfy corporate greed or to lay off another 10,000 working poor to maximize the profits of the rich



come from choosing to live divided no more. But there can be no greater suffering than living a life-long lie. As we move closer to the truth that lives within us—aware that in the end what will matter most is knowing that we stayed true to ourselves—institutions start losing their sway over our lives.

This does not mean we must abandon institutions. In fact, when we live by the soul's imperatives, we gain the courage to serve institutions more faithfully, to help them resist their tendency to default on their own missions. If the man from Agriculture acted on his "farmer's heart," he did not renege on his institutional obligations but embraced them more fully, helping to call his department back to its higher purpose.

It is not easy work, rejoining soul and role. The poet Rilke—who wrote about childhood's "winged energy of delight"—writes about the demands of adulthood in the final stanza of the same poem:

*Take your practiced powers and stretch them out
until they span the chasm between two
contradictions. . . For the god wants to know
himself in you.*

Living integral lives is daunting. We must achieve a complex integration that spans the contradictions between inner and outer reality, that supports both personal integrity and the common good. No, it is not easy work. But as Rilke suggests, by doing it, we offer what is sacred within us to the life of the world.

divided life that is pathological for individuals can serve social systems well, especially when it comes to those functions that are morally dubious.

When the man from Agriculture distances himself from his soul, it is easier for his department to report to the agribusiness lobby instead of the land. But when he, or any of us, rejoins soul and role, the institutions in which we work find it just a little bit harder to ransack another ecosystem to satisfy corporate greed or to lay off another 10,000 working poor to maximize the profits of the rich or to pass another welfare "reform" that leaves single mothers and their children worse off than they were.

No one wants to suffer the penalties that

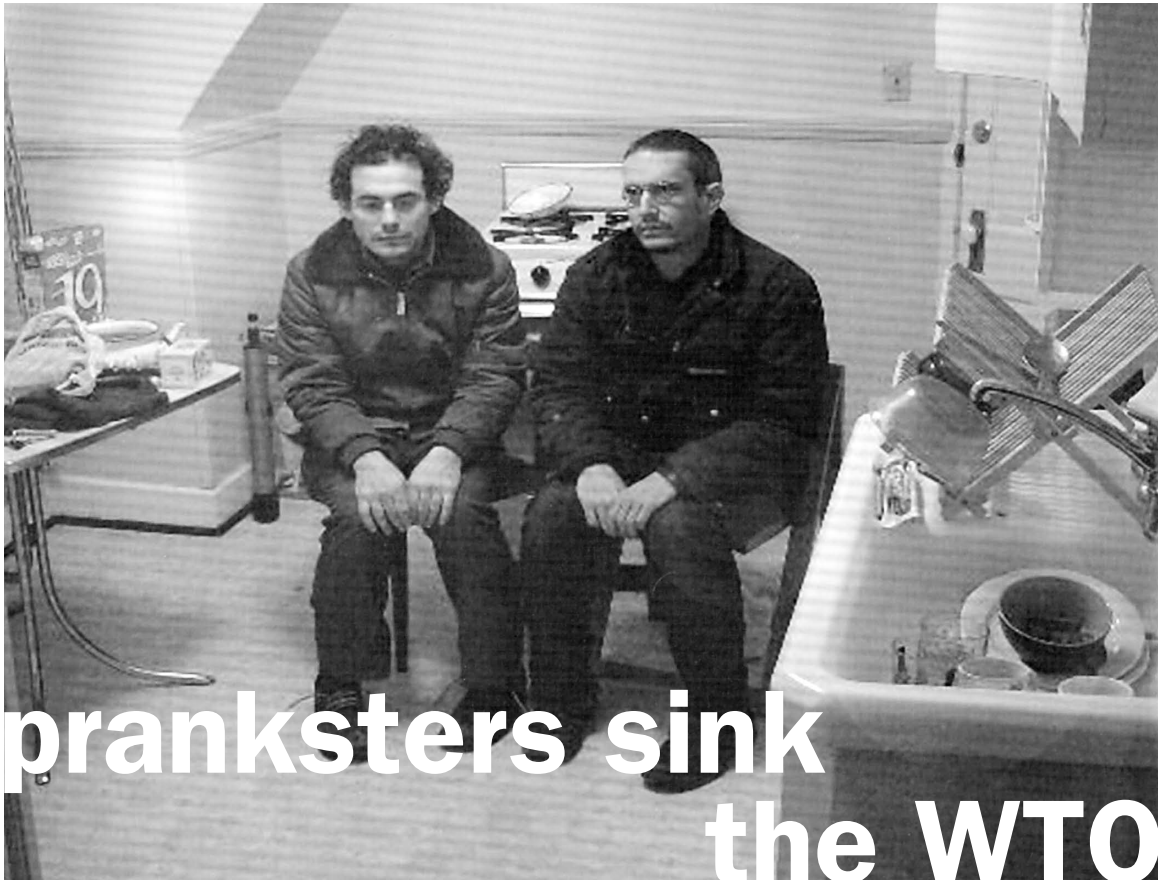
Parker J. Palmer is an independent writer, teacher, and activist who lives in Madison, Wisconsin. He serves as senior associate of the American Association of Higher Education, senior advisor to the Fetzer Institute, and founder of Fetzer's Teacher Formation Program. His prolific writing includes *Let Your Life Speak*, *The Courage to Teach*, and *A Hidden Wholeness: The Journey Toward an Undivided Life* (Jossey-Bass, 2004) from which this article is adapted. The book contains detailed information about the "circles of trust" Palmer and his colleagues have established around the country to help people in many walks of life rejoin soul and role. See www.teacherformation.org and click on the section for readers of *A Hidden Wholeness*.

Page 33 art:
Rakefet Kenaan
Above: Mieczysław
Gorowski





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pranksters sink the WTO

They started out as small-time pranksters. But when their fake WTO website began drawing invitations from around the world to speak on behalf of the World Trade Organization, they rose to the challenge

**Andy Bichlbaum, Mike Bonanno
& Bob Spunkmeyer**

The World Trade Organization (WTO) is a giant international bureaucracy with nearly 150 “member countries.” We—the Yes Men—are nobody.

The connection? None. But for three years, we have traveled around the world to important meetings of lawyers, managers, engineers, and policy makers, where we have given elaborate and outrageous lectures about WTO policy—as WTO representatives. If you are of sound mind, you would see through us immediately. Yet to our surprise, we found we had absolutely no trouble fooling the experts.

Worse: we couldn’t get them to *dis*believe us.

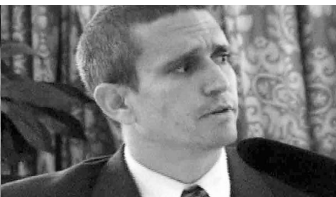




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Mike Moore, Director-General, WTO



Salzburg, Austria: October 27, 2000

Andy Bichlbaum appears as WTO representative Andreas Bichlbauer at the Conference on International Services. The Yes Men added a self-inflicted pie-in-the-face stunt in an unsuccessful attempt to begin a dialogue with delegates about the merits of vote auctioning. All photos from *Yes Men: The True Story of the End of the World Trade Organization*



Why are we telling you this? First, because the story is funny. But there is a serious side to the story as well. These experts, after all, are the foot soldiers in the WTO's war on trade unions, environmental protections, and indigenous rights. If they blithely followed us down such nightmarish paths, the *real* WTO must be able to convince them of *anything*.

It all started when we set up a parody of the WTO's website—GATT.org.

Now perhaps GATT.org could be called a fake, but it was a very obvious one. Yet we were flooded with e-mail from lawyers, ministry officials, academics, and assorted others with requests for speakers from the WTO to address important international conferences on global trade—like the Conference on International Services (CILS) in Salzburg, a conference organized by the American Bar Association and the John Marshall Law School of Chicago.

CILS conference, Salzburg

"We're here for the CILS conference," Mike croaked as authoritatively as he could to the receptionist at the Crowne Plaza Salzburg. It was October 27, 2000. Andy as "Andreas Bichlbauer" was to appear on behalf of WTO director-general Mike Moore.

"Mr. Bichlbauer here is a *speaker*," Mike added. "Dr.," Andy corrected.

She smiled icily and presented a folder and name tag to Andy. We nodded our thanks, then made our way as calmly as we could to a counter and tore open the folder. We half expected a "Joke's on You!" in big red clown-letters, just as a squadron of Austrian cops came to take us away. What we found instead was this listing: "*Andreas Bichlbauer, World Trade Organization, Vienna, Austria. Trade Regulation Relaxation and Concepts of Incremental Improvement: Governing Perspective from 1970 to Present.*"

This was just what we had sent in by e-mail, but we couldn't believe our eyes as we saw it in the official booklet. We hovered as long as we reasonably could, staring at the impossible evidence: we really were in Salzburg, we really had been invited to speak as the WTO, and we really were scheduled to do so in just over an hour.

We really were going to prison!

We did not.

In fact, we got away with the absurdity—if not illegality—of what we proposed to a conference of lawyers. It was a proposal to streamline the bureaucracy of elections: corporations paying a PR agency like Hill & Knowlton, who in turn, are paying a TV station, who, finally, are relaying information to the consumer, the voters.





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Our solution: VoteAuction.com. Companies directly buy votes from consumers.

"VoteAuction.com," Andy as Bichlbauer said in his speech, "is a system that permits voters to voluntarily auction their votes to the highest bidder. It's a forum for people to voluntarily offer their votes for sale, when they don't have a strong affinity for either candidate. It works to streamline the entire process, and as in all market systems, everything works out to the benefit of the consumers—and to the originating corporations, of course."

The idea of VoteAuction.com originally came from a graduate student named James Baumgartner. It was his thesis, an ingenious comment on the way money undermines democracy in the U.S.

The reaction to Baumgartner's VoteAuction.com was swift and nasty. Pundits from Rush Limbaugh to Dr. Laura Schlessinger attacked it. The Chicago Board of Elections filed a lawsuit to stop Chicago residents from being able to buy or sell their votes online. In New York, the Board of Elections threatened to have James's thesis advisor, a lawyer, disbarred.

The reaction to Andy's VoteAuction.com proposal to international trade lawyers in Salzburg was ... well, nothing. Nobody seemed to mind. The audience even gave him a nice round of applause after his speech ended.

"The Nazis actually had a reasonable trade policy, you know," Andy told a young lawyer during the lunch following his speech. It was another stab to make at least one lawyer mind *anything*.

"Maybe they've never really been given proper credit—maybe they're not so bad after all."

"That's not my field of expertise," the young lawyer replied without hesitation.

"Mine neither," said Andy.

CNBC TV, July 19, 2000

Our challenge is to get caught.

The opportunity came July 19, 2001, one day before 300,000 people were expected to show up in Genoa, Italy, to protest a meeting of the Group of 8, or G-8. In Paris, Andy—or rather, "Granwyth Hulatberi"—entered the French studios of CNBC-TV for the "European Marketwrap" program. Together with Barry Coates, then director of the World Development Movement, Andy as Hulatberi was to discuss the protest with CNBC-TV host Nigel Roberts.

NIGEL ROBERTS, HOST: *In the last two years we have seen a tremendous upsurge of anti-capitalist protest. Why is it that there's suddenly been this upsurge?*

BARRY COATES: *Well, I think two major reasons.*

One is that the rhetoric of what companies say they're doing vastly exceeds the reality. But secondly is that companies are seen to have undue influence on government policies. And many of the protests around these kinds of issues are arguing for change to the rules—to make them fairer to people rather than to create new rights for the big corporations.

This is still a question of national policy—but it's raised to a new level in the international arena through organizations like the WTO.

NIGEL ROBERTS: *Well, Granwyth, you're with the WTO—perhaps that's a fair point, that more should be done by organizations like yourself to actually ameliorate those problems.*

"GRANWYTH HULATBERI": *Well Nigel, the protesters are of course entirely correct, but we have to see what they're talking about in a relative way.*

I mean you have a mass of protesters, an essentially ragtag group, who are trying to compete with a mass of knowledge that we at the WTO, and experts all over the world, have—knowledge that is based in books that have been written since the 1770s, in England, you know, in the 18th and 19th centuries, about this. These books allow us to be absolutely certain that free trade, although it has led to these problems that the protesters correctly point out, is certain to lead to a bettering of conditions for all consumers.

[Barry Coates' head is cocked to one side in disbelief.]

NIGEL ROBERTS: *An interesting statistic is to compare the difference between the rich and poor. If you look at the annual global turnover of a firm like Goldman Sachs—\$2.2 billion. Look at the GDP of Tanzania: \$2.2 billion. The difference is, in Tanzania, it's shared out between 25 million people; at Goldman Sachs it used to be shared out between 161 partners. Now surely it's that kind of inequality...*

"GRANWYTH HULATBERI": *Well, of course it is. But I think Barry, as well as all the other protesters, are simply too focused on reality, and on facts and figures. [Coates shakes his head, his mouth agape.] There's an enormous number of experts at all the greatest universities in the world, who have read all these books, who have read Adam Smith and everything since it to Milton Friedman, and these people have solid theoretical bases for knowing that things will lead to betterment.*





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CNBC TV, July 19, 2000: "Granwyth Hularberi" represents the WTO on European Marketwrap to argue that books written since the 18th century prove that free trade will lead to the betterment of all

BARRY COATES: *Can I just say that these kinds of simplistic arguments are just too insulting for most people to believe. There are many, many thinkers from around the world—just not the ones employed by the WTO—that think that World Trade Organization policies are deeply damaging to the development prospects of the poorest countries.*

"GRANWYTH HULATBERI": [Hularberi, scribbling notes, is caught by surprise.] *Ah! Yes! Well, I wanted to speak to Granwyth's ... sorry, to Barry's point about there being other thinkers.*

Well, who actually has the power in the world, and therefore who is correct, in this kind of worldview? I think the answer is easy. And if you look at the views held by myself, my organization and many, many of the decision-makers in the world—the powerful people—they happen to coincide with what I'm explaining. And I think this is enough, in this sort of view.

Shut it down

We had been certain that the stream of rubbish we spouted would at a minimum prod some producer to pull the plug or broadcast a retraction. Instead, we had been congratulated and promised a copy of the broadcast for our archives. We needed another idea to convince others we were fakes.

The idea came when Andy showed the tape of the CNBC *Marketwrap* show to Bob, in preparation for another chance to represent the WTO—as "Kin-nithrung Sprat," speaking during a luncheon with certified practicing accountants in Sydney, Australia. As the tape wound to the end, Bob let out a low whistle. "Nice," he said. "Very nice. But you didn't go far enough."

"Hunh?" said Andy. "I sounded like a complete imbecile. How could I have gone farther?"

"You could have shut it down," Bob replied.

"Hunh?" Andy repeated.

"Shut it down. Just matter-of-factly announce that you've done an internal review and, Oops! New data! It turns out that globalization really *is* hurting the little guy as the critics are saying, and you're sorry about that, so you're closing it down."

The only problem was, asking us to do something systematically smart was like getting a hedgehog to mow the front lawn. We were used to being funny, abject, and meddlesome.

We spent the next few weeks trying to fit a square peg in a round hole, until we finally decided to search for outside help. Mike called up Andy in Paris.

"Hey, remember Barry Coates, that really smart guy you were on CNBC with? Did you ever tell him you weren't really with the WTO?"

"Uh, hmm, no, as a matter of fact."

Mr. Coates laughed himself into stitches when he realized what we had done, and then generously helped straighten out our tangle of thoughts for the Sydney event.





healing & resistance

We no longer assumed we would be thrown off the stage.
Nor would we have been caught off-guard if everyone had simply
filed off to lunch like sheep. What we were entirely unprepared
for was everyone being so ... *happy*

Sydney speech, May 21, 2002

Today, I have come to accept that my devotion to orthodox free trade methodologies has betrayed me.

This is why I am at peace when I announce to you what I learned yesterday. ... Having seen the effects of policies whose only intent was to bring greater prosperity and peace, the World Trade Organization in its present form will cease to exist.

[A gasp is heard.]

Over the next two years, we of the WTO will endeavor to launch our organization anew along different lines, based on a new understanding of the purposes of world trade. The new organization will have as its foundation and basis the United Nations Charter of Human Rights, which we feel will be a good basis for insuring that we will have human rather than business interests as our bottom line.

Agreements reached under the WTO will be suspended pending ratification by the new incarnation of our organization, which we are tentatively calling the Trade Regulation Organization ...

Finally, the obvious

One hour is a long time to sit through anything without clear plot or punch lines. Yet as Andy droned on with fact after appalling fact, the audience gave him their rapt attention, some periodically nodding.

The UN estimates that poor countries lose about US\$2 billion per day because of unjust trade rules, many instituted by our organization. This is 14 times the amount they receive in aid.

When Sprat finally wrapped up, there was a hearty and sincere round of applause.

"I'd just like to thank Mr. Sprat for the presentation that he has done here today," a shocked moderator said. "I'm sure it will have a profound effect on the way we and the world do business. We wish you every success, every luck, in the restructuring of what has been an interesting part of world history."

Having agreed to the dismantling of the world economy as we know it, everyone moved to the fancy salmon-and-lamb lunch prepared for our visit.

There was no ice to be broken; everyone had something real and important to talk about. "I'm as right-wing as the next guy," said a heavy-set man

who had struck Mike as angry-looking. "But it's about time we did something for these countries that we've done so well by. We just can't go on like this. It's impossible."

One of the officials of the accountants' association offered to draw a logo of the new organization for Andy, and sketched an initial idea on a napkin.

Somebody even produced what ought to have been the winning proposal for a new WTO headquarters. *Locate the headquarters in a Third-World country.* Developing countries could afford to have more representation in meetings, and First-World delegates would daily witness abject poverty, a constant reminder of the Trade Regulation Organization's new humanitarian bottom line.

And so, in the end, one final surprise. One might have thought that there was nothing an audience of international trade experts could do that would surprise us anymore. We no longer assumed we would be thrown off the stage. Nor would we have been caught off-guard if there had been no discussion at all—if everyone had simply filed off to lunch like sheep. What we were entirely unprepared for was everyone being so ... *happy*.

Excerpted with permission from the *Yes Men: The True Story of the End of the World Trade Organization* (The Disinformation Company Ltd, NY, www.disinfo.com, 2004). The *Yes Men* (no relation to *YES!* magazine) is also a newly released movie.

As to their qualifications, in 1993, while still in school, Mike spent a few furtive months performing microsurgery on talking GI Joe and Barbie dolls, switching their voice boxes so that the GI Joes would say things like "Math is too hard," and Barbies would bark "Dead men tell no lies." The dolls were returned to toy stores with a note providing a number to call "If you experience problems with your doll." The numbers actually belonged to TV news desks. ... The Barbie Liberation Front provoked a firestorm of media coverage.

Andy, hired to program little people in a computer action game, secretly created an army of men wearing nothing but swimsuits, who from time to time popped up and showered each other and the player with kisses. Eighty thousand copies of the game were on store shelves before the company noticed the "feature" a chance remark to a journalist friend resulted in the kissing boys being featured by media all over the world.





healing & resistance

After years of trying to win back their traditional village site, Chief Seattle's people were once again encountering fierce opposition from non-Indians. This time, though, a diverse coalition formed to work with the Suquamish Tribe to see if a 100-year-old wrong could be made right



a small group of people stands nervously outside the Vern Burton Center in Port Angeles, on Washington state's Olympic Peninsula. A few reporters jot down notes. Several members of the Lower Elwha Tribe stand wrapped in blankets out of the warm morning sun, holding hand drums.

A large bus rolls up, and then a second one. Cars arrive in the parking lot. The drummers begin a song of greeting. People pour off the buses, tribal elders first, followed by a blend of people from various tribes of the Northwest, European-American church leaders, retired folks, moms and kids, politicians, and many others wearing buttons reading "Chief Seattle Days 2004" or "I'm Indian and I vote."

The circle by the drummers grows as all stand listening to the song. Then Ted George, an elder with the Suquamish and S'Klallam tribes, begins a blessing: Let this day bring healing, he asks.

The question that has brought all these people to Port Angeles is a simple one, but one steeped in

conflict, grief, and now in hope. Should a one-acre park, once a part of the mother village of the Suquamish people and the site of one of the region's most renowned longhouses, and once the home of Chief Seattle and Chief Kitsap, now be returned to the Suquamish Tribe?

I first learned about Old Man House State Park when I came over the Agate Passage Bridge that connects Bainbridge Island to Suquamish to find a sandy beach where my children could play. When I visited the Suquamish Museum, I learned that people had lived on this waterfront land for at least 2,000 years, possibly as much as 10,000 years. The name Suquamish comes from the Lushootseed name for this site, which means the place of the clear salt waters.

During the summer months, the Suquamish people traditionally traveled throughout the Puget Sound region, including the land now called Seattle,

Canoes from the 2004 tribal canoe voyage approach Old Man House Park. Photo by the author





healing & resistance

gathering food, medicine, and materials for baskets and clothing, and visiting other tribes. In the winter, though, the families would return to the mother village where fires kept the longhouses warm and the long dark evenings could be spent teaching the young people the stories, songs, and practices that would strengthen their minds and hearts.

Treaties and losses

Under the treaty of Point Elliot, signed in 1855, the Suquamish people gave up about a quarter million acres to the newly arrived settlers, but they retained as their reservation about 8,000 acres across Puget Sound from Seattle. The center of the village was Old Man House, the largest longhouse in the region, a place where the tribes would gather for cel-

I live just down the street from the park. I can find my lot on the subdivision map that shows the land the military had relinquished to developers. The street is Angeline Avenue, named after Chief Seattle's daughter, Princess Angeline.

There is a story that when the longhouse was burning, word got to Angeline, who was then living in Seattle. She rushed to the waterfront and paddled her canoe the nine miles across Puget Sound, arriving in time to find only embers left where the great longhouse had stood. She poured water from the Sound on the smoldering embers, weeping, "They're burning down Papa's home, they're burning down Papa's home."

Many of these painful stories are well within the memory of people living today. The elders tell stories

going home

Sarah Ruth van Gelder

ebrations and where Chief Seattle and hundreds of others lived.

This state of affairs did not last long. The Indian agent ordered the longhouse burned in 1870, shortly after Chief Seattle died, believing that the longhouse way of life was un-Christian and that the Suquamish people should disperse across the reservation and take up farming. The people rebuilt their village on the same site. Soon, the mission church, the school, the cemetery, and homes were once again clustered in the area where the longhouse had once been. But this too was to be short lived.

In 1904, the U.S. military took 70 acres of the waterfront, including Old Man House village, to build fortifications to protect access to the Bremerton Navy shipyards. The houses, church, and cemetery were moved, and a people who had always lived on and near the water lost much of their water access.

The military never did build any fortifications. Instead, after some years, a developer bought the land and subdivided it into building lots for vacation homes. In the 1950s, the Washington Parks and Recreation Department bought an acre where part of the longhouse had been located to commemorate the historic importance of the site.

The Suquamish Museum's display on Old Man House Park doesn't end with that milestone, however. The written display makes explicit that the Suquamish people want the park returned.

of the boarding schools where tribal children were taught the menial trades that would permit them to assimilate as second-class workers into European-American society. The children, who were accustomed to gentle up-bringsings in extended families, found themselves beaten and tied up for speaking their language. Family life was shattered, leaving adults and children in despair. A legacy of alcoholism and drug abuse followed.

The tribe began getting back on its feet in 1974 with the Boldt decision of the U.S. District Court for western Washington, which set aside half the fish catch for tribes, based on treaty rights. Some Northwest tribes also opened bingo halls, casinos, and firework stands, and other means of making livelihoods.

A cultural renaissance began in 1989 when tribes from throughout the Puget Sound region carved cedar canoes and paddled to a state centennial celebration in Seattle. For the first time in years, tribes in the region were back on the water, traveling as they had for millennia. As they were celebrating the success of the event, a First Nations man from Bella Bella, 600 miles to the north in Canada, threw down a challenge: That was pretty good, he said. But I want to see you in Bella Bella in four years.

The challenge captured the imagination of the tribes, and the voyage to Bella Bella became the first of annual canoe journeys that continue to this day, now involving thousands of people. The voy-





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ages begin at one tribe's reservation. Each night, the paddlers and their support crews stop at a different reservation for celebration, and the offering of songs, prayers, and gifts before leaving the next day with additional canoes for the next reservation. It was right after the most recent three-week long canoe journey that the Washington state Parks Commission held its hearing on the return of Old Man House Park.

Old Man House

My involvement in this story began in late spring 2003, when Rob Purser and Rich Brooks from the Suquamish Tribe asked for help in getting back Old Man House Park. I am cofounder of a community organization, Suquamish Olalla Neighbors (SON), started in 2001 to respond to an incident in which Chief Seattle's grave was desecrated. Since then, we have been working to improve understanding and tolerance in a area where prejudices and divisions between the tribal and non-tribal communities flare into ugly confrontations in schools, community meetings, and election campaigns.

We knew that the return of the park to the tribe would be contentious. The tribe has often faced fierce opposition to its initiatives from a group of non-tribal residents of the reservation. The tribe had been trying to get the park returned since the early 1980s, but local opposition had always surfaced, and the issue became one of native versus non-native. A group called "The Friends of Old Man House Park" had already formed to offer volunteer assistance in maintaining the park in an effort to convince the state to hold on to the park.

It was not clear how SON members would respond to the tribe's request that we help build support for the transfer of the park. Several SON members are also neighbors of the park, and some had been part of the "Friends" group. But after hearing from both groups, SON members decided unanimously to support the tribe's request.

The tribal representatives wanted to hear the concerns of the entire community and to use that information to draft a management plan for the park. SON and the tribe worked together on eliciting public comment for that plan. We felt that if we could address concerns about tribal ownership, perhaps all could accept the transfer. And indeed, the park management plan—which drew on more than 400 comments and was drafted by a joint committee of SON and the Suquamish Tribe—attracted few complaints. Nonetheless, the opposition remained adamant.

Concerns were raised about whether the tribe

would exclude people who were not tribal members (the tribe agreed to a legally binding agreement to keep the park open to all), and that the tribe would not maintain the park (the tribe set a maintenance schedule and budget in the management plan.)

We began a letter-writing campaign, and letters and e-mails came pouring in to the Parks Commission. Organizations ranging from the Washington Association of Churches to the state Democratic Party went on record in support of the tribe. SON members Mary Ann Dow and Arlis Stewart compiled letters of support and documentation of the public involvement process, along with historic photos and the management plan, for each park commissioner.

The "Friends" group launched a petition drive asking the state to retain ownership of the park, and asked the County Commission to step in and request ownership. A busload of us turned up at a county commission meeting to explain why they should not, and the county took no action.

Finally, after mobilizing dozens to turn out at two State Parks Commission public meetings, we thought we had nothing left to do but wait for the decision to be made at the August 12 Port Angeles meeting. Then Rich Brooks received a call from a parks staffer saying they could not recommend transfer but asking if the tribe would accept a long-term lease.

The next day, a delegation from the tribe, SON, and other supporters met in the state capital with key Parks staff, explaining that an offer to lease back the heart of the Suquamish nation to the people of Suquamish would be regarded as a sign of mistrust and a continued effort to maintain control by European-Americans and would not be accepted.

We contacted each park commissioner with the same story, traveling hundreds of miles to meet those commissioners who were willing to meet with us. Rob Purser and I also visited church and civic groups asking people to join us for the "Ride of a Century" to the Parks Commission hearing in Port Angeles.

The Ride of a Century

The day arrived for the "Ride of a Century," named to highlight the 100-year anniversary of the year the land was taken from the tribe. Two Suquamish Clearwater Casino buses pulled up to the tribal center and quickly filled with people. Other people formed car-pools. On the largest of the two buses, Leonard Forsman, tribal spokesperson and historian, spoke to the bus riders. "This park is where my ancestors lived," he told us. "This land is sacred to our people."





healing & resistance

I spoke briefly about prospects for the day: “We think we have at least three votes out of a seven-member commission, but we need at least four.”

By the time all had entered the hall, there were more than 300 people. The park commissioners took their seats at the front of the room. The Suquamish canoe paddlers, in cedar hats, carrying traditional painted paddles, lined three walls of the room, where they stood as a silent presence.

The testimony included statements from Suquamish tribal leaders and from other Northwest tribes, a surprise statement from the governor supporting the transfer, and endorsements of state and local faith groups, and neighbors.

Noel Purser, age 17, addressed the commission in Lushootseed translated by Kah-Ty-Ah Lawrence, age 13. Ted George quoted Chief Seattle: “Be just, and deal kindly with my people.”

I asked all who supported the transfer to stand, and over 200 people stood together, many holding canoe paddles aloft in clenched fists.

Those from the opposition spoke about how irresponsible the tribe is in a wide range of matters, and how they should not be trusted with this park, situated in the midst of a mostly non-Indian residential neighborhood. They threatened a lawsuit if the land was returned to the tribe.

Then it was the commission’s turn. The unanimous decision for the transfer came so quickly, the room sat in stunned silence for a full second. Then the room filled with applause and the sound of drumming. The canoe paddlers formed a circle and began a song of thanks. Attempts to bring the room back to order dissolved as tribal elders lined up to thank parks commissioners and shake their hands. There were embraces and tears.

Back on the bus, Leonard had one more short speech to make. “We have to do this work as Indians, because it’s our duty,” he told the riders. “You don’t have to, but you did it anyway. For that we thank you.”

Clear salt waters

That evening, I celebrated by taking my canoe out across Agate Passage and back toward Old Man House Park. There by the park, a narrow wooden racing canoe was skirting the shore. A party was in full swing. As I got closer, I saw someone waving, silhouetted against the late afternoon sun. It was the tribal chairman, Bennie Armstrong, who was wading out toward my canoe: “Hey, you can’t come ashore here—this land belongs to the Suquamish Tribe now!”



Suquamish tribal elders and others at the hearing on Old Man House Park. Photo by Bill Bauer



Fred Jessett, from the Episcopal Church's First Nation's Committee, and tribal elder Ted George at the hearing. Photos left and below by Matthew St. Carrell



Suquamish canoe paddlers gather immediately after the decision to celebrate the return of Old Man House village site to the Suquamish Tribe

I know the canoe landing protocol, though, and after I asked permission to land, we laughed and sat on drift wood drinking soda and eating clams. We swapped stories of voyages by canoe across the salt waters of Washington and British Columbia, and voyages by land to visit parks commissioners. We tried out each other’s canoes, only narrowly avoiding capsizing in the clear salt water of the Old Man House village site, now once again the land of the Suquamish people.

Sarah Ruth van Gelder is co-chair and co-founder of Suquamish Olalla Neighbors, as well as executive editor of YES! magazine. To compensate for her lack of objectivity in this story, she has posted links to newspaper clippings on the YES! website.





healing & resistance

resources for healing

Darrin Burgess

safeguarding human rights

Human Rights Watch, a U.S.-based non-profit organization, conducts fact-finding investigations into human rights abuses around the world, generating media coverage and pressuring government officials to make changes. Led the fight to ban child soldiers and documented testimonies throughout the Rwanda genocide. Website includes information on campaigns, actions, and events.

www.hrw.org, 212/290-4700

Human Rights Web is an online information kit to help you become a human rights activist. Includes a history of the world human-rights struggle, historic documents, and instructions on how to get started as an activist.

www.hrweb.org

Amnesty International mobilizes ordinary people to liberate political prisoners, abolish torture, and end "disappearances" of people by governments and militias. Members receive news bulletins, participate in letter campaigns, and attend demonstrations. www.amnestyusa.org, 212/807-8400

MADRE, an international women's human-rights organization, provides resources and training to Latin American and African communities on violence, discrimination against women, and reproductive freedom. Website includes information on internships and work opportunities. www.madre.org, 212/627-0444



Shehzad Noorani

Directory of Human Rights Organizations and Human and Civil Rights Organizations of America are comprehensive indexes that will put you in touch with human rights organizations that match your interests and needs. www.engagedpage.com/human.html and www.hcr.org

Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria? by Beverly Tatum (Basic Books, 2003), spells out central concepts of racism in plain language and the challenges of racial identity.

Anti-Racism Net provides an online resource for the activist community and a portal offering information on anti-racism activities to the general public. Website includes articles, a calendar of events, and a search engine of anti-racist organizations.

www.antiracismnet.org, 510/482-3286

resolving conflicts

Center for Partnership Studies provides resources to help you build models for education, business plans, and relationships that avoid traditional dominance paradigms and promote nonviolence and gender and racial equality. www.partnershipway.org, 831/626-1004

Fellowship of Reconciliation is a venerable interfaith peace movement with branches in 40 countries. Helped found the ACLU and supported African independence, Vietnamese war victims, the U.S. civil rights movement, and U.S./Soviet Union reconciliation. Opposed the U.S. invasion of Iraq. Website includes listings for a fellowship near you.

www.forusa.org, 845/358-4601

Resolving Conflict Creatively Program, a part of Educators for Social Responsibility, is the nation's longest running school program on conflict resolution. Focuses on violence prevention and creating peaceful learning communities. Currently serving 375 schools nationwide. www.esrnational.org, 617/492-1764x31

Communities Against Rape and Abuse (CARA) seeks to undermine root causes of sexual violence. Uses community organizing to build safe, supportive communities. Members attend support group facilitation training, develop strategies for mutual accountability among friends and family, and create projects emphasizing positive sexuality. www.cara-seattle.org, 206/322-4856





healing & resistance

The Conflict Resolution Information Source is a catalog of more than 20,000 conflict resolution-related resources. www.crininfo.org

cultivating peace

Search for Common Ground, active in 12 nations, seeks to "transform the way the world deals with conflict," by facilitating discussions, challenging stereotypes, and providing liaisons between hostile groups. Website includes information on programs, news, and other resources.

www.sfcg.org, 202/265-4300

National Campaign for a Peace Tax Fund advocates for legislation enabling conscientious war objectors to direct their federal income taxes to non-military purposes. Site includes action alerts, sample letters, and how to contact your legislators. www.peacetaxfund.org, 202/483-3751

Voices in the Wilderness organized over 70 delegations to Iraq who delivered medical supplies to children during economic sanctions and lived alongside ordinary Iraqis throughout U.S. military bombardments. Website documents the effects of U.S. sanctions and military campaigns. www.vitw.org, 773/784-8065

Peace Brigades International sends teams of volunteers into areas of conflict where they have been invited to accompany those threatened by political violence. In places such as Colombia, Indonesia, and Guatemala, the organization has deterred violence through international attention. www.peacebrigades.org

United Religions Initiative, a global interfaith organization, works to end religiously motivated violence and create

cultures of peace. "Cooperation circles" around the world provide discussions and training to raise the global standard of peacemaking. Website includes news, events, and resources, and tells you how to get involved.

www.uri.org, 415/561-2300

Peace Jam is an international education project linking Nobel Peace Laureates with high school youth. Students learn to recognize violence and oppression and to build solutions drawing from the life and experience of the Laureates. Website includes events, resources, and a directory of Peace Jam offices nationwide. www.peacejam.org, 303/455-2099

The Unconquerable World: Power Nonviolence and the Will of the People, by Jonathan Schell (Metropolitan Books, 2003), argues that warfare is no longer the ultimate arbiter of political power and that non-violent political action offers hope for a peaceful future.

I'd Rather Teach Peace, by Colman McCarthy (Orbis Books, 2002), based on McCarthy's experience teaching in the School Without Walls, offers a how-to manual, showing how he gets kids to explore peace issues and think creatively.

See also the resources on peace in *YES! Winter 2002*, "Can Love Save the World?"

assisting veterans

Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder Sourcebook, by Glenn R. Schiraldi (McGraw Hill, 2000), is a guidebook for those suffering from traumatic experience and their loved ones. Includes explanations of coping mechanisms, emotional triggers, psychological defenses, and how to begin healing.

Books for Soldiers is a soldier support group that ships books, DVDs, and supplies to deployed and hospitalized soldiers. Website includes information on how to donate or get involved.

www.booksforsoldiers.com

Operation Truth provides a forum for soldiers and veterans to post stories and share information on legal rights, receiving benefits, and getting involved in legislative action campaigns.

www.optruth.org, 212/982-9699

National Gulf War Resource Center engages in advocacy and provides information, support, and referrals about Gulf War illnesses, depleted uranium, PTSD, and other issues facing veterans of both Gulf wars.

www.ngwrc.org, 800/882-1316x162

U.S. Veterans Resource is an index of resources for veterans. Includes government links, legal information, attorneys, and state-by-state veteran's affairs offices.

www.vetsresource.com

YES! and The Film Connection

Poetry in Wartime

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Questions? E-mail: info@thefilmconnection.org
Referral code: yesmovie



arts&media

Since the 1960s, Bread & Puppet Theater has come to life in urban street protests and remote farmlands, awakening in audiences a sense of wonder, solidarity, and a recollection of life's essentials

Rehearsing with

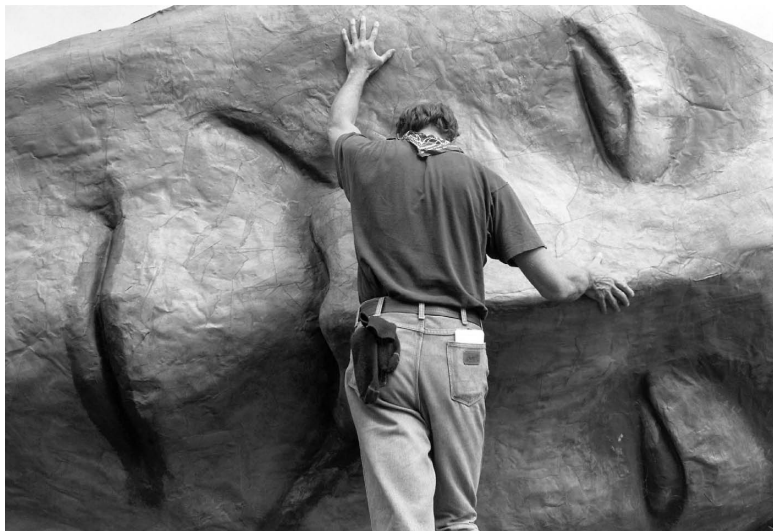
photographs by **Ronald T. Simon**
essays by **Marc Estrin**

Imagine a landscape as a painter's canvas—one in which pigments of green are swayed by the wind, dampened by the rain, lightened by the sun; a canvas where tiny figures emerge from the distance, changing the surface with their footsteps and filling the foreground with life.

The sky in this canvas is often darkened by a flurry of activity; by wars and the suffering they cause. But even as the darkness passes, soft voices are heard singing, rejoicing, and lamenting the dead.

This is the reality of the Bread & Puppet Theater's Domestic Resurrection Circus, and of director Peter Schumann's ability to people the landscape with puppets, parades, and pageants.

Bread & Puppet is the distillation of Schumann's aesthetic into a visual language where the syntax is humanism and the only verb, in a social-political sense, is *to act*.



Holding up Mother Earth, 1991.

Opposite: Godface, dance, *The Pageant*, 1986. All photos by Ronald T. Simon.

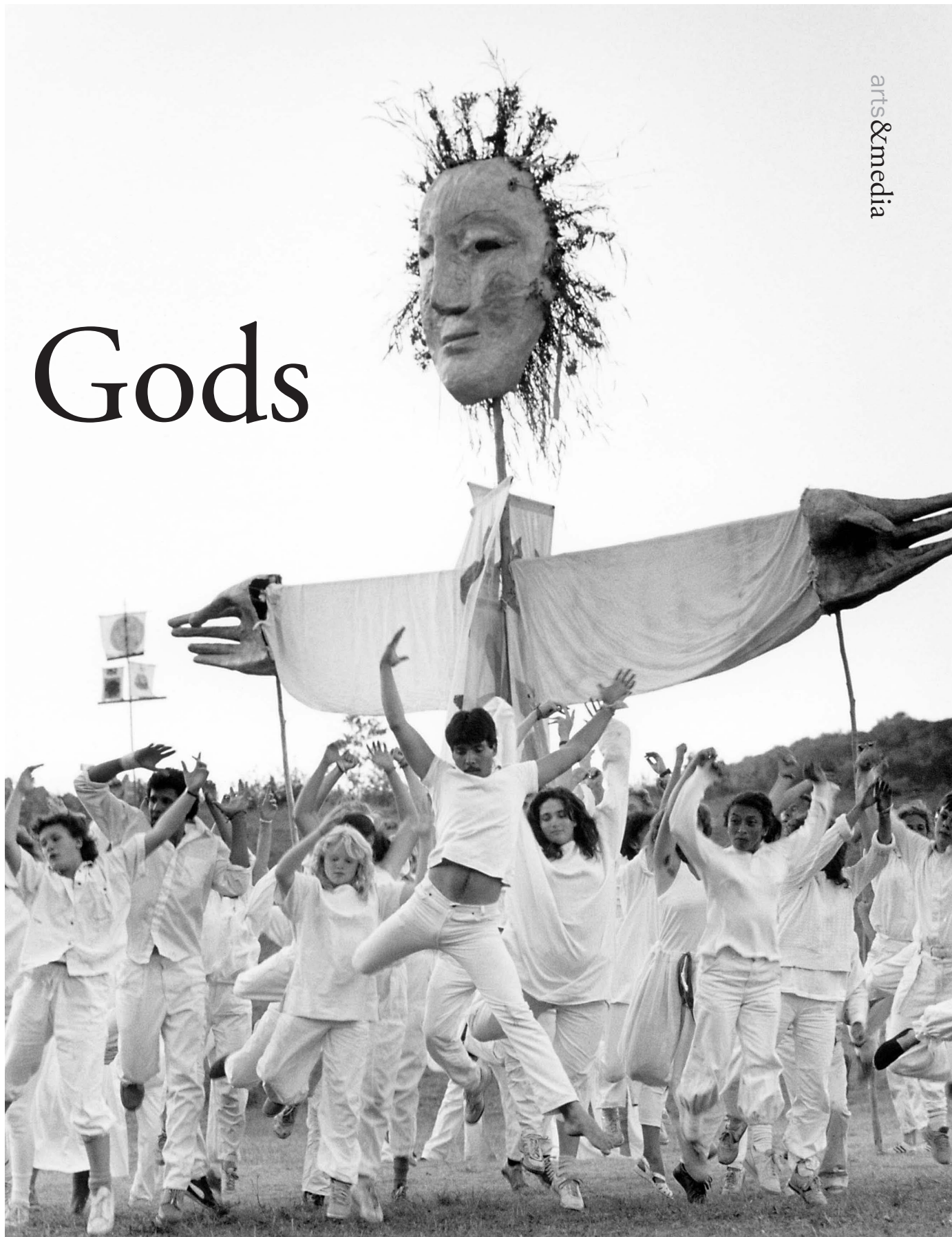
*Is there hope left for America?
Probably not. The only thing left is to
resist. ... pitting papier-mâché against
government, fighting with wooden swords
against status-quo thinking machines.
Pessimism of the intellect and
optimism of the will.*





arts&media

Gods





I, too, want to join your circus

Peter Schumann is likely the only 16-century human stalking planet Earth today. His art is of that time, as is his thinking. For what sane mind these days is swirling with gods and demons and swimming among archetypes? We mostly exist in our little world of images and simulacra, fed to us by the media masters—look, honey, I shrunk the universe, major credit cards accepted.

But Peter's world is as large as it was for Luther or Michelangelo, or Giordano Bruno, as full of portents, images, characters, all speaking, listening, to be embraced or exorcised. He runs a workshop, as did the Renaissance masters, laying out the big ideas and nourishing apprentices as they grow toward his vision. But he is still, at 69, far beyond any of them—the best stilter, the most graceful dancer, the most music-filled musician, the most visionary painter and sculptor, the most lateral-thinking inventor, the funniest, the most serious, the most innovative with language.

The theater itself manifests those virtues, and so Bread & Puppet—as a whole—projects a kind

of model for the human—inquisitive, energetic, hard-working, ethical, frugal, imaginative, thoughtful, knowledgeable, articulate, opinionated, joyful, hopeful, zany, and eccentric, passionate and free-wheeling to the point of madcap; and at the same time, humble, good-natured, approachable, compassionate, idealistic, and generous; and in the face of injustice, fearless and cocky, audacious and militant, resilient, rambunctious, persistently defiant, incorruptible, indestructible. Overall: magical, principled, and visionary. Not a bad combo. Something to emulate.

You can feel emulation in the crowds' rhythmic clapping and spontaneous sing-alongs: not "thank-you for a great performance," but some kind of longed-for joining, "take me with you, I, too, want to run away and join your circus."

Clockwise, starting upper left: sideshow, 1991; naked population puppets, Pageant rehearsal with audience, 1997; Cheerleaders, the Circus, 1987; oversized population puppet, Pageant rehearsal, 1991.



Rehearsals for a new circus act usually begin with a mere theme. "Find some puppets," Peter says, and unexpected congeries of figures are carried out into the backyard...





Insurrection of the spirit

This is the dialectic Bread & Puppet looks out upon: the world affirmed, the world denied, the world adored, the world detested. World, Unworld. It is clear which side the theater is on. But there are no rose-colored glasses in the prop room.

A recent blast from the past: The chorus I sing in is rehearsing Mozart's Requiem, and being too cheap to buy another score when I knew I had one around somewhere, I went rummaging deep in the music boxes to find a score from when I had conducted the piece for the puppets. Inside the score, an old mimeographed scrap of paper, a message from Peter to the cast, perhaps a program note:

Mozart's Requiem pleads mercy for fated souls. The guilty consumer and guest of the world argues for his salvation on Judgment Day. Since the decision to create the Day of Wrath has slipped away from God and Satan and has fallen into the hands of our defense policy makers, our modern souls' plea has to be directed to our political leaders and their constituents. We have endowed them with the ultimate power to destroy what we know and to crush what wants to grow.

Responding to this urgency, the Requiem becomes a call for the insurrection of the human spirit against a bureaucracy which was meant to organize our traffic and troubles and is now out of proportion, crazy, and in charge of our deaths.

"Guests of the world" we are—and now guests that are called to insurrection. That's the theater's big picture of what's going on out beyond puppetland.

Clockwise, starting upper left: In Memoriam, Martin Osterland, *Circus Finale*, 1987; Iraqi women, the ballroom workshop, 1990; *Pageant* rehearsal, 1990; *Dragons*, *The Circus*, backstage, 1992.

The circus last year presented "Homeland Security Day in the Life of a Vermont Dairy Cow." A small group of cows in straw hats, busy gossiping and chewing on grass, are approached by a suspicious-looking larger herd who march into the scene. It is the Homeland Security Marching Band, now "incowgnito." "Everybody ready?" "Moo, Sir." Off come cow costumes, and out come cameras, tape recorders, and small arms ...



Does Bread & Puppet Give Me Hope?

Yes.

hope to be able to name names when names need
naming

hope to see the slapstick in the tragic, the tragic in the
slapstick

hope for the tongues that can speak the unspeakable
hope that the glib may come unglued

hope that persistence will continue to persist

hope that the uninvented may already be born

hope that probity and integrity will triumph over want

hope in idealism at the helm

hope for the categorical imperative

hope in the rightness of Yes! for an answer

hope that I might someday play the accordion

hope that the great unicycle will roll on, upright

hope that the dead can actually rise BOOM CLASH

hope that the virtues—classical and theological—will
triumph by Glover example

hope to be at demonstrations I don't attend

hope that you don't get only what you pay for and

hope that the best things in life will not be things

hope that un-American activity may triumph in the
world

hope that the ever-renewable will continue to renew

hope that human reach will continue to exceed its
grasp

hope that there is still an alternative to There Is No
Alternative

hope that the New World Order may become new

hope that Hope will not be deferred, nor the heart be
sick

hope that in this hell, hope need not be abandoned

hope that swords may also be beaten into puppets

hope that giants may still walk the Earth ...

Excerpted with permission from *Rehearsing with Gods: Photographs and Essays on The Bread & Puppet Theater* (Chelsea Green Publishing, 2004). Author Marc Estrin is a writer, cellist, puppeteer, and activist and author of *Insect Dreams: The Half Life of Gregor Samsa*. Photographer Ronald T. Simon's study of the work of Peter Schumann spans 20 years. Simon has worked for the National Film Board of Canada and CBC Radio.

Peter Schumann as Uncle Sam, *Circus Finale*,
1995.

For me, the most curious of Peter's own modeling is that of dancing Uncle Sam, leading parades and summing up the circus. Eighteen feet tall, on 12-foot stilts, red-striped legs, and on his blue top hat—instead of stars—skel-etons. People applaud him—but do they know what they are applauding?

PO Box 10818, Bainbridge Island, WA 98110





You wouldn't know it from U.S. newspapers, but a peace movement is building in Colombia. Indigenous peoples, peasant communities, and young draft resisters are saying no to war



Mauricio Duenas photo

Insisting on Peace

Bill Weinberg

The U.S. Congress voted October 10 to double the number of Pentagon advisors in Colombia to 800. This war-torn country is now the third highest recipient of U.S. aid, after Israel and Egypt. Nonetheless, Colombia has largely disappeared from global headlines. When the war—the longest and bloodiest in Latin America—does make the news, rarely do the headlines note the emergence of a grassroots peace movement that is refusing to cooperate with the violence on any side.

In recent years, indigenous peoples in Colombia have defied the rightist paramilitaries and leftist guerrillas alike, demanding that all armed groups re-

spect their constitutional right to autonomous self-governance and stay off their lands.

Peasant villages have followed the example of the indigenous people, declaring themselves "Peace Communities." And in violence-torn cities like Medellín, youth groups have declared their solidarity with these rural movements and pledged to resist conscription into the armed forces.

The indigenous movement is most advanced in the southern province of Cauca, where indigenous communities launched an unprecedented movement for autonomy. After marching four days from their mountain communities, some 60,000 Indians

Indigenous Colombians march along the Pan American Highway in Cauca province



arrived in the city of Cali on September 17. They marched in spite of threats and intimidation.

Entitled the Minga for Life, Happiness, Justice and Liberty, the march was organized by the Regional Indigenous Council of Cauca (CRIC) and its local affiliate, the Association of Indigenous Councils of Northern Cauca (ACIN). *Minga* is an indigenous word for a collective work party.

At each stop along the way, marchers met with local people in community meetings, and local residents joined the march. Many joined when the march reached the Afro-Colombian community of Villarica. The Afro-Colombians, like the Indians, are officially entitled to autonomy under the 1992 constitution—a guarantee they say is routinely violated by armed groups.

Thousands camped out at Cali's stadium after the September 17 rally and convened an Indigenous and Popular Congress the following day. Colombia's hardline President Alvaro Uribe delivered an openly hostile telephone message from the stadium stage, accusing the marchers of exploiting the autonomy issue on behalf of opposition political parties.

Nonetheless, the government appeared to bend to the pressure brought by the march. Alcibiades Escue Musicue, a traditional leader from the Nasa Indian reserve of San Francisco, who had been arrested September 4 by a special National Police Anti-Terrorist Unit, was released September 22. Escue had been arrested on the spurious charge of "conspiracy to commit delinquency," and the move was widely seen as government intimidation of the Minga.

Intimidation also came from outlawed armed groups. Indigenous authorities in the community of Alto Naya reported that ski-masked paramilitary troops assembled on the road leading from the village as the local contingent prepared to join the Minga.

Guerrillas of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) abducted five indigenous leaders from Cauca's Toribio municipality, a Nasa community high in the mountains, shortly before the march. The hostages included Arquimedes Vitonas, Toribio's mayor, and Gilberto Munoz, director of Toribio's Nasa-language university—both recognized as "Masters of Wisdom" by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) for their efforts to preserve indigenous knowledge.

CRIC and ACIN issued a statement demanding immediate release of the leaders, but opposing any military operation and insisting that authorities respect their right to seek resolution "through our autonomous mechanisms of peaceful indigenous resistance."

On September 6, some 400 members of the Nasa Indigenous Guard, armed only with ceremonial staffs, marched from Toribio down into the rainforest of Caqueta where the men were being held. After a day-long stand-off between the Indigenous Guard and the guerrillas, the men were released.

"When they speak of Colombia, they speak of the narco traffic, they speak of war and violence," says Luis Evelio Ipia, a Nasa leader from Toribio. "They don't speak of the new political process we are building."

Peasants declare "Peace Communities"

Mestizo peasants are starting to follow the lead of Colombia's Indians in declaring "active neutrality" in the war. One of the first groups to do so was San José de Apartado, a village in Colombia's northern Uraba region, which declared itself a "Peace Community" in 1997, after repeated incursions by army, paramilitary, and guerrilla forces had left several villagers dead.

Armed groups continue to menace the village. On May 27, President Uribe issued a statement threatening leaders of the Peace Community with arrest for "obstructing justice" by not cooperating with government efforts against the guerrillas. Such accusations have made the village a target for military and paramilitary violence in the past. Uribe also threatened international volunteers with arrest and deportation for supporting the Peace Community by serving as human rights observers.

Just days after Uribe's statement, on June 2, army and National Police agents entered San José de Apartado, demanding the papers of members of Peace Brigades International stationed at the village and announcing that a permanent National Police station would be established at the village. In subsequent weeks, local paramilitaries threatened to re-launch the "food blockade" of the village that they have maintained intermittently since the Peace Community was declared, by erecting checkpoints on the only road linking it to the nearest town. Several local residents have been killed by gunmen on the road in recent years.

After the threats, the Peace Community issued a statement: "We again reiterate our commitment to continue building paths of dignity in the midst of the war."

"Our neutrality means we will not participate with any armed actors," says Maria Brigida Gonzalez, one of the Peace Community leaders. "But we will denounce human rights abuses by any side."

The peace community movement is spreading;

villages in the Antioquia highlands, Bolivar province, and Choco province have also declared themselves peace communities, and independent peasant communities of the Cimitarra valley announced their non-cooperation with armed groups.

Youth say no to conscription

An urban counterpart to these movements is *Red Juvenil*, or Youth Network, founded in 1990 in Medellín's poor barrios to promote youth participation in political life. Milena Meneses, a political science student who also teaches inmates in Medellín's prisons about their human rights, explains the group's purpose: "We promote an alternative youth culture to that of gangs and *sicarios*," or hired assassins, she says. "We use theater and art to reach out to the city's youth." Many young Red activists are former gang members who found new direction after experiencing a Red presentation in Medellín's schools.

Medellín's poor barrios are as much afflicted by Colombia's war as the rural *campesino* communities of Uraba and Cauca. The city's Zona Centro Oriental, where the Red was founded, was the site of a 1992 massacre of nine youths by plainclothed police. In 2002 an army sweep of the Comuna 13 district, which had become a stronghold of an urban guerrilla militia, left some 35 dead. In this and other outlying poor districts that climb the steep hills overlooking the city center, the notorious Metro Bloc paramilitary is waging a war of extermination against street gangs and urban guerrillas.

The Red Juvenil is part of a network of community centers in these violence-ravaged districts attempting to promote education, self-help and human rights. The Red's most important work is in advocating the right of conscientious objection and supporting Colombian youth who refuse to serve in the army.

The group has also come under attack. On July 29, the home of a leading Red member was visited by two armed men who first said they were with the paramilitary and later claimed to be from a government enforcement agency. The Red activist was out at the time, but her mother was at home with a two-month-old baby. The mother was menaced with pistols, tied up, and locked in the bathroom as the men searched the house. The men left with the mother still trapped and the baby asleep in another room—she eventually managed to free herself. Red Juvenil considers the invasion an implicit threat to members of the organization.

And at the annual May Day march in Medellín this year, police brutally attacked members of the

Red, injuring three and leaving one hospitalized. Twenty Red activists at the march held banners reading "No Army Defends the Peace" and "Neither War that Destroys Us nor Peace that Oppresses Us." The violence began when one of the trade unionists in the march, apparently suspected of spray-painting slogans on a wall, was chased down by the police just as he reached the young pacifist marchers. Martín Emilio Rodríguez, who edits Red Juvenil's newsletter *Mal Creyente*, threw himself over the unionist in an effort to protect him from the swinging clubs. When he started receiving blows himself, other Red activists threw their bodies in front of him. One received a bloody nose, and two were sprayed with pepper gas. Among those attacked was Adriana Castaño, Red Juvenil's human rights director.

Finally a police tank arrived, and Martín was taken away in handcuffs, along with the unionist. Martín was hospitalized for several days, but proved only to be badly bruised. Red Juvenil is calling for an investigation into the elite National Police anti-riot team they say was behind the attack.

“When they speak of Colombia, they
speak of war and violence. They don’t
speak of the new political process
we are building”

The Red's Adriana Castaño says that despite the violence and intimidation, their campaign is beginning to make people aware of alternatives to the war. "Now we are acknowledged as having at least a minority position," she says. "Even if they call us anarchists and utopians."

In August 2003, the Red Juvenil hosted a conference in Medellín that brought together representatives from San José de Apartado and other Peace Communities, the indigenous movement in Cauca, and draft resisters from several South American nations. One of the strongest points of unity was opposition to further U.S. aid to Colombia—aid they say is being used to escalate the war. U.S. taxpayer money is supplying helicopters, guns, training, and intelligence on guerrilla movements to Uribe's government.

Bill Weinberg is author of *Homage to Chiapas: The New Indigenous Struggles in Mexico* and editor of the online World War 3 Report, www.ww3report.com. He is currently working on a book on indigenous movements in the Andes for Verso Books.



A Muslim Invitation



Staton R. Winter/Getty Images

THE FRAGRANCE OF FAITH: The Enlightened Heart of Islam

by Jamal Rahman

The Book Foundation, 161 pages, 2004, \$15.95

Dervishes perform the *sema*, a centuries-old tradition of the mystical Sufi branch of Islam

A book as important as Jamal Rahman's *The Fragrance of Faith* needs to be recommended with as much grace as possible, for it contains precious reminders that the spiritual teachings of Islam are as filled with compassion as they can be. We live in a time when the spiritual clarity Jamal Rahman shares may well be critical to the healing of person and planet.

The book introduces us to very special teachers with whom Jamal

himself grew up. His parents conveyed the person and the teachings of Jamal's grandfather, a spiritual teacher and healer named Maulana Hedayatullah. Through Jamal's text his grandfather comes to life for us all.

Sufism is the more mystical aspect of Islam, but not a denomination or independent sect of Islam. The Sufis understand that their traditions stemmed from the teachings of the Prophet, but were meant for a smaller community willing to engage in the immediacy of the spiritual encounter. Jamal communicates this teaching to the reader much as it was communicated to him. We become his students, and

he speaks to the struggles we each experience in our own growing.

Grandfather, grandmother, father, and mother speak through the pages of this book with deep eloquence, and each adds to the deeper understanding of the sacred words of the Qur'an, of the collected sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (the hadith), and of the examples of his life (sunnah). But it is Jamal who weaves these teachings together, with exquisite threads of the great Sufi poet Rumi and heartfully humorous stories of the famous Mulla Nasrudin to form a fabric of surprising comprehensiveness, an accessible entry to the experiential aspect of Islamic thought.

That means, of course, that Jamal offers neither a historical or a theoretical approach to Islamic tradition. Readers wanting to explore these sides of Islam might well read Karen Armstrong's *Islam*, or *The Heart of Islam* by Seyyed Hossein Nasr, who is one of the foremost scholars of Islam today.

In Jamal's relatively short volume, we are introduced to the three principles (surrender, faith, and moral virtue) and the five pillars (profession of faith, prayer, almsgiving, fasting, and pilgrimage) of Islam. We are treated to expositions sparkling with story, poetry, and sacred verses, and we are invited to drink deeply of the nectar of the spiritual fruits of the Islamic tradition.

We are offered verses for reflection and contemplation, many by Rumi: "When a seed falls into the ground, it germinates, grows, and becomes a tree: if you understand these symbols, you'll follow us, and fall to the ground, with us." We are offered practices, inviting us to visit personal places of pain in order to move to greater awareness: "Make a list of people to whom you have lied. Silently, in your mind, talk to them. Tell them the truth and from your heart ask for forgiveness. Then invoke God's mercy and forgive yourself."

This is hardly the image of Islamic tradition offered us by the media; this is not the Islam that supports violence and hatred. This

is a spiritual Islam, teaching the way of the opening heart, mind, and identity. It does not seem to be Jamal's intention to counter distorted teachings about Islam, but rather to offer Islamic verses for our own consideration.

What I hear is universal; what I find here reflects the finest of Jewish, Christian, Buddhist, and Hindu spiritual teaching: "In a Hadith Qudsi, Allah says: I cannot be contained in the space of the earth, I cannot be contained in the space of the heavens, but I can be contained in the heart of my loving servant." Jamal continues, "The Divine Heart, we are told, is in the human heart. Between heart and Heart lie level upon level of consciousness and realization."

All mystical traditions ultimately converge, since each leads beyond itself to an absolutely shared Universal. We are invited to journey more deeply toward this Universal through the teachings and the exercises in this text.

In *The Fragrance of Faith*, we are gifted with pages worthy of reading and rereading, of contemplating and meditating, of savoring and sharing. The chapters are short, yet packed with timeless insight for our pondering.

I am so glad this is such an exceptional book. Jamal is a good friend. He is a colleague with whom I study and with whom I teach. In writing as well as in person, he shares the beauty of his tradition. He offers us a living face of Islam expressing a universal love and compassion for all beings. Jamal has been a minister at the Interfaith Community Church in Seattle for almost four years. Although he teaches as a Muslim, he is able to honor Truth as it expresses through all the world's religions.

Perhaps a gentler time would not value so highly a work of such

open-hearted generosity of spirit. But this is not that gentler time, so Jamal's work brings a refreshing fragrance to awaken the sleeping compassion and peace at the core of our own beings. This is a work for which we can be truly grateful, providing teachings that so kindly remind us of the greater Presence yearning to be expressed through us all.

"Knowing the power of gratitude, grandfather asked that we strive to be grateful even in times of affliction. When we hold gratitude in our hearts in difficult times, we are giving thanks for unknown blessings already on their way. Grandfather believed that besides compassion and awareness, gratitude is the other key available to us for unlocking the mysteries of the Universe."

—Rabbi Ted Falcon

Ted Falcon is rabbi of Bet Alef Meditative Synagogue in Seattle, where he is active in interfaith dialogue and spiritual gatherings. He is co-author of *Judaism For Dummies* and author of *A Journey of Awakening: Kabbalistic Meditations on the Tree of Life*. He can be reached at rabbi@betalef.org.

HOPE DIES LAST: Keeping the Faith in Difficult Times

by Studs Terkel

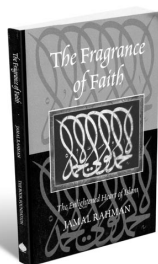
New Press, 320 pages, 2003, \$25.95

THE IMPOSSIBLE WILL TAKE A LITTLE WHILE: A Citizen's Guide to Hope in a Time of Fear

Edited by Paul Loeb

Basic Books, 422 pages, 2004, \$15.95

There seems to be a general feeling these days that things in this country are, well, bad. On a very large scale. What can we do in the face of corporate scandal? Nuclear proliferation? Outsourcing? Moral decay? Television commercials? It's easy to lose hope of changing anything for the better. But we can



fortify our resolve to create a more just and sustainable world with two new anthologies that seek to bolster an increasingly elusive resource—hope.

In *Hope Dies Last*, one of our country's greatest oral historians, Studs Terkel, uses his keen interviewer's eye to craft more than 50 conversational essays demonstrating that hope, the universal engine of human progress, still exists—from the sobered dreams of older generations to the pragmatic idealism of the new one.

Now age 91, Terkel has interviewed celebrities and average people to portray the Great Depression, World War II, and the American Dream. Now, speaking to "the inheritors of the legacy of the past," he traces a genealogy of American activism, in which labor laws were

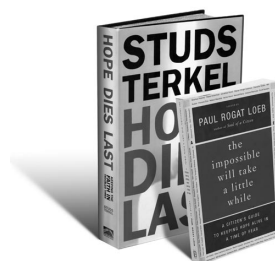
won and civil rights were forged despite corruption and despair.

Clancy Segal, a 75-year-old leftist, recalls how being harassed by FBI agents strengthened his principles ("J. Edgar Hoover validated my existence."). Leroy Orange reflects on two decades inside death row, now that he has been found wholly innocent and released ("...if I gave up completely, I would just die."); Kathy Kelly, founder of Voices in the Wilderness, speaks from Baghdad about her efforts to reveal the plight of innocent war victims.

For Terkel, American history offers perpetual reminders that corruption and lies can be bested with open dialogue and a little American 'can-do'. These casual, intimate portraits of ordinary people caught up in extraordinary circumstances reflect his belief that the hallmark of activism is simply an indomitable spirit.

Paul Loeb, editor of *The Impossible Will Take a Little While*, on the other hand, asserts that hope is less a mere symptom of an optimistic personality than an active mission. Acknowledging that most of us already face demanding day-to-day responsibilities, he argues that apathy and despair aren't consequences of our inability to cope with the "looming realities" of the world, but of "looking at life through too narrow a lens."

Loeb asks a series of open-ended questions: What gives people like Nelson Mandela the vision, strength and courage to persist through brutality and boredom? How can we forgive our oppressors? What takes us beyond mere survival and allows us to see the broader picture? Loeb assembles more than 60 essays and poems by Desmond Tutu, Václav Havel, Arundhati Roy, Alice Walker and others to answer the questions. He casts a wide net



with this uneven collection, hoping perhaps that each of us can be inspired with passion for democracy and justice if we hear it spoken in our own language.

In Loeb's introduction, he describes his own determined optimism to see that, despite degradations to humanity and the environment, the world still possesses a capacity for renewal: "During my travels, I start out weighed down by the ills of the world and my personal obsessions. By a few miles in, the burden invariably lifts. I see the landscape with fresh eyes."

Most inspiring to me are the concrete stories: Nelson Mandela describing his survival in prison on Robben Island; Tony Kushner rejecting despair, because "dull and electoral and tedious and not especially pure" efforts have changed the world; Loeb describing the "real" Rosa Parks, whose long years in the civil rights movement gave her the courage to refuse to give up her seat on the bus. All of these demonstrate that seemingly instantaneous miracles of progress actually took "many people taking small steps together over a long period of time."

As Jim Wallis, editor of the evangelical magazine *Sojourners* says, "Hope is believing in spite of the evidence, then watching the evidence change." Or rather, as the activists profiled in these collections did, *making* the evidence change.

—Darrin Burgess

Interns Wanted

Editorial Intern

Gain professional, hands-on editing experience at our national, award-winning magazine.

Marketing & Outreach Intern

Work with media contacts, activists, retailers, and event organizers to expand the reach and impact of *YES!*

Education Outreach Intern

Connect with teachers nationwide to get the inspiration of *YES!* into the hands of youth.



“The *YES!* office is full of politically and socially engaged people.

—Michelle Burkhart
YES! Editorial Intern

find details at www.yesmagazine.org



Linda Wolf

A Media Movement Is Catching On

Here's a question that haunts me: If we had a vibrant, decentralized media system in this country, would we have gone to war in Iraq?

We've seen time and time again how badly the corporate media are failing us. As the U.S. began its build-up to attacking Iraq, the media giants dismissed the millions who protested the war as voices from the fringe. Clear Channel radio, which has gobbled up local stations to build a nationwide empire of over 1,200 stations, promoted pro-war rallies throughout its network. Even news stalwarts like *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* now admit they were far too ready to toe the administration's line on the threats posed by Saddam Hussein.

Fortunately, I'm not the only one seeing the need for a more diverse, independent, and responsible media. According to the media reform group Free Press, more than 2.3 million people contacted the Federal Communications Commission or Congress to critique the proposed FCC rules allowing greater concentration of media ownership. When Sinclair Broadcasting planned to force their 62

TV stations to play an anti-Kerry movie days before the general election, more than 200,000 people protested. Advertisers pulled out; Sinclair's stock tumbled; and the network aired more balanced coverage. I take these as signs that an exciting new movement is emerging to reclaim the media.

Right now, Sarah van Gelder and her editorial team are searching out the best stories on media and democracy for our Spring

centralize and diversify our sources of information.

Already Susan Gleason, our marketing and outreach manager and a media activist herself, has learned that many groups are eager to give copies of the *YES!* media issue to local and national officials, business people, journalists, and community groups. They know the articles in *YES!* will help people understand what's at stake and how to create more responsible media.

As the U.S. began its build-up to attacking Iraq, the media giants dismissed the millions who protested the war as voices from the fringe

2005 issue of *YES!* In that issue, you'll see stories on the increasing concentration of media ownership and what can be done to reverse the trend. You'll learn of surprising coalitions coming together to democratize our media. And you'll see where hope lies in the burgeoning new internet, satellite, print, and broadcast outlets that can de-

How are we able to supply free copies of *YES!* to support these emerging movements? It's because so many of you, our readers, make donations. We're a non-profit organization, driven by our mission to support people's efforts to create a more just, sustainable, and compassionate world. Your donations allow us to fulfill that mission.



If you're a *YES!* subscriber, you recently received a letter from me. In it, I asked for your financial support. I hope you'll take a moment to respond.

Can't find the envelope I sent you? Not a subscriber? No problem. You can donate—and give

gift subscriptions—online at www.yesmagazine.org. Or give us a call at 800/937-4451. Be sure to ask about premiums we give to donors. One is a special pre-release DVD of the movie "Poetry in Wartime."

Your gifts enable the *YES!* editorial staff to do intensive research and elicit the best stories that open us all to new possibilities. Your support gets copies of *YES!* to more than 3,000 teachers, who use our stories with more than 60,000 students nationwide. I know that many young people are deeply discouraged about the state of the world and the future they are inheriting. We can help them see stories of people—including young people like themselves—making a difference.

Because of your support, we're able to give free worldwide access to our articles on the Web. Also, the paper you hold in your hand is recycled, 100 percent post-consumer waste. It costs more than regular paper. It's your gifts that make it possible for us to lead the publishing industry in saving trees.

Your support keeps *YES!* alive. Thank you in advance for understanding the importance of this independent voice that deepens our democracy and strengthens our communities.

Fran Korten
Executive Director

NEW LEAF PAPER

ENVIRONMENTAL BENEFITS STATEMENT

YES! magazine is printed on New Leaf Opaque (100% post-consumer waste, processed chlorine-free). Cover stock is New Leaf Reincarnation Matte (100% recycled fiber, 50% post-consumer waste, processed chlorine-free). By using this environmentally friendly paper, *YES!* saved these resources:

trees	water	energy	solid waste	greenhouse gases
211 fully grown	98,860 gallons	154 million BTUs	10,151 pounds	20,822 pounds

Calculated based on research done by Environmental Defense and other members of the Paper Task Force.
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Events & Announcements

World Social Forum 2005

Porto Alegre, Brazil, January 26-31. The WSF is an open meeting place where groups committed to building a society centered on the human person come together to pursue their thinking, to debate ideas democratically, formulate proposals, and network for effective action.

For information, see www.forumsocialmundial.org.br.

Donella Meadows Fellows Program

The Sustainability Institute is accepting applications for the 2005-2006 class of Donella Meadows Leadership Fellows. The program trains mid-career environmental and social leaders in two-year programs of workshops and personal coaching. Applicants should be active practitioners in their field. Application deadline is December 15, 2004, see www.sustainer.org/fellows/application.html or call 802/436-1277 for more information.

Reclaiming the World

Winona LaDuke, Jerry Mander, and Vandana Shiva will be the faculty of "Reclaiming the World: Culture & Empowerment in a Globalized Age," a Schumacher College course, January 9-28, 2005, Devon, United Kingdom.

This course will look at the impacts of globalization on the environment and societies worldwide, and the ways that indigenous people, farmers, and activists are

working to preserve their ways of life. Scholarships are available. For more information, see www.schumacher-college.org.uk or e-mail admin@schumachercollege.org. uk, or by telephone, (0)1803 865934.

People, Places, and Parks

The George Wright Society Biennial Conference on Parks, Protected Areas, and Cultural Sites, March 14-18, Philadelphia, will include presentations on environmental justice, Yellowstone Park, and the ecology of fire. For more information, see www.georgewright.org/2005program.html or call 906/487-9722.

Corporate Law and Progressive Social Movements

"New Strategies For Justice: Linking Corporate Law With Progressive Social Movements," April 8-9, 2005, UCLA Law School. Conference will explore the misuse of corporate power, the evolution of corporate influence in the United States, emerging trends to address how corporations can support public interest values of justice and equality, and tools for progressives to address root causes of injustice. Sponsored by the Equal Justice Society and the Center on Corporations, Law & Society at Seattle University School of Law. For more information, see www.equaljusticesociety.org/ucla2005.



Holding Out for Democracy

YES! Election Coverage

This crucial election year, we took our commitment to supporting democracy a step further. Our special online election coverage, "Count-down to Election 2004," included resources for voter registration and get-out-the-vote efforts, as well as updated news and opportunities for protecting election integrity.

We also added our first-ever weblog, with election coverage direct from Washington, DC, by Alysa Selene in collaboration with her partner, Wolfgang Harrer (a reporter for ZDF Television and Deutsche Welle, Germany's leading television networks).

We also closed our office on November 2, election day, so that staff and interns could spend the day assisting voters to the polls, calling registered voters, volunteering for poll-monitoring, and, of course, casting our own votes. For additional YES! materials on democracy, including resource and discussion guides, see "What Would Democracy Look Like?" (Winter 2003) and "Government of the People Shall Not Perish" (Fall 2003).

—Susan Gleason

On the Road

In September, YES! executive editor Sarah van Gelder joined other editors and journalists from *Utne Reader*, *In These Times*, and NPR's "The Tavis Smiley Show" for a conversation in Chicago about democracy. Entitled "Talking to Strangers," the conference focused on how we can start talking across political and social divides about issues that matter.

YES! staff and board members

visited California's Bay Area in early November for a weekend of events featuring board chair and YES! co-founder, David Korten. In addition to speaking at the Green Festival and at Co-op America's Green Business Conference, Dr. Korten gave a lecture with Matthew Fox and was a featured presenter at Berrett-Koehler's Positively M.A.D. (Making A Difference) conference, co-sponsored by YES!

In January 2005, marketing & outreach manager Susan Gleason will be attending the Independent Press Association conference in San Francisco. Look for me there!

—SG

Education Online

Teachers can now find selected YES! articles at www.yesmagazine.org with glossaries and questions for reflection to help students gain reading comprehension and writing skills as they grapple with provocative social justice and sustainability issues.

Students doing research can use the search feature and the "YES! articles by topic" drop-down list to find solution-oriented stories on dozens of hot topics from alternative energy to the Zapatistas.

Teachers and students can also find tools, tips, and links to YES! education partners who share our commitment to a better world for all. Check out the Education Connection at www.yesmagazine.org.

—Kim Corrigan

Intern Spotlight

We are fortunate at YES! to have talented interns who help with all aspects of our work and connect us to their interests and passions.

Editorial interns Michelle Burkhart and Darrin Burgess have done lots of research, evaluated submissions, and written some terrific articles, which you can see in this issue and last.

Marcus Renner has been working with our executive director on fundraising, pulling our new Speakers Bureau together, and running crucial meetings for us, as well as gathering material for our special election coverage online.

Katie Gideon has been doing outreach to teachers and crafting materials to help teachers and students use YES! articles.

—Carolyn McConnell

Statement of Ownership, Management and Circulation

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B) Paid circulation:		
1) Paid/Requested Outside-County mail subscription stated on Form 3541	23,610	21,184
2) Paid In-County Subscriptions:	0	0
3) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors, counter sales, and other non-USPS paid distribution:	3,865	5,241
4) Other classes mailed through the USPS	602	525
C) Total paid circulation:	28,077	26,950
D) Free distribution by mail:	362	264
E) Free distribution outside of the mail:	4,530	3,519
F) Total free distribution:	4,892	3,783
G) Total distribution:	32,969	30,733
H) Copies not distributed:	5,605	9,437
I) Total:	38,574	40,170
J) Percent Paid and/or Requested Circulation	85.16%	87.69%

16. This Statement of Ownership is printed in the Winter 2005 issue of this publication. 17. I certify that all information furnished on this form is true and complete: Frances F. Korten, publisher.



sustainableliving

Searching for simple and practical ways to live sustainably?
Want to be part of the solution? Looking to create a safer world
for yourself and your family?

Yes! But How?

Cosmetic Products

I've recently heard that cosmetics can contain harmful toxins that do not appear on the ingredients label. Is this true? If so, how can I find out if the cosmetics I use contain toxins?

The Food and Drug Administration (FDA) does not review or approve cosmetic products and ingredients before they are sold to the public. Instead, the cosmetic industry has a voluntary, self-policing safety committee called the Cosmetic Ingredient Review (CIR) panel.

The Environmental Working Group recently completed a study of 7,500 personal care product labels and found that only 28 of the products had been fully assessed by the CIR panel. This indicates that the voluntary nature of the CIR panel allows companies to market products that are poorly studied, un-studied, or known to pose serious health risks.

Some companies boast that the amount of chemicals they use in their product is safe; this may be true if people were exposed to only one product. However, most people use multiple products, which leads to an unknown cumulative effect. Little research is available to document the safety of repeated exposure and exposure to a combination of products.

As a result of this uncertainty, you may want to minimize use of products known to include potentially risky chemicals. Some of the ingredients

of highest concern include: phthalates (reproductive toxins), glycol ethers (neurotoxins), and coal tar (a known human carcinogen). These ingredients may be in products that you use on a regular basis, such as lotion, hair-spray, deodorant, menopause cream, hair dye, or perfume. Keep in mind, though, that the cosmetic industry is not required to list all product ingredients in their labels.

The EWG recently released an online, interactive report called "Skin Deep" that lists the 7,500 products they studied. You can use the searchable database, at www.ewg.org/reports/skindeep, to find out what is in the products you use and look for safer alternatives. For more information on toxins in personal care products, visit www.safecosmetics.org.

Michelle Burkhart

Septic Tank

Our septic tank overflows. Hooking up to the city's treatment facility is inexpensive, but I don't know where all that sewage goes. What about an outhouse? I don't mind going outside.

Things have improved since the bad-old days, when sewage was dumped directly into rivers and bays. Modern sewage treatment centers remove most pollutants, although some do remain in the water, and the systems sometimes get overloaded and flush inadequately treated effluent into rivers and estuaries. Then there is the

mass of residual 'sludge' remaining after treatment that may contain heavy metals and industrial chemicals. So one of the first things you can do, no matter what system you use, is to make sure you are using biodegradable household products.

Nevertheless, hooking up to the sewage system is not a bad idea. Septic systems are often worse for the environment than sewage treatment facilities. The sludge that accumulates in the tank has to be pumped every so often, so disposal remains an issue, and clogged leach fields are a common problem. In fact, these systems are a significant source of "nonpoint source" pollution, which the EPA considers the leading cause of water-quality problems.

The most environmentally sustainable option is a composting toilet, but they take some work. There are many kinds, but here is how a typical model works: A vacuum toilet uses a pint of water to flush waste into a holding tank, which is outfitted with air baffles and a heating system so that micro-organisms break down the matter quickly, creating useable compost. Every few months or so, you remove the compost and use it on ornamental gardens. Since the system doesn't need flowing water, your leach field is reserved for wash-water from your sinks and tubs (remember: biodegradable products!). Composting toilets aren't cheap, but they reduce your water bill and save you money on pumping fees.



One potential drawback is that some states require permits and additional procedures to install one.

Incidentally, outhouses are a bad idea. Sludge collects in a cool pit far below the topsoil, where it can't properly decompose but can seep into ground water. (Sorry to disappoint you.)

Darrin Burgess

Unwanted CDs

Is it possible to recycle compact discs?

That depends on why you want to get rid of them.

If a CD is scratched, you can repair it with a mild abrasive like toothpaste. Using a lint-free cloth, wipe in straight lines from the center to the edge. Or you can send it to a professional refinisher like AuralTech CD Refinishing (www.auraltch.com). They charge about \$3 a CD, plus shipping.

If you don't like the music anymore, trade the CD in at your local new-and-used music store. But before you go digging under the car seat for your old CDs, keep in mind that they'll refuse scratched discs and any that are missing portions of the original packaging. And even if it's brand new they still might not need it. (There are only so many *The Bodyguard* soundtracks a store can handle.)

If trading is not an option, mail your old CDs to: Plastic Recycling Incorporated, 2015 South Pennsylvania, Indianapolis, IN 46225 (317/780-6100). They take old data CDs, too.

If you've received one of those annoying AOL promotional CDs, simply write "REFUSE" with a heavy marker over the address label and blot out your encoded address information. By law, the postal service must return it to the sender.

(You can actually do this with any junk mail.)

Darrin Burgess

Microwave Ovens Revisited

We received several responses to our advice on microwave ovens (Fall 2004) that noted issues we overlooked. Here's an update:

Our advice to the reader who worried that microwaves cause cancer was not to worry—non-irradiating radiation from microwave ovens doesn't mutate cell DNA like radiation from X-rays or nuclear bombs. Microwaves, we wrote, simply agitate water and fat molecules to produce thermal heat. We did warn, however, that microwaving plastic containers (even those labeled "microwave safe") can leach hazardous chemicals into your food.

But some of our readers would have liked us to report research suggesting that microwaves cause cellular damage and nutrient loss not found in other kinds of heating. In 1991 two Swiss researchers, Drs. Hans Ulrich and Bernard Blanc, reported that microwaved food has three effects on the blood: It decreases hemoglobin, impairing the blood's ability to carry oxygen to the body's tissues; it increases white blood cells, an indication of poisoning and infections; and it eliminates a kind of white blood cell, lymphocytes, that are necessary for the production of antibodies.

These findings prompted the researchers to conclude that microwaves severely impair your immune system. However, we aren't aware of any clinical studies that have replicated their results.

One reader also mentioned a warning, posted by the FDA, that liquids microwaved in small closed containers can "superheat." This means that a liquid's temperature exceeds the boiling point without actually boiling. The slightest agita-

tion produces a spattering eruption that can cause severe burns. Steam can also build up to explosive levels in closed containers, and naturally the container itself can be piping hot (did we mention plastics?). To be absolutely safe, don oven mitts and a welding mask and clear all children from the premises.

A final note: Putting Twinkies in the microwave will make all the creamy filling ooze out, and never, ever microwave a hot-dog—it is a veritable stick of dynamite.

Darrin Burgess

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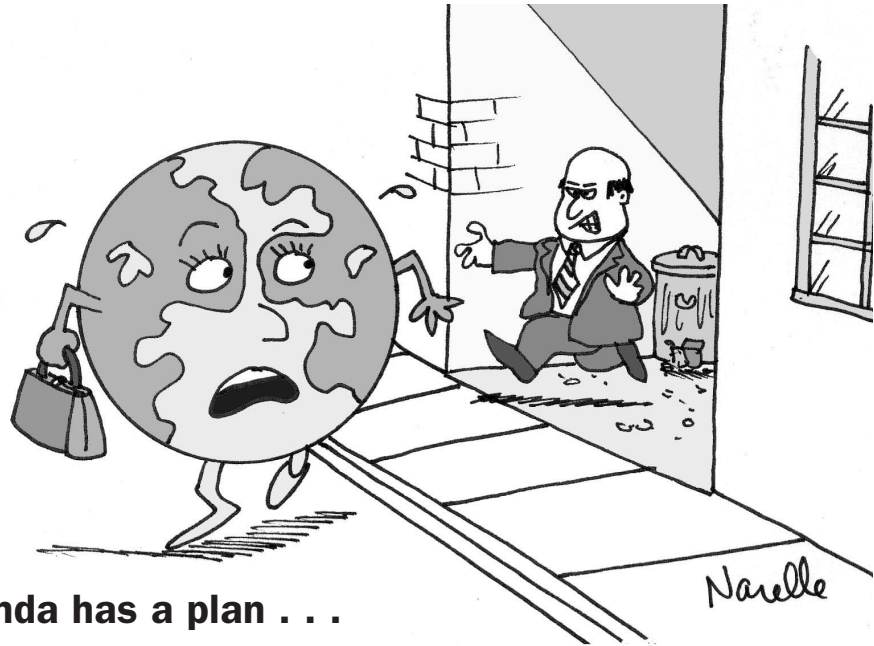
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Swami Beyondananda has a plan . . .

A Bun Dance, not Scare City

The one practice that is most endangering our commonwealth is mining—when those who already have too much money and power say, “This is mine, this is mine, this is mine.”

This mining has gone on ever since the first brute used brute strength, and now our planet is overmined, and the vitality of the body politic undermined.

Think about it.

Those peons get tired of being *peed on*. Forget trickle down. You get pissed on, you’re gonna get pissed off.

This leads to uprisings, which lead to downfalls, and all of this uprising and downfalling can be hard on the body politic—and expensive.

That’s why the Gross National Product is so . . . gross. Because along with all of those goods and services, there are plenty of bads and disservices—all of the things needed to keep unhealthy mining operations going, and to deal with the inevitable uprisings and downfallings.

So let’s stop this trend toward privatization of our God-given natural resources. We have to insist that those big, powerful companies stop using force to stick their privates where they don’t belong. In any case, there must be mutual consent. I don’t know about you, but where I come from, when you privatize people against their will, that is called rape. And when you do it to Mother Earth—well, there is a very impolite term for people like that.

We the people must decide if we feed the wolf of love with our dollars or the wolf of fear. Every monetary exchange is a vote. So we say, vote for a Bun Dance—that is where we the people of the world get up off our assets, move our buns, and dance together—instead of the Scare City currently being sold.

Swami Beyondananda is the brainchild and alter ego of writer and comedian Steve Bhaerman. Excerpted from Swami’s new book, *Swami for Precedent: A 7-Step Plan to Heal the Body Politic and Cure Electile Dysfunction* (Wake Up Laughing Press, 2004). To find out more, contact Swami at 866/525-0778 or find him online at www.wakeuplaughing.com.

